WRITINGS OF ORIGEN OF ALEXANDRIA

by Origen of Alexandria

Writings of Origen of Alexandria (c. AD 253). Origen of Alexandria was an early church father whose writings have been preserved for the edification of the church.

43 Chapters

Table of Contents

0. Writings of Origen of Alexandria
1. A Letter from Origen to Africanus
2. A Letter from Origen to Gregory
3. A Letter to Origen from Africanus About the History of Susanna
4. Against Celsus - Book 1
5. Against Celsus - Book 2
6. Against Celsus - Book 3
7. Against Celsus - Book 4
8. Against Celsus - Book 5
9. Against Celsus - Book 6
10. Against Celsus - Book 7
11. Against Celsus - Book 8
12. Commentary on John - Book 1
13. Commentary on John - Book 10
14. Commentary on John - Book 13
15. Commentary on John - Book 19
16. Commentary on John - Book 2
17. Commentary on John - Book 20
18. Commentary on John - Book 28
19. Commentary on John - Book 32
20. Commentary on John - Book 4
21. Commentary on John - Book 5
22. Commentary on John - Book 6
23. Commentary on Matthew - Book 1
24. Commentary on Matthew - Book 10
25. Commentary on Matthew - Book 11
26. Commentary on Matthew - Book 12
27. Commentary on Matthew - Book 13
28. Commentary on Matthew - Book 14
29. Commentary on Matthew - Book 2
30. Commentary on Matthew - Introduction
31. De Principiis - Book 1
32. De Principiis - Book 2
33. De Principiis - Book 3
34. De Principiis - Book 4
35. Homilies on Luke
36. Letter of Origen to Gregory
37. On Prayer - On Prayer
38. On Prayer - Preface

39. Philocalia - Footnotes
40. Philocalia - Introductory material
41. Philocalia - The Philocalia of Origen
42. Prologue of Rufinus

Chapter 0

Writings of Origen of Alexandria

Chapter 1

A Letter from Origen to Africanus

A Letter from Origen to Africanus. A Letter from Origen to Africanus.

Origen to Africanus, a beloved brother in God the Father, through Jesus Christ, His holy Child, greeting. Your letter, from which I learn what you think of the Susanna in the Book of Daniel, which is used in the Churches, although apparently somewhat short, presents in its few words many problems, each of which demands no common treatment, but such as oversteps the character of a letter, and reaches the limits of a discourse.1 And I, when I consider, as best I can, the measure of my intellect, that I may know myself, am aware that I am wanting in the accuracy necessary to reply to your letter; and that the more, that the few days I have spent in Nicomedia have been far from sufficient to send you an answer to all your demands and queries even after the fashion of the present epistle. Wherefore pardon my little ability, and the little time I had, and read this letter with all indulgence, supplying anything I may omit.

2. You begin by saying, that when, in my discussion with our friend Bassus, I used the Scripture which contains the prophecy of Daniel when yet a young man in the affair of Susanna, I did this as if it had escaped me that this part of the book was spurious. You say that you praise this passage as elegantly written, but find fault with it as a more modern composition, and a forgery; and you add that the forger has had recourse to something which not even Philistion the play-writer would have used in his puns between prinos and prisein, schinos and schisis, which words as they sound in Greek can be used in this way, but not in Hebrew. In answer to this, I have to tell you what it behoves us to do in the cases not only of the History of Susanna, which is found in every Church of Christ in that Greek copy which the Greeks use, but is not in the Hebrew, or of the two other passages you mention at the end of the book containing the history of Bel and the Dragon, which likewise are not in the Hebrew copy of Daniel; but of thousands of other passages also which I found in many places when with my little strength I was collating the Hebrew copies with ours. For in Daniel itself I found the word "bound" followed in our versions by very many verses which are not in the Hebrew at all, beginning (according to one of the copies which circulate in the Churches) thus: "Ananias, and Azarias, and Misael prayed and sang unto God," down to "O, all ye that worship the Lord, bless ye the God of gods. Praise Him, and say that His mercy endureth for ever and ever. And it came to pass, when the king heard them singing, and saw them that they were alive." Or, as in another copy, from "And they walked in the midst of the fire, praising God and blessing the Lord," down to "O, all ye that worship the Lord, bless ye the God of gods. Praise Him, and say that His mercy endureth to all generations."2 But in the Hebrew copies the words, "And these three men, Sedrach, Misach, and Abednego fell down bound into the midst of the fire," are immediately followed by the verse, "Nabouchodonosor the king was astonished, and rose up in haste, and spake, and said unto his counsellors." For so Aquila, following the Hebrew reading, gives it, who has obtained the credit among the Jews of having interpreted the Scriptures with no ordinary care, and whose version is most commonly used by those who do not know Hebrew, as the one which has been most successful. Of the copies in my possession whose readings I gave, one follows the Seventy, and the other Theodotion; and just as the History of Susanna which you

call a forgery is found in both, together with the passages at the end of Daniel, so they give also these passages, amounting, to make a rough guess, to more than two hundred verses.

3. And in many other of the sacred books I found sometimes more in our copies than in the Hebrew, sometimes less. I shall adduce a few examples, since it is impossible to give them all. Of the Book of Esther neither the prayer of Mardochaios nor that of Esther, both fitted to edify the reader, is found in the Hebrew. Neither are the letters;3 nor the one written to Amman about the rooting up of the Jewish nation, nor that of Mardochaios in the name of Artaxerxes delivering the nation from death. Then in Job, the words from "It is written, that he shall rise again with those whom the Lord raises," to the end, are not in the Hebrew, and so not in Aquila's edition; while they are found in the Septuagint and in Theodotion's version, agreeing with each other at least in sense. And many other places I found in Job where our copies have more than the Hebrew ones, sometimes a little more, and sometimes a great deal more: a little more, as when to the words, "Rising up in the morning, he offered burnt-offerings for them according to their number," they add, "one heifer for the sin of their soul; "and to the words, "The angels of God came to present themselves before God, and the devil came with them," "from going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it." Again, after "The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away," the Hebrew has not, "It was so, as seemed good to the Lord." Then our copies are very much fuller than the Hebrew, when Job's wife speaks to him, from "How long wilt thou hold out? And he said, Lo, I wait yet a little while, looking for the hope of my salvation," down to "that I may cease from my troubles, and my sorrows which compass me." For they have only these words of the woman, "But say a word against God, and die."

4. Again, through the whole of Job there are many passages in the Hebrew which are wanting in our copies, generally four or five verses, but sometimes, however, even fourteen, and nineteen, and sixteen. But why should I enumerate all the instances I collected with so much labour, to prove that the difference between our copies and those of the Jews did not escape me? In Jeremiah I noticed many instances, and indeed in that book I found much transposition and variation in the readings of the prophecies. Again, in Genesis, the words, "God saw that it was good," when the firmament was made, are not found in the Hebrew, and there is no small dispute among them about this; and other instances are to be found in Genesis, which I marked, for the sake of distinction, with the sign the Greeks call an obelisk, as on the other hand I marked with an asterisk those passages in our copies which are not found in the Hebrew. What needs there to speak of Exodus, where there is such diversity in what is said about the tabernacle and its court, and the ark, and the garments of the high priest and the priests, that sometimes the meaning even does not seem to be akin? And, forsooth, when we notice such things, we are forthwith to reject as spurious the copies in use in our Churches, and enjoin the brotherhood to put away the sacred books current among them, and to coax the Jews, and persuade them to give us copies which shall be untampered with, and free from forgery! Are we to suppose that that Providence which in the sacred Scriptures has ministered to the edification of all the Churches of Christ, had no thought for those bought with a price, for whom Christ died;4 whom, although His Son, God who is love spared not, but gave Him up for us all, that with Him He might freely give us all things?5

5. In all these cases consider whether it would not be well to remember the words, "Thou shalt not remove the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set."6 Nor do I say this because I shun the labour of investigating the Jewish Scriptures, and comparing them with ours, and noticing their

various readings. This, if it be not arrogant to say it, I have already to a great extent done to the best of my ability, labouring hard to get at the meaning in all the editions and various readings;7 while I paid particular attention to the interpretation of the Seventy, lest I might to be found to accredit any forgery to the Churches which are under heaven, and give an occasion to those who seek such a starting-point for gratifying their desire to slander the common brethren, and to bring some accusation against those who shine forth in our community. And I make it my endeavour not to be ignorant of their various readings, lest in my controversies with the Jews I should quote to them what is not found in their copies, and that I may make some use of what is found there, even although it should not be in our Scriptures. For if we are so prepared for them in our discussions, they will not, as is their manner, scornfully laugh at Gentile believers for their ignorance of the true reading as they have them. So far as to the History of Susanna not being found in the Hebrew.

6. Let us now look at the things you find fault with in the story itself. And here let us begin with what would probably make any one averse to receiving the history: I mean the play of words between prinos and prisis, schinos and schisis. You say that you can see how this can be in Greek, but that in Hebrew the words are altogether distinct. On this point, however, I am still in doubt; because, when I was considering this passage (for I myself saw this difficulty), I consulted not a few Jews about it, asking them the Hebrew words for prinos and prisein, and how they would translate schinos the tree, and how schisis. And they said that they did not know these Greek words prinos and schinos, and asked me to show them the trees, that they might see what they called them. And I at once (for the truth's dear sake) put before them pieces of the different trees. One of them then said, that he could not with any certainty give the Hebrew name of anything not mentioned in Scripture, since, if one was at a loss, he was prone to use the Syriac word instead of the Hebrew one; and he went on to say, that some words the very wisest could not translate. "If, then," said he, "you can adduce a passage in any Scripture where the schinos is mentioned, or the prinos, you will find there the words you seek, together with the words which have the same sound; but if it is nowhere mentioned, we also do not know it." This, then, being what the Hebrews said to whom I had recourse, and who were acquainted with the history, I am cautious of affirming whether or not there is any correspondence to this play of words in the Hebrew. Your reason for affirming that there is not, you yourself probably know.

7. Moreover, I remember hearing from a learned Hebrew, said among themselves to be the son of a wise man, and to have been specially trained to succeed his father, with whom I had intercourse on many subjects, the names of these elders, just as if he did not reject the History of Susanna, as they occur in Jeremias as follows: "The Lord make thee like Zedekias and Achiab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire, for the iniquity they did in Israel."8 How, then, could the one be sawn asunder by an angel, and the other rent in pieces? The answer is, that these things were prophesied not of this world, but of the judgment of God, after the departure from this world. For as the lord of that wicked servant who says, "My lord delayeth his coming," and so gives himself up to drunkenness, eating and drinking with drunkards, and smiting his fellow-servants, shall at his coming "cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers,"9 even so the angels appointed to punish will accomplish these things (just as they will cut asunder the wicked steward of that passage) on these men, who were called indeed elders, but who administered their stewardship wickedly. One will saw asunder him who was waxen old in wicked days, who had pronounced false judgment, condemning the innocent, and letting the guilty go free;10 and

another will rend in pieces him of the seed of Chanaan, and not of Judah, whom beauty had deceived, and whose heart lust had perverted.11

8. And I knew another Hebrew, who told about these elders such traditions as the following: that they pretended to the Jews in captivity, who were hoping by the coming of Christ to be freed from the yoke of their enemies, that they could explain clearly the things concerning Christ,... and that they so deceived the wives of their countrymen.12 Wherefore it is that the prophet Daniel calls the one "waxen old in wicked days," and says to the other, "Thus have ye dealt with the children of Israel; but the daughters of Juda would not abide your wickedness."9. But probably to this you will say, Why then is the "History" not in their Daniel, if, as you say, their wise men hand down by tradition such stories? The answer is, that they hid from the knowledge of the people as many of the passages which contained any scandal against the elders, rulers, and judges, as they could, some of which have been preserved in uncanonical writings (Apocrypha). As an example, take the story told about Esaias; and guaranteed by the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is found in none of their public books. For the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in speaking of the prophets, and what they suffered, says, "They were stoned, they were sawn asunder, they were slain with the sword"13 To whom, I ask, does the "sawn asunder" refer (for by an old idiom, not peculiar to Hebrew, but found also in Greek, this is said in the plural, although it refers to but one person)? Now we know very well that tradition says that Esaias the prophet was sawn asunder; and this is found in some apocryphal work, which probably the Jews have purposely tampered with. introducing some phrases manifestly incorrect, that discredit might be thrown on the whole.

However, some one hard pressed by this argument may have recourse to the opinion of those who reject this Epistle as not being Paul's; against whom I must at some other time use other arguments to prove that it is Paul's.14 At present I shall adduce from the Gospel what Jesus Christ testifies concerning the prophets, together with a story which He refers to, but which is not found in the Old Testament, since in it also there is a scandal against unjust judges in Israel. The words of our Saviour run thus: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partaken with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore be ye witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of Gehenna? Wherefore, behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes; and some of them ye shall kill and crucify; and some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation." And what follows is of the same tenor: "O Jerusalem; Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."15

Let us see now if in these cases we are not forced to the conclusion, that while the Saviour gives a true account of them, none of the Scriptures which could prove what He tells are to be found. For they who build the tombs of the prophets and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, condemning the crimes their fathers committed against the righteous and the prophets, say, "If we had been in

the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets."16 In the blood of what prophets, can any one tell me? For where do we find anything like this written of Esaias, or Jeremias, or any of the twelve, or Daniel? Then about Zacharias the son of Barachias, who was slain between the temple and the altar, we learn from Jesus only, not knowing it otherwise from any Scripture. Wherefore I think no other supposition is possible, than that they who had the reputation of wisdom, and the rulers and elders, took away from the people every passage which might bring them into discredit among the people. We need not wonder, then, if this history of the evil device of the licentious elders against Susanna is true, but was concealed and removed from the Scriptures by men themselves not very far removed from the counsel of these elders. In the Acts of the Apostles also, Stephen, in his other testimony, says, "Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them which showed before of the coming of the Just One; of whom ye have been now the betrayers and murderers."17 That Stephen speaks the truth, every one will admit who receives the Acts of the Apostles; but it is impossible to show from the extant books of the Old Testament how with any justice he throws the blame of having persecuted and slain the prophets on the fathers of those who believed not in Christ. And Paul, in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, testifies this concerning the Jews: "For ye, brethren, became followers of the Churches of Cod which in Judea are in Christ Jesus: for ye also have suffered like things of your own countrymen, even as they have of the Jews; who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and they please not God, and are contrary to all men."18 What I have said is, I think, sufficient to prove that it would be nothing wonderful if this history were true, and the licentious and cruel attack was actually made on Susanna by those who were at that time elders, and written down by the wisdom of the Spirit, but removed by these rulers of Sodom,19 as the Spirit would call them.

10. Your next objection is, that in this writing Daniel is said to have been seized by the Spirit, and to have cried out that the sentence was unjust; while in that writing of his which is universally received he is represented as prophesying in quite another manner, by visions and dreams, and an angel appearing to him, but never by prophetic inspiration. You seem to me to pay too little heed to the words, "At sundry times, and in divers manners, God spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets."20 This is true not only in the general, but also of individuals. For if you notice, you will find that the same saints have been favoured with divine dreams and angelic appearances and (direct) inspirations. For the present it will suffice to instance what is testified concerning Jacob. Of dreams from God he speaks thus: "And it came to pass, at the time that the cattle conceived, that I saw them before my eyes in a dream, and, behold, the rams and he-goats which leaped upon the sheep and the goats, white-spotted, and speckled, and grisled. And the angel of God spake unto me in a dream, saying, Jacob. And I said, What is it? And he said, Lift up thine eyes and see, the goats and rams leaping on the goats and sheep, white-spotted, and speckled, and grisled: for I have seen all that Laban doeth unto thee. I am God, who appeared unto thee in the place of God, where thou anointedst to Me there a pillar, and vowedst a vow there to Me: now arise, get thee out from this land, and return unto the land of thy kindred."21 And as to an appearance (which is better than a dream), he speaks as follows about himself: "And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And he saw that he prevailed not against him, and he touched the breadth of his thigh; and the breadth of Jacob's thigh grew stiff while he was wrestling with him. And he said to him, Let me go, for the day breaketh. And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is

thy name? And he said, Jacob. And he said to him, Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name: for thou hast prevailed with God, and art powerful with men. And Jacob asked him, and said, Tell me thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Vision of God: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved. And the sun rose, when the vision of God passed by."22 And that he also prophesied by inspiration, is evident from this passage: "And Jacob called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you what shall befall you in the last days. Gather yourselves together, and hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father. Reuben, my first-born, my might, and the beginning of my children, hard to be born, hard and stubborn. Thou weft wanton, boil not over like water; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defiledst thou the couch to which thou wentetest up.23 And so with the rest: it was by inspiration that the prophetic blessings were pronounced. We need not wonder, then, that Daniel sometimes prophesied by inspiration, as when he rebuked the elders sometimes, as you say, by dreams and visions, and at other times by an angel appearing unto him.

11. Your other objections are stated, as it appears to me, somewhat irreverently, and without the becoming spirit of piety. I cannot do better than quote your very words: "Then, after crying out in this extraordinary fashion, he detects them in a way no less incredible, which not even Philistion the play-writer would have resorted to. For, not satisfied with rebuking them through the Spirit, he placed them apart, and asked them severally where they saw her committing adultery; and when the one said, 'Under a holm-tree' (prinos) he answered that the angel would saw him under (prisein); and in a similar fashion threatened the other, who said, 'Under a mastich-tree' (schinos), with being rent asunder."

You might as reasonably compare to Philistion the play-writer, a story somewhat like this one, which is found in the third book of Kings, which you yourself will admit to be well written. Here is what we read in Kings:-

"Then there appeared two women that were harlots before the king, and stood before him. And the one woman said, To me, my lord, I and this woman dwell in one house; and we were delivered in the house. And it came to pass, the third day after that I was delivered, that this woman was delivered also: and we were together; there is no one in our house except us two. And this woman's child died in the night; because she overlaid it. And she arose at midnight, and took my son from my arms. And thine handmaid slept. And she laid it in her bosom, and laid her dead child in my bosom. And I arose in the morning to give my child suck, and he was dead; but when I had considered it in the morning, behold, it was not my son which I did bear. And the other woman said, Nay; the dead is thy son, but the living is my son, And the other said, No; the living is my son, but the dead is thy son. Thus they spake before the king. Then said the king, Thou sayest, This is my son that liveth, and thy son is the dead: and thou sayest, Nay; but thy son is the dead, and my son is the living. And the king said, Bring me a sword. And they brought a sword before the king: And the king said, Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one, and half to the other. Then spake the woman whose the living child was unto the king (for her bowels yearned after her son), and she said, To me, my lord, give her the living child, and in no wise slay it. But the other said, Let it be neither mine nor thine, but divide it. Then the king answered and said, Give the child to her which said, Give her the living child, and in no wise slay it: for she is the mother of it. And all Israel heard of the judgment which the king had judged; and they feared the face of the king: for they

saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment."24 For if we were at liberty to speak in this scoffing way of the Scriptures in use in the Churches, we should rather compare this story of the two harlots to the play of Philistion than that of the chaste Susanna. And just as the people would not have been persuaded if Solomon had merely said, "Give this one the living child, for she is the mother of it; "so Daniel's attack on the elders would not have been sufficient had there not been added the condemnation from their own mouth, when both said that they had seen her lying with the young man under a tree, but did not agree as to what kind of tree it was. And since you have asserted, as if you knew for certain, that Daniel in this matter judged by inspiration (which may or may not have been the case), I would have you notice that there seem to me to be some analogies in the story of Daniel to the judgment of Solomon, concerning whom the Scripture testifies that the people saw that the wisdom of God was in him to do judgment.25 This might be said also of Daniel, for it was because wisdom was in him to do judgment that the elders were judged in the manner described.

12. I had nearly forgotten an additional remark I have to make about the prino-prisein and schino-schiesein difficulty; that is, that in our Scriptures there are many etymological fancies, so to call them, which in the Hebrew are perfectly suitable, but not in the Greek. It need not surprise us, then, if the translators of the History of Susanna contrived it so that they found out some Greek words, derived from the same root, which either corresponded exactly to the Hebrew form (though this I hardly think possible), or presented some analogy to it. Here is an instance of this in our Scripture. When the woman was made by God from the rib of the man, Adam says, "She shall be called woman, because she was taken out of her husband." Now the Jews say that the woman was called "Essa," and that "taken" is a translation of this word as is evident from "chos isouoth essa," which means, "I have taken the cup of salvation; "26 and that "is" means "man," as we see from "Hesre ais," which is, "Blessed is the man."27 According to the Jews, then, "is" is "man," and "essa, " "woman," because she was taken out of her husband (is). It need not then surprise us if some interpreters of the Hebrew "Susanna," which had been concealed among them at a very remote date, and had been preserved only by the more learned and honest, should have either given the Hebrew word for word, or hit upon some analogy to the Hebrew forms, that the Greeks might be able to follow them. For in many other passages we can, I find traces of this kind of contrivance on the part of the translators, which I noticed when I was collating the various editions.

13. You raise another objection, which I give in your own words: "Moreover, how is it that they, who were captives among the Chaldeans, lost and won at play, thrown out unburied on the streets, as was prophesied of the former captivity, their sons torn from them to be eunuchs, and their daughters to be concubines, as had been prophesied; how is it that such could pass sentence of death, and that on the wife of their king Joakim, whom the king of the Babylonians had made partner of his throne? Them, if it was not this Joakim, but some other from the common people, whence had a captive such a mansion and spacious garden? " Where you get your "lost and won at play, and thrown out unburied on the streets," I know not, unless it is from Tobias; and Tobias (as also Judith), we ought to notice, the Jews do not use. They are not even found in the Hebrew Apocrypha, as I learned from the Jews themselves." However, since the Churches use Tobias, you must know that even in the captivity some of the captives were rich and well to do. Tobias himself says, "Because I remembered God with all my heart; and the Most High gave me grace and beauty in the eyes of Nemessarus, and I was his purveyor; and I went into Media, and

left in trust with Gabael, the brother of Gabrias, at Ragi, a city of Media, ten talents of silver."28 And he adds, as if he were a rich man, "In the days of Nemessarus I gave many alms to my brethren. I gave my bread to the hungry, and my clothes to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, and cast outside the walls of Nineve, I buried him; and if king Senachereim had slain any when he came fleeing from Judea, I buried them privily (for in his wrath he killed many)." Think whether this great catalogue of Tobias's good deeds does not betoken great wealth and much property, especially when he adds, "Understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear, and all my goods were forcibly taken away."29 And another captive, Dachiacharus, the son of Ananiel, the brother of Tobias, was set over all the exchequer of the kingdom of king Acherdon; and we read, "Now Achiacharus was cup-bearer and keeper of the signet, and steward and overseer of the accounts."30

Mardochaios, too, frequented the court of the king, and had such boldness before him, that he was inscribed among the benefactors of Artaxerxes.

Again we read in Esdras, that Neemias, a cup-bearer and eunuch of the king, of Hebrew race, made a request about the rebuilding of the temple, and obtained it; so that it was granted to him, with many more, to return and build the temple again. Why then should we wonder that one Joakim had garden, and house, and property, whether these were very expensive or only moderate, for this is not clearly told us in the writing?

14. But you say, "How could they who were in captivity pass sentence of death? "asserting, I know not on what grounds, that Susanna was the wife of a king, because of the name Joakim. The answer is, that it is no uncommon thing, when great nations become subject, that the king should allow the captives to use their own laws and courts of justice. Now, for instance, that the Romans rule, and the Jews pay the half-shekel to them, how great power by the concession of Caesar the ethnarch has; so that we, who have had experience of it, know that he differs in little from a true king! Private trials are held according to the law, and some are condemned to death. And though there is not full licence for this, still it is not done without the knowledge of the ruler, as we learned and were convinced of when we spent much time in the country of that people. And yet the Romans only take account of two tribes, while at that time besides Judah there were the ten tribes of Israel. Probably the Assyrians contented themselves with holding them in subjection, and conceded to them their own judicial processes.

15. I find in your letter yet another objection in these words: "And add, that among all the many prophets who had been before, there is no one who has quoted from another word for word. For they had no need to go a-begging for words, since their own were true. But this one, in rebuking one of these men, quotes the words of the Lord, `The innocent and righteous shall thou not slay.'" I cannot understand how, with all your exercise in investigating and meditating on the Scriptures, you have not noticed that the prophets continually quote each other almost word for word. For who of all believers does not know the words in Esaias? "And in the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, and the house of the Lord on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall come unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, unto the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us His way, and we will walk in it: for out of Zion shall go forth a law, and a word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall

beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more."31 But in Micah we find a parallel passage, which is almost word for word: "And in the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be manifest, established on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and people shall hasten unto it. And many nations shall come, and say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and they will teach us His way, and we will walk in His paths: for a law shall go forth from Zion, and a word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And He shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."32

Again, in First Chronicles, the psalm which is put in the hands of Asaph and his brethren to praise the Lord, beginning, "Give thanks unto the Lord, call upon His name,"33 is in the beginning almost identical with Psalms 105., down to "and do my prophets no harm; "and after that it is the same as Psalms 96., from the beginning of that psalm, which is something like this, "Praise the Lord all the earth," down to "For He cometh to judge the earth." (It would have taken up too much time to quote more fully; so I have given these short references, which are sufficient for the matter before us.) And you will find the law about not bearing a burden on the Sabbath-day in Jeremias, as well as in Moses.34 And the rules about the passover, and the rules for the priests, are not only in Moses, but also at the end of Ezekiel.35 I would have quoted these, and many more, had I not found that from the shortness of my stay in Nicomedia my time for writing you was already too much restricted. Your last objection is, that the style is different. This I cannot see.

This, then, is my defence. I might, especially after all these accusations, speak in praise of this history of Susanna, dwelling on it word by word, and expounding the exquisite nature of the thoughts. Such an encomium, perhaps, some of the learned and able students of divine things may at some other time compose. This, however, is my answer to your strokes, as you call them. Would that I could instruct you! But I do not now arrogate that to myself. My lord and dear brother Ambrosius, who has written this at my dictation, and has, in looking over it, corrected as he pleased, salutes you. His faithful spouse, Marcella, and her children, also salute you. Also Anicetus. Do you salute our dear father Apollinarius, and all our friends.

1: [See Dr. Pusey's Lectures on Daniel the Prophet , lect. vi. p. 326, 327; also The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures , by Rev. R. W. Churton, B.D. (1884), pp. 389-404. S.] 2: "The Song of the Three Holy Children" (in the Apocrypha).

3: This should probably be corrected, with Pat. Jun., into, "Nor are the letters, neither ," etc.

4: 1 Cor. vi. 20; Rom. xiv. 15.

5: Rom. viii. 32.

6: Prov. xxii. 28.

7: Origen's most important contribution to biblical literature was his elaborate attempt to rectify the text of the Septuagint by collating it with the Hebrew original and other Greek versions. On this he spent twenty-eight years, during which he travelled through the East collecting materials. The form in which he first issued the result of his labours was that of the Tetrapla , which presented in four

columns the texts of the LXX., Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. He next issued the Hexapla , in which the Hebrew text was given, first in Hebrew and then in Greek letters. Of some books he gave two additional Greek versions, whence the title Octapla ; and there was even a seventh Greek version added for some books. Unhappily this great work, which extended to nearly fifty volumes, was never transcribed, and so perished (Kitto, Cycl .).

8: Jer. xxix. 22, 23.

9: Luke xii. 45, 46.

10: Susanna 52, 53.

11: Susanna 56.

12: Et utrumque sigillatim in quamcunque mulierem incidebat, et cui vitium afferre cupiebat, ei secreto affirmasse sibi a Deo datum e suo semine progignere Christum. Hinc spe gignendi Christum decepta mulier, sui copiam decipienti faciebat, et sic civium uxores stuprabant seniores Achiab et Sedekias.

13: Heb. xi. 37.

14: [See note supra , p. 239. S.] 15: Matt. xxiii. 29-38.

16: Matt. xxiii. 30.

17: Acts vii. 52.

18: 1 Thess. ii. 14, 15.

19: Isa. i. 10.

20: Heb. i. 1.

21: Gen. xxxi. 10-13.

22: Gen. xxxii. 24-31.

23: Gen. xlix. 1-4.

24: 1 Kings iii. 16-28.

25: 1 Kings iii. 28.

26: Ps. cxvi. 13.

27: Ps. i. 1.

28: Tob. i. 12-14.

29: Tob. i. 19.

30: Tob. i. 22.

31: Isa. ii. 2-4.

32: Mic. iv. 1-3.

33: 1 Chron. xvi. 8.

34: Ex. xxxv. 2; Num. xv. 32; Jer. xvii. 21-24.

35: In Levit. passim ; Ezek. xliii. xliv. xlv. xlvi.

Chapter 2

A Letter from Origen to Gregory

A Letter from Origen to Gregory.1 A Letter from Origen to Gregory.1

1. Greeting in God, my most excellent sir, and venerable son Gregory, from Origen. A natural readiness of comprehension, as you well know, may, if practice be added, contribute somewhat to the contingent end, if I may so call it, of that which any one wishes to practise. Thus, your natural good parts might make of you a finished Roman lawyer or a Greek philosopher, so to speak, of one of the schools in high reputation. But I am anxious that you should devote all the strength of your natural good parts to Christianity for your end; and in order to this, I wish to ask you to extract from the philosophy of the Greeks what may serve as a course of study or a preparation for Christianity, and from geometry and astronomy what will serve to explain the sacred Scriptures, in order that all that the sons of the philosophers are wont to say about geometry and music, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy, as fellow-helpers to philosophy, we may say about philosophy itself, in relation to Christianity.

2. Perhaps something of this kind is shadowed forth in what is written in Exodus from the mouth of God, that the children of Israel were commanded to ask from their neighbours, and those who dwelt with them, vessels of silver and gold, and raiment, in order that, by spoiling the Egyptians, they might have material for the preparation of the things which pertained to the service of God. For from the things which the children of Israel took from the Egyptians the vessels in the holy of holies were made,-the ark with its lid, and the Cherubim, and the mercy-seat, and the golden coffer, where was the manna, the angels' bread. These things were probably made from the best of the Egyptian gold. An inferior kind would be used for the solid golden candlestick near the inner veil, and its branches, and the golden table on which were the pieces of shewbread, and the golden censer between them. And if there was a third and fourth quality of gold, from it would be made the holy vessels; and the other things would be made of Egyptian silver. For when the children of Israel dwelt in Egypt, they gained this from their dwelling there, that they had no lack of such precious material for the utensils of the service of God. And of the Egyptian raiment were probably made all those things which, as the Scripture mentions, needed sewed and embroidered work, sewed with the wisdom of God, the one to the other other, that the veils might be made, and the inner and the cuter courts. And why should I go on, in this untimely digression, to set forth how useful to the children of Israel were the things brought from Egypt, which the Egyptians had not put to a proper use, but which the Hebrews, guided by the wisdom of God, used for God's service? Now the sacred Scripture is wont to represent as an evil the going down from the land of the children of Israel into Egypt, indicating that certain persons get harm from sojourning among the Egyptians, that is to say, from meddling with the knowledge of this world, after they have subscribed to the law of God, and the Israelitish service of Him. Ader2 at least, the Idumaean; so long as he was in" the land of Israel, and had not tasted the bread of the Egyptians, made no idols. It was when he fled from the wise Solomon, and went down into Egypt, as it were flying from the wisdom of God, and was made a kinsman of Pharaoh by marrying his wife's sister, and begetting a child, who was brought up with the children of Pharaoh, that he did this. Wherefore, although he

did return to the land of Israel, he returned only to divide the people of God, and to make them say to the golden calf, "These be thy gods, 0 Israel, which brought thee up from the land of Egypt."3 And I may tell you from my experience, that not many take from Egypt only the useful, and go away and use it for the service of God; while Ader the Idumaean has many brethren. These are they who, from their Greek studies, produce heretical notions, and set them up, like the' golden calf, in Bethel, which signifies "God's house." In these words also there seems to me an indication that they have set up their own imaginations in the Scriptures, where the word of God dwells, which is called in a figure Bethel. The other figure, the word says, was set up in Dan. Now the borders of Dan are the most extreme, and nearest the borders of the Gentiles, as is clear from what is written in Joshua, the son of Nun. Now some of the devices of these brethren of Ader, as we call them, are also very near the borders of the Gentiles.

3. Do you then, my son, diligently apply yourself to the reading of the sacred Scriptures. Apply yourself, I say. For we who read the things of God need much application, lest we should say or think anything too rashly about them. And applying yourself thus to the study of the things of God, with faithful prejudgments such as are well pleasing to God, knock at its locked door, and it will be opened to you by the porter, of whom Jesus says, "To him the porter opens."4 And applying yourself thus to the divine study, seek aright, and with unwavering trust in God, the meaning of the holy Scriptures, which so many have missed. Be not satisfied with knocking and seeking; for prayer is of all things indispensable to the knowledge of the things of God. For to this the Saviour exhorted, and said not only, "Knock, and it shall be opened to you; and seek, and ye shall find,"5 but also, "Ask, and it shall be given unto you."6 My fatherly love to you has made me thus bold; but whether my boldness be good, God will know, and His Christ, and all partakers of the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ. May you also be a partaker, and be ever increasing your inheritance, that you may say not only, "We are become partakers of Christ,"7 but also partakers of God.

1: This Gregory, styled the Wonder-worker, (Thaumaturgus) was afterwards bishop of Neo-Caesarea.

2: Origen evidently confounds Hadad the Edomite, of 1 Kings xi. 14, with Jeroboam.

3: [1 Kings xii. 28. S.]

4: John x. 3.

5: Matt. vii. 7.

6: Luke xi. 9.

7: Heb. iii. 14.

Chapter 3

A Letter to Origen from Africanus About the History of Susanna

A Letter to Origen from Africanus About the History of Susanna. A Letter to Origen from Africanus About the History of Susanna.

Greeting, my lord and son, most worthy Origen, from Africanus.1 In your sacred discussion with Agnomon you referred to that prophecy of Daniel which is related of his youth. This at that time, as was meet, I accepted as genuine. Now, however, I cannot understand how it escaped you that this part of the book is spurious. For, in sooth, this section, although apart from this it is elegantly written, is plainly a more modern forgery. There are many proofs of this. When Susanna is condemned to die, the prophet is seized by the Spirit, and cries out that the sentence is unjust. Now, in the first place, it is always in some other way that Daniel prophesies-by visions, and dreams, and an angel appearing to him, never by prophetic inspiration. Then, after crying out in this extraordinary fashion, he detects them in a way no less incredible, which not even Philistion the play-writer would have resorted to. For, not satisfied with rebuking them through the Spirit, he placed them apart, and asked them severally where they saw her committing adultery. And when the one said, "Under a holm-tree" (prinoj), he answered that the angel would saw him asunder (prisein); and in a similar fashion menaced the other who said, "Under a mastich-tree" (sxhinoj), with being rent asunder (sxhisthenai). Now, in Greek, it happens that "holm-tree" and "saw asunder," and "rend" and "mastich-tree" sound alike; but in Hebrew they are quite distinct. But all the books of the Old Testament have been translated from Hebrew into Greek.

2. Moreover, how is it that they who were captives among the Chaldaeans, lost and won at play, thrown out unburied on the streets, as was prophesied of the former captivity, their sons torn from them to be eunuchs, and their daughters to be concubines, as had been prophesied; how is it that such could pass sentence of death, and that on the wife of their king Joakim, whom the king of the Babylonians had made partner of his throne? Then if it was not this Joakim, but some other from the common people, whence had a captive such a mansion and spacious garden? But a more fatal objection is, that this section, along with the other two at the end of it, is not contained in the Daniel received among the Jews. And add that, among all the many prophets who had been before, there is no one who has quoted from another word for word. For they had no need to go a-begging for words, since their own were true; but this one, in rebuking one of those men, quotes the words of the Lord: "The innocent and righteous shall thou not slay." From all this I infer that this section is a later addition. Moreover, the style is different. I have struck the blow; do you give the echo; answer, and instruct me. Salute all my masters. The learned all salute thee. With all my heart I pray for your and your circle's health.

1: [See Routh's Reliquiae , vol. ii. p. 115; also Euseb., i. 7, and Socrates, ii. 35. He ranks with the great pupils of the Alexandrian school, with which, however, he seems to have had only a slight personal relation. Concerning this Epistle to Origen, and the answer of the latter, consult Routh's very full annotations (ut supra , pp. 312-328). Concerning Gregory Thaumaturgus, the greatest of Origen's pupils, we shall know more when we come to vol. vi. of this series. He died circa

270.]s1.v4.a4.w2.b0f2 Nolte would change hstragalwmenoi (or astragalwmenoi , as Wetsten. has it), which is a apac eirhmenon , into straggalwmenoi or astraggalwmenoi , "strangled." He compares Tob. ii. 3.

Against Celsus - Book 1

Book I.

Preface.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter III.

Chapter IV.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI.

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XVI.

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XXI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX.

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter L.

Chapter LI.

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXII.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVII.

Chapter LXVIII.

Chapter LXIX.

Chapter LXX.

Chapter LXXI.

Book I.

Preface.

1. When false witnesses testified against our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, He remained silent; and when unfounded charges were brought against Him, He returned no answer, believing that His whole life and conduct among the Jews were a better refutation than any answer to the false testimony, or than any formal defence against the accusations. And I know not, my pious Ambrosius,1 why you wished me to write a reply to the false charges brought by Celsus against the Christians, and to his accusations directed against the faith of the Churches in his treatise; as if the facts themselves did not furnish a manifest refutation, and the doctrine a better answer than any writing, seeing it both disposes of the false statements, and does not leave to the accusations any credibility or validity. Now, with respect to our Lord's silence when false witness was borne against Him, it is sufficient at present to quote the words of Matthew, for the testimony of Mark is to the same effect. And the words of Matthew are as follow: "And the high priest and the council sought false witness against Jesus to put Him to death, but found none, although many false witnesses came forward. At last two false witnesses came and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and after three days to build it up. And the high priest arose, and said to Him, Answerest thou nothing to what these witness against thee? But Jesus held His peace."2

And that He returned no answer when falsely accused, the following is the statement: "And Jesus stood before the governor; and he asked Him, saying, Art Thou the King of the Jews? And Jesus said to him, Thou sayest. And when He was accused of the chief priests and elders, He answered nothing. Then said Pilate unto Him, Hearest thou not how many things they witness against Thee? And He answered him to never a word, insomuch that the governor marvelled greatly."3

2. It was, indeed, matter of surprise to men even of ordinary intelligence, that one who was accused and assailed by false testimony, but who was able to defend Himself, and to show that He was guilty of none of the charges (alleged), and who might have enumerated the praiseworthy deeds of His own life, and His miracles wrought by divine power, so as to give the judge an opportunity of delivering a more honourable judgment regarding Him, should not have done this, but should have disdained such a procedure, and in the nobleness of His nature have contemned His accusers. That the judge would, without any hesitation, have set Him at liberty if He had offered a defence, is clear from what is related of him when he said, "Which of the two do ye wish that I should release unto you, Barabbas or Jesus, who is called Christ? "4 and from what the Scripture adds, "For he knew that for envy they had delivered Him."5 Jesus, however, is at all times assailed by false witnesses, hand, while wickedness remains in the world, is ever exposed to accusation. And yet even now He continues silent before these things, and makes no audible answer, but places His defence in the lives of His genuine disciples, which are a pre-eminent testimony, and one that rises superior to all false witness, and refutes and overthrows all unfounded accusations and charges.

3. I venture, then, to say that this "apology" which you require me to compose will somewhat weaken that defence (of Christianity) which rests on facts, and that power of Jesus which is manifest to those who are not altogether devoid of perception. Notwithstanding, that we may not have the appearance of being reluctant to undertake the task which you have enjoined, we have endeavoured, to the best of our ability, to suggest, by way of answer to each of the statements advanced by Celsus, what seemed to us adapted to refute them, although his arguments have no power to shake the faith of any (true) believer. And forbid, indeed, that any one should be found who, after having been a partaker in such a love of God as was (displayed) in Christ Jesus, could be shaken in his purpose by the arguments of Celsus, or of any such as he. For Paul, when enumerating the innumerable causes which generally separate men from the love of Christ and from the love of God in Christ Jesus (to all of which, the love that was in himself rose superior), did not set down argument among the grounds of separation. For observe that he says, firstly: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? (as it is written, For Thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter.) Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us."6 And secondly, when laying down another series of causes which naturally tend to separate those who are not firmly grounded in their religion, he says: "For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."7

4. Now, truly, it is proper that we should feel elated because afflictions, or those other causes enumerated by Paul, do not separate us (from Christ); but not that Paul and the other apostles, and any other resembling them, (should entertain that feeling), because they were far exalted

above such things when they said, "In all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us,"8 which is a stronger statement than that they are simply "conquerors." But if it be proper for apostles to entertain a feeling of elation in not being separated from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord, that feeling will be entertained by them, because neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor any of the things that follow, can separate them from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. And therefore I do not congratulate that believer in Christ whose faith can be shaken by Celsus-who no longer shares the common life of men, but has long since departed-or by any apparent plausibility of argument.9 For I do not know in what rank to place him who has need of arguments written in books in answer to the charges of Celsus against the Christians, in order to prevent him from being shaken in his faith, and confirm him in it. But nevertheless, since in the multitude of those who are considered believers some such persons might be found as would have their faith shaken and overthrown by the writings of Celsus, but who might be preserved by a reply to them of such a nature as to refute his statements and to exhibit the truth, we have deemed it right to yield to your injunction, and to furnish an answer to the treatise which you sent us, but which I do not think that any one, although only a short way advanced in philosophy, will allow to be a "True Discourse," as Celsus has entitled it.

5. Paul, indeed, observing that there are in Greek philosophy certain things not to be lightly esteemed, which are plausible in the eyes of the many, but which represent falsehood as truth, says with regard to such: "Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ."10 And seeing that there was a kind of greatness manifest in the words of the world's wisdom, he said that the words of the philosophers were "according to the rudiments of the world." No man of sense, however, would say that those of Celsus were "according to the rudiments of the world." Now those words, which contained some element of deceitfulness, the apostle named "vain deceit," probably by way of distinction from a deceit that was not "vain; "and the prophet Jeremiah observing this, ventured to say to God," O Lord, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived; Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed."11 But in the language of Celsus there seems to me to be no deceitfulness at all, not even that which is "vain; "such deceitfulness, viz., as is found in the language of those who have founded philosophical sects, and who have been endowed with no ordinary talent for such pursuits. And as no one would say that any ordinary error in geometrical demonstrations was intended to deceive, or would describe it for the sake of exercise in such matters;12 so those opinions which are to be styled "vain deceit," and the "tradition of men," and "according to the rudiments of the world," must have some resemblance to the views of those who have been the founders of philosophical sects, (if such titles are to be appropriately applied to them).

6. After proceeding with this work as far as the place where Celsus introduces the Jew disputing with Jesus, I resolved to prefix this preface to the beginning (of the treatise), in order that the reader of our reply to Celsus might fall in with it first, and see that this book has been composed not for those who are thorough believers, but for such as are either wholly unacquainted with the Christian faith, or for those who, as the apostle terms them, are "weak in the faith; "regarding whom he says, "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye."13 And this preface must be my apology for beginning my answer to Celsus on one plan, and carrying it on on another. For my first intention was to indicate his principal objections, and then briefly the answers that were returned to them, and subsequently to make a systematic treatise of the whole discourse.14 But afterwards,

circumstances themselves suggested to me that I should be economical of my time, and that, satisfied with what I had already stated at the commencement, I should in the following part grapple closely, to the best of my ability, with the charges of Celsus. I have therefore to ask indulgence for those portions which follow the preface towards the beginning of the book. And if you are not impressed by the powerful arguments which succeed, then, asking similar indulgence also with respect to them, I refer you, if you still desire an argumentative solution of the objections of Celsus, to those men who are wiser than myself, and who are able by words and treatises to overthrow the charges which he brings against us. But better is the man who, although meeting with the work of Celsus, needs no answer to it at all, but who despises all its contents, since they are contemned, and with good reason, by every believer in Christ, through the Spirit that is in him.

Chapter I. The first point which Celsus brings forward, in his desire to throw discredit upon Christianity, is, that the Christians entered into secret associations with each other contrary to law, saying, that "of associations some are public, and that these are in accordance with the laws; others, again, secret, and maintained in violation of the laws." And his wish is to bring into disrepute what are termed the "love-feasts "15 of the Christians, as if they had their origin in the common danger, and were more binding than any oaths. Since, then, he babbles about the public law, alleging that the associations of the Christians are in violation of it, we have to reply, that if a man were placed among Scythians, whose laws were unholy,16 and having no opportunity of escape, were compelled to live among them, such an one would with good reason, for the sake of the law of truth, which the Scythians would regard as wickedness,17 enter into associations contrary to their laws, with those like-minded with himself; so, if truth is to decide, the laws of the heathens which relate to images, and an atheistical polytheism, are "Scythian" laws, or more impious even than these, if there be any such. It is not irrational, then, to form associations in opposition to existing laws, if done for the sake of the truth. For as those persons would do well who should enter into a secret association in order to put to death a tyrant who had seized upon the liberties of a state, so Christians also, when tyrannized over by him who is called the devil, and by falsehood, form leagues contrary to the laws of the devil, against his power, and for the safety of those others whom they may succeed in persuading to revolt from a government which is, as it were, "Scythian," and despotic.

Chapter II.

Celsus next proceeds to say, that the system of doctrine, viz., Judaism, upon which Christianity depends, was barbarous in its origin. And with an appearance of fairness, he does not reproach Christianity18 because of its origin among barbarians, but gives the latter credit for their ability in discovering (such) doctrines. To this, however, he adds the statement, that the Greeks are more skilful than any others in judging, establishing, and reducing to practice the discoveries of barbarous nations. Now this is our answer to his allegations, and our defence of the truths contained in Christianity, that if any one were to come from the study of Grecian opinions and usages to the Gospel, he would not only decide that its doctrines were true, but would by practice establish their truth, and supply whatever seemed wanting, from a Grecian point of view, to their demonstration, and thus confirm the truth of Christianity. We have to say, moreover, that the Gospel has a demonstration of its own, more divine than any established by Grecian dialectics. And this diviner method is called by the apostle the "manifestation of the Spirit and of power: "of "the Spirit," on account of the prophecies, which are sufficient to produce faith in any one who

reads them, especially in those things which relate to Christ; and of "power," because of the signs and wonders which we must believe to have been performed, both on many other grounds, and on this, that traces of them are still preserved among those who regulate their lives by the precepts of the Gospel.

Chapter III.

After this, Celsus proceeding to speak of the Christians teaching and practising their favourite doctrines in secret, and saying that they do this to, some purpose, seeing they escape the penalty of death which is imminent, he compares their dangers with those which were encountered by such men as Socrates for the sake of philosophy; and here he might have mentioned Pythagoras as well, and other philosophers. But our answer to this is, that in the case of Socrates the Athenians immediately afterwards repented; and no feeling of bitterness remained in their minds regarding him, as also happened in the history, of Pythagoras. The followers of the latter, indeed, for a considerable time established their schools in that part of Italy called Magna Graecia; but in the case of the Christians, the Roman Senate, and the princes of the time, and the soldiery, and the people, and the relatives of those who had become converts to the faith, made war upon their doctrine, and would have prevented (its progress), overcoming it by a confederacy of so powerful a nature, had it not, by the help of God, escaped the danger, and risen above it, so as (finally) to defeat the whole world in its conspiracy against it.

Chapter IV.

Let us notice also how he thinks to cast discredit upon our system of morals,19 alleging that it is only common to us with other philosophers, and no venerable or new branch of instruction. In reply to which we have to say, that unless all men had naturally impressed upon their minds sound ideas of morality, the doctrine of the punishment of sinners would have been excluded by those who bring upon themselves the righteous judgments of God. It is not therefore matter of surprise that the same God should have sown in the hearts of all men those truths which He taught by the prophets and the Saviour, in order that at the divine judgment every man may be without excuse, having the "requirements20 of the law written upon his heart,"-a truth obscurely alluded to by the Bible21 in what the Greeks regard as a myth, where it represents God as having with His own finger written down the commandments, and given them to Moses, and which the wickedness of the worshippers of the calf made him break in pieces, as if the flood of wickedness, so to speak, had swept them away. But Moses having again hewn tables of stone, God wrote the commandments a second time, and gave them to him; the prophetic word preparing the soul, as it were, after the first transgression, for the writing of God a second time.

Chapter V.

Treating of the regulations respecting idolatry as being peculiar to Christianity, Celsus establishes their correctness, saying that the Christians do not consider those to be gods that are made with hands, On the ground that it is not in conformity with right reason (to suppose) that images, fashioned by the most worthless and depraved of workmen, and in many instances also provided by wicked men, can be (regarded as) gods. In what follows, however, wishing to show that this is a common opinion, and one not first discovered by Christianity, he quotes a saying of Heraclitus to this effect: "That those who draw near to lifeless images, as if they were gods, act in a similar

manner to those who would enter into conversation with houses." Respecting this, then, we have to say, that ideas were implanted in the minds of men like the principles of morality, from which not only Heraclitus, but any other Greek or barbarian, might by reflection have deduced the same conclusion; for he states that the Persians also were of the same opinion, quoting Herodotus as his authority. We also can add to these Zeno of Citium, who in his Polity, says: "And there will be no need to build temples, for nothing ought to be regarded as sacred, or of much value, or holy, which is the work of builders and of mean men." It is evident, then, with respect to this opinion (as well as others), that there has been en-graven upon the hearts of men by the finger of God a sense of the duty that is required.

Chapter VI.

After this, through the influence of some motive which is unknown to me, Celsus asserts that it is by the names of certain demons, and by the use of incantations, that the Christians appear to be possessed of (miraculous) power; hinting, I suppose, at the practices of those who expel evil spirits by incantations. And here he manifestly appears to malign the Gospel. For it is not by incantations that Christians seem to prevail (over evil spirits), but by the name of Jesus, accompanied by the announcement of the narratives which relate to Him; for the repetition of these has frequently been the means of driving demons out of men, especially when those who repeated them did so in a sound and genuinely believing spirit. Such power, indeed, does the name of Jesus possess over evil spirits, that there have been instances where it was effectual, when it was pronounced even by bad men, which Jesus Himself taught (would be the case), when He said: "Many shall say to Me in that day, In Thy name we have cast out devils, and done many wonderful works."22 Whether Celsus omitted this from intentional malignity, or from ignorance, I do not know. And he next proceeds to bring a charge against the Saviour Himself, alleging that it was by means of sorcery that He was able to accomplish the wonders which He performed; and that foreseeing that others would attain the same knowledge, and do the same things, making a boast of doing them by help of the power of God, He excludes such from His kingdom. And his accusation is, that if they are justly excluded, while He Himself is guilty of the same practices, He is a wicked man; but if He is not guilty of wickedness in doing such things, neither are they who do the same as He. But even if it be impossible to show by what power Jesus wrought these miracles, it is clear that Christians employ no spells or incantations, but the simple, name of Jesus, and certain other words in which they repose faith, according to the holy Scriptures.

Chapter VII.

Moreover, since he frequently calls the Christian doctrine a secret system (of belief), we must confute him on this point also, since almost the entire world is better acquainted with what Christians preach than with the favourite opinions of philosophers. For who is ignorant of the statement that Jesus was born of a virgin, and that He was crucified, and that His resurrection is an article of faith among many, and that a general judgment is announced to come, in which the wicked are to be punished according to their deserts, and the righteous to be duly rewarded? And yet the mystery of the resurrection, not being understood,23 is made a subject of ridicule among unbelievers. In these circumstances, to speak of the Christian doctrine as a secret system, is altogether absurd. But that there should be certain doctrines, not made known to the multitude, which are (revealed) after the exoteric ones have been taught, is not a peculiarity of Christianity

alone, but also of philosophic systems, in which certain truths are exoteric and others esoteric. Some of the hearers of Pythagoras were content with his ipse dixit; while others were taught in secret those doctrines which were not deemed fit to be communicated to profane and insufficiently prepared ears. Moreover, all the mysteries that are celebrated everywhere throughout Greece and barbarous countries, although held in secret, have no discredit thrown upon them, so that it is in vain that he endeavours to calumniate the secret doctrines of Christianity, seeing he does not correctly understand its nature.

Chapter VIII.

It is with a certain eloquence,24 indeed, that he appears to advocate the cause of those who bear witness to the truth of Christianity by their death, in the following words: "And I do not maintain that if a man, who has adopted a system of good doctrine, is to incur danger from men on that account, he should either apostatize, or feign apostasy, or openly deny his opinions." And he condemns those who, while holding the Christian views, either pretend that they do not, or deny them, saying that "he who holds a certain opinion ought not to feign recantation, or publicly disown it." And here Celsus must be convicted of self-contradiction. For from other treatises of his it is ascertained that he was an Epicurean; but here, because he thought that he could assail Christianity with better effect by not professing the opinions of Epicurus, he pretends that there is a something better in man than the earthly part of his nature, which is akin to God, and says that "they in whom this element, viz., the soul, is in a healthy condition, are ever seeking after their kindred nature, mean ing God, and are ever desiring to hear something about Him, and to call it to remembrance." Observe now the insincerity of his character! Having said a little before, that "the man who had embraced a system of good doctrine ought not, even if exposed to danger on that account from men, to disavow it, or pretend that he had done so, nor yet openly disown it," he now involves himself in all manner of contradictions. For he knew that if he acknowledged himself an Epicurean, he would not obtain any credit when accusing those who, in any degree, introduce the doctrine of Providence, and who place a God over the world. And we have heard that there were two individuals of the name of Celsus, both of whom were Epicureans; the earlier of the two having lived in the time of Nero, but this one in that of Adrian, and later.

Chapter IX.

He next proceeds to recommend, that in adopting opinions we should follow reason and a rational guide,25 since he who assents to opinions without following this course is very liable to be deceived. And he compares inconsiderate believers to Metragyrtae, and soothsayers, and Mithrae, and Sabbadians, and to anything else that one may fall in with, and to the phantoms of Hecate, or any other demon or demons. For as amongst such persons are frequently to be found wicked men, who, taking advantage of the ignorance of those who are easily deceived, lead them away whither they will, so also, he says, is the case among Christians. And he asserts that certain persons who do not wish either to give or receive a reason for their belief, keep repeating, "Do not examine, but believe!" and, "Your faith will save you!" And he alleges that such also say, "The wisdom of this life is bad, but that foolishness is a good thing!" To which we have to answer, that if it were possible for all to leave the business of life, and devote themselves to philosophy, no other method ought to be adopted by any one, but this alone. For in the Christian system also it will be found that there is, not to speak at all arrogantly, at least as much of investigation into articles of

belief, and of explanation of dark sayings, occurring in the prophetical writings, and of the parables in the Gospels, and of countless other things, which either were narrated or enacted with a symbolical signification,26 (as is the case with other systems). But since the course alluded to is impossible, partly on account of the necessities of life, partly on account of the weakness of men, as only a very few individuals devote themselves earnestly to study,27 what better method could be devised with a view of assisting the multitude, than that which was delivered by Jesus to the heathen? And let us inquire, with respect to the great multitude of believers, who have washed away the mire of wickedness in which they formerly wallowed, whether it were better for them to believe without a reason, and (so) to have become reformed and improved in their habits, through the belief that men are chastised for sins, and honoured for good works or not to have allowed themselves to be converted on the strength of mere faith, but have waited) until they could give themselves to a thorough examination of the (necessary) reasons. For it is manifest that, (on such a plan), all men, with very few exceptions, would not obtain this (amelioration of conduct) which they have obtained through a simple faith, but would continue to remain in the practice of a wicked life. Now, whatever other evidence can be furnished of the fact, that it was not without divine intervention that the philanthropic scheme of Christianity was introduced among men, this also must be added. For a pious man will not believe that even a physician of the body, who restores the sick to better health, could take up his abode in any city or country without divine permission, since no good happens to men without the help of God. And if he who has cured the bodies of many, or restored them to better health, does not effect his cures without the help of God, how much more He who has healed the souls of many, and has turned them (to virtue), and improved their nature, and attached them to God who is over all things, and taught them to refer every action to His good pleasure, and to shun all that is displeasing to Him, even to the least of their words or deeds, or even of the thoughts of their hearts?

Chapter X. In the next place, since our opponents keep repeating those statements about faith, we must say that, considering it as a useful thing for the multitude, we admit that we teach those men to believe without reasons, who are unable to abandon all other employments, and give themselves to an examination of arguments; and our opponents, although they do not acknowledge it, yet practically do the same. For who is there that, on betaking himself to the study of philosophy, and throwing himself into the ranks of some sect, either by chance,28 or because he is provided with a teacher of that school, adopts such a course for any other reason, except that he believes his particular sect to be superior to any other? For, not waiting to hear the arguments of all the other philosophers, and of all the different sects, and the reasons for condemning one system and for supporting another, he in this way elects to become a Stoic, e.g., or a Platonist, or a Peripatetic, or an Epicurean, or a follower of some other school, and is thus borne, although they will not admit it, by a kind of irrational impulse to the practice, say of Stoicism, to the disregard of the others; despising either Platonism, as being marked by greater humility than the others; or Peripateticism, as more human, and as admitting with more fairness29 than other systems the blessings of human life. And some also, alarmed at first sight30 about the doctrine of providence, from seeing what happens in the world to the vicious and to the virtuous, have rashly concluded that there is no divine providence at all, and have adopted the views of Epicurus and Celsus.

Chapter XI.

Since, then, as reason teaches, we must repose faith in some one of those who have been the introducers of sects among the Greeks or Barbarians, why should we not rather believe in God who is over all things, and in Him who teaches that worship is due to God alone, and that other things are to be passed by, either as non-existent, or as existing indeed, and worthy of honour, but not of worship and reverence? And respecting these things, he who not only believes, but who contemplates things with the eye of reason, will state the demonstrations that occur to him, and which are the result of careful investigation. And why should it not be more reasonable, seeing all human things are dependent upon faith, to believe God rather than them? For who enters on a voyage, or contracts a marriage, or becomes the father of children, or casts seed into the ground, without believing that better things will result from so doing, although the contrary might and sometimes does happen? And yet the belief that better things, even agreeably to their wishes, will follow, makes all men venture upon uncertain enterprises, which may turn out differently from what they expect. And if the hope and belief of a better future be the support of life in every uncertain enterprise, why shall not this faith rather be rationally accepted by him who believes on better grounds than he who sails the sea, or tills the ground, or marries a wife, or engages in any other human pursuit, in the existence of a God who was the Creator of all these things, and in Him who with surpassing wisdom and divine greatness of mind dared to make known this doctrine to men in every part of the world, at the cost of great danger, and of a death considered infamous, which He underwent for the sake of the human race; having also taught those who were persuaded to embrace His doctrine at the first, to proceed, under the peril of every danger, and of ever impending death, to all quarters of the world to ensure the salvation of men?

Chapter XII. In the next place, when Celsus says in express words, "If they would answer me, not as if I were asking for information, for I am acquainted with all their opinions, but because I take an equal interest in them all, it would be well. And if they will not, but will keep reiterating, as they generally do, 'Do not investigate,' etc., they must, he continues, explain to me at least of what nature these things are of which they speak, and whence they are derived," etc. Now, with regard to his statement that he "is acquainted with all our doctrines," we have to say that this is a boastful and daring assertion; for if he had read the prophets in particular, which are full of acknowledged difficulties, and of declarations that are obscure to the multitude, and if he had perused the parables of the Gospels, and the other writings of the law and of the Jewish history, and the utterances of the apostles, and had read them candidly, with a desire to enter into their meaning, he would not have expressed himself with such boldness, nor said that he "was acquainted with all their doctrines." Even we ourselves, who have devoted much study to these writings, would not say that "we were acquainted with everything," for we have a regard for truth. Not one of us will assert, "I know all the doctrines of Epicurus," or will be confident that he knows all those of Plato, in the knowledge of the fact that so many differences of opinion exist among the expositors of these systems. For who is so daring as to say that he knows all the opinions of the Stoics or of the Peripatetics? Unless, indeed, it should be the case that he has heard this boast, "I know them all," from some ignorant and senseless individuals, who do not perceive their own ignorance, and should thus imagine, from having had such persons as his teachers, that he was acquainted with them all. Such an one appears to me to act very much as a person would do who had visited Egypt (where the Egyptian savans, learned in their country's literature, are greatly given to philosophizing about those things which are regarded among them as divine, but where the vulgar, hearing certain myths, the reasons of which they do not understand, are greatly elated because of

their fancied knowledge), and who should imagine that he is acquainted with the whole circle of Egyptian knowledge, after having been a disciple of the ignorant alone, and without having associated with any of the priests, or having learned the mysteries of the Egyptians from any other source. And what I have said regarding the learned and ignorant among the Egyptians, I might have said also of the Persians; among whom there are mysteries, conducted on rational principles by the learned among them, but understood in a symbolical sense by the more superficial of the multitude.31 And the same remark applies to the Syrians, and Indians, and to all those who have a literature and a mythology.

Chapter XIII. But since Celsus has declared it to be a saying of many Christians, that "the wisdom of this life is a bad thing, but that foolishness is good," we have to answer that he slanders the Gospel, not giving the words as they actually occur in the writings of Paul, where they run as follow: "If any one among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may become wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God."32 The apostle, therefore, does not say simply that "wisdom is foolishness with God," but "the wisdom of this world." And again, not, "If any one among you seemeth to be wise, let him become a fool universally; "but, "let him become a fool in this world, that he may become wise." We term, then, "the wisdom of this world," every false system of philosophy, which, according to the Scriptures, is brought to nought; and we call foolishness good, not without restriction, but when a man becomes foolish as to this world. As if we were to say that the Platonist, who believes in the immortality of the soul, and in the doctrine of its metempsychosis,33 incurs the charge of folly with the Stoics, who discard this opinion; and with the Peripatetics, who babble about the subtleties of Plato; and with the Epicureans, who call it superstition to introduce a providence, and to place a God over all things. Moreover, that it is in agreement with the spirit of Christianity, of much more importance to give our assent to doctrines upon grounds of reason and wisdom than on that of faith merely, and that it was only in certain circumstances that the latter course was desired by Christianity, in order not to leave men altogether without help, is shown by that genuine disciple of Jesus, Paul, when he says: "For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."34 Now by these words it is clearly shown that it is by the wisdom of God that God ought to be known. But as this result did not follow, it pleased God a second time to save them that believe, not by "folly" universally, but by such foolishness as depended on preaching. For the preaching of Jesus Christ as crucified is the "foolishness" of preaching, as Paul also perceived, when he said, "But we preach Christ crucified, to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness; but to them who are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and wisdom of God."35

Chapter XIV.

Celsus, being of opinion that there is to be found among many nations a general relationship of doctrine, enumerates all the nations which gave rise to such and such opinions; but for some reason, unknown to me, he casts a slight upon the Jews, not including them amongst the others, as having either laboured along with them, and arrived at the same conclusions, or as having entertained similar opinions on many subjects. It is proper, therefore, to ask him why he gives credence to the histories of Barbarians and Greeks respecting the antiquity of those nations of whom he speaks, but stamps the histories of this nation alone as false. For if the respective writers related the events which are found in these works in the spirit of truth, why should we distrust the

prophets of the Jews alone? And if Moses and the prophets have recorded many things in their history from a desire to favour their own system, why should we not say the same of the historians of other countries? Or, when the Egyptians or their histories speak evil of the Jews, are they to be believed on that point; but the Jews, when saying the same things of the Egyptians, and declaring that they had suffered great injustice at their hands, and that on this account they had been punished by God, are to be charged with falsehood? And this applies not to the Egyptians alone, but to others; for we shall find that there was a connection between the Assyrians and the Jews, and that this is recorded in the ancient histories of the Assyrians. And so also the Jewish historians (I avoid using the word "prophets," that I may not appear to prejudge the case) have related that the Assyrians were enemies of the Jews. Observe at once, then, the arbitrary procedure of this individual, who believes the histories of these nations on the ground of their being learned, and condemns others as being wholly ignorant. For listen to the statement of Celsus: "There is," he says, "an authoritative account from the very beginning, respecting which there is a constant agreement among all the most learned nations, and cities, and men." And yet he will not call the Jews a learned nation in the same way in which he does the Egyptians, and Assyrians, and Indians, and Persians, and Odrysians, and Samothracians, and Eleusinians.

How much more impartial than Celsus is Numenius the Pythagorean, who has given many proofs of being a very eloquent man, and who has carefully tested many opinions, and collected together from many sources what had the appearance of truth; for, in the first hook of his treatise On the Good, speaking of those nations who have adopted the opinion that God is incorporeal, he enumerates the Jews also among those who hold this view; not showing any reluctance to use even the language of their prophets in his treatise, and to give it a metaphorical signification. It is said, moreover, that Hermippus has recorded in his first book, On Lawgivers, that it was from the Jewish people that Pythagoras derived the philosophy which he introduced among the Greeks. And there is extant a work by the historian Hecataeus, treat ing of the Jews, in which so high a character is bestowed upon that nation for its learning, that Herennius Philo, in his treatise on the Jews, has doubts in the first place, whether it is really the composition of the historian; and says, in the second place, that if really his, it is probable that he was carried away by the plausible nature of the Jewish history, and so yielded his assent to their system.

Chapter XVI.

I must express my surprise that Celsus should class the Odrysians, and Samothracians, and Eleusinians, and Hyperboreans among the most ancient and learned nations, and should not deem the Jews worthy of a place among such, either for their learning or their antiquity, although there are many treatises in circulation among the Egyptians, and Phoenicians, and Greeks, which testify to their existence as an ancient people, but which I have considered it unnecessary to quote. For any one who chooses may read what Florins Josephus has recorded in his two books, On the Antiquity36 of the Jews, where he brings together a great collection of writers, who bear witness to the antiquity of the Jewish people; and there exists the Discourse to the Greeks of Tatian the younger,37 in which with very great learning he enumerates those historians who have treated of the antiquity of the Jewish nation and of Moses. It seems, then, to be not from a love of truth, but from a spirit of hatred, that Celsus makes these statements, his object being to asperse the origin of Christianity, which is connected with Judaism. Nay, he styles the Galactophagi of Homer, and the Druids of the Gauls, and the Getae, most learned and ancient tribes, on account

of the resemblance between their traditions and those of the Jews, although I know not whether any of their histories survive; but the Hebrews alone, as far as in him lies, he deprives of the honour both of antiquity and learning. And again, when making a list of ancient and learned men who have conferred benefits upon their contemporaries (by their deeds), and upon posterity by their writings, he excluded Moses from the number; while of Linus, to whom Celsus assigns a foremost place in his list, there exists neither laws nor discourses which produced a change for the better among any tribes; whereas a whole nation, dispersed throughout the entire world, obey the laws of Moses. Consider, then, whether it is not from open malevolence that he has expelled Moses from his catalogue of learned men, while asserting that Linus, and Musaeus, and Orpheus, and Pherecydes, and the Persian Zoroaster, and Pythagoras, discussed these topics, and that their opinions were deposited in books, and have thus been preserved down to the present time. And it is intentionally also that he has omitted to take notice of the myth, embellished chiefly by Orpheus, in which the gods are described as affected by human weaknesses and passions.

Chapter XVII. In what follows, Celsus, assailing the Mosaic history, finds fault with those who give it a tropical and allegorical signification. And here one might say to this great man, who inscribed upon his own work the title of a True Discourse, "Why, good sir, do you make it a boast to have it recorded that the gods should engage in such adventures as are described by your learned poets and philosophers, and be guilty of abominable intrigues, and of engaging in wars against their own fathers, and of cutting off their secret parts, and should dare to commit and to suffer such enormities; while Moses, who gives no such accounts respecting God, nor even regarding the holy angels, and who relates deeds of far less atrocity regarding men (for in his writings no one ever ventured to commit such crimes as Kronos did against Uranus, or Zeus against his father, or that of the father of men and gods, who had intercourse with his own daughter), should be considered as having deceived those who were placed under his laws, and to have led them into error? "And here Celsus seems to me to act somewhat as Thrasymachus the Platonic philosopher did, when he would not allow Socrates to answer regarding justice, as he wished, but said, "Take care not to say that utility is justice, or duty, or anything of that kind." For in like manner Celsus as sails (as he thinks) the Mosaic histories, and finds fault with those who understand them allegorically, at the same time bestowing also some praise upon those who do so, to the effect that they are more impartial (than those who do not); and thus, as it were, he prevents by his cavils those who are able to show the true state of the case from offering such a defence as they would wish to offer.38

Chapter XVIII. And challenging a comparison of book with book, I would say, "Come now, good sir, take down the poems of Linus, and of Musaeus, and of Orpheus, and the writings of Pherecydes, and carefully compare these with the laws of Moses-histories with histories, and ethical discourses with laws and commandments-and see which of the two are the better fitted to change the character of the hearer on the very spot, and which to harden39 him in his wickedness; and observe that your series of writers display little concern for those readers who are to peruse them at once unaided,40 but have composed their philosophy (as you term it) for those who are able to comprehend its metaphorical and allegorical signification; whereas Moses, like a distinguished orator who meditates some figure of Rhetoric, and who carefully introduces in every part language of twofold meaning, has done this in his five books: neither affording, in the portion which relates to morals, any handle to his Jewish subjects for committing evil; nor yet giving to the few individuals who were endowed with greater wisdom, and who were capable of investigating

his meaning, a treatise devoid of material for speculation. But of your learned poets the very writings would seem no longer to be preserved, although they would have been carefully treasured up if the readers had perceived any benefit (likely to be derived from them); whereas the works of Moses have stirred up many, who were even aliens to the manners of the Jews, to the belief that, as these writings testify, the first who enacted these laws and delivered them to Moses, was the God who was the Creator of the world. For it became the Creator of the universe, after laying down laws for its government, to confer upon His words a power which might subdue all men in every part of the earth.41 And this I maintain, having as yet entered into no investigation regarding Jesus, but still demonstrating that Moses, who is far inferior to the Lord, is, as the Discourse will show, greatly superior to your wise poets and philosophers."

Chapter XIX.

After these statements, Celsus, from a secret desire to cast discredit upon the Mosaic account of the creation, which teaches that the world is not yet ten thousand years old, but very much under that, while concealing his wish, intimates his agreement with those who hold that the world is uncreated. For, maintaining that there have been, from all eternity, many conflagrations and many deluges, and that the flood which lately took place in the time of Deucalion is comparatively modern, he clearly demonstrates to those who are able to understand him, that, in his opinion, the world was uncreated. But let this assailant of the Christian faith tell us by what arguments he was compelled to accept the statement that there have been many conflagrations and many cataclysms, and that the flood which occurred in the time of Deucalion, and the conflagration in that of Phaethon, were more recent than any others. And if he should put forward the dialogues of Plato (as evidence) on these subjects, we shall say to him that it is allowable for us also to believe that there resided in the pure and pious soul of Moses, who ascended above all created things, and united himself to the Creator of the universe, and who made known divine things with far greater clearness than Plato, or those other wise men (who lived) among the Greeks and Romans, a spirit which was divine. And if he demands of us our reasons for such a belief, let him first give grounds for his own unsupported assertions, and then we shall show that this view of ours is the correct one.

Chapter XX. And yet, against his will, Celsus is entangled into testifying that the world is comparatively modern, and not yet ten thousand years old, when he says that the Greeks consider those things as ancient, because, owing to the deluges and conflagrations, they have not beheld or received any memorials of older events. But let Celsus have, as his authorities for the myth regarding the conflagrations and inundations, those persons who, in his opinion, are the most learned of the Egyptians, traces of whose wisdom are to be found in the worship of irrational animals, and in arguments which prove that such a worship of God is in conformity with reason, and of a secret and mysterious character. The Egyptians, then, when they boastfully give their own account of the divinity of animals, are to be considered wise; but if any Jew, who has signified his adherence to the law and the lawgiver, refer everything to the Creator of the universe, and the only God, he is, in the opinion of Celsus and those like him, deemed inferior to him who degrades the Divinity not only to the level of rational and mortal animals, but even to that of irrational also!-a view which goes far beyond the mythical doctrine of transmigration, according to which the soul falls down from the summit of heaven, and enters into the body of brute beasts, both tame and savage! And if the Egyptians related fables of this kind, they are believed to convey a philosophical

meaning by their enigmas and mysteries; but if Moses compose and leave behind him histories and laws for an entire nation, they are to be considered as empty fables, the language of which admits of no allegorical meaning!

Chapter XXI. The following is the view of Celsus and the Epicureans: "Moses having," he says, "learned the doctrine which is to be found existing among wise nations and eloquent men, obtained the reputation of divinity." Now, in answer to this we have to say, that it may be allowed him that. Moses did indeed hear a somewhat ancient doctrine, and transmitted the same to the Hebrews; that if the doctrine which he heard was false, and neither pious nor venerable, and if notwithstanding, he received it and handed it down to those under his authority, he is liable to censure; but if, as you assert, he gave his adherence to opinions that were wise and true, and educated his people by means of them, what, pray, has he done deserving of condemnation? Would, indeed, that not only Epicurus, but Aristotle, whose sentiments regarding providence are not so impious (as those of the former), and the Stoics, who assert that God is a body, had heard such a doctrine! Then the world would not have been filled with opinions which either disallow or enfeeble the action of providence, or introduce a corrupt corporeal principle, according to which the god of the Stoics is a body, with respect to whom they are not afraid to say that he is capable of change, and may be altered and transformed in all his parts, and, generally, that he is capable of corruption, if there be any one to corrupt him, but that he has the good fortune to escape corruption, because there is none to corrupt. Whereas the doctrine of the Jews and Christians, which preserves the immutability and unalterableness of the divine nature, is stigmatized as impious, because it does not partake of the profanity of those whose notions of God are marked by impiety, but because it says in the supplication addressed to the Divinity, "Thou art the same,"42 it being, moreover, an article of faith that God has said, "I change not."43

Chapter XXII.

After this, Celsus, without condemning circumcision as practised by the Jews, asserts that this usage was derived from the Egyptians; thus believing the Egyptians rather than Moses, who says that Abraham was the first among men who practised the rite. And it is not Moses alone who mentions the name of Abraham, assigning to him great intimacy with God; but many also of those who give themselves to the practice of the conjuration of evil spirits, employ in their spells the expression "God of Abraham," pointing out by the very name the friendship (that existed) between that just man and God. And yet, while making use of the phrase "God of Abraham," they do not know who Abraham is! And the same remark applies to Isaac, and Jacob, and Israel; which names, although confessedly Hebrew, are frequently introduced by those Egyptians who profess to produce some wonderful result by means of their knowledge. The rite of circumcision, however, which began with Abraham, and was discontinued by Jesus, who desired that His disciples should not practise it, is not before us for explanation; for the present occasion does not lead us to speak of such things, but to make an effort to refute the charges brought against the doctrine of the Jews by Celsus, who thinks that he will be able the more easily to establish the falsity of Christianity, if, by assailing its origin in Judaism, he can show that the latter also is untrue.

Chapter XXIII.

After this, Celsus next asserts that "Those herdsmen and shepherds who followed Moses as their leader, had their minds deluded by vulgar deceits, and so supposed that there was one God." Let

him show, then, how, after this irrational departure, as he regards it, of the herdsmen and shepherds from the worship of many gods, he himself is able to establish the multiplicity of deities that are found amongst the Greeks, or among those other nations that are called Barbarian. Let him establish, therefore, the existence of Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses by Zeus; or of Themis, the parent of the Hours; or let him prove that the ever naked Graces can have a real, substantial existence. But he will not be able to show, from any actions of theirs, that these fictitious representations44 of the Greeks, which have the appearance of being invested with bodies, are (really) gods. And why should the fables of the Greeks regarding the gods be true, any more than those of the Egyptians for example, who in their language know nothing of a Mnemosyne, mother of the nine Muses; nor of a Themis, parent of the Hours; nor of a Euphrosyne, one of the Graces; nor of any other of these names? How much more manifest (and how much better than all these inventions!) is it that, convinced by what we see, in the admirable order of the world, we should worship the Maker of it as the one Author of one effect, and which, as being wholly in harmony with itself, cannot on that account have been the work of many makers; and that we should believe that the whole heaven is not held together by the movements of many souls, for one is enough, which bears the whole of the non-wandering45 sphere from east to west, and embraces within it all things which the world requires, and which are not self-existing! For all are parts of the world, while God is no part of the whole. But God cannot be imperfect, as a part is imperfect. And perhaps profounder consideration will show, that as God is not a part, so neither is He properly the whole, since the whole is composed of parts; and reason will not allow us to believe that the God who is over all is composed of parts, each one of which cannot do what all the other parts, can.

Chapter XXIV.

After this he continues: "These herdsmen and shepherds concluded that there was but one God, named either the Highest, or Adonai, or the Heavenly, or Sabaoth, or called by some other of those names which they delight to give this world; and they knew nothing beyond that." And in a subsequent part of his work he says, that "It makes no difference whether the God who is over all things be called by the name of Zeus, which is current among the Greeks, or by that, e.g., which is in use among the Indians or Egyptians," Now, in answer to this, we have to remark that this involves a deep and mysterious subject-that, viz., respecting the nature of names: it being a question whether, as Aristotle thinks, names were bestowed by arrangement, or, as the Stoics hold, by nature; the first words being imitations of things, agreeably to which the names were formed, and in conformity with which they introduce certain principles of etymology; or whether, as Epicurus teaches (differing in this from the Stoics), names were given by nature,-the first men having uttered certain words varying with the circumstances in which they found themselves. If, then, we shall be able to establish, in reference to the preceding statement, the nature of powerful names, some of which are used by the learned amongst the Egyptians, or by the Magi among the Persians, and by the Indian philosophers called Brahmans, or by the Samanaeans, and others in different countries; and shall be able to make out that the so-called magic is not, as the followers of Epicurus and Aristotle suppose, an altogether uncertain thing, but is, as those skilled in it prove, a consistent system, having words which are known to exceedingly few; then we say that the name Sabaoth, and Adonai, and the other names treated with so much reverence among the Hebrews, are not applicable to any ordinary created things, but belong to a secret theology which

refers to the Framer of all things. These names, accordingly, when pronounced with that attendant train of circumstances which is appropriate to their nature, are possessed of great power; and other names, again, current in the Egyptian tongue, are efficacious against certain demons who can only do certain things; and other names in the Persian language have corresponding power over other spirits; and so on in every individual nation, for different purposes. And thus it will be found that, of the various demons upon the earth, to whom different localities have been assigned, each one bears a name appropriate to the several dialects of place and country. He, therefore, who has a nobler idea, however small, of these matters, will be careful not to apply differing names to different things; lest he should resemble those who mistakenly apply the name of God to lifeless matter, or who drag down the title of "the Good" from the First Cause, or from virtue and excellence, and apply it to blind Plutus, and to a healthy and well-proportioned mixture of flesh and blood and bones, or to what is considered to be noble birth.46

Chapter XXV. And perhaps there is a danger as great as that which degrades the name of "God," or of "the Good," to improper objects, in changing the name of God according to a secret system, and applying those which belong to inferior beings to greater, and vice versa. And I do not dwell on this, that when the name of Zeus is uttered, there is heard at the same time that of the son of Kronos and Rhea, and the husband of Hera, and brother of Poseidon, and father of Athene, and Artemis, who was guilty of incest with his own daughter Persephone; or that Apollo immediately suggests the son of Leto and Zeus, and the brother of Artemis, and half-brother of Hermes; and so with all the other names invented by these wise men of Celsus, who are the parents of these opinions, and the ancient theologians of the Greeks. For what are the grounds for deciding that he should on the one hand be properly called Zeus, and yet on the other should not have Kronos for his father and Rhea for his mother? And the same argument applies to all the others that are called gods. But this charge does not at all apply to those who, for some mysterious reason, refer the word Sabaoth, or Adonai, or any of the other names to the (true) God. And when one is able to philosophize about the mystery of names, he will find much to say respecting the titles of the angels of God, of whom one is called Michael, and another Gabriel, and another Raphael, appropriately to the duties which they discharge in the world, according to the will of the God of all things. And a similar philosophy of names applies also to our Jesus, whose name has already been seen, in an unmistakeable manner, to have expelled myriads of evil spirits from the souls and bodies (of men), so great was the power which it exerted upon those from whom the spirits were driven out. And while still upon the subject of names, we have to mention that those who are skilled in the use of incantations, relate that the utterance of the same incantation in its proper language can accomplish what the spell professes to do; but when translated into any other tongue, it is observed to become inefficacious and feeble. And thus it is not the things signified, but the qualities and peculiarities of words, which possess a certain power for this or that purpose. And so on such grounds as these we defend the conduct of the Christians, when they struggle even to death to avoid calling God by the name of Zeus, or to give Him a name from any other language. For they either use the common name-God-indefinitely, or with some such addition as that of the "Maker of all things," "the Creator of heaven and earth"-He who sent down to the human race those good men, to whose names that of God being added, certain mighty works are wrought among men. And much more besides might be said on the subject of names, against those who think that we ought to be indifferent as to our use of them. And if the remark of Plato in the Philebus should surprise us, when he says, "My fear, O Protagoras, about the names of the gods

is no small one," seeing Philebus in his discussion with Socrates had called pleasure a "god," how shall we not rather approve the piety of the Christians, who apply none of the names used in the mythologies to the Creator of the world? And now enough on this subject for the present.

Chapter XXVI. But let us see the manner in which this Celsus, who professes to know everything, brings a false accusation against the Jews, when he alleges that "they worship angels, and are addicted to sorcery, in which Moses was their instructor." Now, in what part of the writings of Moses he found the lawgiver laying down the worship of angels, let him tell, who professes to know all about Christianity and Judaism; and let him show also how sorcery can exist among those who have accepted the Mosaic law, and read the injunction, "Neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them."47 Moreover, he promises to show afterwards "how it was through ignorance that the Jews were deceived and led into error." Now, if he had discovered that the ignorance of the Jews regarding Christ was the effect of their not having heard the prophecies about Him, he would show with truth how the Jews fell into error. But without any wish whatever that this should appear, he views as Jewish errors what are no errors at all. And Celsus having promised to make us acquainted, in a subsequent part of his work, with the doctrines of Judaism, proceeds in the first place to speak of our Saviour as having been the leader of our generation, in so far as we are Christians,48 and says that "a few years ago he began to teach this doctrine, being regarded by Christians as the Son of God." Now, with respect to this point-His prior existence a few years ago-we have to remark as follows. Could it have come to pass without divine assistance, that Jesus, desiring during these years to spread abroad His words and teaching, should have been so successful, that everywhere throughout the world, not a few persons, Greeks as well as Barbarians, learned as well as ignorant, adopted His doctrine, so that they struggled, even to death in its defence, rather than deny it, which no one is ever related to have done for any other system? I indeed, from no wish to flatter49 Christianity, but from a desire thoroughly to examine the facts, would say that even those who are engaged in the healing of numbers of sick persons, do not attain their object-the cure of the body-without divine help; and if one were to succeed in delivering souls from a flood of wickedness, and excesses, and acts of injustice, and from a contempt of God, and were to show, as evidence of such a result, one hundred persons improved in their natures (let us suppose the number to be so large), no one would reasonably say that it was without divine assistance that he had implanted in those hundred individuals a doctrine capable of removing so many evils. And if any one, on a candid consideration of these things, shall admit that no improvement ever takes place among men without divine help, how much more confidently shall he make the same assertion regarding Jesus, when he compares the former lives of many converts to His doctrine with their after conduct, and reflects in what acts of licentiousness and injustice and covetousness they formerly indulged, until, as Celsus, and they who think with him, allege, "they were deceived," and accepted a doctrine which, as these individuals assert, is destructive of the life of men; but who, from the time that they adopted it, have become in some way meeker, and more religious, and more consistent, so that certain among them, from a desire of exceeding chastity, and a wish to worship God with greater purity, abstain even from the permitted indulgences of (lawful) love.

Chapter XXVII.

Any one who examines the subject will see that Jesus attempted and successfully accomplished works beyond the reach of human power. For although, from the very beginning, all things

opposed the spread of His doctrine in the world, -both the princes of the times, and their chief captains and generals, and all, to speak generally, who were possessed of the smallest influence, and in addition to these, the rulers of the different cities, and the soldiers, and the people,-yet it proved victorious, as being the Word of God, the nature of which is such that it cannot be hindered; and becoming more powerful than all such adversaries, it made itself master of the whole of Greece, and a considerable portion of Barbarian lands, and convened countless numbers of souls to His religion. And although, among the multitude of converts to Christianity, the simple and ignorant necessarily outnumbered the more intelligent, as the former class always does the latter, yet Celsus, unwilling to take note of this, thinks that this philanthropic doctrine, which reaches to every soul under the sun, is vulgar,50 and on account of its vulgarity and its want of reasoning power, obtained a hold only over the ignorant. And yet he himself admits that it was not the simple alone who were led by the doctrine of Jesus to adopt His religion; for he acknowledges that there were amongst them some persons of moderate intelligence, and gentle disposition, and possessed of understanding, and capable of comprehending allegories.

Chapter XXVIII. And since, in imitation of a rhetorician training a pupil, he introduces a Jew, who enters into a personal discussion with Jesus, and speaks in a very childish manner, altogether unworthy of the grey hairs of a philosopher, let me endeavour, to the best of my ability, to examine his statements, and show that he does not maintain, throughout the discussion, the consistency due to the character of a Jew. For he represents him disputing with Jesus, and confuting Him, as he thinks, on many points; and in the first place, he accuses Him of having "invented his birth from a virgin," and upbraids Him with being "born in a certain Jewish village, of a poor woman of the country, who gained her subsistence by spinning, and who was turned out of doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was convicted of adultery; that after being driven away by her husband, and wandering about for a time, she disgracefully gave birth to Jesus, an illegitimate child, who having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself a God." Now, as I cannot allow anything said by unbelievers to remain unexamined, but must investigate everything from the beginning, I give it as my opinion that all these things worthily harmonize with the predictions that Jesus is the Son of God.

Chapter XXIX. For birth is an aid towards an individual's becoming famous, and distinguished, and talked about; viz., when a man's parents happen to be in a position of rank and influence, and are possessed of wealth, and are able to spend it upon the education of their son, and when the country of one's birth is great and illustrious; but when a man having all these things against him is able, notwithstanding these hindrances, to make himself known, and to produce an impression on those who hear of him, and to become distinguished and visible to the whole world, which speaks of him as it did not do before, how can we help admiring such a nature as being both noble in itself, and devoting itself to great deeds, and possessing a courage which is not by any means to be despised? And if one were to examine more fully the history of such an individual, why should he not seek to know in what manner, after being reared up in frugality and poverty, and without receiving any complete education, and without having studied systems and opinions by means of which he might have acquired confidence to associate with multitudes, and play the demagogue, and attract to himself many hearers, he nevertheless devoted himself to the teaching of new

opinions, introducing among men a doctrine which not only subverted the customs of the Jews, while preserving due respect for their prophets, but which especially overturned the established observances of the Greeks regarding the Divinity? And how could such a person-one who had been so brought up, and who, as his calumniators admit, had learned nothing great from men-have been able to teach, in a manner not at all to be despised, such doctrines as he did regarding the divine judgment, and the punishments that are to overtake wickedness, and the rewards that are to be conferred upon virtue; so that not only rustic and ignorant individuals were won by his words, but also not a few of those who were distinguished by their wisdom, and who were able to discern the hidden meaning in those more common doctrines, as they were considered, which were in circulation, and which secret meaning enwrapped, so to speak, some more recondite' signification still? The Seriphian, in Plato, who reproaches Themistocles after he had become celebrated for his military skill, saying that his reputation was due not to his own merits, but to his good fortune in having been born in the most illustrious country in Greece, received from the good-natured Athenian, who saw that his native country did contribute to his renown, the following reply: "Neither would I, had I been a Seriphian, have been so distinguished as I am, nor would you have been a Themistocles, even if you had had the good fortune to be an Athenian!" And now, our Jesus, who is reproached with being born in a village, and that not a Greek one, nor belonging to any nation widely esteemed, and being despised as the son of a poor labouring woman, and as having on account of his poverty left his native country and hired himself out in Egypt, and being, to use the instance already quoted, not only a Seriphian, as it were, a native of a very small and undistinguished island, but even, so to speak, the meanest of the Seriphians, has yet been able to shake51 the whole inhabited world not only to a degree far above what Themistocles the Athenian ever did, but beyond what even Pythagoras, or Plato, or any other wise man in any part of the world whatever, or any prince or general, ever succeeded in doing.52

Chapter XXX.

Now, would not any one who investigated with ordinary care the nature of these facts, be struck with amazement at this man's victory?-with his complete success in surmounting by his reputation all causes that tended to bring him into disrepute, and with his superiority over all other illustrious individuals in the world? And yet it is a rate thing for distinguished men to succeed in acquiring a reputation for several things at once. For one man is admired on account of his wisdom, another for his military skill, and some of the Barbarians for their marvellous powers of incantation, and some for one quality, and others for another; but not many have been admired and acquired a reputation for many things at the same time; whereas this man, in addition to his other merits, is an object of admiration both for his wisdom, and for his miracles, and for his powers of government. For he persuaded some to withdraw themselves from their laws, and to secede to him, not as a tyrant would do, nor as a robber, who arms53 his followers against men; nor as a rich man, who bestows help upon those who come to him; nor as one of those who confessedly are deserving of censure; but as a teacher of the doctrine regarding the God of all things, and of the worship which belongs to Him, and of all moral precepts which are able to secure the favour of the Supreme God to him who orders his life in conformity therewith. Now, to Themistocles, or to any other man of distinction, nothing happened to prove a hindrance to their reputation; whereas to this man, besides what we have already enumerated, and which are enough to cover with dishonour the soul of a man even of the most noble nature, there was that apparently infamous death of

crucifixion, which was enough to efface his previously acquired glory, and to lead those who, as they who disavow his doctrine assert, were formerly deluded by him to abandon their delusion, and to pass condemnation upon their deceiver.

Chapter XXXI. And besides this, one may well wonder how it happened that the disciples-if, as the calumniators of Jesus say, they did not see Him after His resurrection from the dead, and were not persuaded of His divinity-were not afraid to endure the same sufferings with their Master, and to expose themselves to danger, and to leave their native country to teach, according to the desire of Jesus, the doctrine delivered to them by Him. For I think that no one who candidly examines the facts would say that these men devoted themselves to a life of danger for the sake of the doctrine of Jesus, without profound belief which He had wrought in their minds of its truth, not only teaching them to conform to His precepts, but others also, and to conform, moreover, when manifest destruction to life impended over him who ventured to introduce these new opinions into all places and before all audiences, and who could retain as his friend no human being who adhered to the former opinions and usages. For did not the disciples of Jesus see, when they ventured to prove not only to the Jews from their prophetic Scriptures that this is He who was spoken of by the prophets, but also to the other heathen nations, that He who was crucified yesterday or the day before underwent this death voluntarily on behalf of the human race,-that this was analogous to the case of those who have died for their country in order to remove pestilence, or barrenness, or tempests? For it is probable that there is in the nature of things, for certain mysterious tea-sons which are difficult to be understood by the multitude, such a virtue that one just man, dying a voluntary death for the common good, might be the means of removing wicked spirits, which are the cause of plagues, or barrenness, or tempests, or similar calamities. Let those, therefore, who would disbelieve the statement that Jesus died on the cross on behalf of men, say whether they also refuse to accept the many accounts current both among Greeks and Barbarians, of persons who have laid down their lives for the public advantage, in order to remove those evils which had fallen upon cities and countries? Or will they say that such events actually happened, but that no credit is to be attached to that account which makes this so-called man to have died to ensure the destruction of a mighty evil spirit, the ruler of evil spirits, who had held in subjection the souls of all men upon earth? And the disciples of Jesus, seeing this and much more (which, it is probable, they learned from Jesus in private), and being filled, moreover, with a divine power (since it was no mere poetical virgin that endowed them with strength and courage, but the true wisdom and understanding of God), exerted all their efforts "to become distinguished among all men," not only among the Argives, but among all the Greeks and Barbarians alike, and "so bear away for themselves a glorious renown."54

Chapter XXXII. But let us now return to where the Jew is introduced, speaking of the mother of Jesus, and saying that "when she was pregnant she was turned out of doors by the carpenter to whom she had been betrothed, as having been guilty of adultery, and that she bore a child to a certain soldier named Panthera; "and let us see whether those who have blindly concocted these fables about the adultery of the Virgin with Panthera, and her rejection by the carpenter, did not invent these stories to overturn His miraculous conception by the Holy Ghost: for they could have falsified the history in a different manner, on account of its extremely miraculous character, and not have admitted, as it were against their will, that Jesus was born of no ordinary human marriage. It was to be expected, indeed, that those who would not believe the miraculous birth of Jesus would

invent some falsehood. And their not doing this in a credible manner, but (their) preserving the fact that it was not by Joseph that the Virgin conceived Jesus, rendered the falsehood very palpable to those who can understand and detect such inventions. Is it at all agreeable to reason, that he who dared to do so much for the human race, in order that, as far as in him lay, all the Greeks and Barbarians, who were looking for divine condemnation, might depart from evil, and regulate their entire conduct in a manner pleasing to the Creator of the world, should not have had a miraculous birth, but one the vilest and most disgraceful of all? And I will ask of them as Greeks, and particularly of Celsus, who either holds or not the sentiments of Plato, and at any rate quotes them, whether He who sends souls down into the bodies of men, degraded Him who was to dare such mighty acts, and to teach so many men, and to reform so many from the mass of wickedness in the world, to a birth more disgraceful than any other, and did not rather introduce Him into the world through a lawful marriage? Or is it not more in conformity with reason, that every soul, for certain mysterious reasons (I speak now according to the opinion of Pythagoras, and Plato, and Empedocles, whom Celsus frequently names), is introduced into a body, and introduced according to its deserts and former actions? It is probable, therefore, that this soul also, which conferred more benefit by its residence in the flesh than that of many men (to avoid prejudice, I do not say "all"), stood in need of a body not only superior to others, but invested with all excellent qualities.

Chapter XXXIII.

Now if a particular soul, for certain mysterious reasons, is not deserving of being placed in the body of a wholly irrational being, nor yet in that of one purely rational, but is clothed with a monstrous body, so that reason cannot discharge its functions in one so fashioned, which has the head disproportioned to the other parts, and altogether too short; and another receives such a body that the soul is a little more rational than the other; and another still more so, the nature of the body counteracting to a greater or less degree the reception of the reasoning principle; why should there not be also some soul which receives an altogether miraculous body, possessing some qualities common to those of other men, so that it may be able to pass through life with them, but possessing also some quality of superiority, so that the soul may be able to remain untainted by sin? And if there be any truth in the doctrine of the physiognomists, whether Zopyrus, or Loxus, or Polemon, or any other who wrote on such a subject, and who profess to know in some wonderful way that all bodies are adapted to the habits of the souls, must there have been for that soul which was to dwell with miraculous power among men, and work mighty deeds, a body produced, as Celsus thinks, by an act of adultery between Panthera and the Virgin? ! Why, from such unhallowed intercourse there must rather have been brought forth some fool to do injury to mankind,-a teacher of licentiousness and wickedness, and other evils; and not of temperance, and righteousness, and the other virtues!

Chapter XXXIV. But it was, as the prophets also predicted, from a virgin that there was to be born, according to the promised sign, one who was to give His name to the fact, showing that at His birth God was to be with man. Now it seems to me appropriate to the character of a Jew to have quoted the prophecy of Isaiah, which says that Immanuel was to be born of a virgin. This, however, Celsus, who professes to know everything, has not done, either from ignorance or from an unwillingness (if he had read it and voluntarily passed it by in silence) to furnish an argument which might defeat his purpose. And the prediction runs thus: "And the Lord spake again unto Ahaz, saying, Ask thee a sign of the Lord thy God; ask it either in the depth or in the height above·

But Ahaz said, I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord. And he said, Hear ye now, O house of David; is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also? Therefore the Lord Himself shall give you a sign. Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call His name Immanuel, which is, being interpreted, God with us."55 And that it was from intentional malice that Celsus did not quote this prophecy, is clear to me from this, that although he makes numerous quotations from the Gospel according to Matthew, as of the star that appeared at the birth of Christ, and other miraculous occurrences, he has made no mention at all of this. Now, if a Jew should split words, and say that the words are not, "Lo, a virgin," but, "Lo, a young woman,"56 we reply that the word "Olmah"-which the Septuagint have rendered by "a virgin," and others by "a young woman"-occurs, as they say, in Deuteronomy, as applied to a "virgin," in the following connection: "If a damsel that is a virgin be betrothed unto an husband, and a man find her in the city, and lie with her; then ye shall bring them both out unto the gate of that city, and ye shall stone them with stones that they die; the damsel,57 because she cried not, being in the city; and the man, because he humbled his neighbour's wife."58 And again: "But if a man find a betrothed damsel in a field, and the man force her, and lie with her: then the man only that lay with her shall die: but unto the damsel59 ye shall do nothing; there is in her no sin worthy of death."

Chapter XXXV. But that we may not seem, because of a Hebrew word, to endeavour to persuade those who are unable to determine whether they ought to believe it or not, that the prophet spoke of this man being born of a virgin, because at his birth these words, "God with us," were uttered, let us make good our point from the words themselves. The Lord is related to have spoken to Ahaz thus: "Ask a sign for thyself from the Lord thy God, either in the depth or height above; "60 and afterwards the sign is given, Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son."61 What kind of sign, then, would that have been-a young woman who was not a virgin giving birth to a child? And which of the two is the more appropriate as the mother of Immanuel (i.e., "God with us"),-whether a woman who has had intercourse with a man, and who has conceived after the manner of women, or one who is still a pure and holy virgin? Surely it is appropriate only to the latter to produce a being at whose birth it is said, "God with us." And should he be so captious l as to say that it is to Ahaz that the command is addressed, "Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God," we shall ask in return, who in the times of Ahaz bore a son at whose birth the expression is made use of, "Immanuel," i.e., "God with us? "And if no one can be found. then manifestly what was said to Ahaz was said to the house of David, because it is written that the Saviour was born of the house of David according to the flesh; and this sign is said to be "in the depth or in the height," since "He that descended is the same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things."62 And these arguments I employ as against a Jew who believes in prophecy. Let Celsus now tell me, or any of those who think with him, with what meaning the prophet utters either these statements about the future, or the others which are contained in the prophecies? Is it with any foresight of the future or not? If with a foresight of the future, then the prophets were divinely inspired; if with no foresight of the future, let him explain the meaning of one who speaks thus boldly regarding the future, and who is an object of admiration among the Jews because of his prophetic powers.

Chapter XXXVI. And now, since we have touched upon the subject of the prophets, what we are about to advance will be useful not only to the Jews, who believe that they spake by divine inspiration, but also to the more candid among the Greeks. To these we say that we must

necessarily admit that the Jews had prophets, if they were to be kept together under that system of law which had been given them, and were to believe in the Creator of the world, as they had learned, and to be without pretexts, so far as the law was concerned, for apostatizing to the polytheism of the heathen· And we establish this necessity in the following manner. "For the nations," as it is written in the law of the Jews itself, "shall hearken unto observers of times, and diviners; "63 but to that people it is said: "But as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do."64 And to this is subjoined the promise: "A prophet shall the Lord thy God raise up unto thee from among thy brethren."65 Since, therefore, the heathen employ modes of divination either by oracles or by omens, or by birds, or by ventriloquists, or by those who profess the art of sacrifice, or by Chaldean genealogists-all which practices were forbidden to the Jews-this people, if they had no means of attaining a knowledge of futurity, being led by the passion common to humanity of ascertaining the future would have despised their own prophets, as not having in them any particle of divinity; and would not have accepted any prophet after Moses, nor committed their words to writing, but would have spontaneously betaken themselves to the divining usages of the heathen, or attempted to establish some such practices amongst themselves. There is therefore no absurdity in their prophets having uttered predictions even about events of no importance, to soothe those who desire such things, as when Samuel prophesies regarding three she-asses which were lost,66 or when mention is made in the third book of Kings respecting the sickness of a king's son.67 And why should not those who desired to obtain auguries from idols be severely rebuked by the administrators of the law among the Jews?-as Elijah is found rebuking Ahaziah, and saying, "Is it because there is not a God in Israel that ye go to inquire of Baalzebub, god of Ekron? "68

Chapter XXXVII.

I think, then, that it has been pretty well established not only that our Saviour was to be born of a virgin, but also that there were prophets among the Jews who uttered not merely general predictions about the future,-as, e.g., regarding Christ and the kingdoms of the world, and the events that were to happen to Israel, and those nations which were to believe on the Saviour, and many other things concerning Him,-but also prophecies respecting particular events; as, for instance, how the asses of Kish, which were lost, were to be discovered, and regarding the sickness which had fallen upon the son of the king of Israel, and any other recorded circumstance of a similar kind. But as a further answer to the Greeks, who do not believe in the birth of Jesus from a virgin, we have to say that the Creator has shown, by the generation of several kinds of animals, that what He has done in the instance of one animal, He could do, if it pleased Him, in that of others, and also of man himself. For it is ascertained that there is a certain female animal which has no intercourse with the male (as writers on animals say is the case with vultures), and that this animal, without sexual intercourse, preserves the succession of race. What incredibility, therefore, is there in supposing that, if God wished to send a divine teacher to the human race, He caused Him to be born in some manner different from the common!69 Nay, according to the Greeks themselves, all men were not born of a man and woman. For if the world has been created, as many even of the Greeks are pleased to admit, then the first men must have been produced not from sexual intercourse, but from the earth, in which spermatic elements existed; which, however, I consider more incredible than that Jesus was born like other men, so far as regards the half of his birth. And there is no absurdity in employing Grecian histories to answer

Greeks, with the view of showing that we are not the only persons who have recourse to miraculous narratives of this kind. For some have thought fit, not in regard to ancient and heroic narratives, but in regard to events of very recent occurrence, to relate as a possible thing that Plato was the son of Amphictione, Ariston being prevented from having marital intercourse with his wife until she had given birth to him with whom she was pregnant by Apollo. And yet these are veritable fables, which have led to the invention of such stories concerning a man whom they regarded as possessing greater wisdom and power than the multitude, and as having received the beginning of his corporeal substance from better and diviner elements than others, because they thought that this was appropriate to persons who were too great to be human beings. And since Celsus has introduced the Jew disputing with Jesus, and tearing in pieces, as he imagines, the fiction of His birth from a virgin, comparing the Greek fables about Danae, and Melanippe, and Auge, and Antiope, our answer is, that such language becomes a buffoon, land not one who is writing in a serious tone.

Chapter XXXVIII.

But, moreover, taking the history, contained in the Gospel according to Matthew, of our Lord's descent into Egypt, he refuses to believe the miraculous circumstances attending it, viz., either that the angel gave the divine intimation, or that our Lord's quitting Judea and residing in Egypt was an event of any significance; but he invents something altogether different, admitting somehow the miraculous works done by Jesus, by means of which He induced the multitude to follow Him as the Christ. And yet he desires to throw discredit on them, as being done by help of magic and not by divine power; for he asserts "that he (Jesus), having been brought up as an illegitimate child, and having served for hire in Egypt, and then coming to the knowledge of certain miraculous powers, returned from thence to his own country, and by means of those powers proclaimed himself a god." Now I do not understand how a magician should exert himself to teach a doctrine which persuades us always to act as if God were to judge every man for his deeds; and should have trained his disciples, whom he was to employ as the ministers of his doctrine, in the same belief. For did the latter make an impression upon their hearers, after they had been so taught to work miracles; or was it without the aid of these? The assertion, therefore, that they did no miracles at all, but that, after yielding their belief to arguments which were not at all convincing, like the wisdom of Grecian dialectics,70 they gave themselves up to the task of teaching the new doctrine to those persons among whom they happened to take up their abode, is altogether absurd. For in what did they place their confidence when they taught the doctrine and disseminated the new opinions? But if they indeed wrought miracles, then how can it be believed that magicians exposed themselves to such hazards to introduce a doctrine which forbade the practice of magic?

Chapter XXXIX.

I do not think it necessary to grapple with an argument advanced not in a serious but in a scoffing spirit, such as the following: "If the mother of Jesus was beautiful, then the god whose nature is not to love a corruptible body, had intercourse with her because she was beautiful; "or, "It was improbable that the god would entertain a passion for her, because she was neither rich nor of royal rank, seeing no one, even of her neighbours, knew her." And it is in the same scoffing spirit that he adds: "When hated by her husband, and turned out of doors, she was not saved by divine

power, nor was her story believed. Such things, he says, have no connection with the kingdom of heaven." In what respect does such language differ from that of those who pour abuse on others on the public streets, and whose words are unworthy of any serious attention?

Chapter XL.

After these assertions, he takes from the Gospel of Matthew, and perhaps also from the other Gospels, the account of the dove alighting upon our Saviour at His baptism by John, and desires to throw discredit upon the statement, alleging that the narrative is a fiction. Having completely disposed, as he imagined, of the story of our Lord's birth from a virgin, he does not proceed to deal in an orderly manner with the accounts that follow it; since passion and hatred observe no order, but angry and vindictive men slander those whom they hate, as the feeling comes upon them, being prevented by their passion from arranging their accusations on a careful and orderly plan. For if he had observed a proper arrangement, he would have taken up the Gospel, and, with the view of assailing it, would. have objected to the first narrative, then passed on to the second, and so on to the others. But now, after the birth from a virgin, this Celsus, who professes to be acquainted with all our history, attacks the account of the appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove at the baptism. He then, after that, tries to throw discredit upon the prediction that our Lord was to come into the world. In the next place, he runs away to what immediately follows the narrative of the birth of Jesus-the account of the star, and of the wise men who came from the east to worship the child. And you yourself may find, if you take the trouble, many confused statements made by Celsus throughout his whole book; so that even in this account he may, by those who know how to observe and require an orderly method of arrangement, be convicted of great rashness and boasting, in having inscribed upon his work the title of A True Discourse,-a thing which is never done by a learned philosopher. For Plato says, that it is not an indication of an intelligent man to make strong assertions respecting those matters which are somewhat uncertain; and the celebrated Chrysippus even, who frequently states the reasons by which he is decided, refers us to those whom we shall find to be abler speakers than himself. This man, however, who is wiser than those already named, and than all the other Greeks, agreeably to his assertion of being acquainted with everything, inscribed upon his book the words, A True Discourse!

Chapter XLI.

But, that we may not have the appearance of intentionally passing by his charges through inability to refute them, we have resolved to answer each one of them separately according to our ability, attending not to the connection and sequence of the nature of the things themselves, but to the arrangement of the subjects as they occur in this book. Let us therefore notice what he has to say by way of impugning the bodily appearance of the Holy Spirit to our Saviour in the form of a dove. And it is a Jew who addresses the following language to Him whom we acknowledge to be our Lord Jesus: "When you were bathing," says the Jew, "beside John, you say that what had the appearance of a bird from the air alighted upon you." And then this same Jew of his, continuing his interrogations, asks, "What credible witness beheld this appearance? or who heard a voice from heaven declaring you to be the Son of God? What proof is there of it, save your own assertion, and the statement of another of those individuals who have been punished along with you? "

Chapter XLII.

Before we begin our reply, we have to remark that the endeavour to show, with regard to almost any history, however true, that it actually occurred, and to produce an intelligent conception regarding it, is one of the most difficult undertakings that can be attempted, and is in some instances an impossibility. For suppose that some one were to assert that there never had been any Trojan war, chiefly on account of the impossible narrative interwoven therewith, about a certain Achilles being the son of a sea-goddess Thetis and of a man Peleus, or Sarpedon being the son of Zeus, or Ascalaphus and Ialmenus the sons of Ares, or Aeneas that of Aphrodite, how should we prove that such was the case, especially under the weight of the fiction attached, I know not how, to the universally prevalent opinion that there was really a war in Ilium between Greeks and Trojans? And suppose, also, that some one disbelieved the story of Oedipus and Jocasta, and of their two sons Eteocles and Polynices, because the sphinx, a kind of half-virgin, was introduced into the narrative, how should we demonstrate the reality of such a thing? And in like manner also with the history of the Epigoni, although there is no such marvellous event interwoven with it, or with the return of the Heracleidae, or countless other historical events. But he who deals candidly with histories, and would wish to keep himself also from being imposed upon by them, will exercise his judgment as to what statements he will give his assent to, and what he will accept figuratively, seeking to discover the meaning of the authors of such inventions, and from what statements he will withhold his belief, as having been written for the gratification of certain individuals. And we have said this by way of anticipation respecting the whole history related in the Gospels concerning Jesus, not as inviting men of acuteness to a simple and unreasoning faith, but wishing to show that there is need of candour in those who are to read, and of much investigation, and, so to speak, of insight into the meaning of the writers, that the object with which each event has been recorded may be discovered.

Chapter XLIII.

We shall therefore say, in the first place, that if he who disbelieves the appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove had been described as an Epicurean, or a follower of Democritus, or a Peripatetic, the statement would have been in keeping with the character of such an objector. But now even this Celsus, wisest of all men, did not perceive that it is to a Jew, who believes more incredible things contained in the writings of the prophets than the narrative of the appearance of the dove, that he attributes such an objection! For one might say to the Jew, when expressing his disbelief of the appearance, and thinking to assail it as a fiction, "How are you able to prove, sir, that the Lord spake to Adam, or to Eve, or to Cain, or to Noah, or to Abraham, or to Isaac, or to Jacob, those words which He is recorded to have spoken to these men? "And, to compare history with history, I would say to the Jew, "Even your own Ezekiel writes, saying, `The heavens were opened, and I saw a vision of God.'71 After relating which, he adds, `This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord; and He said to me, "'72 etc. Now, if what is related of Jesus be false, since we cannot, as you suppose, clearly prove it to be true, it being seen or heard by Himself alone, and, as you appear to have observed, also by one of those who were punished, why should we not rather say that Ezekiel also was dealing in the marvellous when he said, "The heavens were opened," etc.? Nay, even Isaiah asserts, "I saw the Lord of hosts sitting on a throne, high and lifted up; and the seraphim stood round about it: the one had six wings, and the other had six wings."73 How can we tell whether he really saw them or not? Now, O Jew, you have believed these visions to be true, and to have been not only shown to the prophet by a diviner Spirit, but

also to have been both spoken and recorded by the same. And who is the more worthy of belief, when declaring that the heavens were opened before him, and that he heard a voice, or beheld the Lord of Sabaoth sitting upon a throne high and lifted up,-whether Isaiah and Ezekiel or Jesus? Of the former, indeed, no work has been found equal to those of the latter; whereas the good deeds of Jesus have not been confined solely to the period of His tabernacling in the flesh, but up to the present time His power still produces conversion and amelioration of life in those who believe in God through Him. And a manifest proof that these things are done by His power, is the fact that, although, as He Himself said, and as is admitted, there are not labourers enough to gather in the harvest of souls, there really is nevertheless such a great harvest of those who are gathered together and conveyed into the everywhere existing threshing-floors and Churches of God.

Chapter XLIV. And with these arguments I answer the Jew, not disbelieving, I who am a Christian, Ezekiel and Isaiah, but being very desirous to show, on the footing of our common belief, that this man is far more worthy of credit than they are when He says that He beheld such a sight, and, as is probable, related to His disciples the vision which He saw, and told them of the voice which He heard. But another party might object, that not all those who have narrated the appearance of the dove and the voice from heaven heard the accounts of these things from Jesus, but that that Spirit which taught Moses the history of events before his own time, beginning with the creation, and descending down to Abraham his father, taught also the writers of the Gospel the miraculous occurrence which took place at the time of Jesus' baptism. And he who is adorned with the spiritual gift,74 called the "word of wisdom," will explain also the reason of the heavens opening, and the dove appearing, and why the Holy Spirit appeared to Jesus in the form of no other living thing than that of a dove. But our present subject does not require us to explain this, our purpose being to show that Celsus displayed no sound judgment in representing a Jew as disbelieving, on such grounds, a fact which has greater probability in its favour than many events in which he firmly reposes confidence.

Chapter XLV. And I remember on one occasion, at a disputation held with certain Jews who were reputed learned men, having employed the following argument in the presence of many judges: "Tell me, sirs," I said, "since there are two individuals who have visited the human race, regarding whom are related marvellous works surpassing human power-Moses, viz., your own legislator, who wrote about himself, and Jesus our teacher, who has left no writings regarding Himself, but to whom testimony is borne by the disciples in the Gospels-what are the grounds for deciding that Moses is to be believed as speaking the truth, although the Egyptians slander him as a sorcerer, and as appearing to have wrought his mighty works by jugglery, while Jesus is not to be believed because you are His accusers? And yet there are nations which bear testimony in favour of both: the Jews to Moses; and the Christians, who do not deny the prophetic mission of Moses, but proving from that very source the truth of the statement regarding Jesus, accept as true the miraculous circumstances related of Him by His disciples. Now, if ye ask us for the reasons of our faith in Jesus, give yours first for believing in Moses, who lived before Him, and then we shall give you ours for accepting the latter. But if you draw back, and shirk a demonstration, then we, following your own example, decline for the present to offer any demonstration likewise; Nevertheless, admit that ye have no proof to offer for Moses, and then listen to our defence of Jesus derived from the law and the prophets. And now observe what is almost incredible! It is

shown from the declarations concerning Jesus, contained in the law and the prophets, that both Moses and the prophets were truly prophets of God."

Chapter XLVI. For the law and the prophets are full of marvels similar to those recorded of Jesus at His baptism, viz., regarding the dove and the voice from heaven. And I think the wonders wrought by Jesus are a proof of the Holy Spirit's having then appeared in the form of a dove, although Celsus, from a desire to cast discredit upon them, alleges that He performed only what He had learned among the Egyptians. And I shall refer not only to His miracles, but, as is proper, to those also of the apostles of Jesus. For they could not without the help of miracles and wonders have prevailed on those who heard their new doctrines and new teachings to abandon their national usages, and to accept their instructions at the danger to themselves even of death. And there are still preserved among Christians traces of that Holy Spirit which appeared in the form of a dove. They expel evil spirits, and perform many cures, and foresee certain events, according to the will of the Logos. And although Celsus, or the Jew whom he has introduced, may treat with mockery what I am going to say, I shall say it nevertheless,-that many have been converted to Christianity as if against their will, some sort of spirit having suddenly transformed their minds from a hatred of the doctrine to a readiness to die in its defence, and having appeared to them either in a waking vision or a dream of the night. Many such instances have we known, which, if we were to commit to writing, although they were seen and witnessed by ourselves, we should afford great occasion for ridicule to unbelievers, who would imagine that we, like those whom they suppose to have invented such things, had ourselves also done the same. But God is witness of our conscientious desire, not by false statements, but by testimonies of different kinds, to establish the divinity of the doctrine of Jesus. And as it is a Jew who is perplexed about the account of the Holy Spirit having descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove, we would say to him, "Sir, who is it that says in Isaiah, `And now the Lord hath sent me and His Spirit?"'75 In which sentence, as the meaning is doubtful-viz., whether the Father and the Holy Spirit sent Jesus, or the Father sent both Christ and the Holy Spirit-the latter is correct. For, because the Saviour was sent, afterwards the Holy Spirit was sent also, that the prediction of the prophet might be fulfilled; and as it was necessary that the fulfilment of the prophecy should be known to posterity, the disciples of Jesus for that reason committed the result to writing.

Chapter XLVII.

I would like to say to Celsus, who represents the Jew as accepting somehow John as a Baptist, who baptized Jesus, that the existence of John the Baptist, baptizing for the remission of sins, is related by one who lived no great length of time after John and Jesus. For in the 18th book of his Antiquities76 of the Jews, Josephus bears witness to John as having been a Baptist, and as promising purification to those who underwent the rite. Now this writer, although not believing in Jesus as the Christ, in seeking after the cause of the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, whereas he ought to have said that the conspiracy against Jesus was the cause of these calamities befalling the people, since they put to death Christ, who was a prophet, says nevertheless-being, although against his will, not far from the truth-that these disasters happened to the Jews as a punishment for the death of James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus (called Christ),-the Jews having put him to death, although he was a man most distinguished for his justice.77 Paul, a genuine disciple of Jesus, says that he regarded this James as a brother of the Lord, not so much on account of their relationship by blood, or of their being brought up together,

as because of his virtue and doctrine.78 If, then, he says that it was on account of James that the desolation of Jerusalem was made to overtake the Jews, how should it not be more in accordance with reason to say that it happened on account (of the death) of Jesus Christ, of whose divinity so many Churches are witnesses, composed of those who have been convened from a flood of sins, and who have joined themselves to the Creator, and who refer all their actions to His good pleasure.

Chapter XLVIII.

Although the Jew, then, may offer no defence for himself in the instances of Ezekiel and Isaiah, when we compare the opening of the heavens to Jesus; and the voice that was heard by Him, to the similar cases which we find recorded in Ezekiel and Isaiah, or any other of the prophets, we nevertheless, so far as we can, shall support our position, maintaining that, as it is a matter of belief that in a dream impressions have been brought before the minds of many, some relating to divine things, and others to future events of this life, and this either with clearness or in an enigmatic manner,-a fact which is manifest to all who accept the doctrine of providence; so how is it absurd to say that the mind which could receive impressions in a dream should be impressed also in a waking vision, for the benefit either of him on whom the impressions are made, or of those who are to hear the account of them from him? And as in a dream we fancy that we hear, and that the organs of hearing are actually impressed, and that we see with our eyes-although neither the bodily organs of sight nor hearing are affected, but it is the mind alone which has these sensations-so there is no absurdity in believing that similar things occurred to the prophets, when it is recorded that they witnessed occurrences of a rather wonderful kind, as when they either heard the words of the Lord or beheld the heavens opened. For I do not suppose that the visible heaven was actually opened, and its physical structure divided, in order that Ezekiel might be able to record such an occurrence. Should not, therefore, the same be believed of the Saviour by every intelligent hearer of the Gospels?-although such an occurrence may be a stumbling-block to the simple, who in their simplicity would set the whole world in movement, and split in sunder the compact and mighty body of the whole heavens. But he who examines such matters more profoundly will say, that there being, as the Scripture calls it, a kind of general divine perception which the blessed man alone knows how to discover, according to the saying of Solomon, "Thou shall find the knowledge of God; "79 and as there are various forms of this perceptive power, such as a faculty of vision which can naturally see things that are better than bodies, among which are ranked the cherubim and seraphim; and a faculty of hearing which can perceive voices which have not their being in the air; and a sense of taste which can make use of living bread that has come down from heaven, and that giveth life unto the world; and so also a sense of smelling, which scents such things as leads Paul to say that he is a sweet savour of Christ unto God;80 and a sense of touch, by which John says that he "handled with his hands of the Word of life; "81 -the blessed prophets having discovered this divine perception, and seeing and hearing in this divine manner, and tasting likewise, and smelling, so to speak, with no sensible organs of perception, and laying hold on the Logos by faith, so that a healing effluence from it comes upon them, saw in this manner what they record as having seen, and heard what they say they heard, and were affected in a similar manner to what they describe when eating the roll of a book that was given them.82 And so also Isaac smelled the savour of his son's divine garments,83 and added to the spiritual blessing these words: "See, the savour of my son is as the savour of a full field which the

Lord blessed."84 And similarly to this, and more as a matter to be understood by the mind than to be perceived by the senses, Jesus touched the leper,85 to cleanse him, as I think, in a twofold sense,-freeing him not only, as the multitude heard, from the visible leprosy by visible contact, but also from that other leprosy, by His truly divine touch. It is in this way, accordingly, that John testifies when he says, "I beheld the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove, and it abode upon Him. And I knew Him not; but He that sent me to baptize with water, the same said to me, Upon whom you will see the Spirit descending, and abiding on Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost And I saw, and bear witness, that this is the Son of God."86 Now it was to Jesus that the heavens were opened; and on that occasion no one except John is recorded to have seen them opened. But with respect to this opening of the heavens, the Saviour, foretelling to His disciples that it would happen, and that they would see it, says, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Ye shall see the heavens opened, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man."87 And so Paul was carried away into the third heaven, having previously seen it opened, since he was a disciple of Jesus. It does not, however, belong to our present object to explain why Paul says, "Whether in the body, I know not; or whether out of the body, I know not: God knoweth."88 But I shall add to my argument even those very points which Celsus imagines, viz., that Jesus Himself related the account of the opening of the heavens, and the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him at the Jordan in the form of a dove, although the Scripture does not assert that He said that He saw it. For this great man did not perceive that it was not in keeping with Him who commanded His disciples on the occasion of the vision on the mount, "Tell what ye have seen to no man, until the Son of man he risen from the dead,"89 to have related to His disciples what was seen and heard by John at the Jordan. For it may be observed as a trait of the character of Jesus, that He on all occasions avoided unnecessary talk about Himself; and on that account said, "If I speak of Myself, My witness is not true."90 And since He avoided unnecessary talk about Himself, and preferred to show by acts rather than words that He was the Christ, the Jews for that reason said to Him, "If Thou art the Christ, tell us plainly."91 And as it is a Jew who, in the work of Celsus, uses the language to Jesus regarding the appearance of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, "This is your own testimony, unsupported save by one of those who were sharers of your punishment, whom you adduce," it is necessary for us to show him that such a statement is not appropriately placed in the mouth of a Jew. For the Jews do not connect John with Jesus, nor the punishment of John with that of Christ. And by this instance, this man who boasts of universal knowledge is convicted of not knowing what words he ought to ascribe to a Jew engaged in a disputation with Jesus.

Chapter XLIX.

After this he wilfully sets aside, I know not why, the strongest evidence in confirmation of the claims of Jesus, viz., that His coming was predicted by the Jewish prophets-Moses, and those who succeeded as well as preceded that legislator-from inability, as I think, to meet the argument that neither the Jews nor any other heretical sect refuse to believe that Christ was the subject of prophecy. But perhaps he was unacquainted with the prophecies relating to Christ. For no one who was acquainted with the statements of the Christians, that many prophets foretold the advent of the Saviour, would have ascribed to a Jew sentiments which it would have better befitted a Samaritan or a Sadducee to utter; nor would the Jew in the dialogue have expressed himself in language like the following: "But my prophet once declared in Jerusalem, that the Son of God will

come as the Judge of the righteous and the Punisher of the wicked." Now it is not one of the prophets merely who predicted the advent of Christ. But although the Samaritans and Sadducees, who receive the books of Moses alone, would say that there were contained in them predictions regarding Christ, yet certainly not in Jerusalem, which is not even mentioned in the times of Moses, was the prophecy uttered. It were indeed to be desired, that all the accusers of Christianity were equally ignorant with Celsus, not only of the facts, but of the bare letter of Scripture, and would so direct their assaults against it, that their arguments might not have the least available influence in shaking, I do not say the faith, but the little faith of unstable and temporary believers. A Jew, however, would not admit that any prophet used the expression, "The 'Son of God' will come; "for the term which they employ is, "The 'Christ of God' will come." And many a time indeed do they directly interrogate us about the "Son of God," saying that no such being exists, or was made the subject of prophecy. We do not of course assert that the "Son of God" is not the subject of prophecy; but we assert that he most inappropriately attributes to the Jewish disputant, who would not allow that He was, such language as, "My prophet once declared in Jerusalem that the 'Son of God' will come."

Chapter L. In the next place, as if the only event predicted were this, that He was to be "the Judge of the righteous and the Punisher of the wicked," and as if neither the place of His birth, nor the sufferings which He was to endure at the hands of the Jews, nor His resurrection, nor the wonderful works which He was to perform, had been made the subject of prophecy, he continues "Why should it be you alone, rather than innumerable others, who existed after the prophecies were published, to whom these predictions are applicable? "And desiring, I know not how, to suggest to others the possibility of the notion that they themselves were the persons referred to by the prophets, he says that "some, carried away by enthusiasm, and others having gathered a multitude of followers, give out that the Son of God is come down from heaven." Now we have not ascertained that such occurrences are admitted to have taken place among the Jews. we have to remark then, in the first place, that many of the prophets have uttered predictions! in all kinds of ways92 regarding Christ; some by means of dark sayings, others in allegories or in some other manner, and some also in express words. And as in what follows he says, in the character of the Jew addressing the converts from his own nation, and repeating emphatically and malevolently, that "the prophecies referred to the events of his life may also suit other events as well," we shall state a few of them out of a greater number; and with respect to these, any one who chooses may say what he thinks fitted to ensure a refutation of them, and which may turn away intelligent believers from the faith.

Chapter LI.

Now the Scripture speaks, respecting the place of the Saviour's birth-that the Ruler was to come forth from Bethlehem-in the following manner: "And thou Bethlehem, house of Ephrata, art not the least among the thousands of Judah: for out of thee shall He come forth unto Me who is to be Ruler in Israel; and His goings forth have been of old, from everlasting."93 Now this prophecy could not suit any one of those who, as Celsus' Jew says, were fanatics and mob-leaders, and who gave out that they had come from heaven, unless it were clearly shown that He had been born in Bethlehem, or, as another might say, had come forth from Bethlehem to be the leader of the people. With respect to the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, if any one desires, after the prophecy of Micah and after the history recorded in the Gospels by the disciples of Jesus, to have additional

evidence from other sources, let him know that, in conformity with the narrative in the Gospel regarding His birth, there is shown at Bethlehem the cave94 where He was born, and the manger in the cave where He was wrapped in swaddling-clothes. And this sight is greatly talked of in surrounding places, even among the enemies of the faith, it being said that in this cave was born that Jesus who is worshipped and reverenced by the Christians.95 Moreover, I am of opinion that, before the advent of Christ, the chief priests and scribes of the people, on account of the distinctness and clearness of this prophecy, taught that in Bethlehem the Christ was to be born. And this opinion had prevailed also extensively among the Jews; for which reason it is related that Herod, on inquiring at the chief priests and scribes of the people, heard from them that the Christ was to be born in Bethlehem of Judea, "whence David was." It is stated also in the Gospel according to John, that the Jews declared that the Christ was to be born in Bethlehem, "whence David was."96 But after our Lord's coming, those who busied themselves with overthrowing the belief that the place of His birth had been the subject of prophecy from the beginning, withheld such teaching from the people; acting in a similar manner to those individuals who won over those soldiers of the guard stationed around the tomb who had seen Him arise from the dead, and who instructed these eye-witnesses to report as follows: "Say that His disciples, while we slept, came and stole Him away. And if this come to the governor's ears, we shall persuade him, and secure you."97

Chapter LII.

Strife and prejudice are powerful instruments in leading men to disregard even those things which are abundantly clear; so that they who have somehow become familiar with certain opinions, which have deeply imbued their minds, and stamped them with a certain character, will not give them up. For a man will abandon his habits in respect to other things, although it may be difficult for him to tear himself from them, more easily than he will surrender his opinions. Nay, even the former are not easily put aside by those who have become accustomed to them; and so neither houses, nor cities, nor villages, nor intimate acquaintances, are willingly forsaken when we are prejudiced in their favour. This, therefore, was a reason why many of the Jews at that time disregarded the clear testimony of the prophecies, and miracles which Jesus wrought, and of the sufferings which He is related to have endured. And that human nature is thus affected, will be manifest to those who observe that those who have once been prejudiced in favour of the most contemptible and paltry traditions of their ancestors and fellow-citizens, with difficulty lay them aside. For example, no one could easily persuade an Egyptian to despise what he had learned from his fathers, so as no longer to consider this or that irrational animal as a god, or not to guard against eating, even under the penalty of death, of the flesh of such an animal. Now, if in carrying our examination of this subject to a considerable length, we have enumerated the points respecting Bethlehem, and the prophecy regarding it, we consider that we were obliged to do this, by way of defence against those who would assert that if the prophecies current among the Jews l regarding Jesus were so clear as we represent them, why did they not at His coming give in their adhesion to His doctrine, and betake them selves to the better life pointed out by Him? Let no one, however, bring such a reproach against believers, since he may see that reasons of no light weight are assigned by those who have learned to state them, for their faith in Jesus.

Chapter LIII. And if we should ask for a second prophecy, which may appear to us to have a clear reference to Jesus, we would quote that which was written by Moses very many years before the

advent of Christ, when he makes Jacob, on his departure from this life, to have uttered predictions regarding each of his sons, and to have said of Judah along with the others: "The ruler will not fail from Judah, and the governor from his loins, until that which is reserved for him come."98 Now, any one meeting with this prophecy, which is in reality much older than Moses, so that one who was not a believer might suspect that it was not written by him, would be surprised that Moses should be able to predict that the princes of the Jews, seeing there are among them twelve tribes, should be born of the tribe of Judah, and should be the rulers of the people; for which reason also the whole nation are called Jews, deriving their name from the ruling tribe. And, in the second place, one who candidly considers the prophecy, would be surprised how, after declaring that the rulers and governors of the people were to proceed from the tribe of Judah, he should determine also the limit of their rule, saying that "the ruler should not fail from Judah, nor the governor from his loins, until there should come that which was reserved for him, and that He is the expectation of the Gentiles."99 For He came for whom these things were reserved, viz., the Christ of God, the ruler of the promises of God. And manifestly He is the only one among those who preceded, and, I might make bold to say, among those also who followed Him, who was the expectation of the Gentiles; for converts from among all the Gentile nations have believed on God through Him, and that in conformity with the prediction of Isaiah, that in His name the Gentiles had hoped: "In Thy name shall the Gentiles hope."100 And this man said also to those who are in prison, as every man is a captive to the chains of his sins, "Come forth; "and to the ignorant, "Come into the light: "these things also having been thus foretold: "I have given Thee for a covenant of the people, to establish the earth, to cause to inherit the desolate heritage; saying to the prisoners, Go forth; and to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves."101 And we may see at the appearing of this man, by means of those who everywhere throughout the world have reposed a simple faith in Him, the fulfilment of this prediction: "They shall feed in the ways, and their pastures shall be in all the beaten tracks."102

Chapter LIV. And since Celsus, although professing to know all about the Gospel, reproaches the Saviour because of His sufferings, saying that He received no assistance from the Father, or was unable to aid Himself; we have to state that His sufferings were the subject of prophecy, along with the cause of them; because it was for the benefit of mankind that He should die on their account,103 and should suffer stripes because of His condemnation. It was predicted, moreover, that some from among the Gentiles would come to the knowledge of Him (among whom the prophets are not included); and it had been declared that He would be seen in a form which is deemed dishonourable among men. The words of prophecy run thus: "Lo, my Servant shall have understanding, and shall be exalted and glorified, and raised exceedingly high. In like manner, many shall be astonished at Thee; so Thy form shall be in no reputation among men, and Thy glory among the sons of men. Lo, many nations shall marvel because of Him; and kings shall close their mouths: because they, to whom no message about Him was sent, shall see Him; and they who have not heard of Him, shall have knowledge of Him."104 "Lord, who hath believed our report? and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We have reported, as a child before Him, as a root in a thirsty ground. He has no form nor glory; and we beheld Him, and He had not any form nor beauty: but His appearance was without honour, and deficient more than that of all men. He was a man under suffering, and who knew how to bear sickness: because His countenance was averted, He was treated with disrespect, and was made of no account. This man bears our sins, and suffers pain on our behalf; and we regarded Him as in trouble, and in suffering, and as

ill-treated. But He was wounded for our sins, and bruised for our iniquities. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him; by His stripes we were healed. We all, like sheep, wandered from the way. A man wandered in his way, and the Lord delivered Him on account of our sins; and He, because of His evil treatment, opens not His mouth. As a sheep was He led to slaughter; and as a lamb before her shearer is dumb, so He opens not His mouth. In His humiliation His judgment was taken away. And who shall describe His generation? because His life is taken away from the earth; because of the iniquities of My people was He led unto death."105

Chapter LV.

Now I remember that, on one occasion, at a disputation held with certain Jews, who were reckoned wise men, I quoted these prophecies; to which my Jewish opponent replied, that these predictions bore reference to the whole people, regarded as one individual, and as being in a state of dispersion and suffering, in order that many proselytes might be gained, on account of the dispersion of the Jews among numerous heathen nations. And in this way he explained the words, "Thy form shall be of no reputation among men; "and then, "They to whom no message was sent respecting him shall see; "and the expression, "A man under suffering." Many arguments were employed on that occasion during the discussion to prove that these predictions regarding one particular person were not rightly applied by them to the whole nation. And I asked to what character the expression would be appropriate, "This man bears our sins, and suffers pain on our behalf; "and this, "But He was wounded for our sins, and bruised for our iniquities; "and to whom the expression properly belonged, "By His stripes were we healed." For it is manifest that it is they who had been sinners, and had been healed by the Saviour's sufferings (whether belonging to the Jewish nation or converts from the Gentiles), who use such language in the writings of the prophet who foresaw these events, and who, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, appiled these words to a person. But we seemed to press them hardest with the expression, "Because of the iniquities of My people was He led away unto death." For if the people, according to them, are the subject of the prophecy, how is the man said to be led away to death because of the iniquities of the people of God, unless he be a different person from that people of God? And who is this person save Jesus Christ, by whose stripes they who believe on Him are healed, when "He had spoiled the principalities and powers (that were over us), and had made a show of them openly on His cross? "106 At another time we may explain the several parts of the prophecy, leaving none of them unexamined. But these matters have been treated at greater length, necessarily as I think, on account of the language of the Jew, as quoted in the work of Celsus.

Chapter LVI.

Now it escaped the notice of Celsus, and of the Jew whom he has introduced, and of all who are not believers in Jesus, that the prophecies speak of two advents of Christ: the former characterized by human suffering and humility, in order that Christ, being with men, might make known the way that leads to God, and might leave no man in this life a ground of excuse, in saying that he knew not of the judgment to come; and the latter, distinguished only by glory and divinity, having no element of human infirmity intermingled with its divine greatness. To quote the prophecies at length would be tedious; and I deem it sufficient for the present to quote a part of the Psalms 45, which has this inscription, in addition to others, "A Psalm for the Beloved," where God is evidently addressed in these words: "Grace is poured into Thy lips: therefore God will bless

Thee for ever and ever. Gird Thy sword on Thy thigh, O mighty One, with Thy beauty and Thy majesty. And stretch forth, and ride prosperously, and reign, because of Thy truth, and meekness, and righteousness; and Thy right hand shall lead Thee marvellously. Thine arrows are pointed, O mighty One; the people will fall under Thee in the heart of the enemies of the King."107 But attend carefully to what follows, where He is called God: "For Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated iniquity: therefore God, even Thy God, hath anointed Thee with the oil of gladness above Thy fellows."108 And observe that the prophet, speaking familiarly to God, whose "throne is for ever and ever," and "a sceptre of righteousness the sceptre of His kingdom," says that this God has been anointed by a God who was His God, and anointed, because more than His fellows He had loved righteousness and hated iniquity. And I remember that I pressed the Jew, who was deemed a learned man, very hard with this passage; and he, being perplexed about it, gave such an answer as was in keeping with his Judaistic views, saying that the words, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of Thy kingdom," are spoken of the God of all things; and these, "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore Thy God hath anointed Thee," etc., refer to the Messiah.109

Chapter LVII. The Jew, moreover, in the treatise, addresses the Saviour thus: "If you say that every man, born according to the decree of Divine Providence, is a son of God, in what respect should you differ from another? "In reply to whom we say, that every man who, as Paul expresses it, is no longer under fear, as a schoolmaster, but who chooses good for its own sake, is "a son of God; "but this man is distinguished far and wide above every man who is called, on account of his virtues, a son of God, seeing He is, as it were, a kind of source and beginning of all such. The words of Paul are as follow: "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father."110 But, according to the Jew of Celsus, "countless individuals will convict Jesus of falsehood, alleging that those predictions which were spoken of him were intended of them." We are not aware, indeed, whether Celsus knew of any who, after coming into this world, and having desired to act as Jesus did, declared themselves to be also the "sons of God," or the "power" of God. But since it is in the spirit of truth that we examine each passage, we shall mention that there was a certain Theudas among the Jews before the birth of Christ, who gave himself out as some great one, after whose death his deluded followers were completely dispersed. And after him, in the days of the census, when Jesus appears to have been born, one Judas, a Galilean, gathered around him many of the Jewish people, saying he was a wise man, and a teacher of certain new doctrines. And when he also had paid the penalty of his rebellion, his doctrine was overturned, having taken hold of very few persons indeed, and these of the very humblest condition. And after the times of Jesus, Dositheus the Samaritan also wished to persuade the Samaritans that he was the Christ predicted by Moses; and he appears to have gained over some to his views. But it is not absurd, in quoting the extremely wise observation of that Gamaliel named in the book of Acts, to show how those persons above mentioned were strangers to the promise, being neither "sons of God" nor "powers" of God, whereas Christ Jesus was truly the Son of God. Now Gamaliel, in the passage referred to, said: "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought" (as also did the designs of those men already mentioned after their death); "but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow this doctrine, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."111 There was also Simon the Samaritan magician, who wished to draw away certain by his magical arts. And on that

occasion he was successful; but now-a-days it is impossible to find, I suppose, thirty of his followers in the entire world, and probably I have even overstated the number. There are exceedingly few in Palestine; while in the rest of the world, through which he desired to spread the glory of his name, you find it nowhere mentioned. And where it is found, it is found quoted from the Acts of the Apostles; so that it is to Christians that he owes this mention of himself, the unmistakeable result having proved that Simon was in no respect divine.

Chapter LVIII.

After these matters this Jew of Celsus, instead of the Magi mentioned in the Gospel, says that "Chaldeans are spoken of by Jesus as having been induced to come to him at his birth, and to worship him while yet an infant as a God, and to have made this known to Herod the tetrarch; and that the latter sent and slew all the infants that had been born about the same time, thinking that in this way he would ensure his death among the others; and that he was led to do this through fear that, if Jesus lived to a sufficient age, he would obtain the throne." See now in this instance the blunder of one who cannot distinguish between Magi and Chaldeans, nor perceive that what they profess is different, and so has falsified the Gospel narrative. I know not, moreover, why he has passed by in silence the cause which led the Magi to come, and why he has not stated, according to the scriptural account, that it was a star seen by them in the east. Let us see now what answer we have to make to these statements. The star that was seen in the east we consider to have been a new star, unlike any of the other well-known planetary bodies, either those in the firmament above or those among the lower orbs, but partaking of the nature of those celestial bodies which appear at times, such as comets, or those meteors which resemble beams of wood, or beards, or wine jars, or any of those other names by which the Greeks are accustomed to describe their varying appearances. And we establish our position in the following manner.

Chapter LIX.

It has been observed that, on the occurrence of great events, and of mighty changes in terrestrial things, such stars are wont to appear, indicating either the removal of dynasties or the breaking out of wars, or the happening of such circumstances as may cause commotions upon the earth. But we have read in the Treatise on Comets by Chaeremon the Stoic, that on some occasions also, when good was to happen, comets made their appearance; and he gives an account of such instances. If, then, at the commencement of new dynasties, or on the occasion of other important events, there arises a comet so called, or any similar celestial body, why should it be matter of wonder that at the birth of Him who was to introduce a new doctrine to the human race, and to make known His teaching not only to Jews, but also to Greeks, and to many of the barbarous nations besides, a star should have arisen? Now I would say, that with respect to comets there is no prophecy in circulation to the effect that such and such a comet was to arise in connection with a particular kingdom or a particular time; but with respect to the appearance of a star at the birth of Jesus there is a prophecy of Balaam recorded by Moses i to this effect: "There shall arise a star out of Jacob, and a man shall rise up out of Israel."112 And now, if it shall be deemed necessary to examine the narrative about the Magi, and the appearance of the star at the birth of Jesus, the following is what we have to say, partly in answer to the Greeks, and partly to the Jews.

Chapter LX. To the Greeks, then, I have to say that the Magi, being on familiar terms with evil spirits, and invoking them for such purposes as their knowledge and wishes extend to, bring about

such results only as do not appear to exceed the superhuman power and strength of the evil spirits, and of the spells which invoke them, to accomplish; but should some greater manifestation of divinity be made, then the powers of the evil spirits are overthrown, being unable to resist the light of divinity. It is probable, therefore, that since at the birth of Jesus "a multitude of the heavenly host," as Luke records, and as I believe, "praised God, saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men," the evil spirits on that account became feeble, and lost their strength, the falsity of their sorcery being manifested, and their power being broken; this overthrow being brought about not only by the angels having visited the terrestrial regions on account of the birth of Jesus, but also by the power of Jesus Himself, and His innate divinity. The Magi, accordingly, wishing to produce the customary results, which formerly they used to perform by means of certain spells and sorceries, sought to know the reason of their failure, conjecturing the cause to be a great one; and beholding a divine sign in the heaven, they desired to learn its signification. I am therefore of opinion that, possessing as they did the prophecies of Balaam, which Moses also records, inasmuch as Balaam was celebrated for such predictions, and finding among them the prophecy about the star, and the words, "I shall show him to him, but not now; I deem him happy, although he will not be near,"113 they conjectured that the man whose appearance had been foretold along with that of the star, had actually come into the world; and having pro-determined that he was superior in power to all demons, and to all common appearances and powers, they resolved to offer him homage. They came, accordingly, to Judea, persuaded that some king had been born; but not knowing over what kingdom he was to reign, and being ignorant also of the place of his birth. bringing gifts, which they offered to him as one whose nature partook, if I may so speak, both of God and of a mortal man,-gold, viz., as to a king; myrrh, as to one who was mortal; and incense, as to a God; and they brought these offerings after they had learned the place of His birth. But since He was a God, the Saviour of the human race, raised far above all those angels which minister to men, an angel rewarded the piety of the Magi for their worship of Him, by making known to them that they were not to go back to Herod, but to return to their own homes by another way.

Chapter LXI. That Herod conspired against the Child (although the Jew of Celsus does not believe that this really happened), is not to be wondered at. For wickedness is in a certain sense blind, and would desire to defeat fate, as if it were stronger than it. And this being Herod's condition, he both believed that a king of the Jews had been born, and yet cherished a purpose contradictory of such a belief; not seeing that the Child is assuredly either a king and will come to the throne, or that he is not to be a king, and that his death, therefore, will be to no purpose. He desired accordingly to kill Him, his mind being agitated by contending passions on account of his wickedness, and being instigated by the blind and wicked devil who from the very beginning plotted against the Saviour, imagining that He was and would become some mighty one. An angel, however, perceiving the course of events, intimated to Joseph, although Celsus may not believe it, that he was to withdraw with the Child and His mother into Egypt, while Herod slew all the infants that were in Bethlehem and the surrounding borders, in the hope that he would thus destroy Him also who had been born King of the Jews. For he saw not the sleepless guardian power that is around those who deserve to be protected and preserved for the salvation of men, of whom Jesus is the first, superior to all others in honour and excellence, who was to be a King indeed, but not in the sense that Herod supposed, but in that in which it became God to bestow a kingdom,-for the benefit, viz., of those who were to be under His sway, who was to confer no ordinary and

unimportant blessings, so to speak, upon His subjects, but who was to train them and to subject them to laws that were truly from God. And Jesus, knowing this well, and denying that He was a king in the sense that the multitude expected, but declaring the superiority of His kingdom, says: "If My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but now is My kingdom not of this world."114 Now, if Celsus had seen this, he would not have said: "But if, then, this was done in order that you might not reign in his stead when you had grown to man's estate; why, after you did reach that estate, do you not become a king, instead of you, the Son of God, wandering about in so mean a condition, hiding yourself through fear, and leading a miserable life up and down? "Now, it is not dishonourable to avoid exposing one's self to dangers, but to guard carefully against them, when this is done, not through fear of death, but from a desire to benefit others by remaining in life, until the proper time come for one who has assumed human nature to die a death that will be useful to mankind. And this is plain to him who reflects that Jesus died for the sake of men,-a point of which we have spoken to the best of our ability in the preceding pages.

Chapter LXII. And after such statements, showing his ignorance even of the number of the apostles, he proceeds thus: "Jesus having gathered around him ten or eleven persons of notorious character, the very wickedest of tax-gatherers and sailors, fled in company with them from place to place, and obtained his living in a shameful and importunate manner." Let us to the best of our power see what truth there is in such a statement. It is manifest to us all who possess the Gospel narratives, which Celsus does not appear even to have read, that Jesus selected twelve apostles, and that of these Matthew alone was a tax-gatherer; that when he calls them indiscriminately sailors, he probably means James and John, because they left their ship and their father Zebedee, and followed Jesus; for Peter and his brother Andrew, who employed a net to gain their necessary subsistence, must be classed not as sailors, but as the Scripture describes them, as fishermen. The Lebes115 also, who was a follower of Jesus, may have been a tax-gatherer; but he was not of the number of the apostles, except according to a statement in one of the copies of Mark's Gospel.116 And we have not ascertained the employments of the remaining disciples, by which they earned their livelihood before becoming disciples of Jesus. I assert, therefore, in answer to such statements as the above, that it is clear to all who are able to institute an intelligent and candid examination into the history of the apostles of Jesus, that it was by help of a divine power that these men taught Christianity, and succeeded in leading others to embrace the word of God. For it was not any power of speaking, or any orderly arrangement of their message, according to the arts of Grecian dialectics or rhetoric, which was in them the effective cause of converting their hearers. Nay, I am of opinion that if Jesus had selected some individuals who were wise according to the apprehension of the multitude, and who were fitted both to think and speak so as to please them, and had used such as the ministers of His doctrine, He would most justly have been suspected of employing artifices, like those philosophers who are the leaders of certain sects, and consequently the promise respecting the divinity of His doctrine would not have manifested itself; for had the doctrine and the preaching consisted in the persuasive utterance and arrangement of words, then faith also, like that of the philosophers of the world in their opinions, would have been through the wisdom of men, and not through the power of God. Now, who is there on seeing fishermen and tax-gatherers, who had not acquired even the merest elements of learning (as the Gospel relates of them, and in respect to which Celsus believes that they speak the truth, inasmuch as it is their own ignorance which they record), discoursing boldly not only among the

Jews of faith in Jesus, but also preaching Him with success among other nations, would not inquire whence they derived this power of persuasion, as theirs was certainly not the common method followed by the multitude? And who would not say that the promise, "Follow Me, and I will make you fishers of men,"117 had been accomplished by Jesus in the history of His apostles by a sort of divine power? And to this also, Paul, referring in terms of commendation, as we have stated a little above, says: "And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."118 For, according to the predictions in the prophets, foretelling the preaching of the Gospel, "the Lord gave the word in great power to them who preached it, even the King of the powers of the Beloved,"119 in order that the prophecy might be fulfilled which said, "His words shall run very swiftly."120 And we see that "the voice of the apostles of Jesus has gone forth into all the earth, and their words to the end of the world,"121 On this account are they who hear the word powerfully proclaimed filled with power, which they manifest both by their dispositions and their lives, and by struggling even to death on behalf of the truth; while some are altogether empty, although they profess to believe in God through Jesus, inasmuch as, not possessing any divine power, they have the appearance only of being converted to the word of God. And although I have previously mentioned a Gospel declaration uttered by the Saviour, I shall nevertheless quote it again, as appropriate to the present occasion, as it confirms both the divine manifestation of our Saviour's foreknowledge regarding the preaching of His Gospel, and the power of His word, which without the aid of teachers gains the mastery over those who yield their assent to persuasion accompanied with divine power; and the words of Jesus referred to are, "The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest."122

Chapter LXIII. And since Celsus has termed the apostles of Jesus men of infamous notoriety, saying that they were tax-gatherers and sailors of the vilest character, we have to remark, with respect to this charge, that he seems, in order to bring an accusation against Christianity, to believe the Gospel accounts only where he pleases, and to express his disbelief of them, in order that he may not be forced to admit the manifestations of Divinity related in these same books; whereas one who sees the spirit of truth by which the writers are influenced, ought, from their narration of things of inferior importance, to believe also the account of divine things. Now in the general Epistle of Barnabas, from which perhaps Celsus took the statement that the apostles were notoriously wicked men, it is recorded that "Jesus selected His own apostles, as persons who were more guilty of sin than all other evildoers."123 And in the Gospel according to Luke, Peter says to Jesus, "Depart from me, O Lord, for I am a sinful man."124 Moreover, Paul, who himself also at a later time became an apostle of Jesus, says in his Epistle to Timothy, "This is a faithful saying, that Jesus Christ came into, the world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief."125 And I do not know how Celsus should have forgotten or not have thought of saying something about Paul, the founder, after Jesus, of the Churches that are in Christ. He saw, probably, that anything he might say about that apostle would require to be explained, in consistency with the fact that, after being a persecutor of the Church of God, and a bitter opponent of believers, who went so far even as to deliver over the disciples of Jesus to death, so great a change afterwards passed over him, that he preached the Gospel of Jesus from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum, and was ambitious to carry the glad tidings where he needed not to build upon another man's foundation, but to places where the Gospel of God in Christ had not been proclaimed at all. What absurdity,

therefore, is there, if Jesus, desiring to manifest to the human race the power which He possesses to heal souls, should have selected notorious and wicked men, and should have raised them to such a degree of moral excellence, that they, became a pattern of the purest virtue to all who were converted by their instrumentality to the Gospel of Christ?

Chapter LXIV. But if we were to reproach those who have been converted with their former lives, then we would have occasion to accuse Phaedo also, even after he became a philosopher; since, as the history relates, he was drawn away by Socrates from a house of bad fame126 to the pursuits of philosophy. Nay, even the licentious life of Polemo, the successor of Xenocrates, will be a subject of reproach to philosophy; whereas even in these instances we ought to regard it as a ground of praise, that reasoning was enabled, by the persuasive power of these men, to convert from the practice of such vices those who had been formerly entangled by them. Now among the Greeks there was only one Phaedo, I know, not if there were a second, and one Polemo, who betook themselves to philosophy, after a licentious and most wicked life; while with Jesus there were not only at the time we speak of, the twelve disciples, but many more at all times, who, becoming a band of temperate men, speak in the following terms of their former lives: "For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed upon us richly,"127 we became such as we are. For "God sent forth His Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions,"128 as the prophet taught in the book of Psalms. And in addition to what has been already said, I would add the following: that Chrysippus, in his treatise on the Cure of the Passions, in his endeavours to restrain the passions of the human soul, not pretending to determine what opinions are the true ones, says that according to the principles of the different sects are those to be cured who have been brought under the dominion of the passions, and continues: "And if pleasure be an end, then by it must the passions be healed; and if there be three kinds of chief blessings, still, according to this doctrine, it is in the same way that those are to be freed from their passions who are under their dominion; "whereas the assailants of Christianity do not see in how many persons the passions have been brought under restraint, and the flood of wickedness checked, and savage manners softened, by means of the Gospel. So that it well became those who are ever boasting of their zeal for the public good, to make a public acknowledgement of their thanks to that doctrine which by a new method led men to abandon many vices, and to bear their testimony at least to it, that even though not the truth, it has at all events been productive of benefit to the human race.

Chapter LXV. And since Jesus, in teaching His disciples not to be guilty of rashness, gave them the precept. "If they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another; and if they persecute you in the other, flee again into a third,"129 to which teaching He added the example of a consistent life, acting so as not to expose Himself to danger rashly, or unseasonably, or without good grounds; from this Celsus takes occasion to bring a malicious and slanderous accusation,-the Jew whom he brings forward saying to Jesus, "In company with your disciples you go and hide yourself in different places." Now similar to what has thus been made the ground of a slanderous charge against Jesus and His disciples, do we say was the conduct recorded of Aristotle. This philosopher, seeing that a court was about to be summoned to try him, on the ground of his being guilty of impiety on account of certain of his philosophical tenets which the Athenians regarded as

impious, withdrew from Athens, and fixed his school in Chalcis, defending his course of procedure to his friends by saying, "Let us depart from Athens, that we may not give the Athenians a handle for incurring guilt a second time, as formerly in the case of Socrates, and so prevent them from committing a second act of impiety against philosophy." He further says, "that Jesus went about with His disciples, and obtained His livelihood in a disgraceful and importunate manner." Let him show wherein lay the disgraceful and importunate element in their manner of subsistence. For it is related in the Gospels, that there were certain women who had been healed of their diseases, among whom also was Susanna, who from their own possessions afforded the disciples the means of support. And who is there among philosophers, that, when devoting himself to the service of his acquaintances, is not in the habit of receiving from them what is needful for his wants? Or is it only in them that such acts are proper and becoming; but when the disciples of Jesus do the same, they are accused by Celsus of obtaining their livelihood by disgraceful importunity?

Chapter LXVI. And in addition to the above, this Jew of Celsus afterwards addresses Jesus: "What need, moreover, was there that you, while still an infant, should be conveyed into Egygt? Was it to escape being murdered? But then it was not likely that a God should be afraid of death; and yet an angel came down from heaven, commanding you and your friends to flee, lest ye should be captured and put to death! And was not the great God, who had already sent two angels on your account, able to keep you, His only Son, there in safety? "From these words Celsus seems to think that there was no element of divinity in the human body and soul of Jesus, but that His body was not even such as is described in the fables of Homer; and with a taunt also at the blood of Jesus which was shed upon the cross, he adds that it was not"Ichor, such as flows in the veins of the blessed gods."130 We now, believing Jesus Himself, when He says respecting His divinity, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life,"131 and employs other terms of similar import; and when He says respecting His being clothed with a human body, "And now ye seek to kill Me, a man that hath told you the truth,"132 conclude that He was a kind of compound being. And so it became Him who was making provision for His sojourning in the world as a human being, not to expose Himself unseasonably to the danger of death. And in like manner it was necessary that He should be taken away by His parents, acting under the instructions of an angel from heaven, who communicated to them the divine will, saying on the first occasion, "Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife; for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost; "133 and on the second, "Arise, and take the young Child, and His mother, and flee into Egypt; and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young Child to destroy Him."134 Now, what is recorded in these words appears to me to be not at all marvellous. For in either passage of Scripture it is stated that it was in a dream that the angel spoke these words; and that in a dream certain persons may have certain things pointed out to them to do, is an event of frequent occurrence to many individuals,-the impression on the mind being produced either by an angel or by some other thing. Where, then, is the absurdity in believing that He who had once become incarnate, should be led also by human guidance to keep out of the way of dangers? Not indeed from any impossibility that it should be otherwise, but from the moral fitness that ways and means should be made use of to ensure the safety of Jesus. And it was certainly better that the Child Jesus should escape the snare of Herod, and should reside with His parents in Egypt until the death of the conspirator, than that Divine Providence should hinder the free-will of Herod in his wish to put the Child to death, or that the fabled poetic helmet of Hades should have been

employed, or anything of a similar kind done with respect to Jesus, or that they who came to destroy Him should have been smitten with blindness like the people of Sodom. For the sending of help to Him in a very miraculous and unnecessarily public manner, would not have been of any service to Him who, wished to show that as a man, to whom witness was borne by God, He possessed within that form which was seen by the eyes of men some higher element of divinity,-that which was properly the Son of God-God the Word-the power of God, and the wisdom of God-He who is called the Christ. But this is not a suitable occasion for discussing the composite nature of the incarnate Jesus; the investigation into such a subject being for believers, so to speak, a sort of private question.

Chapter LXVII.

After the above, this Jew of Celsus, as if he were a Greek who loved learning, and were well instructed in Greek literature, continues: "The old mythological fables, which attributed a divine origin to Perseus, and Amphion, and Aeacus, and Minos, were not believed by us. Nevertheless, that they might not appear unworthy of credit, they represented the deeds of these personages as great and wonderful, and truly beyond the power of man; but what hast thou done that is noble or wonderful either in deed or in word? Thou hast made no manifestation to us, although they challenged you in the temple to exhibit some unmistakeable sign that you were the Son of God." In reply to which we have to say Let the Greeks show to us, among those who have been enumerated, any one whose deeds have been marked by a utility and splendour extending to after generations, and which have been so great as to produce a belief in the fables which represented them as of divine descent. But these Greeks can show us nothing regarding those men of whom they speak, which is even inferior by a great degree to what Jesus did; unless they take us back to their fables and histories, wishing us to believe them without any reasonable grounds, and to discredit the Gospel accounts even after the clearest evidence. For we assert that the whole habitable world contains evidence of the works of Jesus, in the existence of those Churches of God which have been founded through Him by those who have been converted from the practice of innumerable sins.135 And the name of Jesus can still remove distractions from the minds of men, and expel demons, and also take away diseases; and produce a marvellous meekness of spirit and complete change of character, and a humanity, and goodness, and gentleness in those individuals who do not feign themselves to be Christians for the sake of subsistence or the supply of any mortal wants, but who have honestly accepted the doctrine concerning God and Christ, and the judgment to come.

Chapter LXVIII. But after this, Celsus, having a suspicion that the great works performed by Jesus, of which we have named a few out of a great number, would be brought forward to view, affects to grant that those statements may be true which are made regarding His cures, or His resurrection, or the feeding of a multitude with a few loaves, from which many fragments remained over, or those other stories which Celsus thinks the disciples have recorded as of a marvellous nature; and he adds: "Well, let us believe that these were actually wrought by you." But then he immediately compares them to the tricks of jugglers, who profess to do more wonderful things, and to the feats performed by those who have been taught by Egyptians, who in the middle of the market-place, in return for a few obols, will impart the knowledge of their most venerated arts, and will expel demons from men, and dispel diseases, and invoke the souls of heroes, and exhibit expensive banquets, and tables, and dishes, and dainties having no real existence, and who will put in

motion, as if alive, what are not really living animals, but which have only the appearance of life. And he asks, "Since, then, these persons can perform such feats, shall we of necessity conclude that they are 'sons of God,' or must we admit that they are the proceedings of wicked men under the influence of an evil spirit? "You see that by these expressions he allows, as it were, the existence of magic. I do not know, however, if he is the same who wrote several books against it. But, as it helped his purpose, he compares the (miracles) related of Jesus to the results produced by magic. There would indeed be a resemblance between them, if Jesus, like the dealers in magical arts, had performed His works only for show; but now there is not a single juggler who, by means of his proceedings, invites his spectators to reform their manners, or trains those to the fear of God who are amazed at what they see, nor who tries to persuade them so to live as men who are to be justified136 by God. And jugglers do none of these things, because they have neither the power nor the will, nor any desire to busy themselves about the reformation of men, inasmuch as their own lives are full of the grossest and most notorious sins. But how should not He who, by the miracles which He did, induced those who beheld the excellent results to undertake the reformation of their characters, manifest Himself not only to His genuine disciples, but also to others, as a pattern of most virtuous life, in order that His disciples might devote themselves to the work of instructing men in the will of God, and that the others, after being more fully instructed by His word and character than by His miracles, as to how they were to direct their lives, might in all their conduct have a constant reference to the good pleasure of the universal God? And if such were the life of Jesus, how could any one with reason compare Him with the sect of impostors, and not, on the contrary, believe, according to the promise, that He was God, who appeared in human form to do good to our race?

Chapter LXIX.

After this, Celsus, confusing together the Christian doctrine and the opinions of some heretical sect, and bringing them forward as charges that were applicable to all who believe in the divine word, says: "Such a body as yours could not have belonged to God." Now, in answer to this, we have to say that Jesus, on entering into the world, assumed, as one born of a woman, a human body, and one which was capable of suffering a natural death. For which reason, in addition to others, we say that He was also a great wrestler;137 having, on account of His human body, been tempted in all respects like other men, but no longer as men, with sin as a consequence, but being altogether without sin. For it is distinctly clear to us that "He did no sin, neither was guile found in His mouth; and as one who knew no sin,"138 God delivered Him up as pure for all who had sinned. Then Celsus says: "The body of god would not have been so generated as you, O Jesus, were." He saw, besides, that if, as it is written, it had been born, His body somehow might be even more divine than that of the multitude, and in a certain sense a body of god. But he disbelieves the accounts of His conception by the Holy Ghost, and believes that He was begotten by one Panthera, who corrupted the Virgin, "because a god's body would not have been so generated as you were." But we have spoken of these matters at greater length in the preceding pages.

Chapter LXX.

He asserts, moreover, that "the body of a god is not nourished with such food (as was that of Jesus)," since he is able to prove from. the Gospel narratives both that He partook of food, and food of a particular kind. Well, be it so. Let him assert that He ate the passover with His disciples,

when He not only used the words, "With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you," but also actually partook of the same. And let him say also, that He experienced the sensation of thirst beside the well of Jacob, and drank of the water of the well. In what respect do these facts militate against what we have said respecting the nature of His body? Moreover, it appears indubitable that after His resurrection He ate a piece of fish; for, according to our view, He assumed a (true) body, as one born of a woman. "But," objects Celsus, "the body of a god does not make use of such a voice as that of Jesus, nor employ such a method of persuasion as he." These are, indeed, trifling and altogether contemptible objections. For our reply to him will be, that he who is believed among the Greeks to be a god, viz., the Pythian and Didymean Apollo, makes use of such a voice for his Pythian priestess at Delphi, and for his prophetess at Miletus; and yet neither the Pythian nor Didymean is charged by the Greeks with not being a god, nor any other Grecian deity whose worship is established in one place. And it was far better, surely, that a god should employ a voice which, on account of its being uttered with power, should produce an indescribable sort of persuasion in the minds of the hearers.

Chapter LXXI.

Continuing to pour abuse upon Jesus as one who, on account of his impiety and wicked opinions, was, so to speak, hated by God, he asserts that "these tenets of his were those of a wicked and God-hated sorcerer." And yet, if the name and the thing be properly examined, it will be found an impossibility that man should be hated by God, seeing God loves all existing things, and "hateth nothing of what He has made," for He created nothing in a spirit of hatred. And if certain expressions in the prophets convey such an impression, they are to be interpreted in accordance with the general principle by which Scripture employs such language with regard to God as if He were subject to human affections. But what reply need be made to him who, while professing to bring foreward credible statements, thinks himself bound to make use of calumnies and slanders against Jesus, as if He were a wicked sorcerer? Such is not the procedure of one who seeks to make good his case, but of one who is in an ignorant and unphilosophic state of mind, inasmuch as the proper course is to state the case, and candidly to investigate it; and, according to the best of his ability, to bring forward what occurs to him with regard to it. But as the Jew of Celsus has, with the above remarks, brought to a close his charges against Jesus, so we also shall here bring to a termination the contents of our first book in reply to him. And if God bestow the gift of that truth which destroys all falsehood, agreeably to the words of the prayer, "Cut them off in thy truth,"139 we shall begin, in what follows, the consideration of the second appearance of the Jew, in which he is represented by Celsus as addressing those who have become converts to Jesus.

1: This individual is mentioned by Eusebius (Eccles. Hist., vi. c. 18) as having been converted from the heresy of Valentinus to the faith of the Church by the efforts of Origen. [Lardner (Credib ., vii. 210-212) is inclined to "place" Celsus in the year 176. Here and elsewhere this learned authority is diffuse on the subject, and merits careful attention.] 2: Cf. Matt. xxvi. 59-63.

3: Cf. Matt. xxvii. 11-14.

4: Cf. Matt. xxvii. 18.

5: Cf. Matt. xxvii. 18.

6: Rom. viii. 35-37.

7: Rom. viii. 38, 39.

8: Rom. viii. 37, upernikwmen .

9: htinoj piqanothtoj logou .

10: Col. ii. 8.

11: Cf. Jer. xx. 7.

12: Kai wsper ou to tuxon twn yeudomenwn en gewmetrikoij qewrhmase yeudografoumenon tij an legoi, h kai anagrafai gumnasiou eneken tou apo toioutwn. Cf. note of Ruaeus in loc .

13: Rom. xiv. 1.

14: swmatopoihsai .

15: thn kaloumenhn agaphn .

16: aqesmouj .

17: paranomian .

18: tw logw .

19: ton hqikon topon .

20: to boulhma tou nomon .

21: o logoj .

22: Cf. Matt. vii. 22.

23: The words, as they stand in the text of Lommatzsch, are, alla kai mhn nohqen to peri thj anastasewj musthrion . Ruaeus would read mh instead of mhn . This emendation has been adopted in the translation.

24: deinothtoj .

25: logw kai logikw odhgw .

26: sumbolikwj gegenhmenwn, h nenomoqethmenwn .

27: sfodra oligwn epi ton logon attontwn .

28: apoklhrwtikwj .

29: mallon eugnwmonwj .

30: apo prwthj prosbolhj .

31: Par oij eise teletai, presbeuomenai men logikwj upo twn par autoij logiwn, sumbolikwj de ginomenai upo twn par autoij pollwn kai apipolaioterwn. For ginomenai Ruaeus prefers ginwskomenai , which is adopted in the translation.

32: 1 Cor. iii. 18, 19.

33: metenswmatwsewj .

34: Eti de oti kai kata to tw logw areskon, pollw diaferei meta logou kai sofiaj sugkatatiqesqai toij dogmasin, hper meta yilhj thj pistewj kai oti kata peristasin kai tout eboulhqh o Logoj, ina mh panth anwfeleij eash touj anqrwpouj, dhloi o tou Ihsou gnhsioj maqhthj , etc.

35: 1 Cor. i. 23, 24.

36: [arxaiothtoj . See Josephus's Works , for the treatise in two books, usually designated, as written, Against Apion . S.] 37: [See vol. ii. pp. 80, 81. S.]

38: Oionei kwluetai, kathgorhsaj wj bouletai, apologeisqai touj dunamenouj wj pefuken exein ta pragmata. We have taken kwluetai as middle. Some propose kwluei . And we have read boulontai , a lection which is given by a second hand in one ms.

39: Epitriyai . Other readings are epistreyai and apostreyai , which convey the opposite meaning.

40: autoqen .

41: [See Dr. Waterland's charge to the clergy, on "The Wisdom of the Ancients borrowed from Divine Revelation," Works , vol. v. pp. 10, 24. S.] 42: Ps. cii. 27.

43: Mal. iii. 6.

44: anaplasmata .

45: thn aplanh .

46: Epi ton tuflon plouton, kai epi thn sarkwn kai aimatwn kai astewn summetrian en ugieia kai enecia, h thn noumizomenhn eugeneian.

47: Lev. xix. 31.

48: Wj genomenou hgemonoj th kaqo Xristianoi esmen genesei hmwn .

49: oukolakeuwn .

50: idiwtikhn .

51: seisai .

52: [This striking chapter is cited, as a specimen of Christian eloquence, in the important work of Guillon, Cours d' Eloquence Sacrèe , Bruxelles, 1828].

53: Gelenius reads oplizwn (instead of aleifwn), which has been adopted in the translation.

54: Cf. Homer's Iliad , v. 2, 3.

55: Cf. Isa. vii. 10-14 with Matt. i. 23.

56: neanij .

57: neanin .

58: Cf. Deut. xxii. 23, 24.

59: th neanide .

60: Cf. Isa. vii. 11.

61: Isa. vii. 14.

62: Cf. Eph. iv. 10.

63: Cf. Deut. xviii. 14.

64: Cf. Deut. xviii. 14.

65: Cf. Deut. xviii. 15.

66: Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 10.

67: Cf. 1 Kings xiv. 12 [See note 3, supra , p. 362. S.] 68: Cf. 2 Kings i. 3.

69: Pepoihken anti spermatikou logou, tou ek micewj twn arrenwn taij gumaice, allw tropw genesqai ton logon tou texqhsomenou .

70: This difficult passage is rendered in the Latin translation: "but that, after they had believed (in Christ), they with no adequate supply of arguments, such as is furnished by the Greek dialectics, gave themselves up," etc.

71: Cf. Ezek. i. 1.

72: Cf. Ezek. i. 28 and ii. 1.

73: Cf. Ezek. vi. 1, 2.

74: xarismati .

75: Cf. Isa. xlviii. 16.

76: [arxaiologiaj . S.] Cf. Joseph., Antiq ., book xviii. c. v. sec. 2.

77: [Ibid ., b. xx. c. ix. §1. S.] 78: Cf. Gal. i. 19.

79: Cf. Prov. ii. 5.

80: Cf. 2 Cor. ii. 15.

81: Cf. 1 John i. 1.

82: Cf. Ezek. iii. 2, 3.

83: Wsfranqh thj osmhj twn tou uiou qeioterwn imatiwn .

84: Cf. Gen. xxvii. 27.

85: Cf. Matt. viii. 3.

86: Cf. John i. 32-34.

87: Cf. John i. 51.

88: Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2.

89: Cf. Matt. xvii. 9.

90: John v. 31.

91: John x. 24.

92: pantodapwj proeipon .

93: Cf. Mic. v. 2. and Matt. ii. 6.

94: [See Dr. Spencer's The East: Sketches of Travel in Egypt and the Holy Land , pp. 362-365, London, Murray, 1850, an interesting work by my esteemed collaborator.]

95: [Concerning this, besides Dr. Robinson (ii. 159), consult Dean Stanley, Sinai and Palestine , p. 433. But compare Van Lennep, Bible Lands , p. 804; Roberts' Holy Land , capp. 85, 87, vol. ii., London.] 96: Cf. John vii. 42.

97: Cf. Matt. xxviii. 13, 14.

98: Cf. Gen. xlix. 10, ewj an elqh ta apokeimena autw . This is one of the passages of the Septuagint which Justin Martyr charges the Jews with corrupting; the true reading, according to him, being ewj an elqh w apokeitai . Cf. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho , vol. i. p. 259.

99: Cf. Gen. xlix. 10.

100: Isa. xlii. 4. (Sept.) 101: Cf. Isa. xlix. 8, 9.

102: Isa. xlix. 9.

103: uper autwn .

104: Cf. Isa. lii 13-15 in the Septuagint version (Roman text).

105: Cf. Isa. liii. 1-8 in the Septuagint version (Roman text).

106: [Col. ii. 15. S.] 107: Ps. xlv. 2-5.

108: Ps. xlv. 6, 7.

109: proj ton Xriston .

110: Rom. viii. 15.

111: Cf. Acts v. 38, 39.

112: Cf. Num. xxiv. 17 (Septuag.).

113: Cf. Num. xxiv. 17 (Septuag.).

114: Cf. John xviii. 36.

115: Lebhj .

116: Cf. Mark iii. 18 with Matt. x. 3.

117: Matt. iv. 19.

118: Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.

119: Cf. Ps. lxviii. 11 (Septuag.).

120: Ps. cxlvii. 15.

121: Ps. xix. 4.

122: Matt. ix. 37, 38.

123: Epistle of Barnabas , chap. v. vol. i. p. 139.

124: Luke v. 8.

125: Cf. 1 Tim. i. 15.

126: apo oikhmatoj . Such is the reading in the text of Lommatzsch. Hoeschel and Spencer read apo oikhmatoj eteiou , and Ruaus proposes etairiou .

127: Cf. Tit. iii. 3-6.

128: Cf. Ps. cvii. 20.

129: Cf. Matt. x. 23.

130: Cf. Iliad, v. 340.

131: John xiv. 6.

132: Cf. John viii. 40.

133: Cf. Matt. i. 20.

134: Cf. Matt. ii. 13.

135: [Note the words, "The whole habitable world," and comp. cap. iii., supra , "the defeat of the whole world." In cap. vii. is another important testimony. "Countless numbers" is the phrase in cap. xxvii. See cap. xxix. also, ad finem . Such evidence cannot be explained away.] 136: wj dikaiwqhsomenouj .

137: megan agwnisthn .

138: [1 Pet. ii. 22; 2 Cor. v. 21. S.] 139: Ps. liv. 5.

Against Celsus - Book 2

Book II.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter III.

Chapter IV.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI.

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV.

Chapter XVI.

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XXI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX.

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter LI.

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXII.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVII.

Chapter LXVIII.

Chapter LXIX.

Chapter LXX.

Chapter LXXI.

Chapter LXXII.

Chapter LXXIII.

Chapter LXXIV.

Chapter LXXV.

Chapter LXXVI.

Chapter LXXVII.

Chapter LXXVIII.

Book II.

Chapter I. The first book of our answer to the treatise of Celsus, entitled A True Discourse, which concluded with the representation of the Jew addressing Jesus, having now extended to a sufficient length, we intend the present part as a reply to the charges brought by him against those who have been converted from Judaism to Christianity.1 And we call attention, in the first place, to this special question, viz., why Celsus, when he had once resolved upon the introduction of individuals upon the stage of his book, did not represent the Jew as addressing the converts from heathenism rather than those from Judaism, seeing that his discourse, if directed to us, would have appeared more likely to produce an impression.2 But probably this claimant to universal

knowledge does not know what is appropriate in the matter of such representations; and therefore let us proceed to consider what he has to say to the converts from Judaism. He asserts that "they have forsaken the law of their fathers, in consequence of their minds being led captive by Jesus; that they have been most ridiculously deceived, and that they have become deserters to another name and to another mode of life." Here he has not observed that the Jewish converts have not deserted the law of their fathers, inasmuch as they live according to its prescriptions, receiving their very name from the poverty of the law, according to the literal acceptation of the word; for Ebion signifies "poor" among the Jews,3 and those Jews who have received Jesus as Christ are called by the name of Ebionites. Nay, Peter himself seems to have observed for a considerable time the Jewish observances enjoined by the law of Moses, not having yet learned from Jesus to ascend from the law that is regulated according to the letter, to that which is interpreted according to the spirit,-a fact which we learn from the Acts of the Apostles. For on the day after the angel of God appeared to Cornelius, suggesting to him "to send to Joppa, to Simon surnamed Peter," Peter "went up into the upper room to pray about the sixth hour. And he became very hungry, and would have eaten: but while they made ready he fell into a trance, and saw heaven opened, and a certain vessel descending unto him, as it had been a great sheet knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth; wherein were all manner of four-footed beasts, and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the air. And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter; kill, and eat. But Peter said, Not so, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is common or unclean. And the voice spake unto him again the second time, What God hath cleansed, that call thou not common."4 Now observe how, by this instance, Peter is represented as still observing the Jewish customs respecting clean and unclean animals. And from the narrative that follows, it is manifest that he, as being yet a Jew, and living according to their traditions, and despising those who were beyond the pale of Judaism, stood in need of a vision to lead him to communicate to Cornelius (who was not an Israelite according to the flesh), and to those who were with him, the word of faith. Moreover, in the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul states that Peter, still from fear of the Jews, ceased upon the arrival of James to eat with the Gentiles, and "separated himself from them, fearing them that were of the circumcision; "5 and the rest of the Jews, and Barnabas also, followed the same course. And certainly it was quite consistent that those should not abstain from the observance of Jewish usages who were sent to minister to the circumcision, when they who "seemed to be pillars" gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas, in order that, while devoting themselves to the circumcision, the latter might preach to the Gentiles. And why do I mention that they who preached to the circumcision withdrew and separated themselves from the heathen, when even Paul himself "became as a Jew to the Jews, that he might gain the Jews? "Wherefore also in the Acts of the Apostles it is related that he even brought an offering to the altar, that he might satisfy the Jews that he was no apostate from their law.6 Now, if Celsus had been acquainted with all these circumstances, he would not have represented the Jew holding such language as this to the converts from Judaism: "What induced you, my fellow-citizens, to abandon the law of your fathers, and to allow your minds to be led captive by him with whom we have just conversed, and thus be most ridiculously deluded, so as to become deserters from us to another name, and to the practices of another life? "

Chapter II.

Now, since we are upon the subject of Peter, and of the teachers of Christianity to the circumcision, I do not deem it out of place to quote a certain declaration of Jesus taken from the Gospel according to John, and to give the explanation of the same. For it is there related that Jesus said: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He will guide you into all the truth: for He shall not speak of Himself; but whatsoever He shall hear, that shall He speak."7 And when we inquire what were the "many things" referred to in the passage which Jesus had to say to His disciples, but which they were not then able to bear, I have to observe that, probably because the apostles were Jews, and had been trained up according to the letter of the Mosaic law, He was unable to tell them what was the true law, and how the Jewish worship consisted in the pattern and shadow of certain heavenly things, and how future blessings were foreshadowed by the injunctions regarding meats and drinks, and festivals, and new moons, and sabbaths. These were many of the subjects which He had to explain to them; but as He saw that it was a work of exceeding difficulty to root out of the mind opinions that have been almost born with a man, and amid which he has been brought up till he reached the period of maturity, and which have produced in those who have adopted them the belief that they are divine, and that it is an act of impiety to overthrow them; and to demonstrate by the superiority of Christian doctrine, that is, by the truth, in a manner to convince the hearers, that such opinions were but "loss and dung," He postponed such a task to a future season-to that, namely, which followed His passion and resurrection. For the bringing of aid unseasonably to those who were not yet capable of receiving it, might have overturned the idea which they had already formed of Jesus, as the Christ, and the Son of the living God. And see if there is not some well-grounded reason for such a statement as this, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot hear them now; "seeing there are many points in the law which require to be explained and cleared up in a spiritual sense, and these the disciples were in a manner unable to bear, having been born and brought up amongst Jews. I am of opinion, moreover, that since these rites were typical, and the truth was that which was to be taught them by the Holy Spirit, these words were added, "When He is come who is the Spirit of truth, He will lead you into all the truth; "as if He had said, into all the truth about those things which, being to you but types, ye believed to constitute a true worship which ye rendered unto God. And so, according to the promise of Jesus, the Spirit of truth came to Peter, saying to him, with regard to the four-footed beasts, and creeping things of the earth, and fowls of the air: "Arise, Peter; kill, and eat." And the Spirit came to him while he was still in a state of superstitious ignorance; for he said, in answer to the divine command, "Not so Lord; for I have never yet eaten anything common or unclean." He instructed him, however, in the true and spiritual meaning of meats, by saying, "What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common." And so, after that vision, the Spirit of truth, which conducted Peter into all the truth, told him the many things which he was unable to bear when Jesus was still with him in the flesh. But I shall have another opportunity of explaining those matters, which are connected with the literal acceptation of the Mosaic law.

Chapter III. Our present object, however, is to expose the ignorance of Celsus, who makes this Jew of his address his fellow-citizen and the Israelitish converts in the following manner: "What induced you to abandon the law of your fathers? "etc. Now, how should they have abandoned the law of their fathers, who are in the habit of rebuking those who do not listen to its commands, saying, "Tell me, ye who read the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons; "and so on, down to the place, "which things are an allegory,"8 etc.? And how have they

abandoned the law of their fathers, who are ever speaking of the usages of their fathers in such words as these: "Or does not the law say these things also? For it is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God care for oxen? or saith He it altogether for our sakes? for for our sakes it was written," and so on?9 Now, how confused is the reasoning of the Jew in regard to these matters (although he had it in his power to speak with greater effect) when he says: "Certain among you have abandoned the usages of our fathers under a pretence of explanations and allegories; and some of you, although, as ye pretend, interpreting them in a spiritual manner, nevertheless do observe the customs of our fathers; and some of you, without any such interpretation, are willing to accept Jesus as the subject of prophecy, and to keep the law of Moses according to the customs of the fathers, as having in the words the whole mind of the Spirit." Now how was Celsus able to see these things so clearly in this place, when in the subsequent parts of his work he makes mention of certain godless heresies altogether alien from the doctrine of Jesus, and even of others which leave the Creator out of account altogether, and does not appear to know that there are Israelites who are converts to Christianity, and who have not abandoned the law of their fathers? It was not his object to investigate everything here in the spirit of truth, and to accept whatever he might find to be useful; but he composed these statements in the spirit of an enemy, and with a desire to overthrow everything as soon as he heard it.

Chapter IV. The Jew, then, continues his address to converts from his own nation thus: "Yesterday and the day before, when we visited with punishment the man who deluded you, ye became apostates from the law of your fathers; "showing by such statements (as we have just demonstrated) anything but an exact knowledge of the truth. But what he advances afterwards seems to have some force, when he says: "How is it that you take the beginning of your system from our worship, and when you have made some progress you treat it with disrespect, although you have no other foundation to show for your doctrines than our law? "Now, certainly the introduction to Christianity is through the Mosaic worship and the prophetic writings; and after the introduction, it is in the interpretation and explanation of these that progress takes place, while those who are introduced prosecute their investigations into "the mystery according to revelation, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest in the Scriptures of the prophets,"10 and by the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. But they who advance in the knowledge of Christianity do not, as ye allege, treat the things written in the law with disrespect. On the contrary, they bestow upon them greater honour, showing what a depth of wise and mysterious reasons is contained in these writings, which are not fully comprehended by the Jews, who treat them superficially, and as if they were in some degree even fabulous.11 And what absurdity should there be in our system-that is, the Gospel-having the law for its foundation, when even the Lord Jesus Himself said to those who would not believe upon Him: "If ye had believed Moses, ye would have believed Me, for he wrote of Me. But if ye do not believe his writings, how shall ye believe My words? "12 Nay, even one of the evangelists-Mark-says: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the prophet Isaiah, Behold, I send My messenger before Thy face, who shall prepare Thy way before Thee,"13 which shows that the beginning of the Gospel is connected with the Jewish writings. What force, then, is there in the objection of the Jew of Celsus, that "if any one predicted to us that the Son of God was to visit mankind, he was one of our prophets, and the prophet of our God? "Or how is it a charge against Christianity, that John, who baptized Jesus, was a Jew? For although He was a Jew, it does not follow that every

believer, whether a convert from heathenism or from Judaism, must yield a literal obedience to the law of Moses.

Chapter V.

After these matters, although Celsus becomes tautological in his statements about Jesus, repeating for the second time that "he was punished by the Jews for his crimes," we shall not again take up the defence, being satisfied with what we have already said. But, in the next place, as this Jew of his disparages the doctrine regarding the resurrection of the dead, and the divine judgment, and of the rewards to be bestowed upon the just, and of the fire which is to devour the wicked, as being stale14 opinions, and thinks that he will overthrow Christianity by asserting that there is nothing new in its teaching upon these points, we have to say to him, that our Lord, seeing the conduct of the Jews not to be at all in keeping with the teaching of the prophets, inculcated by a parable that the kingdom of God would be taken from them, and given to the converts from heathenism. For which reason, now, we may also see of a truth that all the doctrines of the Jews of the present day are mere trifles and fables,15 since they have not the light that proceeds from the knowledge of the Scriptures; whereas those of the Christians are the truth, having power to raise and elevate the soul and understanding of man, and to persuade him to seek a citizenship, not like the earthly16 Jews here below, but in heaven. And this result shows itself among those who are able to see the grandeur of the ideas contained in the law and the prophets, and who are able to commend them to others.

Chapter VI. But let it be granted that Jesus observed all the Jewish usages, including even their sacrificial observances, what does that avail to prevent our recognising Him as the Son of God? Jesus, then, is the Son of God, who gave the law and the prophets; and we, who belong to the Church, do not transgress the law, but have escaped the mythologizings17 of the Jews, and have our minds chastened and educated by the mystical contemplation of the law and the prophets. For the prophets themselves, as not resting the sense of these Words in the plain history which they relate, nor in the legal enactments taken according to the word and letter, express themselves somewhere, when about to relate histories, in words like this, "I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter hard sayings of old; "18 and in another place, when offering up a prayer regarding the law as being obscure, and needing divine help for its comprehension, they offer up this prayer, "Open Thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of Thy law."19

Chapter VII.

Moreover, let them show where there is to be found even the appearance of language dictated by arrogance20 and proceeding from Jesus. For how could an arrogant man thus express himself "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls? "21 or how can He be styled arrogant, who after supper laid aside His garments in the presence of His disciples, and, after girding Himself with a towel, and pouring water into a basin, proceeded to wash the feet of each disciple, and rebuked him who was unwilling to allow them to be washed, with the words, "Except I wash thee, thou hast no part with Me?22 Or how could He be called such who said, "I was amongst you, not as he that sitteth at meat, but as he that serveth? "23 And let any one show what were the falsehoods which He uttered, and let him point out what are great and what are small falsehoods, that he may prove Jesus to have been guilty of the former. And there is yet another way in which we may confute him. For as one falsehood is not less or more

false than another, so one truth is not less or more true than another. And what charges of impiety he has to bring against Jesus, let the Jew of Celsus especially bring forward. Was it impious to abstain from corporeal circumcision, and from a literal Sabbath, and literal festivals, and literal new moons, and from clean and unclean meats, and to turn the mind to the good and true and spiritual law of God, while at the same time he who was an ambassador for Christ knew how to become to the Jews as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, and to those who are under the law, as under the law, that he might gain those who are under the law?

Chapter VIII.

He says, further, that "many other persons would appear such as Jesus was, to those who were willing to be deceived." Let this Jew of Celsus then show us, not many persons, nor even a few, but a single individual, such as Jesus was, introducing among the human race, with the power that was manifested in Him, a system of doctrine and opinions beneficial to human life, and which converts men from the practice of wickedness. He says, moreover, that this charge is brought against the Jews by the Christian converts, that they have not believed in Jesus as in God. Now on this point we have, in the preceding pages, offered a preliminary defence, showing at the same time in what respects we understand Him to be God, and in what we take Him to be man. "How should we," he continues, "who have made known to all men that there is to come from God one who is to punish the wicked, treat him with disregard when he came? "And to this, as an exceedingly silly argument, it does not seem to me reasonable to offer any answer. It is as if some one were to say, "How could we, who teach temperance, commit any act of licentiousness? or we, who are ambassadors for righteousness, be guilty of any wickedness? "For as these inconsistencies are found among men, so, to say that they believed the prophets when speaking of the future advent of Christ, and yet refused their belief to Him when He came, agreeably to prophetic statement, was quite in keeping with human nature. And since we must add another reason, we shall remark that this very result was foretold by the prophets. Isaiah distinctly declares: "Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and shall not perceive: for the heart of this people has become fat,"24 etc. And let them explain why it was predicted to the Jews, that although they both heard and saw, they would not understand what was said, nor perceive what was seen as they ought. For it is indeed manifest, that when they beheld Jesus they did not see who He was; and when they heard Him, they did not understand from His words the divinity that was in Him, and which transferred God's providential care, hitherto exercised over the Jews, to His converts from the heathen. Therefore we may see, that after the advent of Jesus the Jews were altogether abandoned, and possess now none of what were considered their ancient glories, so that there is no indication of any Divinity abiding amongst them. For they have no longer prophets nor miracles, traces of which to a considerable extent are still found among Christians, and some of them more remarkable than any that existed among the Jews; and these we ourselves have witnessed, if our testimony may be received.25 But the Jew of Celsus exclaims: "Why did we treat him, whom we announced beforehand, with dishonour? Was it that we might be chastised more than others? "To which we have to answer, that on account of their unbelief, and the other insults which they heaped upon Jesus, the Jews will not only suffer more than others in that judgment which is believed to impend over the world, but have even already endured such sufferings. For what nation is an exile from their own metropolis, and from the place sacred to the worship of their fathers, save the Jews alone? And these calamities they

have suffered, because they were a most wicked nation, which, although guilty of many other sins, yet has been punished so severely for none, as for those that were committed against our Jesus.

Chapter IX. The Jew continues his discourse thus: "How should we deem him to be a God, who not only in other respects, as was currently reported, performed none of his promises, but who also, after we had convicted him, and condemned him as. deserving of punishment, was found attempting to conceal himself, and endeavouring to escape in a most disgraceful manner, and who was betrayed by those whom he called disciples? And yet," he continues, "he who was a God could neither flee nor be led away a prisoner; and least of all could he be deserted and delivered up by those who had been his associates, and had shared all things in common, and had had him for their teacher, who was deemed to be a Saviour, and a son of the greatest God, and an angel." To which we reply, that even we do not suppose the body of Jesus, which was then an object of sight and perception, to have been God. And why do I say His body? Nay, not even His soul, of which it is related, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death."26 But as, according to the Jewish manner of speaking, "I am the Lord, the God of all flesh," and, "Before Me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after Me," God is believed to be He who employs the soul and body of the prophet as an instrument; and as, according to the Greeks, he who says, "I know both the number of the sand, and the measures, of the sea, And I understand a dumb man, and hear him who does not speak,"

27 is considered to be a god when speaking, and making himself heard through the Pythian priestess; so, according to our view, it was the Logos God, and Son of the God of all things, who spake in Jesus these words, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; "and these, "I am the door; "and these, "I am the living bread that came down from heaven; "and other expressions similar to these. We therefore charge the Jews with not acknowledging Him to be God, to whom testimony was borne in many passages by the prophets, to the effect that He was a mighty power, and a God next to28 the God and Father of all things. For we assert that it was to Him the Father gave the command, when in the Mosaic account of the creation He uttered the words, "Let there be light," and "Let there be a firmament," and gave the injunctions with regard to those other creative acts which were performed; and that to Him also were addressed the words, "Let Us make man in Our own image and likeness; "and that the Logos, when commanded, obeyed all the Father's will. And we make these statements not from our own conjectures, but because we believe the prophecies circulated among the Jews, in which it is said of God, and of the works of creation, in express words, as follows: "He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created."29 Now if God gave the command, and the creatures were formed, who, according to the view of the spirit of prophecy, could He be that was able to carry out such commands of the Father, save Him who, so to speak, is the living Logos and the Truth? And that the Gospels do not consider him who in Jesus said these words, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life," to have been of so circumscribed a nature30 as to have an existence nowhere out of the soul and body of Jesus, is evident both from many considerations, and from a few instances of the following kind which we shall quote. John the Baptist, when predicting that the Son of God was to appear immediately, not in that body and soul, but as manifesting Himself everywhere, says regarding Him: "There stands in the midst of you One whom ye know not, who cometh after me."31 For if he had thought that the Son of God was only there, where was the visible body of Jesus, how could he have said, "There stands in the midst of you One whom ye know not? "And Jesus Himself, in

raising the minds of His disciples to higher thoughts of the Son of God, says: "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of you."32 And of the same nature is His promise to His disciples: "Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."33 And we quote these passages, making no distinction between the Son of God and Jesus. For the soul and body of Jesus formed, after the oi0konomi/a, one being with the Logos of God. Now if, according to Paul's teaching, "he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit,"34 every one who understands what being joined to the Lord is, and who has been actually joined to Him, is one spirit with the Lord; how should not that being be one in a far greater and more divine degree, which was once united with the Logos of God?35 He, indeed, manifested Himself among the Jews as the power of God, by the miracles which He performed, which Celsus suspected were accomplished by sorcery, but which by the Jews of that time were attributed I know not why, to Beelzebub, in the words "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub, the prince of the devils."36 But these our Saviour convicted of uttering the greatest absurdities, from the fact that the kingdom of evil was not yet come to an end. And this will be evident to all intelligent readers of the Gospel narrative, which it is not now the time to explain.

Chapter X. But what promise did Jesus make which He did not perform? Let Celsus produce any instance of such, and make good his charge. But he will be unable to do so, especially since it is from mistakes, arising either from misapprehension of the Gospel narratives, or from Jewish stories, that he thinks to derive the charges which he brings against Jesus or against ourselves. Moreover, again, when the Jew says, "We both found him guilty, and condemned him as deserving of death," let them show how they who sought to concoct false witness against Him proved Him to be guilty. Was not the great charge against Jesus, which His accusers brought forward, this, that He said, "I am able to destroy the temple of God, and after three days to raise it up again? "37 But in so saying, He spake of the temple of His body; while they thought, not being able to understand the meaning of the speaker, that His reference was to the temple of stone, which was treated by the Jews with greater respect than He was who ought to have been honoured as the true Temple of God-the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Truth. And who can say that "Jesus attempted to make His escape by disgracefully concealing Himself? "Let any one point to an act deserving to be called disgraceful. And when he adds, "he was taken prisoner," I would say that, if to be taken prisoner implies an act done against one's will, then Jesus was not taken prisoner; for at the fitting time He did not prevent Himself falling into the hands of men, as the Lamb of God, that He might take away the sin of the world. For, knowing all things that were to come upon Him, He went forth, and said to them, "Whom seek ye? "and they answered, "Jesus of Nazareth; "and He said unto them, "I am He." And Judas also, who betrayed Him, was standing with them. When, therefore, He had said to them, "I am He," they went backwards and fell to the ground. Again He asked them, "Whom seek ye? "and they said again, "Jesus of Nazareth." Jesus said to them, "I told you I am He; if then ye seek Me, let these go away."38 Nay, even to Him who wished to help Him, and who smote the high priest's servant, and cut off his ear, He said: "Put up thy sword into its sheath: for all they who draw the sword shall perish by the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot even now pray to My Father, and He will presently give Me more than twelve legions of angels? But how then should the Scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?"39 And if any one imagines these statements to be inventions of the writers of the Gospels, why should not those statements rather be regarded as inventions which proceeded from a spirit of hatred and hostility against Jesus and the Christians? and these the truth, which proceed from those who manifest the

sincerity of their feelings towards Jesus, by enduring everything, whatever it may be, for the sake of His words? For the reception by the disciples of such power of endurance and resolution continued even to death, with a disposition of mind that would not invent regarding their Teacher what was not true, is a very evident proof to all candid judges that they were fully persuaded of the truth of what they wrote, seeing they submitted to trials so numerous and so severe, for the sake of Him whom they believed to be the Son of God.

Chapter XI. In the next place, that He was betrayed by those whom He called His disciples, is a circumstance which the Jew of Celsus learned from the Gospels; calling the one Judas, however, "many disciples," that he might seem to add force to the accusation. Nor did he trouble himself to take note of all that is related concerning Judas; how this Judas, having come to entertain opposite and conflicting opinions regarding his Master neither opposed Him with his whole soul, nor yet with his whole soul preserved the respect due by a pupil to his teacher. For be that betrayed Him gave to the multitude that came to apprehend Jesus, a sign, saying, "Whomsoever I shall kiss, it is he; seize ye him,"-retaining still some element of respect for his Master: for unless he had done so, he would have betrayed Him, even publicly, without any pretence of affection. This circumstance, therefore, will satisfy all with regard to the purpose of Judas, that along with his covetous disposition, and his wicked design to betray his Master, he had still a feeling of a mixed character in his mind, produced in him by the words of Jesus, which had the appearance (so to speak) of some remnant of good. For it is related that, "when Judas, who betrayed Him, knew that He was condemned, he repented, and brought back the thirty pieces of silver to the high priest and elders, saying, I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. But they said, What is that to us? see thou to that; "40 -and that, having thrown the money down in the temple, he departed, and went and hanged himself. But if this covetous Judas, who also stole the money placed in the bag for the relief of the poor, repented, and brought back the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, it is clear that the instructions of Jesus had been able to produce some feeling of repentance in his mind, and were not altogether despised and loathed by this traitor. Nay, the declaration, "I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood," was a public acknowledgment of his crime. Observe, also, how exceedingly passionate41 was the sorrow for his sins that proceeded from that repentance, and which would not suffer him any longer to live; and how, after he had cast the money down in the temple, he withdrew, and went away and hanged himself: for he passed sentence upon himself, showing what a power the teaching of Jesus had over this sinner Judas, this thief and traitor, who could not always treat with contempt what he had learned from Jesus. Will Celsus and his friends now say that those proofs which show that the apostasy of Judas was not a complete apostasy, even after his attempts against his Master, are inventions, and that this alone is true, viz., that one of His disciples betrayed Him; and will they add to the Scriptural account that he betrayed Him also with his whole heart? To act in this spirit of hostility with the same writings, both as to what we are to believe and what we are not to believe, is absurd.42 And if we must make a statement regarding Judas which may overwhelm our opponents with shame, we would say that, in the book of Psalms, the whole of the Psalms 108 contains a prophecy about Judas, the beginning of which is this: "O God, hold not Thy peace before my praise; for the mouth of the sinner, and the mouth of the crafty man, are opened against me."43 And it is predicted in this psalm, both that Judas separated himself from the number of the apostles on account of his sins, and that another was selected in his place; and this is shown by the words: "And his bishopric let another take."44 But suppose now that He had been betrayed by

some one of His disciples, who was possessed by a worse spirit than Judas, and who had completely poured out, as it were, all the words which he had heard from Jesus, what would this contribute to an accusation against Jesus or the Christian religion? And how will this demonstrate its doctrine to be false? We have replied in the preceding chapter to the statements which follow this, showing that Jesus was not taken prisoner when attempting to flee, but that He gave Himself up voluntarily for the sake of us all. Whence it follows, that even if He were bound, He was bound agreeably to His own will; thus teaching us the lesson that we should undertake similar things for the sake of religion in no spirit of unwillingness.

Chapter XII. And the following appear to me to be childish assertions, viz., that "no good general and leader of great multitudes was ever betrayed; nor even a wicked captain of robbers and commander of very wicked men, who seemed to be of any use to his associates; but Jesus, having been betrayed by his subordinates, neither governed like a good general, nor, after deceiving his disciples, produced in the minds of the victims of his deceit that feeling of good-will which, so to speak, would be manifested towards a brigand chief." Now one might find many accounts of generals who were betrayed by their own soldiers, and of robber chiefs who were captured through the instrumentality of those who did not keep their bargains with them. But grant that no general or robber chief was ever betrayed, what does that contribute to the establishment of the fact as a charge against Jesus, that one of His disciples became His betrayer? And since Celsus makes an ostentatious exhibition of philosophy, I would ask of him, If, then, it was a charge against Plato, that Aristotle, after being his pupil for twenty years, went away and assailed his doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and styled the ideas of Plato the merest trifling?45 And if I were still in doubt, I would continue thus: Was Plato no longer mighty in dialectics, nor able to defend his views, after Aristotle had taken his departure; and, on that account, are the opinions of Plato false? Or may it not be, that while Plato is true, as the pupils of his philosophy would maintain, Aristotle was guilty of wickedness and ingratitude towards his teacher? Nay, Chrysippus also, in many places of his writings, appears to assail Cleanthes, introducing novel opinions opposed to his views, although the latter had been his teacher when he was a young man, and began the study of philosophy. Aristotle, indeed, is said to have been Plato's pupil for twenty years, and no inconsiderable period was spent by Chrysippus in the school of Cleanthes; while Judas did not remain so much as three years with Jesus.46 But from the narratives of the lives of philosophers we might take many instances similar to those on which Celsus founds a charge against Jesus on account of Judas. Even the Pythagoreans erected cenotaphs47 to those who, after betaking themselves to philosophy, fell back again into their ignorant mode of life; and yet neither was Pythagoras nor his followers, on that account, weak in argument and demonstration.

Chapter XIII. This Jew of Celsus continues, after the above, in the following fashion: "Although he could state many things regarding the events of the life of Jesus which are true, and not like those which are recorded by the disciples, he willingly omits them." What, then, are those true statements, unlike the accounts in the Gospels, which the Jew of Celsus passes by without mention? Or is he only employing what appears to be a figure of speech,48 in pretending to have something to say, while in reality he had nothing to produce beyond the Gospel narrative which could impress the hearer with a feeling of its truth, and furnish a clear ground of accusation against Jesus and His doctrine? And he charges the disciples with having invented the statement that Jesus foreknew and foretold all that happened to Him; but the truth of this statement we shall

establish, although Celsus may not like it, by means of many other predictions uttered by the Saviour, in which He foretold what would befall the Christians in after generations. And who is there who would not be astonished at this prediction: "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for My sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles; "49 and at any others which He may have delivered respecting the future persecution of His disciples? For what system of opinions ever existed among men on account of which others are punished, so that any one of the accusers of Jesus could say that, foreseeing the impiety or falsity of his opinions to be the ground of an accusation against them he thought that this would redound to his credit, that he had so predicted regarding it long before? Now if any deserve to be brought, on account of their opinions, before governors and kings, what others are they, save the Epicureans, who altogether deny the existence of providence? And also the Peripatetics, who say that prayers are of no avail, and sacrifices offered as to the Divinity? But some one will say that the Samaritans suffer persecution because of their religion. In answer to whom we shall state that the Sicarians,50 on account of the practice of circumcision, as mutilating themselves contrary to the established laws and the customs permitted to the Jews alone, are put to death. And you never hear a judge inquiring whether a Sicarian who strives to live according to this established religion of his will be released from punishment if he apostatizes, but will be led away to death if he continues firm; for the evidence of the circumcision is sufficient to ensure the death of him who has undergone it. But Christians alone, according to the prediction of their Saviour, "Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for My sake," are urged up to their last breath by their judges to deny Christianity, and to sacrifice according to the public customs; and after the oath of abjuration, to return to their homes, and to live in safety. And observe whether it is not with great authority that this declaration is uttered: "Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father who is in heaven. And whosoever shall deny Me before men,"51 etc. And go back with me in thought to Jesus when He uttered these words, and see His predictions not yet accomplished. Perhaps you will say, in a spirit of incredulity, that he is talking folly, and speaking to no purpose, for his words will have no fulfilment; or, being in doubt about assenting to his words, you will say, that if these predictions be fulfilled, and the doctrine of Jesus be established, so that governors and kings think of destroying those who acknowledge Jesus, then we shall believe that he utters these prophecies as one who has received great power from God to implant this doctrine among the human race, and as believing that it will prevail. And who will not be filled with wonder, when he goes back in thought to Him who then taught and said, "This Gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles,"52 and beholds, agreeably to His words, the Gospel of Jesus Christ preached in the whole world under heaven to Greeks and Barbarians, wise and foolish alike? For the word, spoken with power, has gained the mastery over men of all sorts of nature, and it is impossible to see any race of men which has escaped accepting the teaching of Jesus. But let this Jew of Celsus, who does not believe that He foreknew all that happened to Him, consider how, while Jerusalem was still standing, and the whole Jewish worship celebrated in it, Jesus foretold what would befall it from the hand of the Romans. For they will not maintain that the acquaintances and pupils of Jesus Himself handed down His teaching contained in the Gospels without committing it to writing, and left His disciples without the memoirs of Jesus contained in their works.53 Now in these it is recorded, that "when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed about with armies, then shall ye know that the desolation thereof is nigh."54 But at that time there were no armies around Jerusalem, encompassing and

enclosing and besieging it; for the siege began in the reign of Nero, and lasted till the government of Vespasian, whose son Titus destroyed Jerusalem, on account, as Josephus says, of James the Just, the brother of Jesus who was called Christ, but in reality, as the truth makes dear, on account of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

Chapter XIV.

Celsus, however, accepting or granting that Jesus foreknew what would befall Him, might think to make light of the admission, as he did in the case of the miracles, when he alleged that they were wrought by means of sorcery; for he might say that many persons by means of divination, either by auspices, or auguries, or sacrifices, or nativities, have come to the knowledge of what was to happen. But this concession he would not make, as being too great a one; and although he somehow granted that Jesus worked miracles, he thought to weaken the force of this by the charge of sorcery. Now Phlegon, in the thirteenth or fourteenth book, I think, of his Chronicles, not only ascribed to Jesus a knowledge of future events (although falling into confusion about some things which refer to Peter, as if they referred to Jesus), but also testified that the result corresponded to His predictions. So that he also, by these very admissions regarding foreknowledge, as if against his will, expressed his opinion that the doctrines taught by the fathers of our system were not devoid of divine power.

Chapter XV.

Celsus continues: "The disciples of Jesus, having no undoubted fact on which to rely, devised the fiction that he foreknew everything before it happened; "not observing, or not wishing to observe, the love of truth which actuated the writers, who acknowledged that Jesus had told His disciples beforehand, "All ye shall be offended because of Me this night,"-a statement which was fulfilled by their all being offended; and that He predicted to Peter, "Before the cock crow, thou shall deny Me thrice," which was followed by Peter's threefold denial. Now if they had not been lovers of truth, but, as Celsus supposes, inventors of fictions, they would not have represented Peter as denying, nor His disciples as being offended. For although these events actually happened, who could have proved that they turned out in that manner? And yet, according to all probability, these were matters which ought to have been passed over in silence by men who wished to teach the readers of the Gospels to despise death for the sake of confessing Christianity. But now, seeing that the word, by its power, will gain the mastery over men, they related those facts which they have done, and which, I know not how, were neither to do any harm to their readers, nor to afford any pretext for denial.

Chapter XVI.

Exceedingly weak is his assertion, that "the disciples of Jesus wrote such accounts regarding him, by way of extenuating the charges that told against him: as if," he says, "any one were to say that a certain person was a just man, and yet were to show that he was guilty of injustice; or that he was pious, and yet had committed murder; or that he was immortal, and yet was dead; subjoining to all these statements the remark that he had foretold all these things." Now his illustrations are at once seen to be inappropriate; for there is no absurdity in Him who had resolved that He would become a living pattern to men, as to the manner in which they were to regulate their lives, showing also how they ought to die for the sake of their religion, apart altogether from the fact that

His death on behalf of men was a benefit to the whole world, as we proved in the preceding book. He imagines, moreover, that the whole of the confession of the Saviour's sufferings confirms his objection instead of weakening it. For he is not acquainted either with the philosophical remarks of Paul,55 or the statements of the prophets, on this subject. And it escaped him that certain heretics have declared that Jesus underwent His sufferings in appearance, not in reality. For had he known, he would not have said: "For ye do not even allege this, that he seemed to wicked men to suffer this punishment, though not undergoing it in reality; but, on the contrary, ye acknowledge that he openly suffered." But we do not view His sufferings as having been merely in appearance, in order that His resurrection also may not be a false, but a real event. For he who really died, actually arose, if he did arise; whereas he who appeared only to have died, did not in reality arise. But since the resurrection of Jesus Christ is a subject of mockery to unbelievers, we shall quote the words of Plato,56 that Erus the son of Armenius rose from the funeral pile twelve days after he had been laid upon it, and gave an account of what he had seen in Hades; and as we are replying to unbelievers, it will not be altogether useless to refer in this place to what Heraclides57 relates respecting the woman who was deprived of life. And many persons are recorded to have risen from their tombs, not only on the day of their burial, but also on the day following. What wonder is it, then, if in the case of One who performed many marvellous things, both beyond the power of man and with such fulness of evidence, that he who could not deny their performance, endeavoured to calumniate them by comparing them to acts of sorcery, should have manifested also in His death some greater display of divine power, so that His soul, if it pleased, might leave its body, and having performed certain offices out of it, might return again at pleasure? And such a declaration is Jesus said to have made in the Gospel of John, when He said: "No man taketh My life from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."58 And perhaps it was on this account that He hastened His departure from the body, that He might preserve it, and that His legs might not be broken, as were those of the robbers who were crucified with Him. "For the soldiers brake the legs of the first, and of the other who was crucified with Him; but when they came to Jesus, and saw that He was dead, they brake not His legs."59 We have accordingly answered the question," How is it credible that Jesus could have predicted these things? "And with respect to this, "How could the dead man be immortal? "let him who wishes to understand know, that it is not the dead man who is immortal, but He who rose from the dead. So far, indeed, was the dead man from being immortal, that even the Jesus before His decease-the compound being, who was to suffer death-was not immortal.60 For no one is immortal who is destined to die; but he is immortal when he shall no longer be subject to death. But "Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more: death hath no more dominion over Him; "61 although those may be unwilling to admit this who cannot understand how such things should be said.

Chapter XVII.

Extremely foolish also is his remark, "What god, or spirit, or prudent man would not, on foreseeing that such events were to befall him, avoid them if he could; whereas he threw himself headlong into those things which he knew beforehand were to happen? "And yet Socrates knew that he would die after drinking the hemlock, and it was in his power, if he had allowed himself to be persuaded by Crito, by escaping from prison, to avoid these calamities; but nevertheless he decided, as it appeared to him consistent with fight reason, that it was better for him to die as

became a philosopher, than to retain his life in a manner unbecoming one. Leonidas also, the Lacedaemonian general, knowing that he was on the point of dying with his followers at Thermopylae, did not make any effort to preserve his life by disgraceful means but said to his companions, "Let us go to breakfast, as we shall sup in Hades." And those who are interested in collecting stories of this kind will find numbers of them. Now, where is the wonder if Jesus, knowing all things that were to happen, did not avoid them, but encountered what He foreknew; when Paul, His own disciple, having heard what would befall him when he went up to Jerusalem, proceeded to face the danger, reproaching those who were weeping around him, and endeavouring to prevent him from going up to Jerusalem? Many also of our contemporaries, knowing well that if they made a confession of Christianity they would be put to death, but that if they denied it they would be liberated, and their property restored, despised life, and voluntarily selected death for the sake of their religion.

Chapter XVIII.

After this the Jew makes another silly remark, saying, "How is it that, if Jesus pointed out beforehand both the traitor and the perjurer, they did not fear him as a God, and cease, the one from his intended treason, and the other from his perjury? "Here the learned Celsus did not see the contradiction in his statement: for if Jesus foreknew events as a God, then it was impossible for His foreknowledge to prove untrue; and therefore it was impossible for him who was known to Him as going to betray Him not to execute his purpose, nor for him who was rebuked as going to deny Him not to have been guilty of that crime. For if it had been possible for the one to abstain from the act of betrayal, and the other from that of denial, as having been warned of the consequences of these actions beforehand, then His words were no longer true, who predicted that the one would betray Him and the other deny Him. For if He had foreknowledge of the traitor, He knew the wickedness in which the treason originated, and this wickedness was by no means taken away by the foreknowledge. And, again, if He had ascertained that one would deny Him, He made that prediction from seeing the weakness out of which that act of denial would arise, and yet this weakness was not to be taken away thus at once62 by the foreknowledge. But whence he derived the statement, "that these persons betrayed and denied him without manifesting any concern about him," I know not; for it was proved, with respect to the traitor, that it is false to say that he betrayed his master without an exhibition of anxiety regarding Him. And this was shown to be equally true of him who denied Him; for he went out, after the denial, and wept bitterly.

Chapter XIX.

Superficial also is his objection, that "it is always the case when a man against whom a plot is formed, and who comes to the knowledge of it, makes known to the conspirators that he is acquainted with their design, that the latter are turned from their purpose, and keep upon their guard." For many have continued to plot even against those who were acquainted with their plans. And then, as if bringing his argument to a conclusion, he says: "Not because these things were predicted did they come to pass, for that is impossible; but since they have come to pass, their being predicted is shown to be a falsehood: for it is altogether impossible that those who heard beforehand of the discovery of their designs, should carry out their plans of betrayal and denial!" But if his premises are overthrown, then his conclusion also falls to the ground, viz., "that we are not to believe, because these things were predicted, that they have come to pass." Now we

maintain that they not only came to pass as being possible, but also that, because they came to pass, the fact of their being predicted is shown to be true; for the truth regarding future events is judged of by results. It is false, therefore, as asserted by him, that the prediction of these events is proved to be untrue; and it is to no purpose that he says, "It is altogether impossible for those who heard beforehand that their designs were discovered, to carry out their plans of betrayal and denial."

Chapter XX.

Let us see how he continues after this: "These events," he says, "he predicted as being a God, and the prediction must by all means come to pass. God, therefore, who above all others ought to do good to men, and especially to those of his own household, led on his own disciples and prophets, with whom he was in the habit of eating and drinking, to such a degree of wickedness, that they became impious and unholy men. Now, of a truth, he who shared a man's table would not be guilty of conspiring against him; but after banqueting with God, he became a conspirator. And, what is still more absurd, God himself plotted against the members of his own table, by converting them into traitors and villains!" Now, since you wish me to answer even those charges of Celsus which seem to me frivolous,63 the following is our reply to such statements. Celsus imagines that an event, predicted through foreknowledge, comes to pass because it was predicted; but we do not grant this, maintaining that he who foretold it was not the cause of its happening, because he foretold it would happen; but the future event itself, which would have taken place though not predicted, afforded the occasion to him, who was endowed with foreknowledge, of foretelling its occurrence. Now, certainly this result is present to the foreknowledge of him who predicts an event, when it is possible that it may or may not happen, viz., that one or other of these things will take place. For we do not assert that he who foreknows an event, by secretly taking away the possibility of its happening or not, makes any such declaration as this: "This shall infallibly happen, and it is impossible that it can be otherwise." And this remark applies to all the foreknowledge of events dependent upon ourselves, whether contained in the sacred Scriptures or in the histories of the Greeks. Now, what is called by logicians an" idle argument,"64 which is a sophism, will be no sophism as far as Celsus can help, but according to sound reasoning it is a sophism. And that this may be seen, I shall take from the Scriptures the predictions regarding Judas, or the foreknowledge of our Saviour regarding him as the traitor; and from the Greek histories the oracle that was given to Laius, conceding for the present its truth, since it does not affect the argument. Now, in Ps. cviii., Judas is spoken of by the mouth of the Saviour, in words beginning thus: "Hold not Thy peace, O God of my praise; for the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me." Now, if you carefully observe the contents of the psalm, you will find that, as it was foreknown that he would betray the Saviour, so also was he considered to be himself the cause of the betrayal, and deserving, on account of his wickedness, of the imprecations contained in the prophecy. For let him suffer these things," because," says the psalmist, "he remembered not to show mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man." Wherefore it was possible for him to show mercy, and not to persecute him whom he did persecute. But although he might have done these things, he did not do them, but carried out the act of treason, so as to merit the curses pronounced against him in the prophecy. And in answer to the Greeks we shall quote the following oracular response to Laius, as recorded by the tragic poet, either in the exact words of the oracle or in equivalent terms. Future events are

thus made known to him by the oracle: "Do not try to beget children against the will of the gods. For if you beget a son, your son shall murder you; and all your household shall wade in blood."65 Now from this it is clear that it was within the power of Laius not to try to beget children, for the oracle would not have commanded an impossibility; and it was also in his power to do the opposite, so that neither of these courses was compulsory. And the consequence of his not guarding against the begetting of children was, that he suffered from so doing the calamities described in the tragedies relating to (Edipus and Jocasta and their sons. Now that which is called the "idle argument," being a quibble, is such as might be applied, say in the case of a sick man, with the view of sophistically preventing him from employing a physician to promote his recovery; and it is something like this: "If it is decreed that you should recover from your disease, you will recover whether you call in a physician or not; but if it is decreed that you should not recover, you will not recover whether you call in a physician or no. But it is certainly decreed either that you should recover, or that you should not recover; and therefore it is in vain that you call in a physician." Now with this argument the following may be wittily compared: "If it is decreed that you should beget children, you will beget them, whether you have intercourse with a woman or not. But if it is decreed that you should not beget children, you will not do so, whether you have intercourse with a woman or no. Now, certainly, it is decreed either that you should beget children or not; therefore it is in vain that you have intercourse with a woman." For, as in the latter instance, intercourse with a woman is not employed in vain, seeing it is an utter impossibility for him who does not use it to beget children; so, in the former, if recovery from disease is to be accomplished by means of the healing art, of necessity the physician is summoned, and it is therefore false to say that "in vain do you call in a physician." We have brought forward all these illustrations on account of the assertion of this learned Celsus, that "being a God He predicted these things, and the predictions must by all means come to pass." Now, if by "by all means" he means "necessarily," we cannot admit this. For it was quite possible, also, that they might not come to pass. But if he uses "by all means" in the sense of "simple futurity,"66 which nothing hinders from being true (although it was possible that they might not happen), he does not at all touch my argument; nor did it follow, from Jesus having predicted the acts of the traitor or the perjurer, that it was the same thing with His being the cause of such impious and unholy proceedings. For He who was amongst us, and knew what was in man, seeing his evil disposition, and foreseeing what he would attempt from his spirit of covetousness, and from his want of stable ideas of duty towards his Master, along with many other declarations, gave utterance to this also: "He that dippeth his hand with Me in the dish, the same shall betray Me."67

Chapter XXI.

Observe also the superficiality and manifest falsity of such a statement of Celsus, when he asserts "that he who was partaker of a man's table would not conspire against him; and if he would not conspire against a man, much less would he plot against a God after banqueting with him." For who does not know that many persons, after partaking of the salt on the table,68 have entered into a conspiracy against their entertainers? The whole of Greek and Barbarian history is full of such instances. And the Iambic poet of Paros,69 when upbraiding Lycambes with having violated covenants confirmed by the salt of the table, says to him:-

"But thou hast broken a mighty oath-that, viz., by the salt of the table."And they who are interested in historical learning, and who give themselves wholly to it, to the neglect of other branches of

knowledge more necessary for the conduct of life,70 can quote numerous instances, showing that they who shared in the hospitality of others entered into conspiracies against them.

Chapter XXII.

He adds to this, as if he had brought together an argument with conclusive demonstrations and consequences, the following: "And, which is still more absurd, God himself conspired against those who sat at his table, by converting them into traitors and impious men." But how Jesus could either conspire or convert His disciples into traitors or impious men, it would be impossible for him to prove, save by means of such a deduction as any one could refute with the greatest ease.

Chapter XXIII.

He continues in this strain: "If he had determined upon these things, and underwent chastisement in obedience to his Father, it is manifest that, being a God, and submitting voluntarily, those things that were done agreeably to his own decision were neither painful nor distressing." But he did not observe that here he was at once contradicting himself. For if he granted that He was chastised because He had determined upon these things, and had submitted Himself to His Father, it is clear that He actually suffered punishment, and it was impossible that what was inflicted on Him by His chastisers should not be painful, because pain is an involuntary thing. But if, because He was willing to suffer, His inflictions were neither painful nor distressing, how did He grant that "He was chastised? "He did not perceive that when Jesus had once, by His birth, assumed a body, He assumed one which was capable both of suffering pains, and those distresses incidental to humanity, if we are to understand by distresses what no one voluntarily chooses. Since, therefore, He voluntarily assumed a body, not wholly of a different nature from that of human flesh, so along with His body He assumed also its sufferings and distresses, which it was not in His power to avoid enduring, it being in the power of those who inflicted them to send upon Him things distressing and painful. And in the preceding pages we have already shown, that He would not have come into the hands of men had He not so willed. But He did come, because He was willing to come, and because it was manifest beforehand that His dying upon behalf of men would be of advantage to the whole human race.

Chapter XXIV.

After this, wishing to prove that the occurrences which befell Him were painful and distressing, and that it was impossible for Him, had He wished, to render them otherwise, he proceeds: "Why does he mourn, and lament, and pray to escape the fear of death, expressing himself in terms like these: `O Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me? '"71 Now in these words observe the malignity of Celsus, how not accepting the love of truth which actuates the writers of the Gospels (who might have passed over in silence those points which, as Celsus thinks, are censurable, but who did not omit them for many reasons, which any one, in expounding the Gospel, can give in their proper place), he brings an accusation against the Gospel statement, grossly exaggerating the facts, and quoting what is not written in the Gospels, seeing it is nowhere found that Jesus lamented. And he changes the words in the expression, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me," and does not give what follows immediately after, which manifests at once the ready obedience of Jesus to His Father, and His greatness of mind, and which runs thus: "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt."72 Nay, even the cheerful obedience of Jesus to the will of His

Father in those things which He was condemned to suffer, exhibited in the declaration, "If this cup cannot pass from Me except I drink it, Thy will be done," he pretends not to have observed, acting here like those wicked individuals who listen to the Holy Scriptures in a malignant spirit, and "who talk wickedness with lofty head." For they appear to have heard the declaration, "I kill,"73 and they often make it to us a subject of reproach; but the words, "I will make alive," they do not remember,-the whole sentence showing that those who live amid public wickedness, and who work wickedly, are put to death by God, and that a better life is infused into them instead, even one which God will give to those who have died to sin. And so also these men have heard the words, "I will smite; "but they do not see these, "and I will heal," which are like the words of a physician, who cuts bodies asunder, and inflicts severe wounds, in order to extract from them substances that are injurious and prejudicial to health, and who does not terminate his work with pains and lacerations, but by his treatment restores the body to that state of soundness which he has in view. Moreover, they have not heard the whole of the announcement, "For He maketh sore, and again bindeth up; "but only this part, "He maketh sore." So in like manner acts this Jew of Celsus who quotes the words, "O Father, would that this cup might pass from Me; "but who does not add what follows, and which exhibits the firmness of Jesus, and His preparedness for suffering. But these matters, which afford great room for explanation from the wisdom of God, and which may reasonably be pondered over74 by those whom Paul calls "perfect" when he said, "We speak wisdom among them who are perfect,"75 we pass by for the present, and shall speak for a little of those matters which are useful for our present purpose.

Chapter XXV.

We have mentioned in the preceding pages that there are some of the declarations of Jesus which refer to that Being in Him which was the "first-born of every creature," such as, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life," and such like; and others, again, which belong to that in Him which is understood to be man, such as, "But now ye seek to kill Me, a man that hath told you the truth which I have heard of the Father."76 And here, accordingly, he describes the element of weakness belonging to human flesh, and that of readiness of spirit which existed in His humanity: the element of weakness in the expression, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; "the readiness of the spirit in this, "Nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." And since it is proper to observe the order of our quotations, observe that, in the first place, there is mentioned only the single instance, as one would say, indicating the weakness of the flesh; and afterwards those other instances, greater in number, manifesting the willingness of the spirit. For the expression, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me," is only one: whereas more numerous are those others, viz., "Not as I will, but as Thou wilt; "and, "O My Father, if this cup cannot pass from Me except I drink it, Thy will be done." It is to be noted also, that the words are not, "let this cup depart from Me; "but that the whole expression is marked by a tone of piety and reverence, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me." I know, indeed, that there is another explanation of this passage to the following effect:-The Saviour, foreseeing the sufferings which the Jewish people and the city of Jerusalem were to undergo in requital of the wicked deeds which the Jews had dared to perpetrate upon Him, from no other motive than that of the purest philanthropy towards them, and from a desire that they might escape the impending calamities, gave utterance to the prayer, "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me." It is as if He had said, "Because of My drinking this cup of punishment, the whole nation will be forsaken by Thee, I

pray, if it be possible, that this cup may pass from Me, in order that Thy portion, which was guilty of such crimes against Me, may not be altogether deserted by Thee." But if, as Celsus would allege, "nothing at that time was done to Jesus which was either painful or distressing," how could men afterwards quote the example of Jesus as enduring sufferings for the sake of religion, if He did not suffer what are human sufferings, but only had the appearance of so doing?

Chapter XXVI. This Jew of Celsus still accuses the disciples of Jesus of having invented these statements saying to them: "Even although guilty of falsehood, ye have not been able to give a colour of credibility to your inventions." In answer to which we have to say, that there was an easy method of concealing these occurrences,-that, viz., of not recording them at all. For if the Gospels had not contained the accounts of these things, who could have reproached us with Jesus having spoken such words during His stay upon the earth? Celsus, indeed, did not see that it was an inconsistency for the same persons both to be deceived regarding Jesus, believing Him to be God, and the subject of prophecy, and to invent fictions about Him, knowing manifestly that these statements were false. Of a truth, therefore, they were not guilty of inventing untruths, but such were their real impressions, and they recorded them truly; or else they were guilty of falsifying the histories, and did not entertain these views, and were not deceived when they acknowledged Him to be God.

Chapter XXVII.

After this he says, that certain of the Christian believers, like persons who in a fit of drunkenness lay violent hands upon themselves, have corrupted the Gospel from its original integrity, to a threefold, and fourfold, and many-fold degree, and have remodelled it, so that they might be able to answer objections. Now I know of no others who have altered the Gospel, save the. followers of Marcion, and those of Valentinus, and, I think, also those of Lucian. But such an allegation is no charge against the Christian system, but against those who dared so to trifle with the Gospels. And as it is no ground of accusation against philosophy, that there exist Sophists, or Epicureans, or Peripatetics, or any others, whoever they may be, who hold false opinions; so neither is it against genuine Christianity that there are some who corrupt the Gospel histories, and who introduce heresies opposed to the meaning of the doctrine of Jesus.

Chapter XXVIII. And since this Jew of Celsus makes it a subject of reproach that Christians should make use of the prophets, who predicted the events of Christ's life, we have to say, in addition to what we have already advanced upon this head, that it became him to spare individuals, as he says, and to expound the prophecies themselves, and after admitting the probability of the Christian interpretation of them, to show how the use which they make of them may be overturned.77 For in this way he would not appear hastily to assume so important a position on small grounds, and particularly when he asserts that the "prophecies agree with ten thousand other things more credibly than with Jesus." And he ought to have carefully met this powerful argument of the Christians, as being the strongest which they adduce, and to have demonstrated with regard to each particular prophecy, that it can apply to other events with greater probability than to Jesus. He did not, however, perceive that this was a plausible argument to be advanced against the Christians only by one who was an opponent of the prophetic writings; but Celsus has here put l in the mouth of a Jew an objection which a Jew would not have made. For a Jew will not admit that the prophecies may be applied to countless other things with greater probability than to

Jesus; but he will endeavour, after giving what appears to him the meaning of each, to oppose the Christian interpretation, not indeed by any means adducing convincing reasons, but only attempting to do so.

Chapter XXIX. In the preceding pages we have already spoken of this point, viz., the prediction that there were to be two advents of Christ to the human race, so that it is not necessary for us to reply to the objection, supposed to be urged by a Jew, that "the prophets declare the coming one to be a mighty potentate, Lord of all nations and armies." But it is in the spirit of a Jew, I think, and in keeping with their bitter animosity, and baseless and even improbable calumnies against Jesus, that he adds: "Nor did the prophets predict such a pestilence."78 For neither Jews, nor Celsus, nor any other, can bring any argument to prove that a pestilence converts men from the practice of evil to a life which is according to nature, and distinguished by temperance and other virtues.

Chapter XXX. This objection also is cast in our teeth by Celsus: "From such signs and misinterpretations, and from proofs so mean, no one could prove him to be God, and the Son of God." Now it was his duty to enumerate the alleged misinterpretations, and to prove them to be such, and to show by reasoning the meanness of the evidence, in order that the Christian, if any of his objections should seem to be plausible, might be able to answer and confute his arguments. What he said, however, regarding Jesus, did indeed come to pass, because He was a mighty potentate, although Celsus refuses to see that it so happened, notwithstanding that the clearest evidence proves it true of Jesus. "For as the sun," he says, "which enlightens all other objects, first makes himself visible, so ought the Son of God to have done." We would say in reply, that so He did; for righteousness has arisen in His days, and there is abundance of peace, which took its commencement at His birth, God preparing the nations for His teaching, that they might be under one prince, the king of the Romans, and that it might not, owing to the want of union among the nations, caused by the existence of many kingdoms, be more difficult for the apostles of Jesus to accomplish the task enjoined upon them by their Master, when He said, "Go and teach all nations." Moreover it is certain that Jesus was born in the reign of Augustus, who, so to speak, fused together into one monarchy the many populations of the earth. Now the existence of many kingdoms would have been a hindrance to the spread of the doctrine of Jesus throughout the entire world; not only for the reasons mentioned, but also on account of the necessity of men everywhere engaging in war, and fighting on behalf of their native country, which was the case before the times of Augustus, and in periods still more remote, when necessity arose, as when the Peloponnesians and Athenians warred against each other, and other nations in like manner. How, then, was it possible for the Gospel doctrine of peace, which does not permit men to take vengeance even upon enemies, to prevail throughout the world, unless at the advent of Jesus79 a milder spirit had been everywhere introduced into the conduct of things?

Chapter XXXI.

He next charges the Christians with being "guilty of sophistical reasoning, in saying that the Son of God is the Logoj Himself." And he thinks that he strengthens the accusation, because "when we declare the Logoj to be the Son of God, we do not present to view a pure and holy Logoj, but a most degraded man, who was punished by scourging and crucifixion." Now, on this head we have briefly replied to the charges of Celsus in the preceding pages, where Christ was shown to be the first-born of all creation, who assumed a body and a human soul; and that God gave

commandment respecting the creation of such mighty things in the world, and they were created; and that He who received the command was God the Logos. And seeing it is a Jew who makes these statements in the work of Celsus, it will not be out of place to quote the declaration, "He sent His word, and healed them, and delivered them from their destruction,"80 -a passage of which we spoke a little ago. Now, although I have conferred with many Jews who professed to be learned men, I never heard any one expressing his approval of the statement that the Logos is the Son of God, as Celsus declares they do, in putting into the mouth of the Jew such a declaration as this: "If your Logos is the Son of God, we also give out assent to the same."

Chapter XXXII.

We have already shown that Jesus can be regarded neither as an arrogant man, nor a sorcerer; and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat our former arguments, lest, in replying to the tautologies of Celsus, we ourselves should be guilty of needless repetition. And now, in finding fault with our Lord's genealogy, there are certain points which occasion some difficulty even to Christians, and which, owing to the discrepancy between the genealogies, are advanced by some as arguments against their correctness, but which Celsus has not even mentioned. For Celsus, who is truly a braggart, and who professes to be acquainted with all matters relating to Christianity, does not know how to raise doubts in a skilful manner against the credibility of Scripture. But he asserts that the "framers of the genealogies, from a feeling of pride, made Jesus to be descended from the first man, and from the kings of the Jews." And he thinks that he makes a notable charge when he adds, that "the carpenters wife could not have been ignorant of the fact, had she been of such illustrious descent." But what has this to do with the question? Granted that she was not ignorant of her descent, how does that affect the result? Suppose that she were ignorant, how could her ignorance prove that she was not descended from the first man, or could not derive her origin from the Jewish kings? Does Celsus imagine that the poor must always be descended from ancestors who are poor, or that kings are always born of kings? But it appears folly to waste time upon such an argument as this, seeing it is well known that, even in our own days, some who are poorer than Mary are descended from ancestors of wealth and distinction, and that rulers of nations and kings have sprung from persons of no reputation.

Chapter XXXIII.

"But," continues Celsus, "what great deeds did Jesus perform as being a God? Did he put his enemies to shame, or bring to a ridiculous conclusion what was designed against him? "Now to this question, although we are able to show the striking and miraculous character of the events which befell Him, yet from what other source can we furnish an answer than from the Gospel narratives, which state that "there was an earthquake, and that the rocks were split asunder, and the tombs opened, and the veil of the temple rent in twain from top to bottom, and that darkness prevailed in the day-time, the sun failing to give light? "81 But if Celsus believe the Gospel accounts when he thinks that he can find in them matter of charge against the Christians, and refuse to believe them when they establish the divinity of Jesus, our answer to him is: "Sir,82 either disbelieve all the Gospel narratives, and then no longer imagine that you can found charges upon them; or, in yielding your belief to their statements, look in admiration on the Logos of God, who became incarnate, and who desired to confer benefits upon the whole human race. And this feature evinces the nobility of the work of Jesus, that, down to the present time, those whom God

wills are healed by His name.83 And with regard to the eclipse in the time of Tiberius Caesar, in whose reign Jesus appears to have been crucified, and the great earthquakes which then took place, Phlegon too, I think, has written in the thirteenth or fourteenth book of his Chronicles."84

Chapter XXXIV. This Jew of Celsus, ridiculing Jesus, as he imagines, is described as being acquainted with the Bacchae of Euripides, in which Dionysus says:-

"The divinity himself will liberate me whenever I wish."85 Now the Jews are not much acquainted with Greek literature; but suppose that there was a Jew so well versed in it (as to make such a quotation on his part appropriate), how (does it follow) that Jesus could not liberate Himself, because He did not do so? For let him believe from our own Scriptures that Peter obtained his freedom after having been bound in prison, an angel having loosed his chains; and that Paul, having been bound in the stocks along with Silas in Philippi of Macedonia, was liberated by divine power, when the gates of the prison were opened. But it is probable that Celsus treats these accounts with ridicule, or that he never read them; for he would probably say in reply, that there are certain sorcerers who are able by incantations to unloose chains and to open doors, so that he would liken the events related in our histories to the doings of sorcerers. "But," he continues, "no calamity happened even to him who condemned him, as there did to Pentheus, viz., madness or discerption."86 And yet he does not know that it was not so much Pilate that condemned Him (who knew that "for envy the Jews had delivered Him"), as the Jewish nation, which has been condemned by God, and rent in pieces, and dispersed over the whole earth, in a degree far beyond what happened to Pentheus. Moreover, why did he intentionally omit what is related of Pilate's wife, who beheld a vision, and who was so moved by it as to send a message to her husband, saying: "Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of Him? "87 And again, passing by in silence the proofs of the divinity of Jesus, Celsus endeavours to cast reproach upon Him from the narratives in the Gospel, referring to those who mocked Jesus, and put on Him the purple robe, and the crown of thorns, and placed the reed in His hand. From what source now, Celsus, did you derive these statements, save from the Gospel narratives? And did you, accordingly, see that they were fit matters for reproach; while they who recorded them did not think that you, and such as you, would turn them into ridicule; but that others would receive from them an example how to despise those who ridiculed and mocked Him on account of His religion, who appropriately laid down His life for its sake? Admire rather their love of truth, and that of the Being who bore these things voluntarily for the sake of men, and who endured them with all constancy and long-suffering. For it is not recorded that He uttered any lamentation, or that after His condemnation He either did or uttered anything unbecoming.

Chapter XXXV. But in answer to this objection, "If not before, yet why now, at least, does he not give some manifestation of his divinity, and free himself from this reproach, and take vengeance upon those who insult both him and his Father? "We have to reply, that it would be the same thing as if we were to say to those among the Greeks who accept the doctrine of providence, and who believe in portents, Why does God not punish those who insult the Divinity, and subvert the doctrine of providence? For as the Greeks would answer such objections, so would we, in the same, or a more effective manner. There was not only a portent from heaven-the eclipse of the sun-but also the other miracles, which show that the crucified One possessed something that was divine, and greater than was possessed by the majority of men.

Chapter XXXVI.

Celsus next says: "What is the nature of the ichor in the body of the crucified Jesus? Is it `such as flows in the bodies of the immortal gods? '"88 He puts this question in a spirit of mockery; but we shall show from the serious narratives of the Gospels, although Celsus may not like it, that it was no mythic and Homeric ichor which flowed from the body of Jesus, but that, after His death, "one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and there came there-out blood and water. And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true, and he knoweth that he saith the truth."89 Now, in other dead bodies the blood congeals, and pure water does not flow forth; but the miraculous feature in the case of the dead body of Jesus was, that around the dead body blood and water flowed forth from the side. But if this Celsus, who, in order to find matter of accusation against Jesus and the Christians, extracts from the Gospel even passages which are incorrectly interpreted, but passes over in silence the evidences of the divinity of Jesus, would listen to divine portents, let him read the Gospel, and see that even the centurion, and they who with him kept watch over Jesus, on seeing the earthquake, and the events that occurred, were greatly afraid, saying, "This man was the Son of God."90

Chapter XXXVII.

After this, he who extracts from the Gospel narrative those statements on which he thinks he can found an accusation, makes the vinegar and the gall a subject of reproach to Jesus, saying that "he rushed with open mouth91 to drink of them, and could not endure his thirst as any ordinary man frequently endures it." Now this matter admits of an explanation of a peculiar and figurative kind; but on the present occasion, the statement that the prophets predicted this very incident may be accepted as the more common answer to the objection. For in the Psalms 69 there is written, with reference to Christ: "And they gave me gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink,"92 Now, let the Jews say who it is that the prophetic writing represents as uttering these words; and let them adduce from history one who received gall for his food, and to whom vinegar was given as drink. Would they venture to assert that the Christ whom they expect still to come might be placed in such circumstances? Then we would say, What prevents the prediction from having been already accomplished? For this very prediction was uttered many ages before, and is sufficient, along with the other prophetic utterances, to lead him who fairly examines the whole matter to the conclusion that Jesus is He who was prophesied of as Christ, and as the Son of God.

Chapter XXXVIII. The few next remarks: "You, O sincere believers,93 find fault with us, because we do not recognise this individual as God, nor agree with you that he endured these (sufferings) for the benefit of mankind, in order that we also might despise punishment." Now, in answer to this, we say that we blame the Jews, who have been brought up under the training of the law and the prophets (which foretell the coming of Christ), because they neither refute the arguments which we lay before them to prove that He is the Messiah,94 adducing such refutation as a defence of their unbelief; nor yet, while not offering any refutation, do they believe in Him who was the subject of prophecy, and who clearly manifested through His disciples, even after the period of His appearance in the flesh, that He underwent these things for the benefit of mankind; having, as the object of His first advent, not to condemn men and their actions95 before He had instructed them, and pointed out to them their duty,96 nor to chastise the wicked and save the good, but to

disseminate His doctrine in an extraordinary97 manner, and with the evidence of divine power, among the whole human race, as the prophets also have represented these things. And we blame them, moreover, because they did not believe in Him who gave evidence of the power that was in Him, but asserted that He cast out demons from the souls of men through Beelzebub the prince of the demons; and we blame them because they slander the philanthropic character of Him, who overlooked not only no city, but not even a single village in Judea, that He might everywhere announce the kingdom of God, accusing Him of leading the wandering life of a vagabond, and passing an anxious existence in a disgraceful body. But there is no disgrace in enduring such labours for the benefit of all those who may be able to understand Him.

Chapter XXXIX. And how can the following assertion of this Jew of Celsus appear anything else than a manifest falsehood, viz., that Jesus, "having gained over no one during his life, not even his own disciples, underwent these punishments and sufferings? "For from what other source sprang the envy which was aroused against Him by the Jewish high priests, and elders, and scribes, save from the fact that multitudes obeyed and followed Him, and were led into the deserts not only by the persuasive98 language of Him whose words were always appropriate to His hearers, but who also by His miracles made an impression on those who were not moved to belief by His words? And is it not a manifest falsehood to say that "he did not gain over even his own disciples," who exhibited, indeed, at that time some symptoms of human weakness arising from cowardly fear-for they had not yet been disciplined to the exhibition of full courage-but who by no means abandoned the judgments which they had formed regarding Him as the Christ? For Peter, after his denial, perceiving to what a depth of wickedness he had fallen, "went out and wept bitterly; "while the others, although stricken with dismay on account of what had happened to Jesus (for they still continued to admire Him), had, by His glorious appearance,99 their belief more firmly established than before that He was the Son of God.

Chapter XL.

It is, moreover, in a very unphilosophical spirit that Celsus imagines our Lord's pre-eminence among men to consist, not in the preaching of salvation and in a pure morality, but in acting contrary to the character of that personality which He had taken upon Him, and in not dying, although He had assumed mortality; or, if dying, yet at least not such a death as might serve as a pattern to those who were to learn by that very act how to die for the sake of religion, and to comport themselves boldly through its help, before those who hold erroneous views on the subject of religion and irreligion, and who regard religious men as altogether irreligious, but imagine those to be most religious who err regarding God, and who apply to everything rather than to God the ineradicable100 idea of Him (which is implanted in the human mind), and especially when they eagerly rush to destroy those who have yielded themselves up with their whole soul (even unto death), to the clear evidence of one God who is over all things.

Chapter XLI. In the person of the Jew, Celsus continues to find fault with Jesus, alleging that "he did not show himself to be pure from all evil." Let Celsus state from what "evil" our Lord did not, show Himself to be pure. If he means that, He was not pure from what is properly termed "evil," let him clearly prove the existence of any wicked work in Him. But if he deems poverty and the cross to be evils, and conspiracy on the part of wicked men, then it is clear that he would say that evil had happened also to Socrates, who was unable to show himself pure from evils. And how great

also the other band of poor men is among the Greeks, who have given themselves to philosophical pursuits, and have voluntarily accepted a life of poverty, is known to many among the Greeks from what is recorded of Democritus, who allowed his property to become pasture for sheep; and of Crates, who obtained his freedom by bestowing upon the Thebans the price received for the sale of his possessions. Nay, even Diogenes himself, from excessive poverty, came to live in a tub; and yet, in the opinion of no one possessed of moderate understanding, was Diogenes on that account considered to be in an evil (sinful) condition.

Chapter XLII. But further, since Celsus will have it that "Jesus was not irreproachable," let him instance any one of those who adhere to His doctrine, who has recorded anything that could truly furnish ground of reproach against Jesus; or if it be not from these that he derives his matter of accusation against Him, let him say from what quarter he has learned that which has induced him to say that He is not free from reproach. Jesus, however, performed all that He promised to do, and by which He conferred benefits upon his adherents. And we, continually seeing fulfilled all that was predicted by Him before it happened, viz., that this Gospel of His should be preached throughout the whole world, and that His disciples should go among all nations and announce His doctrine; and, moreover, that they should be brought before governors and kings on no other account than because of His teaching; we are lost in wonder at Him, and have our faith in Him daily confirmed. And I know not by what greater or more convincing proofs Celsus would have Him confirm His predictions; unless, indeed, as seems to be the case, not understanding that the Logos had become the man Jesus, he would have Him to be subject to no human weakness, nor to become an illustrious pattern to men of the manner in which they ought to bear the calamities of life, although these appear to Celsus to be most lamentable and disgraceful occurrences, seeing that he regards labour101 to be the greatest of evils, and pleasure the perfect good,-a view accepted by none of those philosophers who admit the doctrine of providence, and who allow that courage, and fortitude, and magnanimity are virtues. Jesus, therefore, by His sufferings cast no discredit upon the faith of which He was the object; but rather confirmed the same among those who would approve of manly courage, and among those who were taught by Him that what was truly and properly the happy life was not here below, but was to be found in that which was called, according to His own words, the "coming world; "whereas in what is called the "present world" life is a calamity, or at least the first and greatest struggle of the soul.102

Chapter XLIII.

Celsus next addresses to us the following remark: "You will not, I suppose, say of him, that, after failing to gain over those who were in this world, he went to Hades to gain over those who were there." But whether he like it or not, we assert that not only while Jesus was in the body did He win over not a few persons merely, but so great a number, that a conspiracy was formed against Him on account of the multitude of His followers; but also, that when He became a soul, without the covering of the body, He dwelt among those souls which were without bodily covering, converting such of them as were willing to Himself, or those whom He saw, for reasons known to Him alone, to be better adapted to such a course.103

Chapter XLIV.

Celsus in the next place says, with indescribable silliness: "If, after inventing defences which are absurd, and by which ye were ridiculously deluded, ye imagine that you really make a good

defence, what prevents you from regarding those other individuals who have been condemned, and have died a miserable death, as greater and more divine messengers of heaven (than Jesus)? "Now, that manifestly and clearly there is no similarity between Jesus, who suffered what is described, and those who have died a wretched death on account of their sorcery, or whatever else be the charge against them, is patent to every one. For no one can point to any acts of a sorcerer which turned away souls from the practice of the many sins which prevail among men, and from the flood of wickedness (in the world).104 But since this Jew of Celsus compares Him to robbers, and says that "any similarly shameless fellow might be able to say regarding even a robber and murderer whom punishment had overtaken, that such an one was not a robber, but a god, because he predicted to his fellow-robbers that he would suffer such punishment as he actually did suffer," it might, in the first place, be answered, that it is not because He predicted that He would suffer such things that we entertain those opinions regarding Jesus which lead us to have confidence in Him, as one who has come down to us from God. And, in the second place, we assert that this very comparison105 has been somehow foretold in the Gospels; since God was numbered with the transgressors by wicked men, who desired rather a "murderer" (one who for sedition and murder had been cast into prison) to be released unto them, and Jesus to be crucified, and who crucified Him between two robbers. Jesus, indeed, is ever crucified with robbers among His genuine disciples and witnesses to the truth, and suffers the same condemnation which they do among men. And we say, that if those persons have any resemblance to robbers, who on account of their piety towards God suffer all kinds of injury and death, that they may keep it pure and unstained, according to the teaching of Jesus, then it is clear also that Jesus, the author of such teaching, is with good reason compared by Celsus to the captain of a band of robbers. But neither was He who died for the common good of mankind, nor they who suffered because of their religion, and alone of all men were persecuted because of what appeared to them the right way of honouring God, put to death in accordance with justice, nor was Jesus persecuted without the charge of impiety being incurred by His persecutors.

Chapter XLV. But observe the superficial nature of his argument respecting the former disciples of Jesus, in which he says: "In the next place, those who were his associates while alive, and who listened to his voice, and enjoyed his instructions as their teacher, on seeing him subjected to punishment and death, neither died with him, nor for him, nor were even induced to regard punishment with contempt, but denied even that they were his disciples, whereas now ye die along with him." And here he believes the sin which was committed by the disciples while they were yet beginners and imperfect, and which is recorded in the Gospels, to have been actually committed, in order that he may have matter of accusation against the Gospel; but their upright conduct after their transgression, when they behaved with courage before the Jews, and suffered countless cruelties at their hands, and at last suffered death for the doctrine of Jesus, he passes by in silence. For he would neither hear the words of Jesus, when He predicted to Peter, "When thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands,"106 etc., to which the Scripture adds, "This spake He, signifying by what death he should glorify God; "nor how James the brother of John-an apostle, the brother of an apostle-was slain with the sword by Herod for the doctrine of Christ; nor even the many instances of boldness displayed by Peter and the other apostles because of the Gospel, and "how they went forth from the presence of the Sanhedrim after being scourged, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for His name,"107 and so surpassing many of the instances related by the Greeks of the fortitude and courage of their philosophers.

From the very beginning, then, this was inculcated as a precept of Jesus among His hearers, which taught men to despise the life which is eagerly sought after by the multitude, but to be earnest in living the life which resembles that of God.

Chapter XLVI. But how can this Jew of Celsus escape the charge of falsehood, when he says that Jesus, "when on earth, gained over to himself only ten sailors and tax-gatherers of the most worthless character, and not even the whole of these? "Now it is certain that the Jews themselves would admit that He drew over not ten persons merely, nor a hundred, nor a thousand, but on one occasion five thousand at once, and on another four thousand; and that He attracted them to such a degree that they followed Him even into the deserts, which alone could contain the assembled multitude of those who believed in God through Jesus, and where He not only addressed to them discourses, but also manifested to them His works. And now, through his tautology, he compels us also to be tautological, since we are careful to guard against being supposed to pass over any of the charges advanced by him; and therefore, in reference to the matter before us following the order of his treatise as we have it, be says: "Is it not the height of absurdity to maintain, that if, while he himself was alive, he won over not a single person to his views, after his death any who wish are able to gain over such a multitude of individuals? "Whereas he ought to have said, in consistency with truth, that if, after His death, not simply those who will, but they who have the will and the power, can gain over so many proselytes, how much more consonant to reason is it, that while He was alive He should, through the greater power of His words and deeds, have won over to Himself manifold greater numbers of adherents?

Chapter XLVII.

He represents, moreover, a statement of his own as if it were an answer to one of his questions, in which be asks: "By what train of argument were you led to regard him as the Son of God? "For he makes us answer that "we were won over to him, because108 we know that his punishment was undergone to bring about the destruction Of the father of evil." Now we were won over to His doctrine by innumerable other considerations, of which we have stated only the smallest part in the preceding pages; but, if God permit, we shall continue to enumerate them, not only while dealing with the so-called True Discourse of Celsus, but also on many other occasions. And, as if we said that we consider Him to be the Son of God because He suffered punishment, he asks: "What then? have not many others, too, been punished, and that not less disgracefully? "And here Celsus acts like the most contemptible enemies of the Gospel, and like those who imagine that it follows as a consequence from our history of the crucified Jesus, that we should worship those who have undergone crucifixion!

Chapter XLVIII.

Celsus, moreover, unable to resist the miracles which Jesus is recorded to have performed, has already on several occasions spoken of them slanderously as works of sorcery; and we also on several occasions have, to the best of our ability, replied to his statements. And now he represents us as saying that "we deemed Jesus to be the Son of God, because he healed the lame and the blind." And he adds: "Moreover, as you assert, he raised the dead." That He healed the lame and the blind, and that therefore we hold Him to be the Christ and the Son of God, is manifest to us from what is contained in the prophecies: "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall hear; then shall the lame man leap as an hart."109 And that He also raised

the dead, and that it is no fiction of those who composed the Gospels, is shown by this, that if it had been a fiction, many individuals would have been represented as having risen from the dead, and these, too, such as had been many years in their graves. But as it is no fiction, they are very easily counted of whom this is related to have happened; viz., the daughter of the ruler of the synagogue (of whom I know not why He said, "She is not dead, but sleepeth," stating regarding her something which does not apply to all who die); and the only son of the widow, on whom He took compassion and raised him up, making the bearers of the corpse to stand still; and the third instance, that of Lazarus, who had been four days in the grave. Now, regarding these cases we would say to all persons of candid mind, and especially to the Jew, that as there were many lepers in the days of Elisha the prophet, and none of them was healed save Naaman the Syrian, and many widows in the days of Elijah the prophet, to none of whom was Elijah sent save to Sarepta in Sidonia (for the widow there had been deemed worthy by a divine decree of the miracle which was wrought by the prophet in the matter of the bread); so also there were many dead in the days of Jesus, but those only rose from the grave whom the Logos knew to be fitted for a resurrection, in order that the works done by the Lord might not be merely symbols of certain things, but that by the very acts themselves He might gain over many to the marvellous doctrine of the Gospel. I would say, moreover, that, agreeably to the promise of Jesus, His disciples performed even greater works than these miracles of Jesus, which were perceptible only to the senses.110 For the eyes of those who are blind in soul are ever opened; and the ears of those who were deaf to virtuous words, listen readily to the doctrine of God, and of the blessed life with Him; and many, too, who were lame in the feet of the "inner man," as Scripture calls it, having now been healed by the word, do not simply leap, but leap as the hart, which is an animal hostile to serpents, and stronger than all the poison of vipers. And these lame who have been healed, receive from Jesus power to trample, with those feet in which they were formerly lame, upon the serpents and scorpions of wickedness, and generally upon all the power of the enemy; and though they tread upon it, they sustain no injury, for they also have become stronger than the poison of all evil and of demons.

Chapter XLIX.

Jesus, accordingly, in turning away the minds of His disciples, not merely from giving heed to sorcerers in general, and those who profess in any other manner to work miracles-for His disciples did not need to be so warned-but from such as gave themselves out as the Christ of God, and who tried by certain apparent111 miracles to gain over to them the disciples of Jesus, said in a certain passage: "Then, if any man shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth; behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west, so also shall the coming of the Son of man be."112 And in another passage: "Many will say unto Me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not eaten and drunk in Thy name, and by Thy name have cast out demons, and done many wonderful works? And then will I say unto them, Depart from Me, because ye are workers of iniquity."113 But Celsus, wishing to assimilate the miracles of Jesus to the works of human sorcery, says in express terms as follows: "O light and truth! he distinctly declares, with his own voice, as ye yourselves have recorded, that there will come to you

even others, employing miracles of a similar kind, who are wicked men, and sorcerers; and he calls him who makes use of such devices, one Satan. So that Jesus himself does not deny that these works at least are not at all divine, but are the acts of wicked men; and being compelled by the force of truth, he at the same time not only laid open the doings of others, but convicted himself of the same acts. Is it not, then, a miserable inference, to conclude from the same works that the one is God and the other sorcerers? Why ought the others, because of these acts, to be accounted wicked rather than this man, seeing they have him as their witness against himself? For he has himself acknowledged that these are not the works of a divine nature, but the inventions of certain deceivers, and of thoroughly wicked men." Observe, now, whether Celsus is not clearly convicted of slandering the Gospel by such statements, since what Jesus says regarding those who are to work signs and wonders is different from what this Jew of Celsus alleges it to be. For if Jesus had simply told His disciples to be on their guard against those who professed to work miracles, without declaring what they would give themselves out to be, then perhaps there would have been some ground for his suspicion. But since those against whom Jesus would have us to be on our guard give themselves out as the Christ-which is not a claim put forth by sorcerers-and since He says that even some who lead wicked lives will perform miracles in the name of Jesus, and expel demons out of men, sorcery in the case of these individuals, or any suspicion of such, is rather, if we may so speak, altogether banished, and the divinity of Christ established, as well as the divine mission114 of His disciples; seeing that it is possible that one who makes use of His name, and who is wrought upon by some power, in some way unknown, to make the pretence that he is the Christ, should seem to perform miracles like those of Jesus, while others through His name should do works resembling those of His genuine disciples.

Paul, moreover, in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, shows in what manner there will one day be revealed "the man of sin, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God."115 And again he says to the Thessalonians: "And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way: and then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord will consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming: even him, whose cunning is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish."116 And in assigning the reason why the man of sin is permitted to continue in existence, he says: "Because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."117 Let any one now say whether any of the statements in the Gospel, or in the writings of the apostle, could give occasion for the suspicion that there is therein contained any prediction of sorcery. Any one, moreover, who likes may find the prophecy in Daniel respecting antichrist.118 But Celsus falsities the words of Jesus, since He did not say that others would come working similar miracles to Himself, but who are wicked men and sorcerers, although Celsus asserts that He uttered such words. For as the power of the Egyptian magicians was not similar to the divinely-bestowed grace of Moses, but the issue clearly proved that the acts of the former were the effect of magic, while those of Moses were wrought by divine power; so the proceedings of the antichrists, and of those who feign that they can work miracles as being the disciples of Christ, are said to be lying signs and wonders, prevailing with all

deceivableness of unrighteousness among them that perish; whereas the works of Christ and His disciples had for their fruit, not deceit, but the salvation of human souls. And who would rationally maintain that an improved moral life, which daily lessened the number of a man's offences, could proceed from a system of deceit?

Chapter LI.

Celsus, indeed, evinced a slight knowledge of Scripture when he made Jesus say, that it is "a certain Satan who contrives such devices; "although he begs the question119 when he asserts that "Jesus did not deny that these works have in them nothing of divinity, but proceed from wicked men," for he makes things which differ in kind to be the same. Now, as a wolf is not of the same species as a dog, although it may appear to have some resemblance in the figure of its body and in its voice, nor a common wood-pigeon120 the same as a dove,121 so there is no resemblance between what is done by the power of God and what is the effect of sorcery. And we might further say, in answer to the calumnies of Celsus, Are those to be regarded as miracles which are wrought through sorcery by wicked demons, but those not which are performed by a nature that is holy and divine? and does human life endure the worse, but never receive the better? Now it appears to me that we must lay it down as a general principle, that as, wherever anything that is evil would make itself to be of the same nature with the good, there must by all means be something that is good opposed to the evil; so also, in opposition to those things which are brought about by sorcery, there must also of necessity be some things in human life which are the result of divine power. And it follows from the same, that we must either annihilate both, and assert that neither exists, or, assuming the one, and particularly the evil, admit also the reality of the good. Now, if one were to lay it down that works are wrought by means of sorcery, but would not grant that there are also works which are the product of divine power, he would seem to me to resemble him who should admit the existence of sophisms and plausible arguments, which have the appearance of establishing the truth, although really undermining it, while denying that truth had anywhere a home among men, or a dialectic which differed from sophistry. But if we once admit that it is consistent with the existence of magic and sorcery (which derive their power from evil demons, who are spell-bound by elaborate incantations, and become subject to sorcerers) that some works must be found among men which proceed from a power that is divine, why shall we not test those who profess to perform them by their lives and morals, and the consequences of their miracles, viz., whether they tend to the injury of men or to the reformation of conduct? What minister of evil demons, e.g., can do such things? and by means of what incantations and magic arts? And who, on the other hand, is it that, having his soul and his spirit, and I imagine also his body, in a pure and holy state, receives a divine spirit, and performs such works in order to benefit men, and to lead them to believe on the true God? But if we must once investigate (without being carded away by the miracles themselves) who it is that performs them by help of a good, and who by help of an evil power, so that we may neither slander all without discrimination, nor yet admire and accept all as divine, will it not be manifest, from what occurred in the times of Moses and Jesus, when entire nations were established in consequence of their miracles, that these men wrought by means of divine power what they are recorded to have performed? For wickedness and sorcery would not have led a whole nation to rise not only above idols and images erected by men, but also above all created things, and to ascend to the uncreated origin of the God of the universe.

Chapter LII. But since it is a Jew who makes these assertions in the treatise of Celsus, we would say to him: Pray, friend, why do you believe the works which are recorded in your writings as having been performed by God through the instrumentality of Moses to be really divine, and endeavour to refute those who slanderously assert that they were wrought by sorcery, like those of the Egyptian magicians; while, in imitation of your Egyptian opponents, you charge those which were done by Jesus, and which, you admit, were actually performed, with not being divine? For if the final result, and the founding of an entire nation by the miracles of Moses, manifestly demonstrate that it was God who brought these things to pass in the time of Moses the Hebrew lawgiver, why should not such rather be shown to be the case with Jesus, who accomplished far greater works than those of Moses? For the former took those of his own nation, the descendants of Abraham, who had observed the rite of circumcision transmitted by tradition, and who were careful observers of the Abrahamic usages, and led them out of Egypt, enacting for them those laws which you believe to be divine; whereas the latter ventured upon a greater undertaking, and superinduced upon the pre-existing constitution, and upon ancestral customs and modes of life agreeable to the existing laws, a constitution in conformity with the Gospel. And as it was necessary, in order that Moses should find credit not only among the elders, but the common people, that there should be performed those miracles which he is recorded to have performed, why should not Jesus also, in order that He may be believed on by those of the people who had learned to ask for signs and wonders, need122 to work such miracles as, on account of their greater grandeur and divinity (in comparison with those of Moses), were able to convert men from Jewish fables, and from the human traditions which prevailed among them, and make them admit that He who taught and did such things was greater than the: prophets? For how was not He greater than the prophets, who was proclaimed by them to be the Christ, and the Saviour of the human race?

Chapter LIII.

All the arguments, indeed, which this Jew of Celsus advances against those who believe on Jesus, may, by parity of reasoning, be urged as ground of accusation against Moses: so that there is no difference in asserting that the sorcery practised by Jesus and that by Moses were similar to each other,123 -both of them, so far as the language of this Jew of Celsus is concerned, being liable to the same charge; as, e.g., when this Jew says of Christ, "But, O light and truth! Jesus with his own voice expressly declares, as you yourselves have recorded, that there will appear among you others also, who will perform miracles like mine, but who are wicked men and sorcerers," some one, either Greek or Egyptian, or any other party who disbelieved the Jew, might say respecting Moses, "But, O light and truth! Moses with his own voice expressly declares, as ye also have recorded, that there will appear among you others also, who will perform miracles like mine, but who are wicked men and sorcerers. For it is written in your law, 'If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or wonder come to pass whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shall not hearken to the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams,'"124 etc. Again, perverting the words of Jesus, he says, "And he terms him who devises such things, one Satan; "while one, applying this to Moses, might say, "And he terms him who devises such things, a prophet who dreams." And as this Jew asserts regarding Jesus, that "even he himself does not deny that these works have in them nothing of divinity, but are the acts of

wicked men; "so any one who disbelieves the writings of Moses might say, quoting what has been already said, the same thing, viz., that, "even Moses does not deny that these works have in them nothing of divinity, but are the acts of wicked men." And he will do the same thing also with respect to this: "Being compelled by the force of truth, Moses at the same time both exposed the doings of others, and convicted himself of the same." And when the Jew says, "Is it not a wretched inference from the same acts, to conclude that the one is a God, and the others sorcerers? "one might object to him, on the ground of those words of Moses already quoted, "Is it not then a wretched inference from the same acts, to conclude that the one is a prophet and servant of God, and the others sorcerers? "But when, in addition to those comparisons which I have already mentioned, Celsus, dwelling upon the subject, adduces this also: "Why from these works should the others be accounted wicked, rather than this man, seeing they have him as a witness against himself? "-we, too, shall adduce the following, in addition to what has been already said: "Why, from those passages in which Moses forbids us to believe those who exhibit signs and wonders, ought we to consider such persons as wicked, rather than Moses, because he calumniates some of them in respect of their signs and wonders? "And urging more to the same effect, that he may appear to strengthen his attempt, he says: "He himself acknowledged that these were not the works of a divine nature, but were the inventions of certain deceivers, and of very wicked men." Who, then, is "himself? "You O Jew, say that it is Jesus; but he who accuses you as liable to the same charges, will transfer this "himself" to the person of Moses.

Chapter LIV.

After this, forsooth, the Jew of Celsus, to keep up the character assigned to the Jew from the beginning, in his address to those of his countrymen who had become believers, says: "By what, then, were you induced (to become his followers)? Was it because he foretold that after his death he would rise again? "Now this question, like the others, can be retorted upon Moses. For we might say to the Jew "By what, then, were you induced (to become the follower of Moses)? Was it because he put on record the following statement about his own death: `And Moses, the servant of the Lord died there, in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Loud; and they buried him in Moab, near the house of Phogor: and no one knoweth his sepulchre until this day? "'125 For as the Jew casts discredit upon the statement, that "Jesus foretold that after His death He would rise again," another person might make a similar assertion about Moses, and would say in reply, that Moses also put on record (for the book of Deuteronomy is his composition) the statement, that "no one knoweth his sepulchre until this day," in order to magnify and enhance the importance of his place of burial, as being unknown to mankind.

Chapter LV. The Jew continues his address to those of his countrymen who are converts, as follows: "Come now, let us grant to you that the prediction was actually uttered. Yet how many others are there who practise such juggling tricks, in order to deceive their simple hearers, and who make gain by their deception?-as was the case, they say, with Zamolxis126 in Scythia, the slave of Pythagoras; and with Pythagoras himself in Italy; and with Rhampsinitus127 in Egypt (the latter of whom, they say, played at dice with Demeter in Hades, and returned to the upper world with a golden napkin which he had received from her as a gift); and also with Orpheus128 among the Odrysians, and Protesilaus in Thessaly, and Hercules129 at Cape Taenarus, and Theseus. But the question is, whether any one who was really dead ever rose with a veritable body.130 Or do you imagine the statements of others not only to be myths, but to have the appearance of such,

while you have discovered a becoming and credible termination to your drama in the voice from the cross, when he breathed his last, and in the earthquake and the darkness? That while alive he was of no assistance to himself, but that when dead he rose again, and showed the marks of his punishment, and how his hands were pierced with nails: who beheld this? A half-frantic131 woman, as you state, and some other one, perhaps, of those who were engaged in the same system of delusion, who had either dreamed so, owing to a peculiar state of mind,132 or under the influence of a wandering imagination bad formed to himself an appearance according to his own wishes,133 which has been the case with numberless individuals; or, which is most probable, one who desired to impress others with this portent, and by such a falsehood to furnish an occasion to impostors like himself."

Now, since it is a Jew who makes these statements, we shall conduct the defence of our Jesus as if we were replying to a Jew, still continuing the comparison derived from the accounts regarding Moses, and saying to him: "How many others are there who practise similar juggling tricks to those of Moses, in order to deceive their silly hearers, and who make gain by their deception? "Now this objection would be more appropriate in the mouth of one who did not believe in Moses (as we might quote the instances of Zamolxis and Pythagoras, who were engaged in such juggling tricks) than in that of a Jew, who is not very learned in the histories of the Greeks. An Egyptian, moreover, who did not believe the miracles of Moses, might credibly adduce the instance of Rhampsinitus, saying that it was far more credible that he had descended to Hades, and had played at dice with Demeter, and that after stealing from her a golden napkin he exhibited it as a sign of his having been in Hades, and of his having returned thence, than that Moses should have recorded that he entered into the darkness, where God was, and that he alone, above all others, drew near to God. For the following is his statement: "Moses alone shall come near the Lord; but the rest shall not come nigh."134 We, then, who are the disciples of Jesus, say to the Jew who urges these objections: "While assailing our belief in Jesus, defend yourself, and answer the Egyptian and the Greek objectors: what will you say to those charges which you brought against our Jesus, but which also might be brought against Moses first? And if you should make a vigorous effort to defend Moses, as indeed his history does admit of a clear and powerful defence, you will unconsciously, in your support of Moses, be an unwilling assistant in establishing the greater divinity of Jesus."

Chapter LVI. But since the Jew says that these histories of the alleged descent of heroes to Hades, and of their return thence, are juggling impositions,135 maintaining that these heroes disappeared for a certain time, and secretly withdrew themselves from the sight of all men, and gave themselves out afterwards as having returned from Hades,-for such is the meaning which his words seem to convey respecting the Odrysian Orpheus, and the Thessalian Protesilaus, and the Taenarian Hercules, and Theseus also,-let us endeavour to show that the account of Jesus being raised from the dead cannot possibly be compared to these. For each one of the heroes respectively mentioned might, had he wished, have secretly withdrawn himself from the sight of men, and returned again, if so determined, to those whom he had left; but seeing that Jesus was crucified before all the Jews, and His body slain in the presence of His nation, how can they bring themselves to say that He practised a similar deception136 with those heroes who are related to have gone down to Hades, and to have returned thence? But we say that the following consideration might be adduced, perhaps, as a defence of the public crucifixion of Jesus,

especially in connection with the existence of those stories of heroes who are supposed to have been compelled137 to descend to Hades: that if we were to suppose Jesus to have died an obscure death, so that the fact of His decease was not patent to the whole nation of the Jews, and afterwards to have actually risen from the dead, there would, in such a case, have been ground for the same suspicion entertained regarding the heroes being also entertained regarding Himself. Probably, then, in addition to other causes for the crucifixion of Jesus, this also may have contributed to His dying a conspicuous death upon the cross, that no one might have it in his power to say that He voluntarily withdrew from the sight of men, and seemed only to die, without really doing so; but, appearing again, made a juggler's trick138 of the resurrection from the dead. But a clear and unmistakeable proof of the fact I hold to be the undertaking of His disciples, who devoted themselves to the teaching of a doctrine which was attended with danger to human life,-a doctrine which they would not have taught with such courage had they invented the resurrection of Jesus from the dead; and who also, at the same time, not only prepared others to despise death, but were themselves the first to manifest their disregard for its terrors.

Chapter LVII. But observe whether this Jew of Celsus does not talk very blindly, in saying that it is impossible for any one to rise from the dead with a veritable body, his language being: "But this is the question, whether any one who was really dead ever rose again with a veritable body? "Now a Jew would not have uttered these words, who believed what is recorded in the third and fourth books of Kings regarding little children, of whom the one was raised up by Elijah,139 and the other by Elisha.140 And on this account, too, I think it was that Jesus appeared to no other nation than the Jews, who had become accustomed to miraculous occurrences; so that, by comparing what they themselves believed with the works which were done by Him, and with what was related of Him, they might confess that He, in regard to whom greater things were done, and by whom mightier marvels were performed, was greater than all those who preceded Him.

Chapter LVIII.

Further, after these Greek stories which the Jew adduced respecting those who were guilty of juggling practices,141 and who pretended to have risen from the dead, he says to those Jews who are converts to Christianity: "Do you imagine the statements of others not only to be myths, but to have the appearance of such, while you have discovered a becoming and credible termination to your drama in the voice from the cross, when he breathed his last? "We reply to the Jew: "What you adduce as myths, we regard also as such; but the statements of the Scriptures which are common to us both, in which not you only, but we also, take pride, we do not at all regard as myths. And therefore we accord our belief to those who have therein related that some rose from the dead, as not being guilty of imposition; and to Him especially there mentioned as having risen, who both predicted the event Himself, and was the subject of prediction by others. And His resurrection is more miraculous than that of the others in this respect, that they were raised by the prophets Elijah and Elisha, while He was raised by none of the prophets, but by His Father in heaven. And therefore His resurrection also produced greater results than theirs. For what great good has accrued to the world from the resurrection of the children through the instrumentality of Elijah and Elisha, such as has re-suited from the preaching of the resurrection of Jesus, accepted as an article of belief, and as effected through the agency of divine power? "

Chapter LIX.

He imagines also that both the earthquake and the darkness were an invention;142 but regarding these, we have in the preceding pages, made our defence, according to our ability, adducing the testimony of Phlegon, who relates that these events took place at the time when our Saviour suffered.143 And he goes on to say, that "Jesus, while alive, was of no assistance to himself, but that he arose after death, and exhibited the marks of his punishment, and showed how his hands had been pierced by nails." We ask him what he means by the expression, "was of no assistance to himself? "For if he means it to refer to want of virtue, we reply that He was of very great assistance. For He neither uttered nor committed anything that was improper, but was truly "led as a sheep to the slaughter, and was dumb as a lamb before the shearer; "144 and the Gospel testifies that He opened not His mouth. But if Celsus applies the expression to things indifferent and corporeal,145 (meaning that in such Jesus could render no help to Himself,) we say that we have proved from the Gospels that He went voluntarily to encounter His sufferings. Speaking next of the statements in the Gospels, that after His resurrection He showed the marks of His punishment, and how His hands had been pierced, he asks, "Who beheld this? "And discrediting the narrative of Mary Magdalene, who is related to have seen Him, he replies, "A half-frantic woman, as ye state." And because she is not the only one who is recorded to have seen the Saviour after His resurrection, but others also are mentioned, this Jew of Celsus calumniates these statements also in adding, "And some one else of those engaged in the same system of deception!"

Chapter LX. In the next place, as if this were possible, viz., that the image of a man who was dead could appear to another as if he were still living, he adopts this opinion as an Epicurean, and says, "That some one having so dreamed owing to a peculiar state of mind, or having, under the influence of a perverted imagination, formed such an appearance as he himself desired, reported that such had been seen; and this," he continues, "has been the case with numberless individuals." But even if this statement of his seems to have a considerable degree of force, it is nevertheless only fitted to confirm a necessary doctrine, that the soul of the dead exists in a separate state (from the body); and he who adopts such an opinion does not believe without good reason in the immortality, or at least continued existence, of the soul, as even Plato says in his treatise on the Soul that shadowy phantoms of persons already dead have appeared to some around their sepulchres. Now the phantoms which exist about the soul of the dead are produced by some substance, and this substance is in the soul, which exists apart in a body said to be of splendid appearance.146 But Celsus, unwilling to admit any such view, will have it that some dreamed a waking dream,147 and, under the influence of a perverted imagination, formed to themselves such an image as they desired. Now it is not irrational to believe that a dream may take place while one is asleep; but to suppose a waking vision in the case of those who are not altogether out of their senses, and under the influence of delirium or hypochondria, is incredible. And Celsus, seeing this, called the woman "half-mad,"-a statement which is not made by the history recording the fact, but from which he took occasion to charge the occurrences with being untrue.

Chapter LXI.

Jesus accordingly, as Celsus imagines, exhibited after His death only the appearance of wounds received on the cross, and was not in reality so wounded as He is described to have been; whereas, according to the teaching of the Gospel-some portions of which Celsus arbitrarily

accepts, in order to find ground of accusation, and other parts of which he rejects-Jesus called to Him one of His disciples who was sceptical, and who deemed the miracle an impossibility. That individual had, indeed, expressed his belief in the statement of the woman who said that she had seen Him, because he did not think it impossible that the soul of a dead man could be seen; but he did not yet consider the report to be true that He had been raised in a body, which was the antitype of the former.148 And therefore he did not merely say, "Unless I see, I will not believe; "but he added, "Unless I put my hand into the print of the nails, and lay my hands upon His side, I will not believe." These words were spoken by Thomas, who deemed it possible that the body of the soul149 might be seen by the eye of sense, resembling in all respects its former appearance, "Both in size, and in beauty of eyes, And in voice; " and frequently, too,

"Having, also, such garments around the person150 (as when alive)."Jesus accordingly, having called Thomas, said, "Reach hither thy finger, and behold My hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into My side: and be not faithless, but believing."151

Chapter LXII.

Now it followed from all the predictions which were uttered regarding Him-amongst which was this prediction of the resurrection-and, from all that was done by Him, and from all the events which befell Him, that this event should be marvellous above all others. For it had been said beforehand by the prophet in the person of Jesus: "My flesh shall rest in hope, and Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades, and wilt not suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption."152 And truly, after His resurrection, He existed in a body intermediate, as it were, between the grossness of that which He had before His sufferings, and the appearance of a soul uncovered by such a body. And hence it was, that when His disciples were together, and Thomas with them, there "came Jesus, the doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you. Then saith He to Thomas, Reach hither thy finger,"153 etc. And in the Gospel of Luke also, while Simon and Cleopas were conversing with each other respecting all that had happened to them, Jesus "drew near, and went with them. And their eyes were holden, that they should not know Him. And He said unto them, What manner of communications are these that ye have one to another, as ye walk? "And when their eyes were opened, and they knew Him, then the Scripture says, in express words, "And He vanished out of their sight."154 And although Celsus may wish to place what is told of Jesus, and of those who saw Him after His resurrection, on the same level with imaginary appearances of a different kind, and those who have invented such, yet to those who institute a candid and intelligent examination, the events will appear only the more miraculous.

Chapter LXIII.

After these points, Celsus proceeds to bring against the Gospel narrative a charge which is not to be lightly passed over, saying that "if Jesus desired to show that his power was really divine, he ought to have appeared to those who had ill-treated him, and to him who had condemned him, and to all men universally." For it appears to us also to be true, according to the Gospel account, that He was not seen after His resurrection in the same manner as He used formerly to show Himself-publicly, and to all men. But it is recorded in the Acts, that "being seen during forty days," He expounded to His disciples "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God."155 And in the Gospels156 it is not stated that He was always with them; but that on one occasion He appeared in their midst, after eight days, when the doors were shut, and on another in some similar fashion.

And Paul also, in the concluding portions of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, in reference to His not having publicly appeared as He did in the period before He suffered, writes as follows: "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve: after that He was seen of above five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain unto the present time, but some are fallen asleep. After that He was seen of James, then of all the apostles. And last of all He was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time."157 I am of opinion now that the statements in this passage contain some great and wonderful mysteries, which are beyond the grasp not merely of the great multitude of ordinary believers, but even of those who are far advanced (in Christian knowledge), and that in them the reason would be explained why He did not show Himself, after His resurrection from the dead, in the same manner as before that event. And in a treatise of this nature, composed in answer to a work directed against the Christians and their faith, observe whether we are able to adduce a few rational arguments out of a greater number, and thus make an impression upon the hearers of this apology.

Chapter LXIV.

Although Jesus was only a single individual, He was nevertheless more things than one, according to the different standpoint from which He might be regarded;158 nor was He seen in the same way by all who beheld Him. Now, that He was more things than one, according to the varying point of view, is clear from this statement, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life; "and from this, "I am the bread; "and this, "I am the door," and innumerable others. And that when seen He did not appear in like fashion to all those who saw Him, but according to their several ability to receive Him, will be clear to those who notice why, at the time when He was about to be transfigured on the high mountain, He did not admit all His apostles (to this sight), but only Peter, and James, and John, because they alone were capable of beholding His glory on that occasion, and of observing the glorified appearance of Moses and Elijah, and of listening to their conversation, and to the voice from the heavenly cloud. I am of opinion, too, that before He ascended the mountain where His disciples came to Him alone, and where He taught them the beatitudes, when He was somewhere in the lower part of the mountain, and when, as it became late, He healed those who were brought to Him, freeing them from all sickness and disease, He did not appear the same person to the sick, and to those who needed His healing aid, as to those who were able by reason of their strength to go up the mountain along with Him. Nay, even when He interpreted privately to His own disciples the parables which were delivered to the multitudes without, from whom the explanation was withheld, as they who heard them explained were endowed with higher organs of hearing than they who heard them without explanation, so was it altogether the same with the eyes of their soul, and, I think, also with those of their body.159 And the following statement shows that He had not always the same appearance, viz., that Judas, when about to betray Him, said to the multitudes who were setting out with him, as not being acquainted with Him, "Whomsoever I shall kiss, the same is He."160 And I think that the Saviour Himself indicates the same thing by the words: "I was daily with you, teaching in the temple, and ye laid no hold on Me."161 Entertaining, then, such exalted views regarding Jesus, not only with respect to the Deity within, and which was hidden from the view of the multitude, but with respect to the transfiguration of His body, which took place when and to whom He would, we say, that before Jesus had "put off the governments and powers,"162 and while as yet He was not dead unto sin, all men were capable of seeing Him;

but that, when He had "put off the governments and powers," and had no longer anything which was capable of being seen by the multitude, all who had formerly seen Him were not now able to behold Him. And therefore, sparing them, He did not show Himself to all after His resurrection from the dead.

Chapter LXV. And why do I say "to all? "For even with His own apostles and disciples He was not perpetually present, nor did He constantly show Himself to them, because they were not able without intermission163 to receive His divinity. For His deity was more resplendent after lie had finished the economy164 (of salvation): and this Peter, surnamed Cephas, the first-fruits as it were of the apostles, was enabled to behold, and along with him the twelve (Matthias having been substituted in room of Judas); and after them He appeared to the five hundred brethren at once, and then to James, and subsequently to all the others besides the twelve apostles, perhaps to the seventy also, and lastly to Paul, as to one born out of due time, and who knew well how to say, "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given; "and probably the expression "least of all" has the same meaning with "one born out of due time." For as no one could reasonably blame Jesus for not having admitted all His apostles to the high mountain, but only the three already mentioned, on the occasion of His transfiguration, when He was about to manifest the splendour which appeared in His garments, and the glory of Moses and Elias talking with Him, so none could reasonably object to the statements of the apostles, who introduce the appearance of Jesus after His resurrection as having been made not to all, but to those only whom He knew to have received eyes capable of seeing His resurrection. I think, moreover, that the following statement regarding Him has an apologetic value165 in reference to our subject, viz.: "For to this end Christ died, and rose again, that He might be Lord both of the `dead and living.'"166 For observe, it is conveyed in these words, that Jesus died that He might be Lord of the dead; and that He rose again to be Lord not only of the dead, but also of the living. And the apostle understands, undoubtedly, by the dead over whom Christ is to be Lord, those who are so called in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, "For the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible; "167 and by the living, those who are to be changed, and who are different from the dead who are to be raised. And respecting the living the words are these, "And we shall be changed; "an expression which follows immediately after the statement, "The dead shall be raised first."168 Moreover, in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, describing the same change in different words, he says, that they who sleep are not the same as those who are alive; his language being, "I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren, concerning them who are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died, and rose again, even so them also that sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them that are asleep."169 The explanation which appeared to us to be appropriate to this passage, we gave in the exegetical remarks which we have made on the first Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Chapter LXVI. And be not surprised if all the multitudes who have believed on Jesus do not behold His resurrection, when Paul, writing to the Corinthians, can say to them, as being incapable of receiving greater matters, "For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified; "170 which is the same as saying, "Hitherto ye were not able, neither yet now are ye able, for ye are still carnal."171 The Scripture, therefore, doing everything by appointment

of God, has recorded of Jesus, that before His sufferings He appeared to all indifferently, but not always; while after His sufferings He no longer appeared to all in the same way, but with a certain discrimination which measured out to each his due. And as it is related that "God appeared to Abraham," or to one of the saints, and this "appearance" was not a thing of constant occurrence, but took place at intervals, and not to all, so understand that the Son of God appeared in the one case on the same principle that God appeared to the latter.172

Chapter LXVII. To the best of our ability, therefore, as in a treatise of this nature, we have answered the objection, that "if Jesus had really wished to manifest his divine power, he ought to have shown himself to those who ill-treated him, and to the judge who condemned him, and to all without reservation." There was, however, no obligation on Him to appear either to the judge who condemned Him, or to those who ill-treated Him. For Jesus spared both the one and the other, that they might not be smitten with blindness, as the men of Sodom were when they conspired against the beauty of the angels entertained by Lot. And here is the account of the matter: "But the men put forth their hand, and pulled Lot into the house to them, and shut to the door. And they smote the men who were at the door of the house with blindness, both small and great; so that they wearied themselves to find the door."173 Jesus, accordingly, wished to show that His power was divine to each one who was capable of seeing it, and according to the measure of His capability. And I do not suppose that He guarded against being seen on any other ground than from a regard to the fitness of those who were incapable of seeing Him. And it is in vain for Celsus to add, "For he had no longer occasion to fear any man after his death, being, as you say, a God; nor was he sent into the world at all for the purpose of being hid." Yet He was sent into the world not only to become known, but also to be hid. For all that He was, was not known even to those to whom He was known, but a certain part of Him remained concealed even from them; and to some He was not known at all. And He opened the gates of light to those who were the sons of darkness and of night, and had devoted themselves to becoming the sons of light and of the day. For our Saviour Lord, like a good physician, came rather to us who were full of sins, than to those who were righteous.

Chapter LXVIII. But let us observe how this Jew of Celsus asserts that, "if this at least would have helped to manifest his divinity, he ought accordingly to have at once disappeared from the cross." Now this seems to me to be like the argument of those who oppose the doctrine of providence, and who arrange things differently from what they are, and allege that the world would be better if it were as they arrange it. Now, in those instances in which their arrangement is a possible one, they are proved to make the world, so far as depends upon them, worse by their arrangement than it actually is; while in those cases in which they do not portray things worse than they really are, they are shown to desire impossibilities; so that in either case they are deserving of ridicule. And here, accordingly, that them was no impossibility in His coming, as a being of diviner nature, in order to disappear when He chose, is clear from the very nature of the case; and is certain, moreover, from what is recorded of Him, in the judgment of those who do not adopt certain portions merely of the narrative that they may have ground for accusing Christianity, and who consider other portions to be fiction. For it is related in St. Luke's Gospel, that Jesus after His resurrection took bread, and blessed it, and breaking it, distributed it to Simon and Cleopas; and when they had received the bread, "their eyes were opened, and they knew Him, and He vanished out of their sight,"174

Chapter LXIX. But we wish to show that His instantaneous bodily disappearance from the cross was not better fitted to serve the purposes of the whole economy of salvation (than His remaining upon it was). For the mere letter and narrative of the events which happened to Jesus do not present the whole view of the truth. For each one of them can be shown, to those who have an intelligent apprehension of Scripture, to be a symbol of something else. Accordingly, as His crucifixion contains a truth, represented in the words, "I am crucified with Christ," and intimated also in these, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified to me, and I unto the world; "175 and as His death was necessary, because of the statement, "For in that He died, He died unto sin once,"176 and this, "Being made conformable to His death,"177 and this, "For if we be dead with Him, we shall also live with Him: "178 so also His burial has an application to those who have been made conformable to His death, who have been both crucified with Him, and have died with Him; as is declared by Paul, "For we were buried with Him by baptism, and have also risen with Him."179 These matters, however, which relate to His burial, and His sepulchre, and him who buried Him, we shall expound at greater length on a more suitable occasion, when it will be our professed purpose to treat of such things. But, for the present, it is sufficient to notice the clean linen in which the pure body of Jesus was to be enwrapped, and the new tomb which Joseph had hewn out of the rock, where "no one was yet lying,"180 or, as John expresses it, "wherein was never man yet laid."181 And observe whether the harmony of the three evangelists here is not fitted to make an impression: for they have thought it right to describe the tomb as one that was "quarried or hewn out of the rock; "so that be who examines the words of the narrative may see something worthy of consideration, both in them and in the newness of the tomb,-a point mentioned by Matthew and John182 -and in the statement of Luke and John,183 that no one had ever been interred therein before. For it became Him, who was unlike other dead men (but who even in death manifested signs of life in the water and the blood), and who was, so to speak, a new dead man, to be laid in a new and clean tomb, in order that, as His birth was purer than any other (in consequence of His being born, not in the way of ordinary generation, but of a virgin), His burial also might have the purity symbolically indicated in His body being deposited in a sepulchre which was new, not built of stones gathered from various quarters, and having no natural unity, but quarried and hewed out of one rock, united together in all its parts. Regarding the explanation, however, of these points, and the method of ascending from the narratives themselves to the things which they symbolized, one might treat more profoundly, and in a manner more adapted to their divine character, on a more suitable occasion, in a work expressly devoted to such subjects. The literal narrative, however, one might thus explain, viz., that it was appropriate for Him who had resolved to endure suspension upon the cross, to maintain all the accompaniments of the character He had assumed, in order that He who as a man had been put to death, and who as a man had died, might also as a man be buried. But even if it had been related in the Gospels, according to the view of Celsus, that Jesus had immediately disappeared from the cross, he and other unbelievers would have found fault with the narrative, and would have brought against it some such objection as this: "Why, pray, did he disappear after he had been put upon the cross, and not disappear before he suffered? "If, then, after learning from the Gospels that He did not at once disappear from the cross, they imagine that they can find fault with the narrative, because it did not invent, as they consider it ought to have done, any such instantaneous disappearance, but gave a true account of the matter, is it not reasonable that they should accord their faith also to His resurrection, and should believe that He,

according to His pleasure, on one occasion, when the doors were shut, stood in the midst of His disciples, and on another, after distributing bread to two of His acquaintances, immediately disappeared from view, after He had spoken to them certain words?

Chapter LXX. But how is it that this Jew of Celsus could say that Jesus concealed Himself? For his words regarding Him are these: "And who that is sent as a messenger ever conceals himself when he ought to make known his message? "Now, He did not conceal Himself, who said to those who sought to apprehend Him, "I was daily teaching openly in the temple, and ye laid no hold upon Me." Bat having once already answered this charge of Celsus, now again repeated, we shall content ourselves with what we have formerly said. We have answered, also, in the preceding pages, this objection, that "while he was in the body, and no one believed upon him, he preached to ail without intermission; but when he might have produced a powerful belief in himself after rising from the dead, he showed himself secretly only to one woman, and to his own boon companions."184 Now it is not true that He showed Himself only to one woman; for it is stated in the Gospel according to Matthew, that "in the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week, came Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, to see the sepulchre. And, behold, there had been a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord had descended from heaven, and come and rolled back the stone."185 And, shortly after, Matthew adds: "And, behold, Jesus met them"-clearly meaning the afore-mentioned Marys-"saying, All hail. And they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him."186 And we answered, too, the charge, that "while undergoing his punishment he was seen by all, but after his resurrection only by one," when we offered our defence of the fact that "He was not seen by all." And now we might say that His merely human attributes were visible to all men but those which were divine in their nature-I speak of the attributes not as related, but as distinct187 -were not capable of being received by all But observe here the manifest contradiction into which Celsus falls. For having said, a little before, that Jesus had appeared secretly to one woman and His own boon companions, he immediately subjoins: "While undergoing his punishment he was seen by all men, but after his resurrection by one, whereas the opposite ought to have happened." And let us hear what he means by "ought to have happened." The being seen by all men while undergoing His punishment, but after His resurrection only by one individual, are opposites.188 Now, so far as his language conveys a meaning, he would have that to take place which is both impossible and absurd, viz., that while undergoing His punishment He should be seen only by one individual, but after His resurrection by all men! or else how will you explain his words, "The opposite ought to have happened? "

Chapter LXXI.

Jesus taught us who it was that sent Him, in the words, "None knoweth the Father but the Son; "189 and in these, "No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him."190 He, treating of Deity, stated to His true disciples the doctrine regarding God; and we, discovering traces of such teaching in the Scripture narratives, take occasion from such to aid our theological conceptions,191 hearing it declared in one passage, that "God is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all; "192 and in another, "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."193 But the purposes for which the Father sent Him are innumerable; and these any one may ascertain who chooses, partly from the prophets who prophesied of Him, and partly from the narratives of the evangelists. And not a few things also will he learn from the apostles, and especially from Paul. Moreover,

those who are pious He leadeth to the light, and those who sin He will punish,-a circumstance which Celsus not observing, has represented Him "as one who will lead the pious to the light, and who will have mercy on others, whether they sin or repent."194

Chapter LXXII.

After the above statements, he continues: "If he wished to remain hid, why was there heard a voice from heaven proclaiming him to be the Son of God? And if he did not seek to remain concealed, why was he punished? or why did he die? "Now, by such questions he thinks to convict the histories of discrepancy, not observing that Jesus neither desired all things regarding Himself to be known to all whom He happened to meet, nor yet all things to be unknown. Accordingly, the voice from heaven which proclaimed Him to be the Son of God, in the words, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,"195 is not stated to have been audible to the multitudes, as this Jew of Celsus supposed. The voice from the cloud on the high mountain, moreover, was heard only by those who had gone up with Him. For the divine voice is of such a nature, as to be heard only by those whom the speaker wishes to hear it. And I maintain, that the voice of God which is referred to, is neither air which has been struck, nor any concussion of the air, nor anything else which is mentioned in treatises on the voice;196 and therefore it is heard by a better and more divine organ of hearing than that of sense. And when the speaker will not have his voice to be heard by all; he that has the finer ear hears the voice of God, while he who has the ears of his soul deadened does not perceive that it is God who speaks. These things I have mentioned because of his asking, "Why was there heard a voice from heaven proclaiming him to be the Son of God? "while with respect to the query, "Why was he punished, if he wished to remain hid? "what has been stated at greater length in the preceding pages on the subject of His suffering may suffice.

Chapter LXXIII. The Jew proceeds, after this, to state as a consequence what does not follow from the premises; for it does not follow from "His having wished, by the punishments which He underwent, to teach us also to despise death," that after His resurrection He should openly summon all men to the light, and instruct them in the object of His coming. For He had formerly summoned all men to the light in the words, "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."197 And the object of His coming had been explained at great length in His discourses on the beatitudes, and in the announcements which followed them, and in the parables, and in His conversations with the scribes and Pharisees. And the instruction afforded us by the Gospel of John, shows that the eloquence of Jesus consisted not in words, but in deeds; while it is manifest from the Gospel narratives that His speech was "with power," on which account also they marvelled at Him.

Chapter LXXIV. In addition to all this, the Jew further says: "All these statements are taken from your own books, in addition to which we need no other witness; for ye fail upon your own swords."198

Now we have proved that many foolish assertions, opposed to the narratives of our Gospels, occur in the statements of the Jew, either with respect to Jesus or ourselves. And I do not think that he has, shown that "we fall upon our own swords; "but he only so imagines. And when the Jew adds, in a general way, this to his former remarks: "O most high and heavenly one! what God, on appearing to men, is received with incredulity? "we must say to him, that according to the accounts in the law of Moses, God is related to have visited the Hebrews in a most public manner, not only

in the signs and wonders performed in Egypt, and also in the passage of the Red Sea, and in the pillar of fire and cloud of light, but also when the Decalogue was announced to the whole people, and yet was received with incredulity by those who saw these things: for had they believed what they saw and heard, they would not have fashioned the calf, nor changed their own glory into the likeness of a grass-eating calf; nor would they have said to one another with reference to the calf, "These be thy gods, O Israel, who brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."199 And observe whether it is not entirely in keeping with the character of the same people, who formerly refused to believe such wonders and such appearances of divinity, throughout the whole period of wandering in the wilderness, as they are recorded in the law of the Jews to have done, to refuse to be convinced also, on occasion of the glorious advent of Jesus, by the mighty words which were spoken by Him with authority, and the marvels which He performed in the presence of all the people.

Chapter LXXV.

I think what has been stated is enough to convince any one that the unbelief of the Jews with regard to Jesus was in keeping with what is related of this people from the beginning. For I would say in reply to this Jew of Celsus, when he asks, "What God that appeared among men is received with incredulity, and that, too, when appearing to those who expect him? or why, pray, is he not recognized by those who have been long looking for him? "what answer friends, would you have us return to your200 questions? Which class of miracles, in your judgment, do you regard as the greater? Those which were wrought in Egypt and the wilderness, or those which we declare that Jesus performed among you? For if the former are in your opinion greater than the latter, does it not appear from this very fact to be in conformity with the character of those who disbelieved the greater to despise the less? And this is the opinion entertained with respect to our accounts of the miracles of Jesus. But if those related of Jesus are considered to be as great as those recorded of Moses, what strange thing has come to pass among a nation which has manifested incredulity with regard to the commencement of both dispensations?201 For the beginning of the legislation was in the time of Moses, in whose work are recorded the sins of the unbelievers and wicked among you, while the commencement of our legislation and second covenant is admitted to have been in the time of Jesus. And by your unbelief of Jesus ye show that ye are the sons of those who in the desert discredited the divine appearances; and thus what was spoken by our Saviour will be applicable also to you who believed not on Him: "Therefore ye bear witness that ye allow the deeds of your fathers."202 And there is fulfilled among you also the prophecy which said: "Your life shall hang in doubt before your eyes, and you will have no assurance of your life."203 For ye did not believe in the life which came to visit the human race.

Chapter LXXVI.

Celsus, in adopting the character of a Jew, could not discover any objections to be urged against the Gospel which might not be retorted on him as liable to be brought also against the law and the prophets. For he censures Jesus in such words as the following: "He makes use of threats, and reviles men on light grounds, when he says, `Woe unto you, 'and `I tell you beforehand.' For by such expressions he manifestly acknowledges his inability to persuade; and this would not be the case with a God, or even a prudent man." Observe, now, whether these charges do not manifestly recoil upon the Jew. For in the writings of the law and the prophets God makes use of threats and

revilings, when He employs language of not less severity than that found in the Gospel, such as the following expressions of Isaiah: "Woe unto them that join house to house, and lay field to field; "204 and, "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning that they may follow strong drink; "205 and, "Woe unto them that draw their sins after them as with a long rope; "206 and, "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; "207 and, "Woe unto those of you who are mighty to drink wine; "208 and innumerable other passages of the same kind. And does not the following resemble the threats of which he speaks: "Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that are corrupters? "209 and so on, to which he subjoins such threats as are equal in severity to those which, he says, Jesus made use of. For is it not a threatening, and a great one, which declares, "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers? "210 And are there not revilings in Ezekiel directed against the people, when the Lord says to the prophet, "Thou dwellest in the midst of scorpions? "211 Were you serious, then, Celsus, in representing the Jew as saying of Jesus, that "he makes use of threats and revilings on slight grounds, when he employs the expressions, `Woe unto you, 'and `I tell you beforehand? '" Do you not see that the charges which this Jew of yours brings against Jesus might be brought by him against God? For the God who speaks in the prophetic writings is manifestly liable to the same accusations, as Celsus regards them, of inability to persuade. I might, moreover, say to this Jew, who thinks that he makes a good charge against Jesus by such statements, that if he undertakes, in support of the scriptural account, to defend the numerous curses recorded in the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, we should make as good, or better, a defence of the revilings and threatenings which are regarded as having been spoken by Jesus. And as respects the law of Moses itself, we are in a position to make a better defence of it than the Jew is, because we have been taught by Jesus to have a more intelligent apprehension of the writings of the law. Nay, if the Jew perceive the meaning of the prophetic Scriptures, he will be able to show that it is for no light reason that God employs threatenings and revilings, when He says, "Woe unto you," and "I tell you beforehand." And how should God employ such expressions for the conversion of men, which Celsus thinks that even a prudent man would not have recourse to? But Christians, who know only one God-the same who spoke in the prophets and in the Lord (Jesus)-can prove the reasonableness of those threatenings and revilings, as Celsus considers and entitles them. And here a few remarks shall be addressed to this Celsus, who professes both to be a philosopher, and to be acquainted with all our system. How is it, friend, when Hermes, in Homer, says to Odysseus,

"Why, now, wretched man, do you come wandering alone over the mountain-tops? "212 that you are satisfied with the answer, which explains that the Homeric Hermes addresses such language to Odysseus to remind him of his duty,213 because it is characteristic of the Sirens to flatter and to say pleasing things, around whom "Is a huge heap of bones,"214 and who say,

"Come hither, much landed Odysseus, great glory of the Greeks; "215 whereas, if our prophets and Jesus Himself, in order to turn their hearers from evil, make use of such expressions as "Woe unto you," and what you regard as revilings, there is no condescension in such language to the circumstances of the hearers, nor any application of such words to them as healing216 medicine? Unless, indeed, you would have God, or one who partakes of the divine nature, when conversing with men, to have regard to His own nature alone, and to what is worthy of Himself, but to have no

regard to what is fitting to be brought before men who are under the dispensation and leading of His word, and with each one of whom He is to converse agreeably to his individual character. And is it not a ridiculous assertion regarding Jesus, to say that He was unable to persuade men, when you compare the state of matters not only among the Jews, who have many such instances recorded in the prophecies, but also among the Greeks, among whom all of those who have at-rained great reputation for their wisdom have been unable to persuade those who conspired against them, or to induce their judges or accusers to cease from evil, and to endeavour to attain to virtue by the way of philosophy?

Chapter LXXVII.

After this the Jew remarks, manifestly in accordance with the Jewish belief: "We certainly hope that there will be a bodily resurrection, and that we shall enjoy an eternal life; and the example and archetype of this will be He who is sent to us, and who will show that nothing is impossible with God." We do not know, indeed, whether the Jew would say of the expected I Christ, that He exhibits in Himself an example of the resurrection; but let it be supposed that he both thinks and says so. We shall give this answer, then, to him who has told us that he drew his information from our own writings: "Did you read those writings, friend, in which you think you discover matter of accusation against us, and not find there the resurrection of Jesus, and the declaration that He was the first-born from the dead? Or because you will not allow such things to have been recorded, were they not actually recorded? "But as the Jew still admits the resurrection of the body, I do not consider the present a suitable time to discuss the subject with one who both believes and says that there is a bodily resurrection, whether he has an articulate217 understanding of such a topic, and is able to plead well on its behalf,218 or not, but has only given his assent to it as being of a legendary character.219 Let the above, then, be our reply to this Jew of Celsus. And when he adds, "Where, then, is he, that we may see him and believe upon him? "we answer: Where is He now who spoke in the prophecies, and who wrought miracles, that we may see and believe that He is part of God? Are you to be allowed to meet the objection, that God does not perpetually show Himself to the Hebrew nation, while we are not to be permitted the same defence with regard to Jesus, who has both once risen Himself, and led His disciples to believe in His resurrection, and so thoroughly persuaded them of its truth, that they show to all men by their sufferings how they are able to laugh at all the troubles of life, beholding the life eternal and the resurrection clearly demonstrated to them both in word and deed?

Chapter LXXVIII. The Jew continues: "Did Jesus come into the world for this purpose, that we should not believe him? "To which we immediately answer, that He did not come with the object of producing incredulity among the Jews; but knowing beforehand that such would be the result, He foretold it, and made use of their unbelief for the calling of the Gentiles. For through their sin salvation came to the Gentiles, respecting whom the Christ who speaks in the prophecies says, "A people whom I did not know became subject to Me: they were obedient to the hearing of My ear; "220 and, "I was found of them who sought Me not; I became manifest to those who inquired not after Me."221 It is certain, moreover, that the Jews were punished even in this present life, after treating Jesus in the manner in which they did. And let the Jews assert what they will when we charge them with guilt, and say, "Is not the providence and goodness of God most wonderfully displayed in your punishment, and in your being deprived of Jerusalem, and of the sanctuary, and of your splendid worship? "For whatever they may say in reply with respect to the providence of

God, we shall be able more effectually to answer it by remarking, that the providence of God was wonderfully manifested in using the transgression of that people for the purpose of calling into the kingdom of God, through Jesus Christ, those from among the Gentiles who were strangers to the covenant and aliens to the promises. And these things were foretold by the prophets, who said that, on account of the transgressions of the Hebrew nation, God would make choice, not of a nation, but of individuals chosen from all lands;222 and, having selected the foolish things of the world, would cause an ignorant nation to become acquainted with the divine teaching, the kingdom of God being taken from the one and given to the other. And out of a larger number it is sufficient on the present occasion to adduce the prediction from the song in Deuteronomy regarding the calling of the Gentiles, which is as follows, being spoken in the person of the Lord "They have moved Me to jealousy with those who are not gods; they have provoked Me to anger with their idols: and I will move them to jealousy with those who are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation."223 The conclusion of all these arguments regarding Jesus is thus stated by the Jew: "He was therefore a man, and of such a nature, as the truth itself proves, and reason demonstrates him to be." I do not know, however, whether a man who had the courage to spread throughout the entire world his doctrine of religious worship and teaching,224 could accomplish what he wished without the divine assistance, and could rise superior to all who withstood the progress of his doctrine-kings and rulers, and the Roman senate, and governors in all places, and the common people. And how could the nature of a man possessed of no inherent excellence convert so vast a multitude? For it would not be wonderful if it were only the wise who were so convened; but it is the most irrational of men, and those devoted to their passions, and who, by reason of their irrationality, change with the greater difficulty so as to adopt a more temperate course of life. And yet it is because Christ was the power of God and the wisdom of the Father that He accomplished, and still accomplishes, such results, although neither the Jews nor Greeks who disbelieve His word will so admit. And therefore we shall not cease to believe in God, according to the precepts of Jesus Christ, and to seek to convert those who are blind on the subject of religion, although it is they who are truly blind themselves that charge us with blindness: and they, whether Jews or Greeks, who lead astray those that follow them, accuse us of seducing men-a good seduction, truly!-that they may become temperate instead of dissolute, or at least may make advances to temperance; may become just instead of unjust, or at least may tend to become so; prudent instead of foolish, or be on the way to become such; and instead of cowardice, meanness, and timidity, may exhibit the virtues of fortitude and courage, especially displayed in the struggles undergone for the sake of their religion towards God, the Creator of all things. Jesus Christ therefore came announced beforehand, not by one prophet, but by all; and it was a proof of the ignorance of Celsus, to represent a Jew as saying that one prophet only had predicted the advent of Christ. But as this Jew of Celsus, after being thus introduced, asserting that these things were indeed in conformity with his own law, has somewhere here ended his discourse, with a mention of other matters not worthy of remembrance, I too shall here terminate this second book of my answer to his treatise. But if God permit, and the power of Christ abide in my soul, I shall endeavour in the third book to deal with the subsequent statements of Celsus.

1: [Comp. Justin, Dial. with Trypho (passim), vol. i., this series.] 2: piqanwtatoj .

3: w2yb) 4: Cf. Acts x. 9-15.

5: Cf. Gal. ii. 12.

6: Cf. Acts xxi. 26.

7: John xvi. 12, 13.

8: Gal. iv. 21, 22, 24.

9: 1 Cor. ix. 8-10.

10: Rom. xvi. 25, 26.

11: twn epipolaioteron kai muqikwteron autoij entugxanontwn .

12: John v. 46, 47.

13: Mark i. 1, 2.

14: ewla .

15: muqouj kai lhrouj .

16: toij katw Ioudaioij .

17: muqologiaj .

18: Ps. lxxviii. 2.

19: Ps. cxix. 18.

20: alazoneia .

21: Matt. xi. 29.

22: John xiii. 8.

23: Luke xxii. 27.

24: Isa. vi. 9.

25: ["The Fathers, while they refer to extraordinary divine agency going on in their own day, also with one consent represent miracles as having ceased since the apostolic era." - Mozley's Bampton Lectures, On Miracles , p. 165. See also, Newman's Essay on the Miracles of the Early Ages , quoted by Mozley. S.] 26: Matt. xxvi. 38.

27: Herodot., i. cap. 47.

28: kai Qeon kata ton twn olwn Qeon kai patera . "Ex mente Origenis, inquit Boherellus, vertendum `Secundo post universi Deum atque parentem loco; 0' non cum interprete Gelenio, `Ipsius rerum universarum Dei atque Parentis testimonio. 0' Nam si hic esset sensus, frustra post" upo twn profhtwn , adderetur kata ton Qeon . Praeterea, haec epitheta, ton twn olwn Qeon kai patera , manifestam continent antithesin ad ista, megalhn onta dunamin kai Qeon , ut Pater supra Filium evehatur, quemadmodum evehitur, ab Origene infra libro octavo, num. 15. Tou, kata , inferiorem ordinem denotantis exempla afferre supersedeo, cum obvia sint." - Ruaeus. [See also Liddon's Bampton Lectures on The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ , p. 414, where he says, "Origen maintains Christ's true divinity against the contemptuous criticisms of Celsus"

(book ii. 9, 16, seq.; vii. 53, etc.). S.] 29: Ps. cxlviii. 5.

30: perigegrammenon tina.

31: John i. 26.

32: Matt. xviii. 20.

33: Matt. xxviii. 20.

34: 1 Cor. vi. 17.

35: ei gar kata thn Paulou didaskalian, legontoj 36: Matt. xii. 24.

37: Matt. xxvi. 61.

38: John xviii. 4 sqq.

39: Matt. xxvi. 52-54.

40: Matt. xxvii. 3-5.

41: diapuroj kai sfodra .

42: apiqanon .

43: Ps. cix. 1, 2. [cviii. 1, 2, Sept. S.] 44: Ps. cix. 8. [cviii, 8, Sept. S.] 45: teretismata .

46: [See De Princip ., iv. i. 5, where Origen gives the length of our Lord's ministry as "only a year and a few months." S.] 47: Cf. Clem. Alex., Strom ., v. c. ix. [See vol. ii. pp. 457, 458. S.] 48: dokoush deinothti rhtopikh .

49: Matt. x. 18.

50: Modestinus, lib. vi. Regularum, ad legem Corneliam de Sicariis : "Circumcidere filios suos Judaeis tantum rescripto divi Pii permittitur: in non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castrantis poena irrogatur."

51: Matt. x. 18.

52: Matt. xxiv. 14.

53: ["Celsus quotes the writings of the disciples of Jesus concerning His life, as possessing unquestioned authority; and that these were the four canonical Gospels is proved both by the absence of all evidence to the contrary, and by the special facts which he brings forward. And not only this, but both Celsus and Porphyry appear to have been acquainted with the Pauline Epistles" (Westcott's History of the Canon of the New Testament , pp. 464, 465, 137, 138, 401, 402). See also infra , cap. lxxiv. S.] 54: [Luke xxi. 20. S.] 55: osa peri toutou kai para tw Paulw pefilosofhtai .

56: Cf. Plato, de Rep., x. p. 614.

57: Cf. Plin., Nat. Hist ., vii. c. 52.

58: John x. 18.

59: John xix. 32, 33.

60: Ou monon oun oux o nekroj aqanatoj, all oud o pro tou nekrou Ihsouj o sunqetoj aqanatoj hn, oj ge emelle teqnhcesqai .

61: Rom. vi. 9.

62: outwj aqrowj .

63: eutelesi .

64: argoj logoj .

65: Euripid., Phoenissae, 18-20.

66: anti tou estai .

67: Matt. xxvi. 23.

68: alwn kai trapezhj .

69: Archilochus.

70: Guietus would expunge these words as "inept."

71: Matt. xxvi. 39.

72: Matt. xxvi. 39.

73: Deut. xxxii. 39.

74: kai tauto de pollhn exonta dihghsin apo sofiaj Qeou oij o Pauloj wnomase teleioij eulogwj paradoqhsemenhn .

75: 1 Cor. ii. 6.

76: John viii. 40.

77: The original here is probably corrupt: Oti exrhn auton (wj fhsi) feidomenon anqrwpwn autaj ekqesqai taj profhteiaj, kai sunagoreusanta taij piqanothsin autwn, thn fainomenhn autwn anatrophn thj xrhsewj twn profhtikwn ekqesqai . For feidomenon Boherellus would read khdomenon , and thn fainomenhn autw anatrophn .

78: oleqron .

79: [In fulfillment of the great plan foreshadowed in Daniel, and promised by Haggai (ii. 7), where I adhere to the Anglican version and the Vulgate.] 80: Ps. cvii. 20.

81: Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51, 52; cf. Luke xxiii. 44, 45.

82: w outoj .

83: [Testimony not to be scorned.] 84: On Phlegon, cf. note in Migne, pp. 823, 854. [See also vol. iii. Elucidation V. p. 58.] 85: Eurip., Bacchae , 498 (ed. Dindorf).

86: Cf. Euseb., Hist. Eccles . bk. ii. c. vii.

87: Matt. xxvii. 19.

88: Cf. Iliad , v. 340.

89: Cf. John xix. 34, 35.

90: Cf. Matt. xxvii. 54.

91: xanodon .

92: Ps. lxix. 21.:

93: w pistotatoi .

94: ton Xriston .

95: ta anqrwpwn .

96: marturasqai peri twn praktewn .

97: 98: thj twn logwn autou akolouqiaj .

99: epifaneiaj .

100: thn peri autou adiastrofon ennoian .

101: ponon .

102: agwna ton prwton kai megiston thj yuxhj .

103: [See Dean Plumptre's The Spirits in Prison: Studies on the Life after Death , p. 85. S.] 104: thj kata thn kakian xusewj .

105: dai tauta .

106: John xxi. 18, 19.

107: Acts v. 41.

108: The reading in the text is ei kai ismen ; for which both Bohereau and De la Rue propose epei ismen , which has been adopted in the translation: cf. epei ekolasqh , infra .

109: Cf. Isa. xxxv. 5, 6.

110: wn Ihsouj aisqhtwn .

111: fantasiwn .

112: Matt. xxiv. 23-27.

113: Cf. Matt. vii. 22, 23, with Luke xiii. 26, 27.

114: qeiothj , lit. divinity.

115: 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

116: 2 Thess. ii. 6-10.

117: 2 Thess. ii. 10-12.

118: Cf. Dan. vii. 26.

119: sunarpazei ton logon .

120: fassa .

121: peristera .

122: [dehsetai . S.] 123: wste mhden diaferein paraplhsion einai legein gonteian th124: Deut. xiii. 1-3.

125: Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6.

126: Cf. Herodot., iv. 95.

127: Cf. Herodot., ii. 122.

128: Cf. Herodot., ii. 122.

129: Cf. Diodor., iv., Bibl. Hist.

130: autw swmati . [See Mozley's Bampton Lectures On Miracles , 3d ed., p. 297: "That a man should rise from the dead, was treated by them (the heathen) as an absolutely incredible fact." S.] 131: gunh paroistroj .

132: kata tina kia qesin eneiqwcaj .

133: h kata thn auton boulhsin doch peplanhmenh fantasiwqeij .

134: Cf. Ex. xxiv. 2.

135: terateiaj .

136: pwj oiontai to paraplhsion plasasqai legein auton toij istoroumenoij , etc.

137: katabebhkenai bia . Bohereau proposes the omission of bia .

138: eterateusato .

139: Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 21, 22. [3 Kings, Sept. and Vulg. S.] 140: Cf. 2 Kings iv. 34, 35. [4 Kings, Sept. and Vulg. S.] 141: terateuomenoij .

142: terateian .

143: [See cap. xxxiii., note, p. 455, supra .] 144: Isa. liii. 7.

145: 146: ta men oun ginomena peri yuxhj teqnhkotwn fantasmata apo tinoj upokeimenou ginetai, toukata thn ufesthkuian en tw kaloumenw augoeidei swmati yuxhn . Cf. note in Benedictine ed.

147: upar .

148: en swmati antitupw eghgerqai .

149: yuxhj swma .

150: Cf. Homer, Iliad , xxiii. 66, 67.

151: Cf. John xx. 27.

152: Ps. xvi. 9, 10.

153: John xx. 26, 27.

154: Luke xxiv. 15, 31.

155: Acts i. 3.

156: Cf. John xx. 26.

157: 1 Cor. xv. 3-8.

158: pleiona th epinoia hn .

159: outw kai taij oyesi pantwj men thj yuxhj, egw d hgoumai, oti kai tou swmatoj .

160: Matt. xxvi. 48.

161: Matt. xxvi. 55.

162: ton mh apekdusamenon , etc. Cf. Alford, in loco (Col. ii. 15).

163: dihnekwj .

164: thn oikonomian telesantoj .

165: xrhsimon d oimai proj apologian twn prokeinenwn .

166: Cf. Rom. xiv. 9.

167: 1 Cor. xv. 52.

168: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 52 with 1 Thess. iv. 16.

169: Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16.

170: 1 Cor. ii. 2.

171: Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 2, 3.

172: outw moi noei kai ton uion tou Qeou wfqai th paraplhsia eij to peri ekeinwn, eij to wfqai autoij ton Qeon, krisei .

173: Cf. Gen. xix. 10, 11. [Also Jude 7, "strange (or other) flesh."] 174: Cf. Luke xxiv. 30, 31.

175: Cf. Gal. vi. 14.

176: Rom. vi. 10.

177: Phil. iii. 10.

178: 2 Tim. ii. 11.

179: Cf. Rom. vi. 4.

180: Luke xxiii. 53, ouk hn oupw oudeij keimenoj .

181: John xix. 41, en w oudepw oudeij eteqh .

182: Cf. Matt. xxvii. 60 with John xix. 41.

183: Cf. Luke xxiii. 53 with John xix. 41.

184: toij eautou qiaswtaij .

185: Matt. xxviii. 1, 2.

186: Matt. xxviii. 9.

187: legw de ou peri twn sxesin proj etera exontwn, alla peri twn kata diaforan .

188: enantion ton men kolazomenon pasin ewrasqai, anastanta de ene . The Benedictine editor reads ton men kolazomenon , and Bohereau proposes enantion tw kolazomenon men , etc.

189: Cf. Luke x. 22.

190: John i. 18.

191: wn ixnh en toij gegrammenoij euriskontej aformaj axomen qeonlogein .

192: 1 John i. 5.

193: John iv. 24.

194: The text is, touj de amartanontaj h metagnontaj elehson . Bohereau would read mh metagnontaj , or would render the passage as if the reading were h amartanontaj, h metagnontaj . This suggestion has been adopted in the translation.

195: Matt. iii. 17.

196: oudepw de legw, oti ou pantwj estin ahr peplhgmenoj h plhuh aeroj, h o ti pote legetai en toij peri fwnhj .

197: Cf. Matt. xi. 28.

198: autoi gar eautoij peripiptete . [See note supra , cap. xiii. p. 437. S.] 199: Cf. Ex. xxxii. 4.

200: The text reads hmwn , for which Bohereau and the Benedictine editor propose either umaj or hmaj , the former of which is preferred by Lommatzsch.

201: kat amfoteraj taj arxaj twn pragmatwn apistounti .

202: Cf. Luke xi. 48.

203: Cf. Deut. xxviii. 66.

204: Isa. v. 8.

205: Isa. v. 11.

206: Isa. v. 18.

207: Isa. v. 20.

208: Isa. v. 22.

209: Cf. Isa. i. 4.

210: Isa. i. 7.

211: Ezek. ii. 6.

212: Cf. Odyss ., x. 281.

213: uper epistrofhj .

214: Cf. Odyss ., xii. 45.

215: Ibid ., xii. 184.

216: paiwnion farmakon .

217: eite diarqrounta to toiouton par eautw .

218: kai dunamenon presbeusai peri tou logou kalwj .

219: alla muqikwteron sugkatatiqemenon tw logw .

220: Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 44, 45.

221: Cf. Isa. lxv. 1.

222: ouxi eqnoj, alla logadaj pantaxoqen .

223: Cf. Deut. xxxii. 21.

224: thn kat auton qeosebeian kai didaskalian .

Against Celsus - Book 3

Book III.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter ILL.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI.

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV.

Chapter XVI.

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX.

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter L.

Chapter LI.

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXII.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVII.

Chapter LXVIII.

Chapter LXIX.

Chapter LXX.

Chapter LXXI.

Chapter LXXII.

Chapter LXXIII.

Chapter LXXIV.

Chapter LXXV.

Chapter LXXVI.

Chapter LXXVII.

Chapter LXXVIII.

Chapter LXXIX.

Chapter LXXX.

Chapter LXXXI.

Book III.

Chapter I. In the first book of our answer to the work of Celsus, who had boastfully entitled the treatise which he had composed against us A True Discourse, we have gone through, as you enjoined, my faithful Ambrosius, to the best of our ability, his preface, and the parts immediately

following it, testing each one of his assertions as we went along, until we finished with the tirade1 of this Jew of his, feigned. to have been delivered against Jesus. And in the second book we met, as we best could, all the charges contained in the invective2 of the said Jew, which were levelled at us who are believers in God through Christ; and now we enter upon this third division of our discourse, in which our object is to refute the allegations which he makes in his own person.

He gives it as his opinion, that "the controversy between Jews and Christians is a most foolish one," and asserts that "the discussions which we have with each other regarding Christ differ in no respect from what is called in the proverb, 'a fight about the shadow of an ass;' "3 and thinks that "there is nothing of importance4 in the investigations of the Jews and Christians: for both believe that it was predicted by the Divine Spirit that one was to come as a Saviour to the human race, but do not yet agree on the point whether the person predicted has actually come or not." For we Christians, indeed, have believed in Jesus, as He who came according to the predictions of the prophets. But the majority of the Jews are so far from believing in Him, that those of them who lived at the time of His coming conspired against Him; and those of the present day, approving of what the Jews of former times dared to do against Him, speak evil of Him, asserting that it was by means of sorcery5 that he passed himself off for Him who was predicted by the prophets as the One who was to come, and who was called, agreeably to the traditions of the Jews,6 the Christ.

Chapter II. But let Celsus, and those who assent to his charges, tell us whether it is at all like "an ass's shadow," that the Jewish prophets should have predicted the birth-place of Him who was to be the ruler of those who had lived righteous lives, and who are called the "heritage" of God;7 and that Emmanuel should be conceived by a virgin; and that such signs and wonders should be performed by Him who was the subject of prophecy; and that His word should have such speedy course, that the voice of His apostles should go forth into all the earth; and that He should undergo certain sufferings after His condemnation by the Jews; and that He should rise again from the dead. For was it by chance8 that the prophets made these announcements, with no persuasion of the truth in their minds,9 moving them not only to speak, but to deem their announcements worthy of being committed to writing? And did so great a nation as that of the Jews, who had long ago received a country of their own wherein to dwell, recognise certain men as prophets, and reject others as utterers of false predictions, without any conviction of the soundness of the distinction?10 And was there no motive which induced them to class with the books of Moses, which were held as sacred, the words of those persons who were afterwards deemed to be prophets? And can those who charge the Jews and Christians with folly, show us how the Jewish nation could have continued to subsist, had there existed among them no promise of the knowledge of future events? and how, while each of the surrounding nations believed, agreeably to their ancient institutions, that they received oracles and predictions from those whom they accounted gods, this people alone, who were taught to view with contempt all those who were considered gods by the heathen, as not being gods, but demons, according to the declaration of the prophets, "For all the gods of the nations are demons,"11 had among them no one who professed to be a prophet, and who could restrain such as, from a desire to know the future, were ready to desert12 to the demons13 of other nations? Judge, then, whether it were not a necessity, that as the whole nation had been taught to despise the deities of other lands, they should have had an abundance of prophets, who made known events which were of far greater importance in themselves,14 and which surpassed the oracles of all other countries.

Chapter ILL. In the next place, miracles were performed in all countries, or at least in many of them, as Celsus himself admits, instancing the case of Aesculapius, who conferred benefits on many, and who foretold future events to entire cities, which were dedicated to him, such as Tricca, and Epidaurus, and Cos, and Pergamus; and along with Aesculapius he mentions Aristeas of Proconnesus, and a certain Clazomenian, and Cleomedes of Astypalaea. But among the Jews alone, who say they are dedicated to the God of all things, there was wrought no miracle or sign which might help to confirm their faith in the Creator of all things, and strengthen their hope of another and better life! But how can they imagine such a state of things? For they would immediately have gone over to the worship of those demons which gave oracles and performed cures, and deserted the God who was believed, as far as words went,15 to assist them, but who never manifested to them His visible presence. But if this result has not taken place, and if, on the contrary, they have suffered countless calamities rather than renounce Judaism and their law, and have been cruelly treated, at one time in Assyria, at another in Persia, and at another under Antiochus, is it not in keeping with the probabilities of the case16 for those to suppose who do not yield their belief to their miraculous histories and prophecies, that the events in question could not be inventions, but that a certain divine Spirit being in the holy souls of the prophets, as of men who underwent any labour for the cause of virtue, did move them to prophesy some things relating to their contemporaries, and others to their posterity, but chiefly regarding a certain personage who was to come as a Saviour to the human race? And if the above be the state of the case, how do Jews and Christians search after "the shadow of an ass," in seeking to ascertain from those prophecies which they believe in common, whether He who was foretold has come, or has not yet arrived, and is still an object of expectation? But even suppose17 it be granted to Celsus that it was not Jesus who was announced by the prophets, then, even on such a hypothesis, the investigation of the sense of the prophetic writings is no search after "the shadow of an ass," if He who was spoken of can be clearly pointed out, and it can be shown both what sort of person He was predicted to be, and what He was to do, and, if possible, when He was to arrive. But in the preceding pages we have already spoken on the point of Jesus being the individual who was foretold to be the Christ, quoting a few prophecies out of a larger number. Neither Jews nor Christians, then, are wrong in assuming that the prophets spoke under divine influence;18 but they are in error who form erroneous opinions respecting Him who was expected by the prophets to come, and whose person and character were made known in their "true discourses."

Chapter V.

Immediately after these points, Celsus, imagining that the Jews are Egyptians by descent, and had abandoned Egypt, after revolting against the Egyptian state, and despising the customs of that people in matters of worship, says that "they suffered from the adherents of Jesus, who believed in Him as the Christ, the same treatment which they had inflicted upon the Egyptians; and that the cause which led to the new state of things19 in either instance was rebellion against the state." Now let us observe what Celsus has here done. The ancient Egyptians, after inflicting many cruelties upon the Hebrew race, who had settled in Egypt owing to a famine which had broken out in Judea, suffered, in consequence of their injustice to strangers and suppliants, that punishment which divine Providence had decreed was to fall on the whole nation for having combined against an entire people, who had been their guests, and who had done them no harm; and after being smitten by plagues from God, they allowed them, with difficulty, and after a brief period, to go

wherever they liked, as being unjustly detained in slavery. Because, then, they were a selfish people, who hon-outer those who were in any degree related to them far more than they did strangers of better lives, there is not an accusation which they have omitted to bring against Moses and the Hebrews,-not altogether denying, indeed, the miracles and wonders done by him, but alleging that they were wrought by sorcery, and not by divine power. Moses, however, not as a magician, but as a devout man, and one devoted to the God of all things, and a partaker in the divine Spirit, both enacted laws for the Hebrews, according to the suggestions of the Divinity, and recorded events as they happened with perfect fidelity.

Chapter VI.

Celsus, therefore, not investigating in a spirit of impartiality the facts, which are related by the Egyptians in one way, and by the Hebrews in another, but being bewitched, as it were,20 in favour of the former, accepted as true the statements of those who had oppressed the strangers, and declared that the Hebrews, who had been unjustly treated, had departed from Egypt after revolting against the Egyptians,-not observing how impossible it was for so great a multitude of rebellious Egyptians to become a nation, which, dating its origin from the said revolt, should change its language at the time of its rebellion, so that those who up to that time made use of the Egyptian tongue, should completely adopt, all at once, the language of the Hebrews! Let it be granted, however, according to his supposition, that on abandoning Egypt they did conceive a hatred also of their mother tongue,21 how did it happen that after so doing they did not rather adopt the Syrian or Phoenician language, instead of preferring the Hebrew, which is different from both? But reason seems to me to demonstrate that the statement is false, which makes those who were Egyptians by race to have revolted against Egyptians, and to have left the country, and to have proceeded to Palestine, and occupied the land now called Judea. For Hebrew was the language of their fathers before their descent into Egypt; and the Hebrew letters, employed by Moses in writing those five books which are deemed sacred by the Jews, were different from those of the Egyptians.

Chapter VII. In like manner, as the statement is false "that the Hebrews, being (originally) Egyptians, dated the commencement (of their political existence) from the time of their rebellion," so also is this, "that in the days of Jesus others who were Jews rebelled against the Jewish state, and became His followers; "for neither Celsus nor they who think with him are able to point out any act on the part of Christians which savours of rebellion. And yet, if a revolt had led to the formation of the Christian commonwealth, so that it derived its existence in this way from that of the Jews, who were permitted to take up arms in defence of the members of their families, and to slay their enemies, the Christian Lawgiver would not have altogether forbidden the putting of men to death; and yet He nowhere teaches that it is right for His own disciples to offer violence to any one, however wicked. For He did not deem it in keeping with such laws as His, which were derived from a divine source, to allow the killing of any individual whatever. Nor would the Christians, had they owed their origin to a rebellion, have adopted laws of so exceedingly mild a character as not to allow them, when it was their fate to be slain as sheep, on any occasion to resist their persecutors. And truly, if we look a little deeper into things, we may say regarding the exodus from Egypt., that it is a miracle if a whole nation at once adopted the language called Hebrew, as if it had been a gift from heaven, when one of their own prophets said, "As they went forth from Egypt, they heard a language which they did not understand."22

Chapter VIII. In the following way, also, we may conclude that they who came out of Egypt with Moses were not Egyptians; for if they had been Egyptians, their names also would be Egyptian, because in every language the designations (of persons and things) are kindred to the language.23 But if it is certain, from the names being Hebrew, that the people were not Egyptians,-and the Scriptures are full of Hebrew names, and these bestowed, too, upon their children while they were in Egypt,-it is clear that the Egyptian account is false, which asserts that they were Egyptians, and went forth from Egypt with Moses. Now it is absolutely certain24 that, being descended, as the Mosaic history records, from Hebrew ancestors, they employed a language from which they also took the names which they conferred upon their children. But with regard to the Christians, because they were taught not to avenge themselves upon their enemies (and have thus observed laws of a mild and philanthropic character); and because they would not, although able, have made war even if they had received authority to do so,-they have obtained this reward from God, that He has always warred in their behalf, and on certain occasions has restrained those who rose up against them and desired to destroy them. For in order to remind others, that by seeing a few engaged in a struggle for their religion, they also might be better fitted to despise death, some, on special occasions, and these individuals who can be easily numbered, have endured death for the sake of Christianity,-God not permitting the whole nation to be exterminated, but desiring that it should continue, and that the whole world should be filled with this salutary and religious doctrine.25 And again, on the other hand, that those who were of weaker minds might recover their courage and rise superior to the thought of death, God interposed His providence on behalf of believers, dispersing by an act of His will alone all the conspiracies formed against them; so that neither kings, nor rulers, nor the populace, might be able to rage against them beyond a certain point. Such, then, is our answer to the assertions of Celsus, "that a revolt was the original commencement of the ancient Jewish state, and subsequently of Christianity."

Chapter IX. But since he is manifestly guilty of falsehood in the statements which follow, let us examine his assertion when he says, "If all men wished to become Christians, the latter would not desire such a result." Now that the above statement is false is clear from this, that Christians do not neglect, as far as in them lies, to take measures to disseminate their doctrine throughout the whole world. Some of them, accordingly, have made it their business to itinerate not only through cities, but even villages and country houses,26 that they might make converts to God. And no one would maintain that they did this for the sake of gain, when sometimes they would not accept even necessary sustenance; or if at any time they were pressed by a necessity of this sort, were contented with the mere supply of their wants, although many were willing to share (their abundance) with them, and to bestow help upon them far above their need. At the present day, indeed, when, owing to the multitude of Christian believers, not only rich men, but persons of rank, and delicate and high-born ladies, receive the teachers of Christianity, some perhaps will dare to say that it is for the sake of a little glory27 that certain individuals assume the office of Christian instructors. It is impossible, however, rationally to entertain such a suspicion with respect to Christianity in its beginnings, when the danger incurred, especially by its teachers, was great; while at the present day the discredit attaching to it among the rest of mankind is greater than any supposed honour enjoyed among those who hold the same belief, especially when such honour is not shared by all. It is false, then, from the very nature of the case, to say that "if all men wished to become Christians, the latter would not desire such a result."

Chapter X. But observe what he alleges as a proof of his statement: "Christians at first were few in number, and held the same opinions; but when they grew to be a great multitude, they were divided and separated, each wishing to have his own individual party:28 for this was their object from the beginning." That Christians at first were few in number, in comparison with the multitudes who subsequently became Christian, is undoubted; and yet, all things considered, they were not so very few.29 For what stirred up the envy of the Jews against Jesus, and aroused them to conspire against Him, was the great number of those who followed Him into the wilderness,-five thousand men on one occasion, and four thousand on another, having attended Him thither, without including the women and children. For such was the charm30 of Jesus' words, that not only were men willing to follow Him to the wilderness, but women also, forgetting31 the weakness of their sex and a regard for outward propriety32 in thus following their Teacher into desert places. Children, too, who are altogether unaffected by such emotions,33 either following their parents, or perhaps attracted also by His divinity, in order that it might be implanted within them, became His followers along with their parents. But let it be granted that Christians were few in number at the beginning, how does that help to prove that Christians would be unwilling to make all men believe the doctrine of the Gospel?

Chapter XI.

He says, in addition, that "all the Christians were of one mind," not observing, even in this particular, that from the beginning there were differences of opinion among believers regarding the meaning34 of the books held to be divine. At all events, while the apostles were still preaching, and while eye-witnesses of (the works of) Jesus were still teaching His doctrine, there was no small discussion among the converts from Judaism regarding Gentile believers, on the point whether they ought to observe Jewish customs, or should reject the burden of clean and unclean meats, as not being obligatory on those who had abandoned their ancestral Gentile customs, and had become believers in Jesus. Nay, even in the Epistles of Paul, who was contemporary with those who had seen Jesus, certain particulars are found mentioned as having been the subject of dispute,-viz., respecting the resurrection,35 and whether it were already past, and the day of the Lord, whether it were nigh at hand36 or not. Nay, the very exhortation to "avoid profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called: which some professing, have erred concerning the faith,"37 is enough to show that from the very beginning, when, as Celsus imagines, believers were few in number, there were certain doctrines interpreted in different ways.38

Chapter XII. In the next place, since he reproaches us with the existence of heresies in Christianity as being a ground of accusation against it, saying that "when Christians had greatly increased in numbers, they were divided and split up into factions, each individual desiring to have his own party; "and further, that "being thus separated through their numbers, they confute one another, still having, so to speak, one name in common, if indeed they still retain it. And this is the only thing which they are yet ashamed to abandon, while other matters are determined in different ways by the various sects." In reply to which, we say that heresies of different kinds have never originated from any matter in which the principle involved was not important and beneficial to human life. For since the science of medicine is useful and necessary to the human race, and many are the points of dispute in it respecting the manner of curing bodies, there are found, for this reason, numerous heresies confessedly prevailing in the science of medicine among the Greeks, and also, I

suppose, among those barbarous nations who profess to employ medicine. And, again, since philosophy makes a profession of the truth, and promises a knowledge of existing things with a view to the regulation of life, and endeavours to teach what is advantageous to our race, and since the investigation of these matters is attended with great differences of opinion,39 innumerable heresies have consequently sprung up in philosophy, some of which are more celebrated than others. Even Judaism itself afforded a pretext for the origination of heresies, in the different acceptation accorded to the writings of Moses and those of the prophets. So, then, seeing Christianity appeared an object of veneration to men, not to the more servile class alone, as Celsus supposes, but to many among the Greeks who were devoted to literary pursuits,40 there necessarily originated heresies,-not at all, however, as the result of faction and strife, but through the earnest desire of many literary men to become acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity. The consequence of which was, that, taking in different acceptations those discourses which were believed by all to be divine, there arose heresies, which received their names from those individuals who admired, indeed, the origin of Christianity, but who were led, in some way or other, by certain plausible reasons, to discordant views. And yet no one would act rationally in avoiding medicine because of its heresies; nor would he who aimed at that which is seemly41 entertain a hatred of philosophy, and adduce its many heresies as a pretext for his antipathy. And so neither are the sacred books of Moses and the prophets to be condemned on account of the heresies in Judaism.

Chapter XIII.

Now, if these arguments hold good, why should we not defend, in the same way, the existence of heresies in Christianity? And respecting these, Paul appears to me to speak in a very striking manner when he says, "For there must be heresies among you, that they who are approved may be made manifest among you."42 For as that man is "approved" in medicine who, on account of his experience in various (medical) heresies, and his honest examination of the majority of them, has selected the preferable system,-and as the great proficient in philosophy is he who, after acquainting himself experimentally with the various views, has given in his adhesion to the best,-so I would say that the wisest Christian was he who had carefully studied the heresies both of Judaism and Christianity. Whereas he who finds fault with Christianity because of its heresies would find fault also with the teaching of Socrates, from whose school have issued many others of discordant views. Nay, the opinions of Plato might be chargeable with error, on account of Aristotle's having separated from his school, and founded a new one,-on which subject we have remarked in the preceding book. But it appears to me that Celsus has become acquainted with certain heresies which do not possess even the name of Jesus in common with us. Perhaps he had heard of the sects called Ophites and Cainites, or some others of a similar nature, which had departed in all points from the teaching of Jesus. And yet surely this furnishes no ground for a charge against the Christian doctrine.

Chapter XIV.

After this he continues: "Their union is the more wonderful, the more it can be shown to be based on no substantial reason. And yet rebellion is a substantial reason, as well as the advantages which accrue from it, and the fear of external enemies. Such are the causes which give stability to their faith." To this we answer, that our union does thus rest upon a reason, or rather not upon a

reason, but upon the divine working,43 so that its commencement was God's teaching men, in the prophetical writings, to expect the advent of Christ, who was to be the Saviour of mankind. For in so far as this point is not really refuted (although it may seem to be by unbelievers), in the same proportion is the doctrine commended as the doctrine of God, and Jesus shown to be the Son of God both before and after His incarnation. I maintain, moreover, that even after His incarnation, He is always found by those who possess the acutest spiritual vision to be most God-like, and to have really come down to us from God, and to have derived His origin or subsequent development not from human wisdom, but from the manifestation44 of God within Him, who by His manifold wisdom and miracles established Judaism first, and Christianity afterwards; and the assertion that rebellion, and the advantages attending it, were the originating causes of a doctrine which has converted and improved so many men was effectually refuted.

Chapter XV. But again, that it is not the fear of external enemies which strengthens our union, is plain from the fact that this cause, by God's will, has already, for a considerable time, ceased to exist. And it is probable that the secure existence, so far as regards the world, enjoyed by believers at present, will come to an end, since those who calumniate Christianity in every way are again attributing the present frequency of rebellion to the multitude of believers, and to their not being persecuted by the authorities as in old times. For we have learned from the Gospel neither to relax our efforts in days of peace, and to give ourselves up to repose, nor, when the world makes war upon us, to become cowards, and apostatize from the love of the God of all things which is in Jesus Christ. And we clearly manifest the illustrious nature of our origin, and do not (as Celsus imagines) conceal it, when we impress upon the minds of our first converts a contempt for idols, and images of all kinds, and, besides this, raise their thoughts from the worship of created things instead of God, and elevate them to the universal Creator; dearly showing Him to be the subject of prophecy, both from the predictions regarding Him-of which there are many-and from those traditions which have been carefully investigated by such as are able intelligently to understand the Gospels, and the declarations of the apostles.

Chapter XVI.

"But what the legends are of every kind which we gather together, or the terrors which we invent," as Celsus without proof asserts, he who likes may show. I know not, indeed, what he means by "inventing terrors," unless it be our doctrine of God as Judge, and of the condemnation of men for their deeds, with the various proofs derived partly from Scripture, partly from probable reason. And yet-for truth is precious-Celsus says, at the close, "Forbid that either I, or these, or any other individual should ever reject the doctrine respecting the future punishment of the wicked and the reward of the good!" What terrors, then, if you except the doctrine of punishment, do we invent and impose upon mankind? And if he should reply that "we weave together erroneous opinions drawn from ancient sources, and trumpet them aloud, and sound them before men, as the priests of Cybele clash their cymbals in the ears of those who are being initiated in their mysteries; "45 we shall ask him in reply, "Erroneous opinions from what ancient sources? "For, whether he refers to Grecian accounts, which taught the existence of courts of justice under the earth, or Jewish, which, among other things, predicted the life that follows the present one; he will be unable to show that we who, striving to believe on grounds of reason, regulate our lives in conformity with such doctrines, have failed correctly to ascertain the truth.46

Chapter XVII.

He wishes, indeed, to compare the articles of our faith to those of the Egyptians; "among whom, as you approach their sacred edifices, are to be seen splendid enclosures, and groves, and large and beautiful gateways,47 and wonderful temples, and magnificent tents around them, and ceremonies of worship full of superstition and mystery; but when you have entered, and passed within, the object of worship is seen to be a cat, or an ape, or a crocodile, or a goat, or a dog!" Now, what is the resemblance48 between us and the splendours of Egyptian worship which are seen by those who draw near their temples? And where is the resemblance to those irrational animals which are worshipped within, after you pass through the splendid gateways? Are our prophecies, and the God of all things, and the injunctions against images,49 objects of reverence in the view of Celsus also, and Jesus Christ crucified, the analogue to the worship of the irrational animal? But if he should assert this-and I do not think that he will maintain anything else-we shall reply that we have spoken in the preceding pages at greater length in defence of those charges affecting Jesus, showing that what appeared to have happened to Him in the capacity of His human nature, was fraught with benefit to all men, and with salvation to the whole world.

Chapter XVIII. In the next place, referring to the statements of the Egyptians, who talk loftily about irrational animals, and who assert that they are a sort of symbols of God, or anything else which their prophets, so termed, are accustomed to call them, Celsus says that "an impression is produced in the minds of those who have learned these things; that they have not been initiated in vain; "50 while with regard to the truths which are taught in our writings to those who have made progress in the study of Christianity (through that which is called by Paul the gift consisting in the "word of wisdom" through the Spirit, and in the "word of knowledge" according to the Spirit), Celsus does not seem even to have formed an idea,51 judging not only from what he has already said, but from what he subsequently adds in his attack upon the Christian system, when he asserts that Christians "repel every wise man from the doctrine of their faith, and invite only the ignorant and the vulgar; "on which assertions we shall remark in due time, when we come to the proper place.

Chapter XIX.

He says, indeed, that "we ridicule the Egyptians, although they present many by no means contemptible mysteries52 for our consideration, when they teach us that such rites are acts of worship offered to eternal ideas, and not, as the multitude think, to ephemeral animals; and that we are silly, because we introduce nothing nobler than the goats and dogs of the Egyptian worship in our narratives about Jesus." Now to this we reply, "Good sir,53 (suppose that) you are right in eulogizing the fact that the Egyptians present to view many by no means contemptible mysteries, and obscure explanations about the animals (worshipped) among them, you nevertheless do not act consistently in accusing us as if you believed that we had nothing to state which was worthy of consideration, but that all our doctrines were contemptible and of no account, seeing we unfold54 the narratives concerning Jesus according to the `wisdom of the word' to those who are `perfect' in Christianity. Regarding whom, as being competent to understand the wisdom that is in Christianity, Paul says: `We speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, who come to nought, but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory; which none of the

princes of this world knew.'"55

Chapter XX. And we say to those who hold similar opinions to those of Celsus: "Paul then, we are to suppose, had before his mind the idea of no pre-eminent wisdom when he professed to speak wisdom among them that are perfect? "Now, as he spoke with his customary boldness when in making such a profession he said that he was possessed of no wisdom, we shall say in reply: first of all examine the Epistles of him who utters these words, and look carefully at the meaning of each expression in them-say, in those to the Ephesians, and Colossians, and Thessalonians, and Philippians, and Romans,-and show two things, both that you understand Paul's words, and that you can demonstrate any of them to be silly or foolish. For if any one give himself to their attentive perusal, I am well assured either that he will be amazed at the understanding of the man who can clothe great ideas in common language; or if he be not amazed, he will only exhibit himself in a ridiculous light, whether he simply state the meaning of the writer as if he had comprehended it, or try to controvert and confute what he only imagined that he understood!

Chapter XI. And I have not yet spoken of the observance56 of all that is written in the Gospels, each one of which contains much doctrine difficult to be understood, not merely by the multitude, but even by certain of the more intelligent, including a very profound explanation of the parables which Jesus delivered to "those without," while reserving the exhibition of their full meaning57 for those who had passed beyond the stage of exoteric teaching, and who came to Him privately in the house. And when he comes to understand it, he will admire the reason why some are said to be "without," and others "in the house." And again, who would not be filled with astonishment that is able to comprehend the movements58 of Jesus; ascending at one time a mountain for the purpose of delivering certain discourses, or of performing certain miracles, or for His own transfiguration, and descending again to heal the sick and those who were unable to follow Him whither His disciples went? But it is not the appropriate time to describe at present the truly venerable and divine contents of the Gospels, or the mind of Christ-that is, the wisdom and the word-contained in the writings of Paul. But what we have said is sufficient by way of answer to the unphilosophic sneers59 of Celsus, in Comparing the inner mysteries of the Church of God to the cats, and apes, and crocodiles, and goats, and dogs of Egypt.

Chapter XXII. But this low jester60 Celsus, omitting no species of mockery and ridicule which can be employed against us, mentions in his treatise the Dioscuri, and Hercules, and Aesculapius, and Dionysus, who are believed by the Greeks to have become gods after being men, and says that "we cannot bear to call such beings gods, because they were at first men,61 and yet they manifested many noble qualifies, which were displayed for the benefit of mankind, while we assert that Jesus was seen after His death by His own followers; "and he brings against us an additional charge, as if we said that "He was seen indeed, but was only a shadow!" Now to this we reply, that it was very artful of Celsus not here clearly to indicate that he did not regard these beings as gods, for he was afraid of the opinion of those who might peruse his treatise, and who might suppose him to be an atheist; whereas, if he had paid respect to what appeared to him to be the truth, he would not have feigner to regard them as gods.62 Now to either of the allegations we are ready with an answer. Let us, accordingly, to those who do not regard them as gods reply as follows: These beings, then, are not gods at all; but agreeably to the view of those who think that the soul of man perishes immediately (after death), the souls of these men also perished; or according to the opinion of those who say that the soul continues to subsist or is immortal, these men continue

to exist or are immortal, and they are not gods but heroes,-or not even heroes, but simply souls. If, then, on the one hand, you suppose them not to exist, we shall have to prove the doctrine of the soul's immortality, which is to us a doctrine of pre-eminent importance;63 if, on the other hand, they do exist, we have still to prove64 the doctrine of immortality, not only by what the Greeks have so well said regarding it, but also in a manner agreeable to the teaching of Holy Scripture. And we shall demonstrate that it is impossible for those who were polytheists during their lives to obtain a better country and position after their departure from this world, by quoting the histories that are related of them, in which is recorded the great dissoluteness of Hercules, and his effeminate bondage with Omphale, together with the statements regarding Aesculapius, that their Zeus struck him dead by a thunderbolt. And of the Dioscuri, it will be said that they die often- "At one time live on alternate days, and at another Die, and obtain honour equally with the gods."65 How, then, can they reasonably imagine that one of these is to be regarded as a god or a hero?

Chapter XXIII. But we, in proving the facts related of our Jesus from the prophetic Scriptures, and comparing afterwards His history with them, demonstrate that no dissoluteness on His part is recorded. For even they who conspired against Him, and who sought false witnesses to aid them, did not find even any plausible grounds for advancing a false charge against Him, so as to accuse Him of licentiousness; but His death was indeed the result of a conspiracy, and bore no resemblance to the death of Aesculapius by lightning. And what is there that is venerable in the madman Dionysus, and his female garments, that he should be worshipped as a god? And if they who would defend such beings betake themselves to allegorical interpretations, we must examine each individual instance, and ascertain whether it is well founded,66 and also in each particular case, whether those beings can have a real existence, and are deserving of respect and worship who were torn by the Titans, and cast down from their heavenly throne. Whereas our Jesus, who appeared to the members of His own troop67 -for I will take the word that Celsus employs-did really appear, and Celsus makes a false accusation against the Gospel in saying that what appeared was a shadow. And let the statements of their histories and that of Jesus be carefully compared together. Will Celsus have the former to be true, but the latter, although recorded by eye-witnesses who showed by their acts that they clearly understood the nature of what they had seen, and who manifested their state of mind by what they cheerfully underwent for the sake of His Gospel, to be inventions? Now, who is there that, desiring to act always in conformity with right reason, would yield his assent at random68 to what is related of the one, but would rush to the history of Jesus, and without examination refuse to believe what is recorded of Him?69

Chapter XXIV. And again, when it is said of Aesculapius that a great multitude both of Greeks and Barbarians acknowledge that they have frequently seen, and still see, no mere phantom, but Aesculapius himself, healing and doing good, and foretelling the future; Celsus requires us to believe this, and finds no fault with the believers in Jesus, when we express our belief in such stories, but when we give our assent to the disciples, and eye-witnesses of the miracles of Jesus, who clearly manifest the honesty of their convictions (because we see their guilelessness, as far as it is possible to see the conscience revealed in writing), we are called by him a set of "silly" individuals, although he cannot demonstrate that an incalculable70 number, as he asserts, of Greeks and Barbarians acknowledge the existence of Aesculapius; while we, if we deem this a matter of importance, can clearly show a countless multitude of Greeks and Barbarians who acknowledge the existence of Jesus. And some give evidence of their having received through this

faith a marvellous power by the cures which they perform, revoking no other name over those who need their help than that of the God of all things, and of Jesus, along with a mention of His history. For by these means we too have seen many persons freed from grievous calamities, and from distractions of mind,71 and madness, and countless other ills, which could be cured neither by men nor devils.

Chapter XXV.

Now, in order to grant that there did exist a healing spirit named Aesculapius, who used to cure the bodies of men, I would say to those who are astonished at such an occurrence, or at the prophetic knowledge of Apollo, that since the cure of bodies is a thing indifferent,72 and a matter within the reach not merely of the good,73 but also of the bad; and as the foreknowledge of the future is also a thing indifferent-for the possessor of foreknowledge does not necessarily manifest the possession of virtue-you must show that they who practise healing or who forefell the future are in no respect wicked, but exhibit a perfect pattern of virtue, and are not far from being regarded as gods. But they will not be able to show that they are virtuous who practise the art of healing, or who are gifted with foreknowledge, seeing many who are not fit to live are related to have been healed; and these, too, persons whom, as leading improper lives, no wise physician would wish to heal. And in the responses of the Pythian oracle also you may find some injunctions which are not in accordance with reason, two of which we will adduce on the present occasion; viz., when it gave commandment that Cleomedes74 -the boxer, I suppose-should be honoured with divine honours, seeing some great importance or other attaching to his pugilistic skill, but did not confer either upon Pythagoras or upon Socrates the honours which it awarded to pugilism; and also when it called Archilochus "the servant of the Muses"-a man who employed his poetic powers upon topics of the most wicked and licentious nature, and whose public character was dissolute and impure-and entitled him "pious,"75 in respect of his being the servant of the Muses, who are deemed to be goddesses! Now I am inclined to think that no one would assert that he was a "pious" man who was not adorned with all moderation and virtue, or that a decorous76 man would utter such expressions as are contained in the unseemly77 iambics of Archilochus. And if nothing that is divine in itself is shown to belong either to the healing skill of Aesculapius or the prophetic power of Apollo, how could any one, even were I to grant that the facts are as alleged, reasonably worship them as pure divinities?-and especially when the prophetic spirit of Apollo, pure from any body of earth, secretly enters through the private parts the person of her who is called the priestess, as she is seated at the mouth of the Pythian cave!78 Whereas regarding Jesus and His power we have no such notion; for the body which was born of the Virgin was composed of human material, and capable of receiving human wounds and death.

Chapter XXVI.

Let us see what Celsus says next, when he adduces from history marvellous occurrences, which in themselves seem to be incredible, but which are not discredited by him, so far at least as appears from his words. And, in the first place, regarding Aristeas of Proconnesus, of whom he speaks as follows: "Then, with respect to Aristeas of Proconnesus, who disappeared from among men in a manner so indicative of divine intervention,79 and who showed himself again in so unmistakeable a fashion, and on many subsequent occasions visited many parts of the world, and announced marvellous events, and whom Apollo enjoined the inhabitants of Metapontium to

regard as a god, no one considers him to be a god." This account he appears to have taken from Pindar and Herodotus. It will be sufficient, however, at present to quote the statement of the latter writer from the fourth book of his histories, which is to the following effect: "Of what country Aristeas, who made these verses, was, has already been mentioned, and I shall now relate the account I heard of him in Proconnesus and Cyzicus. They say that Aristeas, who was inferior to none of the citizens by birth, entering into a fuller's shop in Proconnesus, died suddenly, and that the fuller, having closed his workshop, went to acquaint the relatives of the deceased. When the report had spread through the city that Aristeas was dead, a certain Cyzicenian, arriving from Artace, fell into a dispute with those who made the report, affirming that he had met and conversed with him on his way to Cyzicus, and he vehemently disputed the truth of the report; but the relations of the deceased went to the fuller's shop, taking with them what was necessary for the purpose of carrying the body away; but when the house was opened, Aristeas was not to be seen, either dead or alive. They say that afterwards, in the seventh year, he appeared in Proconnesus, composed those verses which by the Greeks are now called Arimaspian, and having composed them, disappeared a second time. Such is the story current in these cities. But these things I know happened to the Metapontines in Italy 340 years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as I discovered by computation in Proconnesus and Metapontium. The Metapontines say that Aristeas himself, having appeared in their country, exhorted them to erect an altar to Apollo, and to place near it a statue beating the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for he said that Apollo had visited their country only of all the Italians, and that he himself, who was now Aristeas, accompanied him; and that when he accompanied the god he was a crow; and after saying this he vanished. And the Metapontines say they sent to Delphi to inquire of the god what the apparition of the man meant; but the Pythian bade them obey the apparition, and if they obeyed it would conduce to their benefit. They accordingly, having received this answer, fulfilled the injunctions. And now, a statue beating the name of Aristeas is placed near the image of Apollo, and around it laurels are planted: the image is placed in the public square. Thus much concerning Aristeas."80

Chapter XXVII.

Now, in answer to this account of Aristeas, we have to say, that if Celsus had adduced it as history, without signifying his own assent to its truth, it is in a different way that we should have met his argument. But since he asserts that he "disappeared through the intervention of the divinity," and "showed himself again in an unmistakeable manner," and "visited many parts of the world," and "made marvellous announcements; "and, moreover, that there was "an oracle of Apollo, enjoining the Metapontines to treat Aristeas as a god," he gives the accounts relating to him as upon his own authority, and with his full assent. And (this being the case), we ask, How is it possible that, while supposing the marvels related by the disciples of Jesus regarding their Master to be wholly fictitious, and finding fault with those who believe them, you, O Celsus, do not regard these stories of yours to be either products of jugglery81 or inventions? And how,82 while charging others with an irrational belief in the marvels recorded of Jesus, can you show yourself justified in giving credence to such statement as the above, without producing some proof or evidence of the alleged occurrences having taken place? Or do Herodotus and Pindar appear to you to speak the truth, while they who have made it their concern to die for the doctrine of Jesus, and who have left to their successors writings so remarkable on the truths which they believed, entered for the sake of "fictions" (as you consider them), and "myths," and "juggleries," upon a struggle which entails a

life of danger and a death of violence? Place yourself, then, as a neutral party, between what is related of Aristeas and what is recorded of Jesus, and see whether, from the result, and from the benefits which have accrued from the reformation of morals, and to the worship of the God who is over all things, it is not allowable to conclude that we must believe the events recorded of Jesus not to have happened without the divine intervention, but that this was not the case with the story of Aristeas the Proconnesian.

Chapter XXVIII. For with what purpose in view did Providence accomplish the marvels related of Aristeas? And to confer what benefit upon the human race did such remarkable events, as you regard them, take place? You cannot answer. But we, when we relate the events of the history of Jesus, have no ordinary defence to offer for their occurrence;-this, viz., that God desired to commend the doctrine of Jesus as a doctrine which was to save mankind, and which was based, indeed, upon the apostles as foundations of the rising83 edifice of Christianity, but which increased in magnitude also in the succeeding ages, in which not a few cures are wrought in the name of Jesus, and certain other manifestations of no small moment have taken place. Now what sort of person is Apollo, who enjoined the Metapontines to treat Aristeas as a god? And with what object does he do this? And what advantage was he procuring to the Metapontines from this divine worship, if they were to regard him as a god, who a little ago was a mortal? And yet the recommendations of Apollo (viewed by us as a demon who has obtained the honour of libation and sacrificial odours84) regarding this Aristeas appear to you to be worthy of consideration; while those of the God of all things, and of His holy angels, made known beforehand through the prophets-not after the birth of Jesus, but before He appeared among men-do not stir you up to admiration, not merely of the prophets who received the Divine Spirit, but of Him also who was the object of their predictions, whose entrance into life was so clearly predicted many years beforehand by numerous prophets, that the whole Jewish people who were hanging in expectation of the coming of Him who was looked for, did, after the advent of Jesus, fall into a keen dispute with each other; and that a great multitude of them acknowledged Christ, and believed Him to be the object of prophecy, while others did not believe in Him, but, despising the meekness of those who, on account of the teaching of Jesus, were unwilling to cause even the most trifling sedition, dared to inflict on Jesus those cruelties which His disciples have so truthfully and candidly recorded, without secretly omitting from their marvellous history of Him what seems to the multitude to bring disgrace upon the doctrine of Christianity. But both Jesus Himself and His disciples desired that His followers should believe not merely in His Godhead and miracles, as if He had not also been a partaker of human nature, and had assumed the human flesh which "lusteth against the Spirit; "85 but they saw also that the power which had descended into human nature, and into the midst of human miseries, and which had assumed a human soul and body, contributed through faith, along with its divine elements, to the salvation of believers,86 when they see that from Him there began the union of the divine with the human nature, in order that the human, by communion with the divine, might rise to be divine, not in Jesus alone, but in all those who not only believe, but87 enter upon the life which Jesus taught, and which elevates to friendship with God and communion with Him every one who lives according to the precepts of Jesus.

Chapter XXIX.

According to Celsus, then, Apollo wished the Metapontines to treat Aristeas as a god. But as the Metapontines considered the evidence in favour of Aristeas being a man-and probably not a virtuous one-to be stronger than the declaration of the oracle to the effect that he was a god or worthy of divine honours, they for that reason would not obey Apollo, and consequently no one regarded Aristeas as a god. But with respect to Jesus we would say that, as it was of advantage to the human race to accept him as the Son of God-God come in a human soul and body-and as this did not seem to be advantageous to the gluttonous appetites88 of the demons which love bodies, and to those who deem them to be gods on that account, the demons that are on earth (which are supposed to be gods by those who are not instructed in the nature of demons), and also their worshippers, were desirous to prevent the spread of the doctrine of Jesus; for they saw that the libations and odours in which they greedily delighted were being swept away by the prevalence of the instructions of Jesus. But the God who sent Jesus dissipated all the conspiracies of the demons, and made the Gospel of Jesus to prevail throughout the whole world for the conversion and reformation of men, and caused Churches to be everywhere established in opposition to those of superstitious and licentious and wicked men; for such is the character of the multitudes who constitute the citizens89 in the assemblies of the various cities. Whereas the Churches of God which are instructed by Christ, when carefully contrasted with the assemblies of the districts in which they are situated, are as beacons90 in the world; for who would not admit that even the inferior members of the Church, and those who in comparison with the better are less worthy, are nevertheless more excellent than many of those who belong to the assemblies in the different districts?

Chapter XXX. For the Church91 of God, e.g., which is at Athens, is a meek and stable body, as being one which desires to please God, who is over all things; whereas the assembly92 of the Athenians is given to sedition, and is not at all to be compared to the Church of God in that city. And you may say the same thing of the Church of God at Corinth, and of the assembly of the Corinthian people; and also of the Church of God at Alexandria, and of the assembly of the people of Alexandria. And if he who hears this be a candid man, and one who investigates things with a desire to ascertain the truth, he will be filled with admiration of Him who not only conceived the design, but also was able to secure in all places the establishment of Churches of God alongside93 of the assemblies of the people in each city. In like manner, also, in comparing the council94 of the Church of God with the council in any city, you would find that certain councillors95 of the Church are worthy to rule in the city of God, if there be any such city in the whole world;96 whereas the councillors in all other places exhibit in their characters no quality worthy of the conventional97 superiority which they appear to enjoy over their fellow-citizens. And so, too, you must compare the ruler of the Church in each city with the ruler of the people of the city, in order to observe that even amongst those councillors and rulers of the Church of God who come very far short of their duty, and who lead more indolent lives than others who are more energetic, it is nevertheless possible to discover a general superiority in what relates to the progress of virtue over the characters of the councillors and rulers in the various cities.98

Chapter XXXI.

Now if these things be so, why should it not be consistent with reason to hold with regard to Jesus, who was able to effect results so great, that there dwelt in Him no ordinary divinity? while this was not the case either with the Proconnesian Aristeas (although Apollo would have him regarded as a

god), or with the other individuals enumerated by Celsus when he says, "No one regards Abaris the Hyperborean as a god, who was possessed of such power as to be borne along like an arrow from a bow."99 For with what object did the deity who bestowed upon this Hyperborean Abaris the power of being carried along like an arrow, confer upon him such a gift? Was it that the human race might be benefited thereby,100 or did he himself obtain any advantage from the possession of such a power?-always supposing it to be conceded that these statements are not wholly inventions, but that the thing actually happened through the co-operation of some demon. But if it be recorded that my Jesus was received up into glory,101 I perceive the divine arrangement102 in such an act, viz., because God, who brought this to pass, commends in this way the Teacher to those who witnessed it, in order that as men who are contending not for human doctrine, but for divine teaching, they may devote themselves as far as possible to the God who is over all, and may do all things in order to please Him, as those who are to receive in the divine judgment the reward of the good or evil which they have wrought in this life.

Chapter XXXII. But as Celsus next mentions the case of the Clazomenian, subjoining to the story about him this remark, "Do they not report that his soul frequently quitted his body, and flitted about in an incorporeal form? and yet men did not regard him as a god," we have to answer that probably certain wicked demons contrived that such statements should be committed to writing (for I do not believe that they contrived that such a thing should actually take place), in order that the predictions regarding Jesus, and the discourses uttered by Him, might either be evil spoken of, as inventions like these, or might excite no surprise, as not being more remarkable than other occurrences. But my Jesus said regarding His own soul (which was separated from the body, not by virtue of any human necessity, but by the miraculous power which was given Him also for this purpose): "No one taketh my life from Me, but I lay it down of Myself. I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again."103 For as He had power to lay it down, He laid it down when He said, "Father, why hast Thou forsaken Me? And when He had cried with a loud voice, He gave up the ghost,"104 anticipating the public executioners of the crucified, who break the legs of the victims, and who do so in order that their punishment may not be further prolonged. And He "took His life," when He manifested Himself to His disciples, having in their presence foretold to the unbelieving Jews, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again,"105 and "He spake this of the temple of His body; "the prophets, moreover, having predicted such a result in many other passages of their writings, and in this, "My flesh also shall rest in hope: for Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption."106

Chapter XXXIII.

Celsus, however, shows that he has read a good many Grecian histories, when he quotes further what is told of Cleomedes of Astypalaea, "who," he relates, "entered into an ark, and although shut up within it, was not found therein, but through some arrangement of the divinity, flew out, when certain persons had cut open the ark in order to apprehend him." Now this story, if an invention, as it appears to be, cannot be compared with what is related of Jesus, since in the lives of such men there is found no indication of their possessing the divinity which is ascribed to them; whereas the divinity of Jesus is established both by the existence of the Churches of the saved,107 and by the prophecies uttered concerning Him, and by the cures wrought in His name, and by the wisdom and knowledge which are in Him, and the deeper truths which are discovered by those who know how to ascend from a simple faith, and to investigate the meaning which lies in the divine

Scriptures, agreeably to the injunctions of Jesus, who said, "Search the Scriptures,"108 and to the wish of Paul, who taught that "we ought to know how to answer every man; "109 nay, also of him who said, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh of you a reason of the faith110 that is in you."111 If he wishes to have it conceded, however, that it is not a fiction, let him show with what object this supernatural power made him, through some arrangement of the divinity, flee from the ark. For if he will adduce any reason worthy of consideration, and point out any purpose worthy of God in conferring such a power on Cleomedes, we will decide on the answer which we ought to give; but if he fail to say anything convincing on the point, clearly because no reason can be discovered, then we shall either speak slightingly of the story to those who have not accepted it, and charge it with being false, or we shall say that some demoniac power, casting a glamour over the eyes, produced, in the case of the Astypalaean, a result like that which is produced by the performers of juggling tricks,112 while Celsus thinks that with respect to him he has spoken like an oracle, when he said that "by some divine arrangement he flew away from the ark."

Chapter XXXIV.

I am, however, of opinion that these individuals are the only instances with which Celsus was acquainted. And yet, that he might appear voluntarily to pass by other similar cases, he says, "And one might name many others of the same kind." Let it be granted, then, that many such persons have existed who conferred no benefit upon the human race: what would each one of their acts be found to amount to in comparison with the work of Jesus, and the miracles related of Him, of which we have already spoken at considerable length? He next imagines that, "in worshipping him who," as he says, "was taken prisoner and put to death, we are acting like the Getae who worship Zamolxis, and the Cilicians who worship Mopsus, and the Acarnanians who pay divine honours to Amphilochus, and like the Thebans who do the same to Amphiaraus, and the Lebadians to Trophonius." Now in these instances we shall prove that he has compared us to the foregoing without good grounds. For these different tribes erected temples and statues to those individuals above enumerated, whereas we have refrained from offering to the Divinity honour by any such means (seeing they are adapted rather to demons, which are somehow fixed in a certain place which they prefer to any other, or which take up their dwelling, as it were, after being removed (from one place to another) by certain rites and incantations), and are lost in reverential wonder at Jesus, who has recalled our minds from all sensible things, as being not only corruptible, but destined to corruption, and elevated them to honour the God who is over all with prayers and a righteous life, which we offer to Him as being intermediate between the nature of the uncreated and that of all created things,113 and who bestows upon us the benefits which come from the Father, and who as High Priest conveys our prayers to the supreme God.

Chapter XXXV. But I should like, in answer to him who for some unknown reason advances such statements as the above, to make in a conversational way114 some such remarks as the following, which seem not inappropriate to him. Are then those persons whom you have mentioned nonentities, and is there no power in Lebadea connected with Trophonius, nor in Thebes with the temple of Amphiaraus, nor in Acarnania with Amphilochus, nor in Cilicia with Mopsus? Or is there in such persons some being, either a demon, or a hero, or even a god, working works which are beyond the reach of man? For if he answer that there is nothing either demoniacal or divine about these individuals more than others, then let him at once make known

his own opinion, as being that of an Epicurean, and of one who does not hold the same views with the Greeks, and who neither recognises demons nor worships gods as do the Greeks; and let it be shown that it was to no purpose that he adduced the instances previously enumerated (as if he believed them to be true), together with those which he adds in the following pages. But if he will assert that the persons spoken of are either demons, or heroes, or even gods, let him notice that he will establish by what he has admitted a result which he does not desire, viz., that Jesus also was some such being; for which reason, too, he was able to demonstrate to not a few that He had come down from God to visit the human race. And if he once admit this, see whether he will not be forced to confess that He is mightier than those individuals with whom he classed Him, seeing none of the latter forbids the offering of honour to the others; while He, having confidence in Himself, because He is more powerful than all those others, forbids them to be received as divine115 because they are wicked demons, who have taken possession of places on earth, through inability to rise to the purer and diviner region, whither the grossnesses of earth and its countless evils cannot reach.

Chapter XXXVI. But as he next introduces the case of the favourite of Adrian (I refer to the accounts regarding the youth Antinous, and the honours paid him by the inhabitants of the city of Antinous in Egypt), and imagines that the honour paid to him falls little short of that which we render to Jesus, let us show in what a spirit of hostility this statement is made. For what is there in common between a life lived among the favourites of Adrian, by one who did not abstain even from unnatural lusts, and that of the venerable Jesus, against whom even they who brought countless other charges, and who told so many falsehoods, were not able to allege that He manifested, even in the slightest degree, any tendency to what was licentious?116 Nay, further, if one were to investigate, in a spirit of truth and impartiality, the stories relating to Antinous, he would find that it was due to the magical arts and rites of the Egyptians that there was even the appearance of his performing anything (marvellous) in the city which bears his name, and that too only after his decease,-an effect which is said to have been produced in other temples by the Egyptians, and those who are skilled in the arts which they practise. For they set up in certain places demons claiming prophetic or healing power, and which frequently torture those who seem to have committed any mistake about ordinary kinds of food, or about touching the dead body of a man, that they may have the appearance of alarming the uneducated multitude. Of this nature is the being that is considered to be a god in Antinoopolis in Egypt, whose (reputed) virtues are the lying inventions of some who live by the gain derived therefrom;117 while others, deceived by the demon placed there, and others again convicted by a weak conscience, actually think that they are paying a divine penalty inflicted by Antinous. Of such a nature also are the mysteries which they perform, and the seeming predictions which they utter. Far different from such are those of Jesus. For it was no company of sorcerers, paying court to a king or ruler at his bidding, who seemed to have made him a god; but the Architect of the universe Himself, in keeping with the marvellously persuasive power of His words,118 commended Him as worthy of honour, not only to those men who were well disposed, but to demons also, and other unseen powers, which even at the present time show that they either fear the name of Jesus as that of a being of superior power, or reverentially accept Him as their legal ruler.119 For if the commendation had not been given Him by God, the demons would not have withdrawn from those whom they had assailed, in obedience to the mere mention of His name.

Chapter XXXVII. The Egyptians, then, having been taught to worship Antinous, will, if you compare him with Apollo or Zeus, endure such a comparison, Antinous being magnified in their estimation through being classed with these deities; for Celsus is clearly convicted of falsehood when he says, "that they will not endure his being compared with Apollo or Zeus." Whereas Christians (who have learned that their eternal life consists in knowing the only true God, who is over all, and Jesus Christ, whom He has sent; and who have learned also that all the gods of the heathen are greedy demons, which flit around sacrifices and blood, and other sacrificial accompaniments,120 in order to deceive those who have not taken refuge with the God who is over all, but that the divine and holy angels of God are of a different nature and will121 from all the demons on earth, and that they are known to those exceedingly few persons who have carefully and intelligently investigated these matters) will not endure a comparison to be made between them and Apollo or Zeus, or any being worshipped with odour and blood and sacrifices; some of them, so acting from their extreme simplicity, not being able to give a reason for their conduct, but sincerely observing the precepts which they have received; others, again, for reasons not to be lightly regarded, nay, even of a profound description, and (as a Greek would say) drawn from the inner nature of things;122 and amongst the latter of these God is a frequent subject of conversation, and those who are honoured by God, through His only-begotten Word, with participation in His divinity, and therefore also in His name. They speak much, too, both regarding the angels of God and those who are opposed to the truth, but have been deceived; and who, in consequence of being deceived, call them gods or angels of God, or good demons, or heroes who have become such by the transference into them of a good human soul.123 And such Christians will also show, that as in philosophy there are many who appear to be in possession of the truth, who have yet either deceived themselves by plausible arguments, or by rashly assenting to what was brought forward and discovered by others; so also, among those souls which exist apart from bodies, both angels and demons, there are some which have been induced by plausible reasons to declare themselves gods. And because it was impossible that the reasons of such things could be discovered by men with perfect exactness, it was deemed safe that no mortal should entrust himself to any being as to God, with the exception of Jesus Christ, who is, as it were, the Ruler over all things, and who both beheld these weighty secrets, and made them known to a few.

Chapter XXXVIII. The belief, then, in Antinous,124 or any other such person, whether among the Egyptians or the Greeks, is, so to speak, unfortunate; while the belief in Jesus would seem to be either a fortunate one, or the result of thorough investigation, having the appearance of the former to the multitude, and of the latter to exceedingly few.125 And when I speak of a certain belief being, as the multitude would call it, unfortunate, I in such a case refer the cause to God, who knows the reasons of the various fates allotted to each one who enters human life. The Greeks, moreover, will admit that even amongst those who are considered to be most largely endowed with wisdom, good fortune has had much to do, as in the choice of teachers of one kind rather than another, and in meeting with a better class of instructors (there being teachers who taught the most opposite doctrines), and in being brought up in better circumstances; for the bringing up of many has been amid surroundings of such a kind, that they were prevented from ever receiving any idea of better things, but constantly passed their life, from their earliest youth, either as the favourites of licentious men or of tyrants, or in some other wretched condition which forbade the soul to look upwards. And the causes of these varied fortunes, according to all probability, are to be found in the reasons of providence, though it is not easy for men to ascertain these; but I have

said what I have done by way of digression from the main body of my subject, on account of the proverb, that "such is the power of faith, because it seizes that which first presents itself."126 For it was necessary, owing to the different methods of education, to speak of the differences of belief among men, some of whom are more, others less fortunate in their belief; and from this to proceed to show that what is termed good or bad fortune would appear to contribute even in the case of the most talented, to their appearing to be more fully endowed with reason and to give their assent on grounds of reason to the majority of human opinions. But enough on these points.

Chapter XXXIX.

We must notice the remarks which Celsus next makes, when he says to us, that "faith, having taken possession of our minds, makes us yield the assent which we give to the doctrine of Jesus; "for of a truth it is faith which does produce such an assent. Observe, however, whether that faith does not of itself exhibit what is worthy of praise, seeing we entrust ourselves to the God who is over all, acknowledging our gratitude to Him who has led us to such a faith, and declaring that He could not have attempted or accomplished such a result without the divine assistance. And we have confidence also in the intentions of the writers of the Gospels, observing their piety and conscientiousness, manifested in their writings, which contain nothing that is spurious, or deceptive,127 or false, or cunning; for it is evident to us that souls unacquainted with those artifices which are taught by the cunning sophistry of the Greeks (which is characterized by great plausibility and acuteness), and by the kind of rhetoric in vogue in the courts of justice, would not have been able thus to invent occurrences which are fitted of themselves to conduct to faith, and to a life in keeping with faith. And I am of opinion that it was on this account that Jesus wished to employ such persons as teachers of His doctrines, viz., that there might be no ground for any suspicion of plausible sophistry, but that it might clearly appear to all who were capable of understanding, that the guileless purpose of the writers being, so to speak, marked with great simplicity, was deemed worthy of being accompanied by a diviner power, which accomplished far more than it seemed possible could be accomplished by a periphrasis of words, and a weaving of sentences, accompanied by all the distinctions of Grecian art.

Chapter XL. But observe whether the principles of our faith, harmonizing with the general ideas implanted in our minds at birth, do not produce a change upon those who listen candidly to its statements; for although a perverted view of things, with the aid of much instruction to the same effect, has been able to implant in the minds of the multitude the belief that images are gods, and that things made of gold, and silver, and ivory, and stone are deserving of worship, yet common sense128 forbids the supposition that God is at all a piece of corruptible matter, or is honoured when made to assume by men a form embodied in dead matter, fashioned according to some image or symbol of His appearance. And therefore we say at once of images that they are not gods, and of such creations (of art) that they are not to be compared with the Creator, but are small in contrast with the God who is over all, and who created, and upholds, and governs the universe. And the rational soul recognising, as it were, its relationship (to the divine), at once rejects what it for a time supposed to be gods, and resumes its natural love129 for its Creator; and because of its affection towards Him, receives Him also who first presented these truths to all nations through the disciples whom He had appointed, and whom He sent forth, furnished with divine power and authority, to proclaim the doctrine regarding God and His kingdom.

Chapter XLI. But since he has charged us, I know not how often already, "with regarding this Jesus, who was but a mortal body, as a God, and with supposing that we act piously in so doing," it is superfluous to say any more in answer to this, as a great deal has been said in the preceding pages. And yet let those who make this charge understand that He whom we regard and believe to have been from the beginning God, and the Son of God, is the very Logos, and the very Wisdom, and the very Truth; and with respect to His mortal body, and the human soul which it contained, we assert that not by their communion merely with Him, but by their unity and intermixture,130 they received the highest powers, and after participating in His divinity, were changed into God. And if any one should feel a difficulty at our saying this regarding His body, let him attend to what is said by the Greeks regarding matter, which, properly speaking, being without qualities, receives such as the Creator desires to invest it with, and which frequently divests itself of those which it formerly possessed, and assumes others of a different and higher kind. And if these opinions be correct, what is there wonderful in this, that the mortal quality of the body of Jesus, if the providence of God has so willed it, should have been changed into one that was ethereal and divine?131

Chapter XLII.

Celsus, then, does not speak as a good reasoner,132 when he compares the mortal flesh of Jesus to gold, and silver, and stone, asserting that the former is more liable to corruption than the latter. For, to speak correctly, that which is incorruptible is not more free from corruption than another thing which is incorruptible, nor that which is corruptible more liable to corruption than another corruptible thing. But, admitting that there are degrees of corruptibility, we can say in answer, that if it is possible for the matter which underlies all qualities to exchange some of them, how should it be impossible for the flesh of Jesus also to exchange qualities, and to become such as it was proper for a body to be which had its abode in the ether and the regions above it, and possessing no longer the infirmities belonging to the flesh, and those properties which Celsus terms "impurities," and in so terming them, speaks unlike a philosopher? For that which is properly impure, is so because of its wickedness. Now the nature of body is not impure; for in so far as it is bodily nature, it does not possess vice, which is the generative principle of impurity. But, as he had a suspicion of the answer which we would return, he says with respect to the change of the body of Jesus, "Well, after he has laid aside these qualities, he will be a God: "(and if so), why not rather Aesculapius, and Dionysus, and Hercules? To which we reply, "What great deed has Aesculapius, or Dionysus, or Hercules wrought? "And what individuals will they be able to point out as having been improved in character, and made better by their words and lives, so that they may make good their claim to be gods? For let us peruse the many narratives regarding them, and see whether they were free from licentiousness or injustice, or folly, or cowardice. And if nothing of that kind be found in them, the argument of Celsus might have force, which places the forenamed individuals upon an equality with Jesus. But if it is certain that, although some things are reported of them as reputable, they are recorded, nevertheless, to have done innumerable things which are contrary to right reason, how could you any longer say, with any show of reason, that these men, on putting aside their mortal body, became gods rather than Jesus?

Chapter XLIII.

He next says of us, that "we ridicule those who worship Jupiter, because his tomb is pointed out in the island of Crete; and yet we worship him who rose from the tomb,133 although ignorant of the grounds134 on which the Cretans observe such a custom." Observe now that he thus undertakes the defence of the Cretans, and of Jupiter, and of his tomb, alluding obscurely to the allegorical notions, in conformity with which the myth regarding Jupiter is said to have been invented; while he assails us who acknowledge that our Jesus has been buried, indeed, but who maintain that He has also been raised from the tomb,-a statement which the Cretans have not yet made regarding Jupiter. But since he appears to admit that the tomb of Jupiter is in Crete, when he says that "we are ignorant of the grounds on which the Cretans observe such a custom," we reply that Callimachus the Cyrenian, who had read innumerable poetic compositions, and nearly the whole of Greek history, was not acquainted with any allegorical meaning which was contained in the stories about Jupiter and his tomb; and accordingly he accuses the Cretans in his hymn addressed to Jupiter, in the words:135 - "The Cretans are always liars: for thy tomb, O king, The Cretans have reared; and yet thou didst not die, For thou ever livest."

Now he who said, "Thou didst not die, for thou ever livest," in denying that Jupiter's tomb was in Crete, records nevertheless that in Jupiter there was the beginning of death.136 But birth upon earth is the beginning of death. And his words run:- "And Rhea bore thee among the Parrhasians; "- whereas he ought to have seen, after denying that the birth of Jupiter took place in Crete because of his tomb, that it was quite congruous with his birth in Arcadia that he who was born should also die. And the following is the manner in which Callimachus speaks of these things: "O Jupiter, some say that thou weft born on the mountains of Ida, others in Arcadia. Which of them, O father, have lied? The Cretans are always liars," etc. Now it is Celsus who made us discuss these topics, by the unfair manner in which he deals with Jesus, in giving his assent to what is related about His death and burial, but regarding as an invention His resurrection from the dead, although this was not only foretold by innumerable prophets, but many proofs also were given of His having appeared after death.

Chapter XLIV.

After these points Celsus quotes some objections against the doctrine of Jesus, made by a very few individuals who are considered Christians, not of the more intelligent, as he supposes, but of the more ignorant class, and asserts that "the following are the rules laid down by them. Let no one come to us who has been instructed, or who is wise or prudent (for such qualifications are deemed evil by us); but if there be any ignorant, or unintelligent, or uninstructed, or foolish persons, let them come with confidence. By which words, acknowledging that such individuals are worthy of their God, they manifestly show that they desire and are able to gain over only the silly, and the mean, and the stupid, with women and children."137 In reply to which, we say that, as if, while Jesus teaches continence, and says, "Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart," one were to behold a few of those who are deemed to be Christians living licentiously, he would most justly blame them for living contrary to the teaching of Jesus, but would act most unreasonably if he were to charge the Gospel with their censurable conduct; so, if he found nevertheless that the doctrine of the Christians invites men to wisdom, the blame then must remain with those who rest in their own ignorance, and who utter, not what Celsus relates (for although some of them are simple and ignorant, they do not speak so shamelessly as he alleges), but other things of much less serious import, which, however, serve to

turn aside men from the practice of wisdom.

Chapter XLV. But that the object of Christianity138 is that we should become wise, can be proved not only from the ancient Jewish writings, which we also use, but especially from those which were composed after the time of Jesus, and which are believed among the Churches to be divine. Now, in the Psalms 50, David is described as saying in his prayer to God these words: "The unseen and secret things of Thy wisdom Thou hast manifested to me."139 Solomon, too, because he asked for wisdom, received it; and if any one were to peruse the Psalms, he would find the book filled with many maxims of wisdom: and the evidences of his wisdom may be seen in his treatises, which contain a great amount of wisdom expressed in few words, and in which you will find many laudations of wisdom, and encouragements towards obtaining it. So wise, moreover, was Solomon, that "the queen of Sheba, having heard his name, and the name of the Lord, came to try him with difficult questions, and spake to him all things, whatsoever were in her heart; and Solomon answered her all her questions. There was no question omitted by the king which he did not answer her. And the queen of Sheba saw all the wisdom of Solomon, and the possessions which he had140 and there was no more spirit in her.141 And she said to the king, The report is true which I heard in mine own land regarding thee and thy wisdom; and I believed not them who told me, until I had come, and mine eyes have seen it. And, lo, they did not tell me the half. Thou hast added wisdom and possessions above all the report which I heard."142 It is recorded also of him, that "God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the seashore. And the wisdom that was in Solomon greatly excelled the wisdom of all the ancients, and of all the wise men of Egypt; and he was wiser than all men, even than Gethan the Ezrahite, and Emad, and Chalcadi, and Aradab, the sons of Madi. And he was famous among all the nations round about. And Solomon spake three thousand proverbs, and his songs were five thousand. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even to the hyssop which springeth out of the wall; and also of fishes and of beasts. And all nations came to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and from all the kings of the earth who had heard of the fame of his wisdom."143 And to such a degree does the Gospel desire that there should be wise men among believers, that for the sake of exercising the understanding of its hearers, it has spoken certain truths in enigmas, others in what are called "dark" sayings, others in parables, and others in problems.144 And one of the prophets-Hosea-says at the end of his prophecies: "Who is wise, and he will understand these things? or prudent, and he shall know them? "145 Daniel, moreover, and his fellow-captives, made such progress in the learning which the wise men around the king in Babylon cultivated, that they were shown to excel all of them in a tenfold degree. And in the book of Ezekiel it is said to the ruler of Tyre, who greatly prided himself on his wisdom, "Art thou wiser than Daniel? Every secret was not revealed to thee."146

Chapter XLVI. And if you come to the books written after the time of Jesus, you will find that those multitudes of believers who hear the parables are, as it were, "without," and worthy only of exoteric doctrines, while the disciples learn in private the explanation of the parables. For, privately, to His own disciples did Jesus open up all things, esteeming above the multitudes those who desired to know His wisdom. And He promises to those who believe upon Him to send them wise men and scribes, saying, "Behold, I will send unto you wise men and scribes, and some of them they shall kill and crucify."147 And Paul also, in the catalogue of "charismata" bestowed by God, placed first "the word of wisdom," and second, as being inferior to it, "the word of knowledge," but third, and

lower down, "faith."148 And because he regarded "the word" as higher than miraculous powers, he for that reason places "workings of miracles" and "gifts of healings" in a lower place than the gifts of the word. And in the Acts of the Apostles Stephen bears witness to the great learning of Moses, which he had obtained wholly from ancient writings not accessible to the multitude. For he says: "And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."149 And therefore, with respect to his miracles, it was suspected that he wrought them perhaps, not in virtue of his professing to come from God, but by means of his Egyptian knowledge, in which he was well versed. For the king, entertaining such a suspicion, summoned the Egyptian magicians, and wise men, and enchanters, who were found to be of no avail as against the wisdom of Moses, which proved superior to all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

Chapter XLVII. But it is probable that what is written by Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians,150 as being addressed to Greeks who prided themselves greatly on their Grecian wisdom, has moved some to believe that it was not the object of the Gospel to win wise men. Now, let him who is of this opinion understand that the Gospel, as censuring wicked men, says of them that they are wise not in things which relate to the understanding, and which are unseen and eternal; but that in busying themselves about things of sense alone, and regarding these as all-important, they are wise men of the world: for as there are in existence a multitude of opinions, some of them espousing the cause of matter and bodies,151 and asserting that everything is corporeal which has a substantial existence,152 and that besides these nothing else exists, whether it be called invisible or incorporeal, it says also that these constitute the wisdom of the world, which perishes and fades away, and belongs only to this age, while those opinions which raise the soul from things here to the blessedness which is with God, and to His kingdom, and which teach men to despise all sensible and visible things as existing only for a season, and to hasten on to things invisible, and to have regard to those things which are not seen,-these, it says, constitute the wisdom of God. But Paul, as a lover of truth, says of certain wise men among the Greeks, when their statements are true, that "although they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful."153 And he bears witness that they knew God, and says, too, that this did not happen to them without divine permission, in these words: "For God showed it unto them; "154 dimly alluding, I think, to those who ascend from things of sense to those of the understanding, when he adds, "For the invisible things of God from the creation of the world are Clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful."155

Chapter XLVIII. And perhaps also from the words, "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the base things, and the things which are despised, hath God chosen, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh may glory in His presence;156 some have been led to suppose that no one who is instructed, or wise, or prudent, embraces the Gospel. Now, in answer to such an one, we would say that it has not been stated that "no wise man according to the flesh," but that "not many wise men according to the flesh," are called. It is manifest, further, that amongst the characteristic qualifications of those who are termed "bishops," Paul, in describing what kind of man the bishop ought to be, lays down as a qualification that he should also be a teacher, saying that he ought to

be able to convince the gainsayers, that by the wisdom which is in him he may stop the mouths of foolish talkers and deceivers.157 And as he selects for the episcopate a man who has been once married158 rather than he who has twice entered the married state,159 and a man of blameless life rather than one who is liable to censure, and a sober man rather than one who is not such, and a prudent man rather than one who is not prudent, and a man whose behaviour is decorous rather than he who is open to the charge even of the slightest indecorum, so he desires that he who is to be chosen by preference for the office of a bishop should be apt to teach, and able to convince the gainsayers. How then can Celsus justly charge us with saying, "Let no one come to us who is `instructed, 'or `wise, 'or `prudent? '" Nay, let him who wills come to us "instructed," and "wise," and "prudent; "and none the less, if any one be ignorant and unintelligent, and uninstructed and foolish, let him also come: for it is these whom the Gospel promises to cure, when they come, by rendering them all worthy of God.

Chapter XLIX. This statement also is untrue, that it is "only foolish and low individuals, and persons devoid of perception, and slaves, and women, and children, of whom the teachers of the divine word wish to make converts." Such indeed does the Gospel invite, in order to make them better; but it invites also others who are very different from these, since Christ is the Saviour of all men, and especially of them that believe, whether they be intelligent or simple; and "He is the propitiation with the Father for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."160 After this it is superfluous for us to wish to offer a reply to such statements of Celsus as the following: "For why is it an evil to have been educated, and to have studied the best opinions, and to have both the reality and appearance of wisdom? What hindrance does this offer to the knowledge of God? Why should it not rather be an assistance, and a means by which one might be better able to arrive at the truth? "Truly it is no evil to have been educated, for education is the way to virtue; but to rank those amongst the number of the educated who hold erroneous opinions is what even the wise men among the Greeks would not do. On the other hand, who would not admit that to have studied the best opinions is a blessing? But what shall we call the best, save those which are true, and which incite men to virtue? Moreover, it is an excellent thing for a man to be wise, but not to seem so, as Celsus says. And it is no hindrance to the knowledge of God, but an assistance, to have been educated, and to have studied the best opinions, and to be wise. And it becomes us rather than Celsus to say this, especially if it be shown that he is an Epicurean.

Chapter L. But let us see what those statements of his are which follow next in these words: "Nay, we see, indeed, that even those individuals, who in the market-places perform the most disgraceful tricks, and who gather crowds around them, would never approach an assembly of wise men, nor dare to exhibit their arts among them; but wherever they see young men, and a mob of slaves, and a gathering of unintelligent persons, thither they thrust themselves in, and show themselves off." Observe, now, how he slanders us in these words, comparing us to those who in the market-places perform the most disreputable tricks, and gather crowds around them! What disreputable tricks, pray, do we perform? Or what is there in our conduct that resembles theirs, seeing that by means of readings, and explanations of the things read, we lead men to the worship of the God of the universe, and to the cognate virtues, and turn them away from contemning Deity, and from all things contrary to right reason? Philosophers verily would wish to collect together such hearers of their discourses as exhort men to virtue,-a practice which certain of the Cynics especially have followed, who converse publicly with those whom they happen to

meet. Will they maintain, then, that these who do not gather together persons who are considered to have been educated, but who invite and assemble hearers from the public street, resemble those who in the market-places perform the most disreputable tricks, and gather crowds around them? Neither Celsus, however, nor any one who holds the same opinions, will blame those who, agreeably to what they regard as a feeling of philanthropy, address their arguments to the ignorant populace.

Chapter LI. And if they are not to be blamed for so doing, let us see whether Christians do not exhort multitudes to the practice of virtue in a greater and better degree than they. For the philosophers who converse in public do not pick and choose their hearers, but he who likes stands and listens. The Christians, however, having previously, so far as possible, tested the souls of those who wish to become their hearers, and having previously instructed161 them in private, when they appear (before entering the community) to have sufficiently evinced their desire towards a virtuous life, introduce them then, and not before, privately forming one class of those who are beginners, and are receiving admission, but who have not yet obtained the mark of complete purification; and another of those who have manifested to the best of their ability their intention to desire no other things than are approved by Christians; and among these there are certain persons appointed to make inquiries regarding the lives and behaviour of those who join them, in order that they may prevent those who commit acts of infamy from coming into their public assembly, while those of a different character they receive with their whole heart, in order that they may daily make them better. And this is their method of procedure, both with those who are sinners, and especially with those who lead dissolute lives, whom they exclude from their community, although, according to Celsus, they resemble those who in the market-places perform the most shameful tricks. Now the venerable school of the Pythagoreans used to erect a cenotaph to those who had apostatized from their system of philosophy, treating them as dead; but the Christians lament as dead those who have been vanquished by licentiousness or any other sin, because they are lost and dead to God, and as being risen from the dead (if they manifest a becoming change) they receive them afterwards, at some future time, after a greater interval than in the case of those who were admitted at first, but not placing in any office or post of rank in the Church of God those who, after professing the Gospel, lapsed and fell.

Chapter LII.

Observe now with regard to the following statement of Celsus, "We see also those persons who in the market-places perform most disreputable tricks, and collect crowds around them," whether a manifest falsehood has not been uttered, and things compared which have no resemblance. He says that these individuals, to whom he compares us, who "perform the most disreputable tricks in the market-places and collect crowds, would never approach an assembly of wise men, nor dare to show off their tricks before them; but wherever they see young men, and a mob of slaves, and a gathering of foolish people, thither do they thrust themselves in and make a display." Now, in speaking thus he does nothing else than simply load us with abuse, like the women upon the public streets, whose object is to slander one another; for we do everything in our power to secure that our meetings should be composed of wise men, and those things among us which are especially excellent and divine we then venture to bring forward publicly in our discussions when we have an abundance of intelligent hearers, while we conceal and pass by in silence the truths of deeper import when we see that our audience is composed of simpler minds, which need such

instruction as is figuratively termed "milk."

Chapter LIII. For the word is used by our Paul in writing to the Corinthians, who were Greeks, and not yet purified in their morals: "I have fed you with milk, not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able, for ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? "162 Now the same writer,163 knowing that there was a certain kind of nourishment better adapted for the soul, and that the food of those young164 persons who were admitted was compared to milk, continues: "And ye are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. For every one that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness; for he is a babe. But strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."165 Would then those who believe these words to be well spoken, suppose that the noble doctrines of our faith would never be mentioned in an assembly of wise men, but that wherever (our instructors) see young men, and a mob of slaves, and a collection of foolish individuals, they bring publicly forward divine and venerable truths, and before such persons make a display of themselves in treating of them? But it is clear to him who examines the whole spirit of our writings, that Celsus is animated with a hatred against the human race resembling that of the ignorant populace, and gives utterance to these falsehoods without examination.

Chapter LIV.

We acknowledge, however, although Celsus will not have it so, that we do desire to instruct all men in the word of God, so as to give to young men the exhortations which are appropriate to them, and to show to slaves how they may recover freedom of thought,166 and be ennobled by the word. And those amongst us who are the ambassadors of Christianity sufficiently declare that they are debtors167 to Greeks and Barbarians, to wise men and fools, (for they do not deny their obligation to cure the souls even of foolish persons,) in order that as far as possible they may lay aside their ignorance, and endeavour to obtain greater prudence, by listening also to the words of Solomon: "Oh, ye fools, be of an understanding heart,"168 and "Who is the most simple among you, let him turn unto me; "169 and wisdom exhorts those who are devoid of understanding in the words, "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mixed for you. Forsake folly that ye may live, and correct understanding in knowledge."170 This too would I say (seeing it bears on the point),171 in answer to the statement of Celsus: Do not philosophers invite young men to their lectures? and do they not encourage young men to exchange a wicked life for a better? and do they not desire slaves to learn philosophy? Must we find fault, then, with philosophers who have exhorted slaves to the practice of virtue? with Pythagoras for having so done with Zamolxis, Zeno with Perseus, and with those who recently encouraged Epictetus to the study of philosophy? Is it indeed permissible for you, O Greeks, to call youths and slaves and foolish persons to the study of philosophy, but if we do so, we do not act from philanthropic motives in wishing to heal every rational nature with the medicine of reason, and to bring them into fellowship with God, the Creator of all things? These remarks, then, may suffice in answer to what are slanders rather than accusations172 on the part of Celsus.

Chapter LV. But as Celsus delights to heap up calumnies against us, and, in addition to those which he has already uttered, has added others, let us examine these also, and see whether it be the Christians or Celsus who have reason to be ashamed of what is said. He asserts, "We see,

indeed, in private houses workers in wool and leather, and fullers, and persons of the most uninstructed and rustic character, not venturing to utter a word in the presence of their elders and wiser masters;173 but when they get hold of the children privately, and certain women as ignorant as themselves, they pour forth wonderful statements, to the effect that they ought not to give heed to their father and to their teachers, but should obey them; that the former are foolish and stupid, and neither know nor can perform anything that is really good, being preoccupied with empty trifles; that they alone know how men ought to live, and that, if the children obey them, they will both be happy themselves, and will make their home happy also. And while thus speaking, if they see one of the instructors of youth approaching, or one of the more intelligent class, or even the father himself, the more timid among them become afraid, while the more forward incite the children to throw off the yoke, whispering that in the presence of father and teachers they neither will nor can explain to them any good thing, seeing they turn away with aversion from the silliness and stupidity of such persons as being altogether corrupt, and far advanced in wickedness, and such as would inflict punishment upon them; but that if they wish (to avail themselves of their aid) they must leave their father and their instructors, and go with the women and their playfellows to the women's apartments, or to the leather shop, or to the fuller's shop, that they may attain to perfection;-and by words like these they gain them over."

Chapter LVI.

Observe now how by such statements he depreciates those amongst us who are teachers of the word, and who strive in every way to raise the soul to the Creator of all things, and who show that we ought to despise things "sensible," and "temporal," and "visible," and to do our utmost to reach communion with God, and the contemplation of things that are "intelligent," and "invisible," and a blessed life with God, and the friends of God; comparing them to "workers in wool in private houses, and to leather-cutters, and to fullers, and to the most rustic of mankind, who carefully incite young boys to wickedness, and women to forsake their fathers and teachers, and follow them." Now let Celsus point out from what wise parent, or from what teachers, we keep away children and women, and let him ascertain by comparison among those children and women who are adherents of our doctrine, whether any of the opinions which they formerly heard are better than ours, and in what manner we draw away children and women from noble and venerable studies, and incite them to worse things. But he will not be able to make good any such charge against us, seeing that, on the contrary, we turn away women from a dissolute life, and from being at variance with those with whom they live, from all mad desires after theatres and dancing, and from superstition; while we train to habits of self-restraint boys just reaching the age of puberty, and feeling a desire for sexual pleasures, pointing out to them not only the disgrace which attends those sins, but also the state to which the soul of the wicked is reduced through practices of that kind, and the judgments which it will suffer, and the punishments which will be inflicted.

Chapter LVII. But who are the teachers whom we call triflers and fools, whose defence is undertaken by Celsus, as of those who teach better things? (I know not,) unless he deem those to be good instructors of women, and no triflers, who invite them to superstition and to unchaste spectacles, and those, moreover, to be teachers not devoid of sense who lead and drag the young men to all those disorderly acts which we know are often committed by them. We indeed call away these also, as far as we can, from the dogmas of philosophy to our worship of God, by showing forth its excellence aud purity. But as Celsus, by his statements, has declared that we do not do

so, but that we call only the foolish, I would say to him, "If you had charged us with withdrawing from the study of philosophy those who were already preoccupied with it, you would not have spoken the truth, and yet your charge would have had an appearance of probability; but when you now say that we draw away our adherents from good teachers, show who are those other teachers save the teachers of philosophy, or those who have been appointed to give instruction in some useful branch of study."174

He will be unable, however, to show any such.; while we promise, openly and not in secret, that they will be happy who live according to the word of God, and who look to Him in all things, and who do everything, whatever it is, as if in the presence of God. Are these the instructions of workers in wool, and of leather-cutters, and fullers, and uneducated rustics? But such an assertion he cannot make good.

Chapter LVIII. But those who, in the opinion of Celsus, resemble the workers in wool in private houses, and the leather-cutters, and fullers, and uneducated rustics, will, he alleges, in the presence of father or teachers be unwilling to speak, or unable to explain to the boys anything that is good. In answer to which, we would say, What kind of father, my good sir, and what kind of teacher, do you mean? If you mean one who approves of virtue, and turns away from vice, and welcomes what is better, then know, that with the greatest boldness will we declare our opinions to the children, because we will be in good repute with such a judge. But if, in the presence of a father who has a hatred of virtue and goodness, we keep silence, and also before those who teach what is contrary to sound doctrine, do not blame us for so doing, since you will blame us without good reason. You, at all events, in a case where fathers deemed the mysteries of philosophy an idle and unprofitable occupation for their sons, and for young men in general, would not, in teaching philosophy, make known its secrets before worthless parents; but, desiring to keep apart those sons of wicked parents who had been turned towards the study of philosophy, you would observe the proper seasons, in order that the doctrines of philosophy might reach the minds of the young men. And we say the same regarding our teachers. For if we turn (our hearers) away from those instructors who teach obscene comedies and licentious iambics, and many other things which neither improve the speaker nor benefit the bearers (because the latter do not know how to listen to poetry in a philosophic frame of mind, nor the former how to say to each of the young men what tends to his profit), we are not, in following such a course, ashamed to confess what we do. But if you will show me teachers who train young men for philosophy, and who exercise them in it, I will not from such turn away young men, but will try to raise them, as those who have been previously exercised in the whole circle of learning and in philosophical subjects, to the venerable and lofty height of eloquence which lies hid from the multitude of Christians, where are discussed topics of the greatest importance, and where it is demonstrated and shown that they have been treated philosophically both by the prophets of God and the apostles of Jesus.

Chapter LIX.

Immediately after this, Celsus, perceiving that he has slandered us with too great bitterness, as if by way of defence expresses himself as follows: "That I bring no heavier charge than what the truth compels me, any one may see from the following remarks. Those who invite to participation in other mysteries, make proclamation as follows: `Every one who has clean hands, and a prudent tongue; '175 others again thus: `He who is pure from all pollution, and whose soul is conscious of

no evil, and who has lived well and justly.' Such is the proclamation made by those who promise purification from sins.176 But let us hear what kind of persons these Christians invite. Every one, they say, who is a sinner, who is devoid of understanding, who is a child, and, to speak generally, whoever is unfortunate, him will the kingdom of God receive. Do you not call him a sinner, then, who is unjust, and a thief, and a housebreaker, and a poisoner, and a committer of sacrilege, and a robber of the dead? What others would a man invite if he were issuing a proclamation for an assembly of robbers? "Now, in answer to such statements, we say that it is not the same thing to invite those who are sick in soul to be cured, and those who are in health to the knowledge and study of divine things. We, however, keeping both these things in view, at first invite all men to be healed, and exhort those who are sinners to come to the consideration of the doctrines which teach men not to sin, and those who are devoid of understanding to those which beget wisdom, and those who are children to rise in their thoughts to manhood, and those who are simply177 unfortunate to good fortune,178 or-which is the more appropriate term to use-to blessedness.179 And when those who have been turned towards virtue have made progress, and have shown that they have been purified by the word, and have led as far as they can a better life, then and not before do we invite them to participation in our mysteries. "For we speak wisdom among them that are perfect."180

Chapter LX. And as we teach, moreover, that "wisdom will not enter into the soul of a base man, nor dwell in a body that is involved in sin,"181 we say, Whoever has clean hands, and therefore lifts up holy hands to God, and by reason of being occupied with elevated and heavenly things, can say, "The lifting up of my hands is as the evening sacrifice,"182 let him come to us; and whoever has a wise tongue through meditating on the law of the Lord day and night, and by "reason of habit has his senses exercised to discern between good and evil," let him have no reluctance in coming to the strong and rational sustenance which is adapted to those who are athletes in piety and every virtue. And since the grace of God is with all those who love with a pure affection the teacher of the doctrines of immortality, whoever is pure not only from all defilement, but from what are regarded as lesser transgressions, let him be boldly initiated in the mysteries of Jesus, which properly are made known only to the holy and the pure. The initiated of Celsus accordingly says, "Let him whose soul is conscious of no evil come." But he who acts as initiator, according to the precepts of Jesus, will say to those who have been purified in heart, "He whose soul has, for a long time, been conscious of no evil, and especially since he yielded himself to the healing of the word, let such an one hear the doctrines which were spoken in private by Jesus to His genuine disciples." Therefore in the comparison which he institutes between the procedure of the initiators into the Grecian mysteries, and the teachers of the doctrine of Jesus, he does not know the difference between inviting the wicked to be healed, and initiating those already purified into the sacred mysteries!

Chapter LXI. Not to participation in mysteries, then, and to fellowship in the wisdom hidden in a mystery, which God ordained before the world to the glory of His saints,183 do we invite the wicked man, and the thief, and the housebreaker, and the poisoner, and the committer of sacrilege, and the plunderer of the dead, and all those others whom Celsus may enumerate in his exaggerating style, but such as these we invite to be healed. For there are in the divinity of the word some helps towards the cure of those who are sick, respecting which the word says, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick; "184 others, gain, which to the pure in

soul and body exhibit "the revelation of the mystery, which was kept secret since the world began, but now is made manifest by the Scriptures of the prophets,"185 and "by the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ,"186 which "appearing" is manifested to each one of those who are perfect, and which enlightens the reason187 in the true188 knowledge of things. But as he exaggerates the charges against us, adding, after his list of those vile individuals whom he has mentioned, this remark, "What other persons would a robber summon to himself by proclamation? "we answer such a question by saying that a robber summons around him individuals of such a character, in order to make use of their villany against the men whom they desire to slay and plunder. A Christian, on the other hand, even though he invite those whom the robber invites, invites them to a very different vocation, viz. to bind up these wounds by His word, and to apply to the soul, festering amid evils, the drugs obtained from the word, and which are analogous to the wine and oil, and plasters, and other healing appliances which belong to the art of medicine.

Chapter LXII. In the next place, throwing a slur189 upon the exhortations spoken and written to those who have led wicked lives, and which invite them to repentance and reformation of heart, he asserts that we say "that it was to sinners that God has been sent." Now this statement of his is much the same as if he were to find fault with certain persons for saying that on account of the sick who were living in a city, a physician had been sent them by a very benevolent monarch.190 God the Word was sent, indeed, as a physician to sinners, but as a teacher of divine mysteries to those who are already pure and who sin no more. But Celsus, unable to see this distinction,-for he had no desire to be animated with a love of truth,-remarks, "Why was he not sent to those who were without sin? What evil is it not to have committed sin? "To which we reply, that if by those "who were without sin" he means those who sin no more, then our Saviour Jesus was sent even to such, but not as a physician. While if by those "who were without sin" he means such as have never at any time sinned,-for he made no distinction in his statement,-we reply that it is impossible for a man thus to be without sin. And this we say, excepting, of course, the man understood to be in Christ Jesus,191 who "did no sin." It is with a malicious intent, indeed, that Celsus says of us that we assert that "God will receive the unrighteousness man if he humble himself on account of his wickedness, but that He will not receive the righteous man, although he look up to Him, (adorned) with virtue from the beginning." Now we assert that it is impossible for a man to look up to God (adorned) with virtue from the beginning. For wickedness must necessarily first exist in men. As Paul also says, "When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died."192 Moreover, we do not teach regarding the unrighteous man, that it is sufficient for him to humble himself on account of his wickedness in order to his being accepted by God, but that God will accept him if, after passing condemnation upon himself for his past conduct, he walk humbly on account of it, and in a becoming manner for the time to come.

Chapter LXIII.

After this, not understanding how it has been said that "every one who exalted himself shall be abased; "193 nor (although taught even by Plato) that "the good and virtuous man walketh humbly and orderly; "and ignorant, moreover, that we give the injunction, "Humble yourselves, therefore, under the mighty hand of God, that He may exalt you in due time; "194 he says that "those persons who preside properly over a trial make those individuals who bewail before them their evil deeds to cease from their piteous wailings, lest their decisions should be determined rather by compassion than by a regard to truth; whereas God does not decide in accordance with truth, but

in accordance with flattery."195 Now, what words of flattery and piteous walling are contained in the Holy Scriptures when the sinner says in his prayers to God, "I have acknowledged my sin, and mine iniquity have I not hid. I said, I will confess my transgression to the Lord," etc., etc.? For is he able to show that a procedure of this kind is not adapted to the conversion of sinners, who humble themselves in their prayers under the hand of God? And, becoming confused by his efforts to accuse us, he contradicts himself; appearing at one time to know a man "without sin," and "a righteous man, who can look up to God (adorned) with virtue from the beginning; "and at another time accepting our statement that there is no man altogether righteous, or without sin;196 for, as if he admitted its truth, he remarks, "This is indeed apparently true, that somehow the human race is naturally inclined to sin." In the next place, as if all men were not invited by the word, he says, "All men, then, without distinction, ought to be invited, since all indeed are sinners." And yet, in the preceding pages, we have pointed out the words of Jesus: "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."197 All men, therefore, labouring and being heavy laden on account of the nature of sin, are invited to the rest spoken of in the word of God, "for God sent His word, and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions."198

Chapter LXIV. But since he says, in addition to this, "What is this preference of sinners over others? "and makes other remarks of a similar nature, we have to reply that absolutely a sinner is not preferred before one who is not a sinner; but that sometimes a sinner, who has become conscious of his own sin, and for that reason comes to repentance, being humbled on account of his sins, is preferred before one who is accounted a lesser sinner, but who does not consider himself one, but exalts himself on the ground of certain good qualities which he thinks he possesses, and is greatly elated on their account. And this is manifest to those who are willing to peruse the Gospels in a spirit of fairness, by the parable of the publican, who said, "Be merciful to me a sinner,"199 and of the Pharisee who boasted with a certain wicked self-conceit in the words, "I thank Thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican."200 For Jesus subjoins to his narrative of them both the words: "This man went down to his house justified rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted."201 We utter no blasphemy, then, against God, neither are we guilty of falsehood, when we teach that every man, whoever he may be, is conscious of human infirmity in comparison with the greatness of God, and that we must ever ask from Him, who alone is able to supply our deficiencies, what is wanting to our (mortal) nature.

Chapter LXV.

He imagines, however, that we utter these exhortations for the conversion of sinners, because we are able to gain over no one who is really good and righteous, and therefore open our gates to the most unholy and abandoned of men. But if any one will fairly observe our assemblies we can present a greater number of those who have been converted from not a very wicked life, than of those who have committed the most abominable sins. For naturally those who are conscious to themselves of better things, desire that those promises may be true which are declared by God regarding the reward of the righteous, and thus assent more readily to the statements (of Scripture) than those do who have led very wicked lives, and who are prevented by their very consciousness (of evil) from admitting that they will be punished by the Judge of all with such punishment as befits those who have sinned so greatly, and as would not be inflicted by the Judge of all contrary to fight reason.202 Sometimes, also, when very abandoned men are willing to

accept the doctrine of (future) punishment, on account of the hope which is based upon repentance, they are prevented from so doing by their habit of sinning, being constantly dipped,203 and, as it were, dyed204 in wickedness, and possessing no longer the power to turn from it easily to a proper life, and one regulated according to right reason. And although Celsus observes this, he nevertheless, I know not why, expresses himself in the following terms: "And yet, indeed, it is manifest to every one that no one by chastisement, much less by merciful treatment, could effect a complete change in those who are sinners both by nature and custom, for to change nature is an exceedingly difficult thing. But they who are without sin are partaken of a better life."

Chapter LXVI.

Now here Celsus appears to me to have committed a great error, in refusing to those who are sinners by nature, and also by habit, the possibility of a complete transformation, alleging that they cannot be cured even by punishment. For it clearly appears that all men are inclined to sin by nature,205 and some not only by nature but by practice, while not all men are incapable of an entire transformation. For there are found in every philosophical sect, and in the word of God, persons who are related to have undergone so great a change that they may be proposed as a model of excellence of life. Among the names of the heroic age some mention Hercules and Ulysses, among those of later times, Socrates, and of those who have lived very recently, Musonius.206 Not only against us, then, did Celsus utter the calumny, when he said that "it was manifest to every one that those who were given to sin by nature and habit could not by any means-even by punishments-be completely changed for the better," but also against the noblest names in philosophy, who have not denied that the recovery of virtue was a possible thing for men. But although he did not express his meaning with exactness, we shall nevertheless, though giving his words a more favourable construction, convict him of unsound reasoning. For his words were: "Those who are inclined to sin by nature and habit, no one could completely reform even by chastisement; "and his words, as we understood them, we refuted to the best of our ability.207

Chapter LXVII.

It is probable, however, that he meant to convey some such meaning as this, that those who were both by nature and habit given to the commission of those sins which are committed by the most abandoned of men, could not be completely transformed even by punishment. And yet this is shown to be false from the history of certain philosophers. For who is there that would not rank among the most abandoned of men the individual who somehow submitted to yield himself to his master, when he placed him in a brothel,208 that he might allow himself to be polluted by any one who liked? And yet such a circumstance is related of Phaedo! And who will not agree that he who burst, accompanied with a flute-player and a party of revellers, his profligate associates, into the school of the venerable Xenocrates, to insult a man who was the admiration of his friends, was not one of the greatest miscreants209 among mankind? Yet, notwithstanding this, reason was powerful enough to effect their conversion, and to enable them to make such progress in philosophy, that the one was deemed worthy by Plato to recount the discourse of Socrates on immortality, and to record his firmness in prison, when he evinced his contempt of the hemlock, and with all fearlessness and tranquillity of mind treated of subjects so numerous and important, that it is difficult even for those to follow them who are giving their utmost attention, and who are disturbed by no distraction; while Polemon, on the other hand, who from a profligate became a

man of most temperate life, was successor in the school of Xenocrates, so celebrated for his venerable character. Celsus then does not speak the truth when he says "that sinners by nature and habit cannot be completely reformed even by chastisement."

Chapter LXVIII. That philosophical discourses, however, distinguished by orderly arrangement and elegant expression,210 should produce such results in the case of those individuals just enumerated, and upon others211 who have led wicked lives, is not at all to be wondered at. But when we consider that those discourses, which Celsus terms "vulgar,"212 are filled with power, as if they were spells, and see that they at once convert multitudes from a life of licentiousness to one of extreme regularity,213 and from a life of wickedness to a better, and from a state of cowardice or unmanliness to one of such high-toned courage as to lead men to despise even death through the piety which shows itself within them, why should we not justly admire the power which they contain? For the words of those who at the first assumed the office of (Christian) ambassadors, and who gave their labours to rear up the Churches of God,-nay, their preaching also,-were accompanied with a persuasive power, though not like that found among those who profess the philosophy of Plato, or of any other merely human philosopher, which possesses no other qualities than those of human nature. But the demonstration which followed the words of the apostles of Jesus was given from God, and was accredited214 by the Spirit and by power. And therefore their word ran swiftly and speedily, or rather the word of God through their instrumentality, transformed numbers of persons who had been sinners both by nature and habit, whom no one could have reformed by punishment, but who were changed by the word, which moulded and transformed them according to its pleasure.

Chapter LXIX.

Celsus continues in his usual manner, asserting that "to change a nature entirely is exceedingly difficult." We, however, who know of only one nature in every rational soul, and who maintain that none has been created evil by the Author of all things, but that many have become wicked through education, and perverse example, and surrounding influences,215 so that wickedness has been naturalized216 in some individuals, are persuaded that for the word of God to change a nature in which evil has been naturalized is not only not impossible, but is even a work of no very great difficulty, if a man only believe that he must entrust himself to the God of all things, and do everything with a view to please Him with whom it cannot be217 that "Both good and bad are in the same honour, Or that the idle man and he who laboured much Perish alike."218 But even if it be exceedingly difficult to effect a change in some persons, the cause must be held to lie in their own will, which is reluctant to accept the belief that the God over all things is a just Judge of all the deeds done during life. For deliberate choice and practice219 avail much towards the accomplishment of things which appear to be very difficult, and, to speak hyperbolically, almost impossible. Has the nature of man, when desiring to walk along a rope extended in the air through the middle of the theatre, and to carry at the same time numerous and heavy weights, been able by practice and attention to accomplish such a feat; but when desiring to live in conformity with the practice of virtue, does it find it impossible to do so, although formerly it may have been exceedingly wicked? See whether he who holds such views does not bring a charge against the nature of the Creator of the rational animal220 rather than against the creature, if He has formed the nature of man with powers for the attainment of things of such difficulty, and of no utility whatever, but has rendered it incapable of securing its own blessedness. But these remarks may

suffice as an answer to the assertion that "entirely to change a nature is exceedingly difficult." He alleges, in the next place, that "they who are without sin are partakers of a better life; "not making it clear what he means by "those who are without sin," whether those who are so from the beginning (of their lives), or those who become so by a transformation. Of those who were so from the beginning of their lives, there cannot possibly be any; while those who are so after a transformation (of heart) are found to be few in number, being those who have become so after giving in their allegiance to the saving word. And they were not such when they gave in their allegiance. For, apart from the aid of the word, and that too the word of perfection, it is impossible for a man to become free from sin.

Chapter LXX. In the next place, he objects to the statement, as if it were maintained by us, that "God will be able to do all things," not seeing even here how these words are meant, and what "the all things" are which are included in it, and how it is said that God "will be able." But on these matters it is not necessary now to speak; for although he might with a show of reason have opposed this proposition, he has not done so. Perhaps he did not understand the arguments which might be plausibly used against it, or if he did, he saw the answers that might be returned. Now in our judgment God can do everything which it is possible for Him to do without ceasing to be God, and good, and wise. But Celsus asserts-not comprehending the meaning of the expression "God can do all things "-" that He will not desire to do anything wicked," admitting that He has the power, but not the will, to commit evil. We, on the contrary, maintain that as that which by nature possesses the property of sweetening other things through its own inherent sweetness cannot produce bitterness contrary to its own peculiar nature,221 nor that whose nature it is to produce light through its being light can cause darkness; so neither is God able to commit wickedness, for the power of doing evil is contrary to His deity and its omnipotence. Whereas if any one among existing things is able to commit wickedness from being inclined to wickedness by nature, it does so from not having in its nature the ability not to do evil.

Chapter LXXI.

He next assumes what is not granted by the more rational class of believers, but what perhaps is considered to be true by some who are devoid of intelligence,-viz., that "God, like those who are overcome with pity, being Himself overcome, alleviates the sufferings of the wicked through pity for their wailings, and casts off the good, who do nothing of that kind, which is the height of injustice." Now, in our judgment, God lightens the suffering of no wicked man who has not betaken himself to a virtuous life, and casts off no one who is already good, nor yet alleviates the suffering of any one who mourns, simply because he utters lamentation, or takes pity upon him, to use the word pity in its more common acceptation.222 But those who have passed severe condemnation upon themselves because of their sins, and who, as on that account, lament and bewail themselves as lost, so far as their previous conduct is concerned, and who have manifested a satisfactory change, are received by God on account of their repentance, as those who have undergone a transformation from a life of great wickedness. For virtue, taking up her abode in the souls of these persons, and expelling the wickedness which had previous possession of them, produces an oblivion of the past. And even although virtue do not effect an entrance, yet if a considerable progress take place in the soul, even that is sufficient, in the proportion that it is progressive, to drive out and destroy the flood of wickedness, so that it almost ceases to remain in the soul.

Chapter LXXII. In the next place, speaking as in the person of a teacher of our doctrine, he expresses himself as follows: "Wise men reject what we say, being led into error, and ensnared by their wisdom." In reply to which we say that, since wisdom is the knowledge of divine and human things and of their causes, or, as it is defined by the word of God, "the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; and the brightness of the everlasting light, and the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness,"223 no one who was really wise would reject what is said by a Christian acquainted with the principles of Christianity, or would be led into error, or ensnared by it. For true wisdom does not mislead, but ignorance does, while of existing things knowledge alone is permanent, and the truth which is derived from wisdom. But if, contrary to the definition of wisdom, you call any one whatever who dogmatizes with sophistical opinions wise, we answer that in conformity with what you call wisdom, such an one rejects the words of God, being misled and ensnared by plausible sophisms. And since, according to our doctrine, wisdom is not the knowledge of evil, but the knowledge of evil, so to speak, is in those who hold false opinions and who are deceived by them, I would therefore in such persons term it ignorance rather than wisdom.

Chapter LXXIII.

After this he again slanders the ambassador of Christianity, and gives out regarding him that he relates "ridiculous things," although he does not show or clearly point out what are the things which he calls "ridiculous." And in his slanders he says that "no wise man believes the Gospel, being driven away by the multitudes who adhere to it." And in this he acts like one who should say that owing to the multitude of those ignorant persons who are brought into subjection to the laws, no wise man would yield obedience to Solon, for example, or to Lycurgus, or Zaleucus, or any other legislator, and especially if by wise man he means one who is wise (by living) in conformity with virtue. For, as with regard to these ignorant persons, the legislators, according to their ideas of utility, caused them to be surrounded with appropriate guidance and laws, so God, legislating through Jesus Christ for men in all parts of the world, brings: to Himself even those who are not wise in the way in which it is possible for such persons to be brought to a better life. And God, well knowing this, as we have already shown in the preceding pages, says in the books of Moses "They have moved Me to jealousy with that which is not God; they have provoked Me to anger with their idols: and I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation."224 And Paul also, knowing this, said, "But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise,"225 calling, in a general way, wise all who appear to have made advances in knowledge, but have fallen into an atheistic polytheism, since "professing themselves to be wise they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."226

Chapter LXXIV.

He accuses the Christian teacher, moreover of" seeking after the unintelligent." In answer we ask, Whom do you mean by the "unintelligent? "For, to speak accurately, every wicked man is "unintelligent." If then by "unintelligent" you mean the wicked, do you, in drawing men to philosophy, seek to gain the wicked or the virtuous?227 But it is impossible to gain the virtuous, because they have already given themselves to philosophy. The wicked, then, (you try to gain;)

but if they are wicked, are they "unintelligent? "And many such you seek to win over to philosophy, and you therefore seek the "unintelligent." But if I seek after those who are thus termed "unintelligent," I act like a benevolent physician, who should seek after the sick in order to help and cure them. If, bow-ever, by "unintelligent" you mean persons who are not clever,228 but the inferior class of men intellectually,229 I shall answer that I endeavour to improve such also to the best of my ability, although I would not desire to build up the Christian community out of such materials. For I seek in preference those who are more clever and acute, because they are able to comprehend the meaning of the hard sayings, and of those passages in the law, and prophecies, and Gospels, which are expressed with obscurity, and which you have despised as not containing anything worthy of notice, because you have not ascertained the meaning which they contain, nor tried to enter into the aim of the writers.

Chapter LXXV. But as he afterwards says that "the teacher of Christianity acts like a person who promises to restore patients to bodily health, but who prevents them from consulting skilled physicians, by whom his ignorance would be exposed," we shall inquire in reply, "What are the physicians to whom you refer, from whom we turn away ignorant individuals.? For you do not suppose that we exhort those to embrace the Gospel who are devoted to philosophy, so that you would regard the latter as the physicians from whom we keep away such as we invite to come to the word of God." He indeed will make no answer, because he cannot name the physicians; or else he will be obliged to betake himself to those of them who are ignorant, and who of their own accord servilely yield themselves to the worship of many gods, and to whatever other opinions are entertained by ignorant individuals. In either case, then, he will be shown to have employed to no purpose in his argument the illustration of "one who keeps others away from skilled physicians." But if, in order to preserve from the philosophy of Epicurus, and from such as are considered physicians after his system, those who are deceived by them, why should we not be acting most reasonably in keeping such away from a dangerous disease caused by the physicians of Celsus,-that, viz., which leads to the annihilation of providence, and the introduction of pleasure as a good? But let it be conceded that we do keep away those whom we encourage to become our disciples from other philosopher-physicians,-from the Peripatetics, for example, who deny the existence of providence and the relation of Deity to man,-why shall we not piously train230 and heal those who have been thus encouraged, persuading them to devote themselves to the God of all things, and free those who yield obedience to us from the great wounds inflicted by the words of such as are deemed to be philosophers? Nay, let it also be admitted that-we turn away from physicians of the sect of the Stoics, who introduce a corruptible god, and assert that his essence consists of a body, which is capable of being changed and altered in all its parts,231 and who also maintain that all things will one day perish, and that God alone will be left; why shall we not even thus emancipate our subjects from evils, and bring them by pious arguments to devote themselves to the Creator, and to admire the Father of the Christian system, who has so arranged that instruction of the most benevolent kind, and fitted for the conversion of souls,232 should be distributed throughout the whole human race? Nay, if we should cure those who have fallen into the folly of believing in the transmigration of souls through the teaching of physicians, who will have it that the rational nature descends sometimes into all kinds of irrational animals, and sometimes into that state of being which is incapable of using the imagination,233 why should we not improve the souls of our subjects by means of a doctrine which does not teach that a state of insensibility or irrationalism is produced in the wicked instead of punishment, but which shows that

the labours and chastisements inflicted upon the wicked by God are a kind of medicines leading to conversion? For those who are intelligent Christians,234 keeping this in view, deal with the simple-minded, as parents do with very young235 children. We do not betake ourselves then to young persons and silly rustics, saying to them, "Flee from physicians." Nor do we say, "See that none of you lay hold of knowledge; "nor do we assert that "knowledge is an evil; "nor are we mad enough to say that "knowledge causes men to lose their soundness of mind." We would not even say that any one ever perished through wisdom; and although we give instruction, we never say, "Give heed to me," but "Give heed to the God of all things, and to Jesus, the giver of instruction concerning Him." And none of us is so great a braggart236 as to say what Celsus put in the mouth of one of our teachers to his acquaintances, "I alone will save you." Observe here the lies which he utters against us! Moreover, we do not assert that "true physicians destroy those whom they promise to cure."

Chapter LXXVI. And he produces a second illustration to our disadvantage, saying that "our teacher acts like a drunken man, who, entering a company of drunkards, should accuse those who are sober of being drunk." But let him show, say from the writings of Paul, that the apostle of Jesus gave way to drunkenness, and that his words were not those of soberness; or from the writings of John, that his thoughts do not breathe a spirit of temperance and of freedom from the intoxication of evil. No one, then, who is of sound mind, and teaches the doctrines of Christianity, gets drunk with wine; but Celsus utters these calumnies against us in a spirit very unlike that of a philosopher. Moreover, let Celsus say who those "sober" persons are whom the ambassadors of Christianity accuse. For in our judgment all are intoxicated who address themselves to inanimate objects as to God. And why do I say "intoxicated? ""Insane" would be the more appropriate word for those who hasten to temples and worship images or animals as divinities. And they too are not less insane who think that images, fashioned by men of worthless and sometimes most wicked character, confer any honour upon genuine divinities.237

Chapter LXXVII.

He next likens our teacher to one suffering from ophthalmia, and his disciples to those suffering from the same disease, and says that "such an one amongst a company of those who are afflicted with ophthalmia, accuses those who are sharp-sighted of being blind." Who, then, would we ask, O Greeks, are they who in our judgment do not see, save those who are unable to look up from the exceeding greatness of the world and its contents, and from the beauty of created things, and to see that they ought to worship, and admire, and reverence Him alone who made these things, and that it is not befitting to treat with reverence anything contrived by man, and applied to the honour of God, whether it be without a reference to the Creator, or with one?238 For, to compare with that illimitable excellence, which surpasses all created being, things which ought not to be brought into comparison with it, is the act of those whose understanding is darkened. We do not then say that those who are sharp-sighted are suffering from ophthalmia or blindness; but we assert that those who, in ignorance of God, give themselves to temples and images, and so-called sacred seasons,239 are blinded in their minds, and especially when, in addition to their impiety, they live also in licentiousness, not even inquiring after any honourable work whatever, but doing everything that is of a disgraceful character.

Chapter LXXVIII.

After having brought against us charges of so serious a kind, he wishes to make it appear that, although he has others to adduce, he passes them by in silence. His words are as follows: "These charges I have to bring against them, and others of a similar nature, not to enumerate them one by one, and I affirm that they are in error, and that they act insolently towards God, in order to lead on wicked men by empty hopes, and to persuade them to despise better things, saying that if they refrain from them it will be better for them." In answer to which, it might be said that from the power which shows itself in those who are converted to Christianity, it is not at all the "wicked" who are won over to the Gospel, as the more simple class of persons, and, as many would term them, the "unpolished."240 For such individuals, through fear of the punishments that are threatened, which arouses and exhorts them to refrain from those actions which are followed by punishments, strive to yield themselves up to the Christian religion, being influenced by the power of the word to such a degree, that through fear of what are called in the word "everlasting punishments," they despise all the tortures which are devised against them among men,-even death itself, with countless other evils,-which no wise man would say is the act of persons of wicked mind. How can temperance and sober-mindedness, or benevolence and liberality, be practised by a man of wicked mind? Nay, even the fear of God cannot be felt by such an one, with respect to which, because it is useful to the many, the Gospel encourages those who are not yet able to choose that which ought to be chosen for its own sake, to select it as the greatest blessing, and one above all promise; for this principle cannot be implanted in him who prefers to live in wickedness.

Chapter LXXIX. But if in these matters any one were to imagine that it is superstition rather than wickedness which appears in the multitude of those who believe the word, and should charge our doctrine with making men superstitious, we shall answer him by saying that, as a certain legislator241 replied to the question of one who asked him whether he had enacted for his citizens the best laws, that he had not given them absolutely the best, but the best which they were capable of receiving; so it might be said by the Father of the Christian doctrine, I have given the best laws and instruction for the improvement of morals of which the many were capable, not threatening sinners with imaginary labours and chastisements, but with such as are real, and necessary to be applied for the correction of those who offer resistance, although they do not at all understand the object of him who inflicts the punishment, nor the effect of the labours. For the doctrine of punishment is both attended with utility, and is agreeable to truth, and is stated in obscure terms with advantage.242 Moreover, as for the most part it is not the wicked whom the ambassadors of Christianity gain over, neither do we insult God. For we speak regarding Him both what is true, and what appears to be clear to the multitude, but not so clear to them as it is to those few who investigate the truths of the Gospel in a philosophical manner.

Chapter LXXX.

Seeing, however, that Celsus alleges that "Christians are won over by us through vain hopes," we thus' reply to him when he finds fault with our doctrine of the blessed life, and of communion with God: "As for you, good sir, they also are won over by vain hopes who have accepted the doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato regarding the soul, that it is its nature to ascend to the vault243 of heaven, and in the super-celestial space to behold the sights which are seen by the blessed spectators above. According to you, O Celsus, they also who have accepted the doctrine of the duration of the soul (after death), and who lead a life through which they become heroes, and make their abodes with the gods, are won over by vain hopes. Probably also they who are

persuaded that the soul comes (into the body) from without, and that it will be withdrawn from the power of death,244 would be said by Celsus to be won over by empty hopes. Let him then come forth to the contest, no longer concealing the sect to which he belongs, but confessing himself to be an Epicurean, and let him meet the arguments, which are not lightly advanced among Greeks and Barbarians, regarding the immortality of the soul, or its duration (after death), or the immortality of the thinking principle;245 and let him prove that these are words which deceive with empty hopes those who give their aSsent to them; but that the adherents of his philosophical system are pure from empty hopes, and that they indeed lead to hopes of good, or-what is more in keeping with his opinions-give birth to no hope at all, on account of the immediate and complete destruction of the soul (after death). Unless, perhaps, Celsus and the Epicureans will deny that it is a vain hope which they entertain regarding their end,-pleasure,-which, according to them, is the supreme good, and which consists in the permanent health of the body, and the hope regarding it which is entertained by Epicurus.246

Chapter LXXXI. And do not suppose that it is not in keeping with the Christian religion for me to have accepted, against Celsus, the opinions of those philosophers who have treated of the immortality or after-duration of the soul; for, holding certain views in common with them, we shall more conveniently establish our position, that the future life of blessedness shall be for those only who have accepted the religion which is according to Jesus, and that devotion towards the Creator of all things which is pure and sincere, and un-mingled with any created thing whatever. And let him who likes show what "better things" we persuade men to despise, and let him compare the blessed end with God in Christ,-that is, the word, and the wisdom, and all virtue; -which, according to our view, shall be bestowed, by the gift of God, on those who have lived a pure and blameless life, and who have felt a single and undivided love for the God of all things, with that end which is to follow according to the teaching of each philosophic sect, whether it be Greek or Barbarian, or according to the professions of religious mysteries;247 and let him prove that the end which is predicted by any of the others is superior to that which we promise, and consequently that that is true, and ours not befitting the gift of God, nor those who have lived a good life; or let him prove that these words were not spoken by the divine Spirit, who filled the souls of the holy prophets. And let him who likes show that those words which are acknowledged among all men to be human, are superior to those which are proved to be divine, and uttered by inspiration.248 And what are the "better" things from which we teach those who receive them that it would be better to abstain? For if it be not arrogant so to speak, it is self-evident that nothing can be denied which is better than to entrust oneself to the God of all, and yield oneself up to the doctrine which raises us above all created things, and brings us, through the animate and living word-which is also living wisdom and the Son of God-to God who is over all. However, as the third book of our answers to the treatise of Celsus has extended to a sufficient length, we shall here bring our present remarks to a close, and in what is to follow shall meet what Celsus has subsequently written.

1: dhmhgoriaj : cf. book i. c. 71.

2: dhmhgoriaj : cf. book i. c. 71.

3: kata thn paroimian kaloumenhj onou skiaj maxhj . On this proverb, see Zenobius, Centuria Sexta , adag. 28, and the note of Schottius. Cf. also Suidas, s.v. onou skia . - De La Rue.

4: semnon .

5: dia tinoj gohteiaj .

6: kata ta Ioudaiwn patria .

7: twn xrhmatizontwn meridoj Qeou .

8: ara gr wj etuxe .

9: sun oudemia piqanothti .

10: sun oudemia piqanothti .

11: Ps. xcvi. 5, daimonia , "idols," Auth. Vers. We have in this passage, and in many others, the identification of the daimonej or gods of the heathen with the daimonej or daimonia , "evil spirits," or angels, supposed to be mentioned in Gen. vi. 2.

12: The reading in the text is automolein , on which Bohereau, with whom the Benedictine editor agrees, remarks that we must either read automolhsontaj , or understand some such word as etoimouj before automolein .

13: Ps. xcvi. 5, daimonia , "idols," Auth. Vers. We have in this passage, and in many others, the identification of the daimonej or gods of the heathen with the daimonej or daimonia , "evil spirits," or angels, supposed to be mentioned in Gen. vi. 2.

14: to meizon autoqen .

15: mexri logou .

16: pwj ouxi ec eikotwn kataskeuazetai .

17: eaq upoqesin .

18: qeoqen .

19: Thj kainotomiaj .

20: Prokatalhfqeij wj upo filtrwn twn Aiguptiwn .

21: Thn suntrofon fwnhn .

22: Cf. Ps. lxxxi. 5.

23: Suggeneij eisin ai proshgoriai .

24: Safwj enargej .

25: [Gibbon, in the sixteenth chapter of his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire , quotes the first part of this sentence as proving that "the learned Origen declares, in the most express terms, that the number of martyrs was very inconsiderable." But see Guizot's note on the passage. S.]

26: Epauleij .

27: Docarion .

28: staseij idiaj .

29: kai toi ou panth hsan oligoi .

30: iugc .

31: The reading in Spencer's and the Benedictine edition is upotemnomenaj , for which Lommatzsch reads upomemnhmenaj .

32: kai to dokoun .

33: apaqestata .

34: Ekdoxhn .

35: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 12 sqq.

36: Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 2.

37: Cf. 1 Tim. vi. 20.

38: Tinej parekdoxai . [He admits the fact, but does not justify such oppositions.] 39: pollhn exei diolkhn .

40: filologon .

41: to prepon .

42: 1 Cor. xi. 19.

43: qeiaj energeiaj .

44: epifaneiaj .

45: ta tou palaiou logou parakausmata sumplattontej, toutoij prokatauloumen kai prokathxoumen touj anqrwpouj, wj oi touj korubantizomenouj peribombountej .

46: ouk an exoi parasthsai, oti hmeij men en parakousmasi genomenoi thj alhqeia=, osoi ge peirwmeqa meta logou pisteuein, proj ta toiauta zwmen dogmata .

47: propulaiwn megeqh te kai kallh .

48: to analogon .

49: [Clearly coincident with Clement and other early Fathers on this head.] 50: fantasian ecapostellein toij tauta memaqhkosin, oti mh mathn memuhtai .

51: pifantasqai .

52: ainigmata .

53: w gennaie .

54: diecodeuwmen .

55: 1 Cor. ii. 6-8.

56: thrhsewj .

57: safhneian .

58: metabaseij .

59: afilosofon xleuhn .

60: bwmoloxoj .

61: The reading in the text is kai prwtoi , for which Bohereau proposes to prwton , which we have adopted in the translation.

62: We have followed in the translation the emendation of Guietus, who proposes ei de thn fainomenhn autw alhqeian epresbeusen, ouk a/, k.t.l., , instead of the textual reading, ei te thj fainomenhj autw alhqeiaj epresbensen, ouk an, k.t.l.

63: ton prohgoumenon hmin peri yuxhj kataskeuasteon logon .

64: Bohereau conjectures, with great probability, that instead of apodekteon , we ought to read apokeikteon .

65: Cf. Hom., Odyss ., xi. 303 and 304.

66: eitougiej exousin .

67: qiaswtaij .

68: apoklhrwtikwj .

69: eij de ta peri touton anecetastwj ormwn apisthsai toij peri autou ;

70: amuqhton .

71: ekstasewn .

72: meson .

73: asteiouj .

74: Cf. Smith's Dict. of Biograph ., S.V.

75: eusebh .

76: kosmioj .

77: oimh semnoi .

78: o#te dia\ tou= Puqi/ou stomi/ou perikaqezome0nh th= kaloume0nh profh/tidi pneu=ma dia\ tw=n gunaikei/wn u9peise/rxetai to\ mantiko\n, o9 'Apo/llwn, to\ kaqaro\n a0po\ ghi/nou sw/mato: . Boherellus conjectures to\ mantiko\n tou= 'Apo/llwnoj to\ kaqaro/n .

79: ou#tw daimoni/wj .

80: Herod., book iv. chaps. 14 and 15 (Cary's transl).

81: teratei/an .

82: Guietus conjectures, kai\ pw=j, w\ lw=ste .

83: th=j kataballome/nhj oi0kodomh=j .

84: tou= kaq' h9ma=j dai/monoj, laxo/ntoj ge/raj loibh=j te kni/sshj te .

85: w9j ou0 koinwnh/santoj th= a0nqrwpi/nh fu/sei, ou0d' a0nalabo/ntoj th\n e0n a0nqrw/poij sa/rka e0piqumou=san data\ tou= pneu/matoj .

86: 'Alla\ ga\r kai\ th\n kataba=san eij a0nqrwpi/nhn fu/sin kai= ei0j a0nqrwpi/naj perista/seij du/namin, kai\ a0nalabou=san yuxh\n kai\ sw=ma a0nqrw/pinon, e9w/rwn e0k tou= pisteuesqai meta\ tw=n qeiote/rwn sumballome/nhn ei0j swthri/an toi=j pioteu/ousin .

87: meta\ tou= pisteu/ein . Others read, , meta\ to pisteu/ein .

88: lixnei/a .

89: toiau=ta ga\r ta\ pantaxou= politeuo/mena e0n tai=j e0kklhsi/aij e0kklhsi/aij tw=n po/lewn plh/qh .

90: fwsth=rej . [Phil. ii. 15. Very noteworthy are the details of this and the following chapter, and their defiant comparisons.] 91: e0kklhsi/a .

92: e0kklhsi/a .

93: paroikou/saj .

94: boulh/n .

95: bouleutai/ .

96: eu#roij a@n ti/nej me\n th=j e0kklhoi/aj bouleutai\ a!cioi/ ei0sin, ei! ti0j e0stin e0n tw= pa/nti po/gij tou= Qeou=, e0n e0keinh= politeu/esqai . Boherellus conjectures eu#roij a$n o!ti tine\sme\n, k.t.l .

97: th=j e0k katata/cewj u9peroxh=j .

98: o#ti kai e0pi\ tw=n sfo/dra a0potugxanome/nwn bouleutw=n kai\ a0rxo/ntwn e0kklhsi/aj Qeou=, kai\ paqumo/teron para\ tou\j eu0tonwte/rwj biou=ntaj, ou0de\n h[tto\n e0stin eu9rei=n w9j e0pi/pan u9peroxh\n, th\n e0n th= e0pi\ ta\j a0reta\j prokoph=, para\ ta\ e!qh tw=n e0n tai=j polesi bouleutw=n kai\ a0rxo/ntwn . Boherellus conjectures p9aqumoterwn .

99: w!ste o0i>\stw= be/lei sumferesqai . Spencer and Bohereau would delete be/lei as a gloss.

100: Guietus would insert h! before i#na ti\ w0felhqh= . this emendation is adopted in the translation.

101: Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

102: thn oi0konomi/an .

103: Cf. John x. 18.

104: Cf. Matt. xxvii. 46-50.

105: Cf. John ii. 19.

106: Ps. xvi. 9, 10.

107: tw=n w0feloume/nwn .

108: John v. 39.

109: Cf. Col. iv. 6.

110: pi/stewj .

111: 1 Pet. iii. 15.

112: h!toi diabalou=men toi=j au0th\n mh\ paradecame/noij, kai\ e0gkale/somen th= i9stori/a w9j ou0k a0lhqei\, h! daimo\nio\n ti fhsomen paraplh/sion toi=j e0pideiknupe/noij go/hsin a0path= o0fqalmw=n pepoihke/nai kai\ perip topn 'Astupalaie/a . Spencer in his edition inludes mh\ in brackets, and renders, "Aut eos incusabimus, qui istam virtutem admiserint."

113: a@j prosa/gomen au0tw=, w9j dia\ metacu\ o!ntoj th=j tou= a0genh/tou kai th=j tw=n genhtw=n pa!ntwn fu/sewj . "Hoeschel (itemque Spencerus ad marg.) suspicabatur legendum: w9j dh\ metacu\ o!ntoj . Male. Nihil mutari necesse est. Agitur quippe de precibus, quas offerimus Deo `per eum qui veluti medius est inter increatam naturam et creatam. 0"'-Ruaeus.

114: a0dolesxh=sai .

115: ta\j toutwn a0podoxa/j .

116: w9j ka!n to\ tuxo\n a0kolasi/aj ka$n e\p' o0li/gon geusame/nou .

117: ou[a0reta\j oi9 me=n tinej kubeutikw/teron zw= ntej katayeu/dontai .

118: a0kolou=qwj th= e0n tw= le/gein terasti\wj pistikh= duna/mei .

119: w9j data\ no/mouj au0tw=n a!rxontoj .

120: a0pofora/j .

121: proaire/sewj .

122: e0swterikw=n kai\ e0poptikw=n .

123: h@ h#rwaj e0k metabolh=j susta/ntaj a0gaqh=j a0nqrwpi/nhj yuxh=j .

124: [See vol. ii. p. 185, and the stinging reference of Justin, vol. i. p. 172, this series.]

125: peri\ de\ to= 'Ihsou= h!toi do/casa a@n ei\nai eu0tuxh\j, h@ kai\ bebasanisme/nwj e0chtasme/nh, dokou=sa me\n eu0tuxh\j para\ toi=j polloi=j, bebasanisme/nwj de\ e0chtasme/nh para\ pa/nu oligwta/toij .

126: tosou=ton poiei= pi/stij, o0poi/a dh\ prokatasxou=sa .

127: kubeutiko/n .

128: h9 koin\h e!nnoia .

129: fi/ltron fusiko/n .

130: a0lla\ kai\ e9nw/sei kai\ a0nakra/sei .

131: ["By means of Origen the idea of a proper reasonable soul in Christ received a new dogmatical importance. This point, which up to this time had been altogether untouched with controversy with the Patripassians, was now for the first time expressly brought forward in a synod held against Beryllus of Bostra, a.d. 244, and the doctrine of a reasonable human soul in Christ settled as a doctrine of the Church." - Neander's History (ut supra) , vol. ii. p. 309, with the references there. See also Waterland's Works , vol. i. pp. 330, 331. S.] 132: dialektiko/j .

133: to\n a0po\ tou= ta/fou .

134: ou0k ei0do/tej pw=j kai\ kaqo/ .

135: Cf. Callimach., Hymn , i. Cf. also Tit. i. 12.

136: th/a0rxhn tou= qanatou gegone/nai peri= to\n Di/a .

137: [The sarcastic raillery of Celsus in regard to the ignorance and low social scale of the early converts to Christianity is in keeping with his whole tone and manner. On the special value of the evidence of early Christian writers, such as Justin Martyr , Clement, Origen, etc., to the truth and power, among men of all classes, of the Gospel of our Lord, see Rawlinson's Bampton Lectures, The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records , Lect. viii. pp. 207, 420, et seqq. (Amer. ed. 1860). S.] 138: o9 lo/goj .

139: ta\ a!dhla kai\ ta\ kru/fia th=j sofi/aj sou e0dh/lwsa/j moi .

140: ta\ kat' au'to/n .

141: kai\ e0c au9th=j e0ge/neto .

142: Cf. 1 Kings x. 1-9.

143: Cf. 1 Kings iv. 29-34. The text reads, peri\ pa/ntwn tw=n basile/wn th=j gh=j , for which para/ has been substituted.

144: kai\ a!lla dia\ problhma/twn .

145: Hos. xiv. 9.

146: Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 3.

147: Cf. Matt. xxiii. 34.

148: Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 8.

149: Acts vii. 22.

150: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 18, etc.

151: ta\ me\n sunagoreu/onta u9gh= kai\ sw/masi .

152: ta\ prohgoume\nwj u9festhko/ta .

153: Cf. Rom. i. 21.

154: Rom. i. 19.

155: Cf. Rom. i. 20-22.

156: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 26-28.

157: Cf. Tit. i. 9, 10.

158: Mono/gamon . Cf. Can. Apost ., c. xvii.: " o9 dusi\ ga/moij sumplakei\j meta= to= ba/ptisma, h@ pallakh\n kthsa/menoj, ou0 dunatai ei\nai e0pi/skopoj, h@ presbu/teroj, h@ dia/konoj, h@ o#lwj tou= katalo/gou tou= i9eratiko= ." Cf. note in Benedictine ed.

159: [Origen agrees with Tertullian, passim , on this subject. Hippolytus makes Callistus, Bishop of Rome, the first to depart from this principle, - accepting "digamists and trigamists."] 160: Cf. 1 John ii. 2.

161: proepa/|santej .

162: [1 Cor. iii. 2, 3. S.] 163: [See note supra , p. 239. S.]

164: nhpi/wn .

165: Heb. v. 12-14.

166: e0leu/qepon a0nalabo/ntej fro/nhma .

167: Cf. Rom. i. 14.

168: Cf. Prov. viii. 5.

169: Cf. Prov. ix. 4.

170: Cf. Prov. ix. 5, 6.

171: dia\ ta\ e0gkei/mena .

172: loidori/aj ma=llon h@ kathgori/aj .

173: The allusion is to the practice of wealthy Greeks and Romans having among their slaves artificers of various kinds, for whose service there was constant demand in the houses and villas of the rich, and who therefore had their residence in or near the dwelling of their master. Many of these artificers seem, from the language of Celsus, to have been converts to Christianity.

174: Para/sthson tou\j didaska/louj a!llouj para\ tou\j filosofi/aj didaska/louj, h@ tou\j kata/ ti tw=n xrhsi/mwn pepoihme/nouj. .

175: fwnh\n suneto/j .

176: [Much is to be gathered from this and the following chapters, of the evangelical character of primitive preaching and discipline.]

177: a9plw=j .

178: eu0daimoni/an .

179: makario/thta .

180: Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 6.

181: Wisd. Solom. i. 4.

182: Cf. Ps. cxli. 2.

183: Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 7.

184: Matt. ix. 12.

185: Rom. xvi. 25, 26.

186: Cf. 2 Tim. i. 10.

187: to\ h9gemoniko/n .

188: a0yedh= .

189: sukofantwn .

190: [The reproaches of the scoffer are very instructive as to the real nature of the primitive dealing with sinners and with sin.] 191: u9pecairomenou tou= kata\ to\n 'Ihsou=n nooume/nou a0nqrw/pou .

192: Rom. vii. 9.

193: Cf. Matt. xxiii. 12.

194: 1 Pet. v. 6.

195: pro\j kolakei/an .

196: In the text it is put interrogatively: ti/j a!nqrwpoj telewj di/kaioj ; h@ ti/j a0nama/rthtoj ; The allusion seems to be to Job xv. 14 (Sept.): ti/j ga\r w@n broto\j, o!ti e!stai a!memptoj\ h@ w9j e0so/menoj di/kaioj gennhto\j gunaiko/j .

197: Matt. xi. 28.

198: Ps. cvii. 20.

199: Luke xviii. 13.

200: Luke xviii. 11.

201: Luke xviii. 14.

202: kai\ ou0 para\ to\n o0rqo\n lo/gon prosa/goito u9po= tou= e0pi\ pa=si dikastou=. . [See infra , book iv. cap. lxxix, and Elucidations there named.] 203: [e0pimo/wj bebamme/noi . S.] 204: [w9spegei\ deusopoihqe9ntej a9po\ th=j kaki/aj . S.]

205: [Let us note this in passing, as balancing some other expressions which could not have been used after the Pelagian controversy.]

206: He is said to have been either a Babylonian or Tyrrhenian, and to have lived in the rein of Nero. Cf. Philostratus, iv. 12. - Ruaeus.

207: kai\ to\ e0cakouo/menon a0po\ th=j le/cewj w0j dunato\n h9mi=n, a0netre/yamen .

208: e0pi\ te/gouj . ["Ut quidam scripserunt," says Hoffmann.] 209: miarw/taton a0nqrw/pwn .

210: 'Alla\ th\n me\n ta/cin kai\ su/nqesin kai\ fra/sin tw=n a0po\ filosofi/aj lo/gwn .

211: The reading in the text is a!llwj , for which which a!llouj has been conjectured by Ruaeus and Boherellus, and which has been adopted in the translation.

212: i0diwtikou/j. .

213: eu0staqe/staton .

214: pistikh\ a0po\ pneu/matoj .

215: para\ ta\j a0natrofa\j, kai\ ta\j diastrofa\j, kai\ ta\j perihxh/seij .

216: fusiwqh=nai .

217: [par' w[ou0k e!stin . S.] 218: Cf. Iliad , ix. 319, 320.

219: [See the elaborate article on the book of Job, by Canon Cook, in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible , vol. i. pp. 1087-1100. S.] 220: tou= logikou\ sw/ou .

221: w#sper ou0 du/natau to\ pefuko\j fkukai/neln tw=| gluku tufxa/nein .

222: i$na koino/teron tw=| e0le/eei xrh/swmai .

223: Cf. Wisd. of Solom. vii. 25, 26.

224: Cf. Deut. xxxii. 21.

225: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 27.

226: Rom. i. 22, 23.

227: a0stei/ouj .

228: tou\j mh\ ehntrexei=j .

229: The reading in the text is teratwdeste/rouj , of which Ruaeus remarks, "Hic nullum habet locum." Katadeeste/rouj has been conjectured instead, and has been adopted in the translation.

230: For eu0debei=j in the text, Boherellus conjectures eu0sebw=j .

231: qeon fqarto\n ei0safo/ntwn, kai\ th\n ou0si0an au0tou= lefo/ntwn sw=ma trepro0n dia/lou kai\ a0lloiwto0n kai\ metablhto/n .

232: The words in the text are, filanqrwto/tata e0pistreptilo0nm kai\ yuxw=n maqh/manta oi0konomh/sanra , for which we have adopted in the translation the emendation of Boherellus, filanqrwpo/tata 0aul yuxw\b eoustreotu0al naqh/nata .

233: a0lla0 ka@n tou0j peponqo/taj th\n peri\ th=smetenswmatw/swj, a!noian a0po0 i0atew=n, tw=n katabibzo9ntwn th=n lofikh=/ fu0sin o9te me\n e0pi0 th0n a0lofon pa=san, o0te= de\ kai\ e0til th\n a0fa/ntaston .

234: Instead of oi9 froni0mwj Cristianoi; zw=ntej , as in the text, Ruaeus and Boherellus conjecture io9froni0mwj Cristianizontej , etc.

235: touj komidh= nhpi0ouj .

236: a0lazw/n .

237: [See vol. iii. Elucidation I. p. 76, this series; and as against the insanity of the Deutero-Nicene Council (a.d. 787) note this prophetic protest. Condemned at Frankfort (a.d. 794) by Anglicans and Gallicans. See Sir W. Palmer, Treatise on the Church , part iv. 10, sect. 4. The Council of Frankfort is the pivot of history as to the division between East and West, the rise of Gallicanism, and of the Anglican Reformation.] 238: ei!te xwri0j ton= dhmiourfou= qeou= ei!te kai\ met' e0kei/nou .

239: i\eromhni/aj .

240: The reading in the text is komyoi/ , which is so opposed to the sense of the passage, that the conjecture of Guietus, a/komyoi , has been adopted in the translation.

241: [i.e., Solon. S.]

242: [See Gieseler's Church History , vol. i. p. 212 (also 213), with references there. But see Elucidation IV. p. 77, vol. iii., this series, and Elucidation at close of this book. See also Robertson's History of the Church , vol. i. p. 156. S.]

243: a0yi=da .

244: Ta/xa de\ kai\ oi0 peisqe/tej peri/ tou= qu/raqen nou=, whj qana/tou kainou= diecafwfh\n e$contoj , etc. Locus certe obscurus, cui lucem afferre conatur Boherellus, legendo divism w0j qana/tou kai\ nou=diecafwfh=n e$contoj , ut sensus sit "morti etiam mentem subductum iri." Nam si qu/raqen h#kei nou=j , consequens est ut qana/tou kai\ nou=j diecafwfh=n e!xh . Cf. Aristot, lib. ii. c. 3, de generatione animalium . - Spencer.

245: h= rhj tou= nou= a0qanasi/aj .

246: Ei0 mh\ a@ra Ke/lsoj kai\ oi9 'Etikou/reili ou0 fh/sousi kou/fhn ei[nai e0lti/da th\n peri\ tou= te/louj ai0tw=n th=j h0donh=j. h!tij kat' au0tou/j e0sti to\ a0laqon, to\ th=j sarko\j eu0staqe\: kata0stma, kai\ to\ perik rau/thj pisto\n 'Epikou/rw| e!lpisma. .

247: tw=| kaq' e0ka/sthn filoso/fwn ai#resin e0n #Ellhsin h$ barba/roij, h@ musthriw/dh e0paggeli/an. te/lei .

248: [Note the testimony to divine inspiration.]

Against Celsus - Book 4

Book IV.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter III.

Chapter IV.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV.

Chapter XVI.

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XXI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX.

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter L

Chapter LI.

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXII.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVII.

Chapter LXVIII.

Chapter LXIX.

Chapter LXX.

Chapter LXXI.

Chapter LXXII.

Chapter LXXIII.

Chapter LXXIV.

Chapter LXXV.

Chapter LXXVI.

Chapter LXXVII.

Chapter LXXVIII.

Chapter LXXIX.

Chapter LXXX.

Chapter LXXXI.

Chapter LXXXII.

Chapter LXXXIII.

Chapter LXXXIV.

Chapter LXXXV.

Chapter LXXXVI.

Chapter LXXXVII.

Chapter LXXXVIII.

Chapter LXXXIX.

Chapter XC.

Chapter XCI.

Chapter XCII.

Chapter XCIII.

Chapter XCIV.

Chapter XCV.

Chapter XCVI.

Chapter XCVII.

Chapter XCVIII.

Chapter XCIX.

Book IV.

Chapter I.

Having, in the three preceding books, fully stated what occurred to us by way of answer to the treatise of Celsus, we now, reverend Ambrosius, with prayer to God through Christ, offer this fourth book as a reply to what follows. And we pray that words may be given us, as it is written in the book of Jeremiah that the Lord said to the prophet: "Behold, I have put My words in thy mouth as fire. See, I have set thee this day over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, and to build and to plant."1 For we need words now which will root out of every wounded soul the reproaches uttered against the truth by this treatise of Celsus, or which proceed from opinions like his. And we need also thoughts which will pull down all edifices based on false opinions, and especially the edifice raised by Celsus in his work which resembles the building of those who said "Come, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top shall reach to heaven."2 Yea, we even require a wisdom which will throw down all high things that rise against the knowledge of God,3 and especially that height of arrogance which Celsus displays against us. And in the next place, as we must not stop with rooting out and pulling down the hindrances which have just been mentioned, but must, in room of what has been rooted out, plant the plants of "God's husbandry; "4 mad in place of what has been pulled down, rear up the building of God, and the temple of His glory,-we must for that reason pray also to the Lord, who bestowed the gifts named in the book of Jeremiah, that He may grant even to us words adapted both for building up the (temple) of Christ, and for planting the spiritual law, and the prophetic words

referring to the same.5 And above all is it necessary to show, as against the assertions of Celsus which follow those he has already made, that the prophecies regarding Christ are true predictions. For, arraying himself at the same time against both parties-against the Jews on the one hand, who deny that the advent of Christ has taken place, but who expect it as future, and against Christians on the other, who acknowledge that Jesus is the Christ spoken of in prophecy-he makes the following statement:-

Chapter II.

"But that certain Christians and (all) Jews should maintain, the former that there has already descended, the latter that there will descend, upon the earth a certain God, or Son of a God, who will make the inhabitants of the earth righteous,6 is a most shameless assertion, and one the refutation of which does not need many words." Now here he appears to pronounce correctly regarding not "certain" of the Jews, but all of them, that they imagine that there is a certain (God) who will descend upon the earth; and with regard to Christians, that certain of them say that He has already come down. For he means those who prove from the Jewish Scriptures that the advent of Christ has already taken place, and he seems to know that there are certain heretical sects which deny that Christ Jesus was predicted by the prophets. In the preceding pages, however, we have already discussed, to the best of our ability, the question of Christ having been the subject of prophecy, and therefore, to avoid tautology, we do not repeat much that might be advanced upon this head. Observe, now, that if he had wished with a kind of apparent force7 to subvert faith in the prophetic writings, either with regard to the future or past advent of Christ, he ought to have set forth the prophecies themselves which we Christians and Jews quote in our discussions with each other. For in this way he would have appeared to turn aside those who are carried away by the plausible character8 of the prophetic statements, as he regards it, from assenting to their truth, and from believing, on account of these prophecies, that Jesus is the Christ; whereas now, being unable to answer the prophecies relating to Christ, or else not knowing at all what are the prophecies relating to Him, he brings forward no prophetic declaration, although there are countless numbers which refer to Christ; but he thinks that he prefers an accusation against the prophetic Scriptures, while he does not even state what he himself would call their "plausible character!" He is not, however, aware that it is not at all the Jews who say that Christ will descend as a God, or the Son of a God, as we have shown in the foregoing pages. And when he asserts that "he is said by us to have already come, but by the Jews that his advent as Messiah9 is still future," he appears by the very charge to censure our statement as one that is most shameless, and which needs no lengthened refutation.

Chapter III. And he continues: "What is the meaning of such a descent upon the part of God? "not observing that, according to our teaching, the meaning of the descent is pre-eminently to convert what are called in the Gospel the lost "sheep of the house of Israel; "and secondly, to take away from them, on account of their disobedience, what is called the "kingdom of God," and to give to other husbandmen than the ancient Jews, viz. to the Christians, who will render to God the fruits of His kingdom in due season (each action being a "fruit of the kingdom").10 We shall therefore, out of a greater number, select a few remarks by way of answer to the question of Celsus, when he says, "What is the meaning of such a descent upon the part of God? "And Celsus here returns to himself an answer which would have been given neither by Jews nor by us, when he asks, "Was it in order to learn what goes on amongst men? "For not one of us asserts that it was in order to

learn what goes on amongst men that Christ entered into this life. Immediately after, however, as if some would reply that it was "in order to learn what goes on among men," he makes this objection to his own statement: "Does he not know all things? "Then, as if we were to answer that He does know all things, he raises a new question, saying, "Then he does know, but does not make (men) better, nor is it possible for him by means of his divine power to make (men) better." Now all this on his part is silly talk;11 for God, by means of His word, which is continually passing from generation to generation into holy souls, and constituting them friends of God and prophets, does improve those who listen to His words; and by the coming of Christ He improves, through the doctrine of Christianity, not those who are unwilling, but those who have chosen the better life, and that which is pleasing to God. I do not know, moreover, what kind of improvement Celsus wished to take place when he raised the objection, asking, "Is it then not possible for him, by means of his divine power, to make (men) better, unless he send some one for that special purpose? "12 Would he then have the improvement to take place by God's filling the minds of men with new ideas, removing at once the (inherent) wickedness, and implanting virtue (in its stead)?13 Another person now would inquire whether this was not inconsistent or impossible in the very nature of things; we, however, would say, "Grant it to be so, and let it be possible." Where, then, is our free will?14 and what credit is there in assenting to the truth? or how is the rejection of what is false praiseworthy? But even if it were once granted that such a course was not only possible, but could be accomplished with propriety (by God), why would not one rather inquire (asking a question like that of Celsus) why it was not possible for God, by means of His divine power, to create men who needed no improvement, but who were of themselves virtuous and perfect, evil being altogether non-existent? These questions may perplex ignorant and foolish individuals, but not him who sees into the nature of things; for if you take away the spontaneity of virtue, you destroy its essence. But it would need an entire treatise to discuss these matters; and on this subject the Greeks have expressed themselves at great length in their works on providence. They truly would not say what Celsus has expressed in words, that "God knows (all things) indeed, but does not make (men) better, nor is able to do so by His divine power." We ourselves have spoken in many parts of our writings on these points to the best of our ability, and the Holy Scriptures have established the same to those who are able to understand them.

Chapter IV. The argument which Celsus employs against us and the Jews will be turned against himself thus: My good sir, does the God who is over all things know what takes place among men, or does He not know? Now if you admit the existence of a God and of providence, as your treatise indicates, He must of necessity know. And if He does know, why does He not make (men) better? Is it obligatory, then, on us to defend God's procedure in not making men better, although He knows their state, but not equally binding on you, who do not distinctly show by your treatise that you are an Epicurean, but pretend to recognise a providence, to explain why God, although knowing all that takes place among men, does not make them better, nor by divine power liberate all men from evil? We are not ashamed, however, to say that God is constantly sending (instructors) in order to make men better; for there are to be found amongst men reasons15 given by God which exhort them to enter on a better life. But there are many diversities amongst those who serve God, and they are few in number who are perfect and pure ambassadors of the truth, and who produce a complete reformation, as did Moses and the prophets. But above all these, great was the reformation effected by Jesus, who desired to heal not only those who lived in one corner of the world, but as far as in Him lay, men in every country, for He came as the Saviour of

all men.

Chapter V. The illustrious16 Celsus, taking occasion I know not from what, next raises an additional objection against us, as if we asserted that "God Himself will come down to men." He imagines also that it follows from this, that "He has left His own abode; "for he does not know the power of God, and that "the Spirit of the Lord filleth the world, and that which upholdeth all things hath knowledge of the voice."17 Nor is he able to understand the words, "Do I not fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord."18 Nor does he see that, according to the doctrine of Christianity, we all "in Him live, and move, and have our being,"19 as Paul also taught in his address to the Athenians; and therefore, although the God of the universe should through His own power descend with Jesus into the life of men, and although the Word which was in the beginning with God, which is also God Himself, should come to us, He does not give His place or vacate His own seat, so that one place should be empty of Him, and another which did not formerly contain Him be filled. But the power and divinity of God comes through him whom God chooses, and resides in him in whom it finds a place, not changing its situation, nor leaving its own place empty and filling another: for, in speaking of His quitting one place and occupying another, we do not mean such expressions to be taken topically; but we say that the soul of the bad man, and of him who is overwhelmed in wickedness, is abandoned by God, while we mean that the soul of him who wishes to live virtuously, or of him who is making progress (in a virtuous life), or who is already living conform-ably thereto, is filled with or becomes a partaker of the Divine Spirit. It is not necessary, then, for the descent of Christ, or for the coming of God to men, that He should abandon a greater seat, and that things on earth should be changed, as Celsus imagines when he says, "If you were to change a single one, even the least, of things on earth, all things would be overturned and disappear." And if we must speak of a change in any one by the appearing of the power of God, and by the entrance of the word among men, we shall not be reluctant to speak of changing from a wicked to a virtuous, from a dissolute to a temperate, and from a superstitious to a religious life, the person who has allowed the word of God to find entrance into his soul.

Chapter VI But if you will have us to meet the most ridiculous among the charges of Celsus, listen to him when he says: "Now God, being unknown amongst men, and deeming himself on that account to have less than his due,20 would desire to make himself known, and to make trial both of those who believe upon him and of those who do not, like those of mankind who have recently come into the possession of riches, and who make a display of their wealth; and thus they testify to an excessive but very mortal ambition on the part of God."21 We answer, then, that God, not being known by wicked men, would desire to make Himself known, not because He thinks that He meets with less than His due, but because the knowledge of Him will free the possessor from unhappiness. Nay, not even with the desire to try those who do or who do not believe upon Him, does He, by His unspeakable and divine power, Himself take up His abode in certain individuals, or send His Christ; but He does this in order to liberate from all their wretchedness those who do believe upon Him, and who accept His divinity, and that those who do not believe may no longer have this as a ground of excuse, viz., that their unbelief is the consequence of their not having heard the word of instruction. What argument, then, proves that it follows from our views that God, according to our representations, is "like those of mankind who have recently come into the possession of riches, and who make a display of their wealth? "For God makes no display towards us, from a desire that we should understand and consider His pre-eminence; but desiring that the

blessedness which results from His being known by us should be implanted in our souls, He brings it to pass through Christ, and His ever-indwelling word, that we come to an intimate fellowship22 with Him. No mortal ambition, then, does the Christian doctrine testify as existing on the part of God.

Chapter VII.

I do not know how it is, that after the foolish remarks which he has made upon the subject which we have just been discussing, he should add the following, that "God does not desire to make himself known for his own sake, but because he wishes to bestow upon us the knowledge of himself for the sake of our salvation, in order that those who accept it may become virtuous and be saved, while those who do not accept may be shown to be wicked and be punished." And yet, after making such a statement, he raises a new objection, saying: "After so long a period of time,23 then, did God now bethink himself of making men live righteous lives,24 but neglect to do so before? "To which we answer, that there never was a time when God did not wish to make men live righteous lives; but He continually evinced His care for the improvement of the rational animal,25 by affording him occasions for the exercise of virtue. For in every generation the wisdom of God, passing into those souls which it ascertains to be holy, converts them into friends and prophets of God. And there may be found in the sacred book (the names of) those who in each generation were holy, and were recipients of the Divine Spirit, and who strove to convert their contemporaries so far as in their power.

Chapter VIII. And it is not matter of surprise that in certain generations there have existed prophets who, in the reception of divine influence,26 surpassed, by means of their stronger and more powerful (religious) life, other prophets who were their contemporaries, and others also who lived before and after them. And so it is not at all wonderful that there should also have been a time when something of surpassing excellence27 took up its abode among the human race, and which was distinguished above all that preceded or even that followed. But there is an element of profound mystery in the account of these things, and one which is incapable of being received by the popular understanding. And in order that these difficulties should be made to disappear, and that the objections raised against the advent of Christ should be answered-viz., that, "after so long a period of time, then, did God now bethink himself of making men live righteous lives, but neglect to do so before? "-it is necessary to touch upon the narrative of the divisions (of the nations), and to make it evident why it was, that "when the Most High divided the nations, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God, and the portion of the Lord was His people Jacob, Israel the cord of His inheritance; "28 and it will be necessary to state the reason why the birth of each man took place within each particular boundary, under him who obtained the boundary by lot, and how it rightly happened that "the portion of the Lord was His people Jacob, and Israel the cord of His inheritance," and why formerly the portion of the Lord was His people Jacob, and Israel the cord of His inheritance. But with respect to those who come after, it is said to the Saviour by the Father, "Ask of Me, and I will give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession."29 For there are certain connected and related reasons, bearing upon the different treatment of human souls, which are difficult to state and to investigate.30

There came, then, although Celsus may not wish to admit it, after the numerous prophets who were the reformers of that well-known Israel, the Christ, the Reformer of the whole world, who did not need to employ against men whips, and chains, and tortures, as was the case under the former economy. For when the sower went forth to sow, the doctrine sufficed to sow the word everywhere. But if there is a time coming which will necessarily circumscribe the duration of the world, by reason of its having had a beginning, and if there is to be an end to the world, and after the end a just judgment of all things, it will be incumbent on him who treats the declarations of the Gospels philosophically, to establish these doctrines by arguments of all kinds, not only derived directly from the sacred Scriptures, but also by inferences deducible from them; while the more numerous and simpler class of believers, and those who are unable to comprehend the many varied aspects of the divine wisdom, must entrust themselves to God, and to the Saviour of our race, and be contented with His "ipse dixit,"31 instead of this or any other demonstration whatever.

Chapter X. In the next place, Celsus, as is his custom having neither proved nor established anything, proceeds to say, as if we talked of God in a manner that was neither holy nor pious, that "it is perfectly manifest that they babble about God in a way that is neither holy nor reverential; "and he imagines that we do these things to excite the astonishment of the ignorant, and that we do not speak the truth regarding the necessity of punishments for those who have sinned. And accordingly he likens us to those who "in the Bacchic mysteries introduce phantoms and objects of terror." With respect to the mysteries of Bacchus, whether there is any trustworthy32 account of them, or none that is such, let the Greeks tell, and let Celsus and his boon-companions33 listen. But we defend our own procedure, When we say that our object is to reform the human race, either by the threats of punishments which we are persuaded are necessary for the whole world,34 and which perhaps are not without use35 to those who are to endure them; or by the promises made to those who have lived virtuous lives, and in which are contained the statements regarding the blessed termination which is to be found in the kingdom of God, reserved for those who are worthy of becoming His subjects.

Chapter XI.

After this, being desirous to show that it is nothing either wonderful or new which we state regarding floods or conflagrations, but that, from misunderstanding the accounts of these things which are current among Greeks or barbarous nations, we have accorded our belief to our own Scriptures when treating of them, he writes as follows: "The belief has spread among them, from a misunderstanding of the accounts of these occurrences, that after lengthened cycles of time, and the returns and conjunctions of planets, conflagrations and floods are wont to happen, and because after the last flood, which took place in the time of Deucalion, the lapse of time, agreeably to the vicissitude of all things, requires a conflagration and this made them give utterance to the erroneous opinion that God will descend, bringing fire like a torturer." Now in answer to this we say, that I do not understand how Celsus, who has read a great deal, and who shows that he has perused many histories, had not his attention arrested36 by the antiquity of Moses, who is related by certain Greek historians to have lived about the time of Inachus the son of Phoroneus, and is acknowledged by the Egyptians to be a man of great antiquity, as well as by those who have studied the history of the Phoenicians. And any one who likes may peruse the two books of Flavius Josephus on the antiquities of the Jews, in order that he may see in what way Moses was more ancient than those who asserted that floods and conflagrations take place in the world after

long intervals of time; which statement Celsus alleges the Jews and Christians to have misunderstood, and, not comprehending what was said about a conflagration, to have declared that "God will descend, bringing fire like a torturer."37

Chapter XII.

Whether, then, there are cycles of time, and floods, or conflagrations which occur periodically or not, and whether the Scripture is aware of this, not only in many passages, but especially where Solomon38 says, "What is the thing which hath been? Even that which shall be. And what is the thing which hath been done? Even that which shall be done,"39 etc., etc., belongs not to the present occasion to discuss. For it is sufficient only to observe, that Moses and certain of the prophets, being men of very great antiquity, did not receive from others the statements relating to the (future) conflagration of the world; but, on the contrary (if we must attend to the matter of time40), others rather misunderstanding them, and not inquiring accurately into their statements, invented the fiction of the same events recurring at certain intervals, and differing neither in their essential nor accidental qualities.41 But we do not refer either the deluge or the conflagration to cycles and planetary periods; but the cause of them we declare to be the extensive prevalence of wickedness,42 and its (consequent) removal by a deluge or a conflagration. And if the voices of the prophets say that God "comes down," who has said, "Do I not fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord,"43 the term is used in a figurative sense. For God "comes down" from His own height and greatness when He arranges the affairs of men, and especially those of the wicked. And as custom leads men to say that teachers "condescend"44 to children, and wise men to those youths who have just be-taken themselves to philosophy, not by "descending" in a bodily manner; so, if God is said anywhere in the holy Scriptures to "come down," it is understood as spoken in conformity with the usage which so employs the word, and, in like manner also with the expression "go up."45

Chapter XIII. But as it is in mockery that Celsus says we speak of "God coming down like a torturer bearing fire," and thus compels us unseasonably to investigate words of deeper meaning, we shall make a few remarks, sufficient to enable our hearers to form an idea46 of the defence which disposes of the ridicule of Celsus against us, and then we shall turn to what follows. The divine word says that our God is "a consuming fire,"47 and that "He draws rivers of fire before Him; "48 nay, that He even entereth in as "a refiner's fire, and as a fuller's herb,"49 to purify His own people. But when He is said to be a "consuming fire," we inquire what are the things which are appropriate to be consumed by God. And we assert that they are wickedness, and the works which result from it, and which, being figuratively called "wood, hay, stubble,"50 God consumes as a fire. The wicked man, accordingly, is said to build up on the previously-laid foundation of reason, "wood, and hay, and stubble." If, then, any one can show that these words were differently understood by the writer, and can prove that the wicked man literally51 builds up "wood, or hay, or stubble," it is evident that the fire must be understood to be material, and an object of sense. But if, on the contrary, the works of the wicked man are spoken of figuratively under the names of "wood, or hay, or stubble," why does it not at once occur (to inquire) in what sense the word "fire" is to be taken, so that "wood" of such a kind should be consumed? for (the Scripture) says: "The fire will try each man's work of what sort it is. If any man's work abide. which he hath built thereupon, he shall receive a reward. If any man's work be burned, he shall suffer loss."52 But what work can be spoken of in these words as being "burned," save all that results from wickedness? Therefore our

God is a "consuming fire" in the sense in which we have taken the word; and thus He enters in as a "refiner's fire," to refine the rational nature, which has been filled with the lead of wickedness, and to free it from the other impure materials, which adulterate the natural gold or silver, so to speak, of the soul.53 And, in like manner, "rivers of fire" are said to be before God, who will thoroughly cleanse away the evil which is intermingled throughout the whole soul.54 But these remarks are sufficient in answer to the assertion, "that thus they were made to give expression to the erroneous opinion that God will come down bearing fire like a torturer."

Chapter XIV. But let us look at what Celsus next with great ostentation announces in the following fashion: "And again," he says, "let us resume the subject from the beginning, with a larger array of proofs. And I make no new statement, but say what has been long settled. God is good, and beautiful, and blessed, and that in the best and most beautiful degree.55 But if he come down among men, he must undergo a change, and a change from good to evil, from virtue to vice, from happiness to misery, and from best to worst. Who, then, would make choice of such a change? It is the nature of a mortal, indeed, to undergo change and remoulding, but of an immortal to remain the same and unaltered. God, then, could not admit of such a change." Now it appears to me that the fitting answer has been returned to these objections, when I have related what is called in Scripture the "condescension"56 of God to human affairs; for which purpose He did not need to undergo a transformation, as Celsus thinks we assert, nor a change from good to evil, nor from virtue to vice, nor from happiness to misery, nor from best to worst. For, continuing unchangeable in His essence, He condescends to human affairs by the economy of His providence.57 We show, accordingly, that the holy Scriptures represent God as unchangeable, both by such words as "Thou art the same,"58 and" I change not; "59 whereas the gods of Epicurus, being composed of atoms, and, so far as their structure is concerned, capable of dissolution, endeavour to throw off the atoms which contain the elements of destruction. Nay, even the god of the Stoics, as being corporeal, at one time has his whole essence composed of the guiding principle60 when the conflagration (of the world) takes place; and at another, when a re-arrangement of things occurs, he again becomes partly material.61 For even the Stoics were unable distinctly to comprehend the natural idea of God, as of a being altogether incorruptible and simple, and uncompounded and indivisible.

Chapter XV. And with respect to His having descended among men, He was "previously in the form of God; "62 and through benevolence, divested Himself (of His glory), that He might be capable of being received by men. But He did not, I imagine, undergo any change from "good to evil," for "He did no sin; "63 nor from "virtue to vice," for "He knew no sin."64 Nor did He pass from "happiness to misery," but He humbled Himself, and nevertheless was blessed, even when His humiliation was undergone in order to benefit our race. Nor was there any change in Him from "best to worst," for how can goodness and benevolence be of "the worst? "Is it befitting to say of the physician, who looks on dreadful sights and handles unsightly objects in order to cure the sufferers, that he passes from "good to evil," or from "virtue to vice," or from "happiness to misery? "And yet the physician, in looking on dreadful sights and handling unsightly objects, does not wholly escape the possibility of being involved in the same fate. But He who heals the wounds of our souls, through the word of God that is in Him, is Himself incapable of admitting any wickedness. But if the immortal God-the Word65 -by assuming a mortal body and a human soul, appears to Celsus to undergo a change and transformation, let him learn that the Word, still

remaining essentially the Word, suffers none of those things which are suffered by the body or the soul; but, condescending occasionally to (the weakness of) him who is unable to look upon the splendours and brilliancy of Deity, He becomes as it were flesh, speaking with a literal voice, until he who has received Him in such a form is able, through being elevated in some slight degree by the teaching of the Word, to gaze upon what is, so to speak, His real and pre-eminent appearance.66

Chapter XVI. For there are different appearances, as it were, of the Word, according as He shows Himself to each one of those who come to His doctrine; and this in a manner corresponding to the condition of him who is just becoming a disciple, or of him who has made a little progress, or of him who has advanced further, or of him who has already nearly attained to virtue, or who has even already attained it. And hence it is not the case, as Celsus and those like him would have it, that our God was transformed, and ascending the lofty mountain, showed that His real appearance was something different, and far more excellent than what those who remained below, and were unable to follow Him on high, beheld. For those below did not possess eyes capable of seeing the transformation of the Word into His glorious and more divine condition. But with difficulty were they able to receive Him as He was; so that it might be said of Him by those who were unable to behold His more excellent nature: "We saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness; but His form was mean,67 and inferior to that of the sons of men."68 And let these remarks be an answer to the suppositions of Celsus, who does not understand the changes or transformations of Jesus, as related in the histories, nor His mortal and immortal nature.69

Chapter XVII. But will not those narratives, especially when they are understood in their proper sense, appear far more worthy of respect than the story that Dionysus was deceived by the Titans, and expelled from the throne of Jupiter, and torn in pieces by them, and his remains being afterwards put together again, he returned as it were once more to life, and ascended to heaven? Or are the Greeks at liberty to refer such stories to the doctrine of the soul, and to interpret them figuratively, while the door of a consistent explanation, and one everywhere in accord and harmony with the writings of the Divine Spirit, who had His abode in pure souls, is closed against us? Celsus, then, is altogether ignorant of the purpose of our writings, and it is therefore upon his own acceptation of them that he casts discredit, and not upon their real meaning; whereas, if he had reflected on what is appropriate70 to a soul which is to enjoy an everlasting life, and on the opinion which we are to form of its essence and principles, he would not so have ridiculed the entrance of the immortal into a mortal body, which took place not according to the metempsychosis of Plato, but agreeably to another and higher view of things. And he would have observed one "descent," distinguished by its great benevolence, undertaken to convert (as the Scripture mystically terms them) the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," which had strayed down from the mountains, and to which the Shepherd is said in certain parables to have gone down, leaving on the mountains those "which had not strayed."

Chapter XVIII. But Celsus, lingering over matters which he does not understand, leads us to be guilty of tautology, as we do not wish even in appearance to leave any one of his objections unexamined. He proceeds, accordingly, as follows: "God either really changes himself, as these assert, into a mortal body, and the impossibility of that has been already declared; Or else he does not undergo a change, but only causes the beholders to imagine so, and thus deceives them, and is guilty of falsehood. Now deceit and falsehood are nothing but evils, and would only be employed

as a medicine, either in the case of sick and lunatic friends, with a view to their cure, or in that of enemies when one is taking measures to escape danger. But no sick man or lunatic is a friend of God, nor does God fear any one to such a degree as to shun danger by leading him into error." Now the answer to these statements might have respect partly to the nature of the Divine Word, who is God, and partly to the soul of Jesus. As respects the nature of the Word, in the same way as the quality of the food changes in the nurse into milk with reference to the nature of the child, or is arranged by the physician with a view to the good of his health in the case of a sick man or (is specially) prepared for a stronger man, because he possesses greater vigour, so does God appropriately change, in the case of each individual, the power of the Word to which belongs the natural property of nourishing the human soul. And to one is given, as the Scripture terms it, "the sincere milk of the word; "and to another, who is weaker, as it were, "herbs; "and to another who is full-grown, "strong meat." And the Word does not, I imagine, prove false to His own nature, in contributing nourishment to each one, according as he is capable of receiving Him.71 Nor does He mislead or prove false. But if one were to take the change as referring to the soul of Jesus after it had entered the body, we would inquire in what sense the term "change" is used. For if it be meant to apply to its essence, such a supposition is inadmissible, not only in relation to the soul of Jesus, but also to the rational soul of any other being. And if it be alleged that it suffers anything from the body when united with it, or from the place to which it has come, then what inconvenience72 can happen to the Word who, in great benevolence, brought down a Saviour to the human race?-seeing none of those who formerly professed to effect a cure could accomplish so much as that soul showed it could do, by what it performed, even by voluntarily descending to the level of human destinies for the benefit of our race. And the Divine Word, well knowing this, speaks to that effect in many passages of Scripture, although it is sufficient at present to quote one testimony of Paul to the following effect: "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus; who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. Wherefore God also hath highly exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name."73

Chapter XIX.

Others, then, may concede to Celsus that God does not undergo a change, but leads the spectators to imagine that He does; whereas we who are persuaded that the advent of Jesus among men was no mere appearance, but a real manifestation, are not affected by this charge of Celsus. We nevertheless will attempt a reply, because you assert, Celsus, do you not, that it is sometimes allowable to employ deceit and falsehood by way, as it were, of medicine?74 Where, then, is the absurdity, if such a saving result were to be accomplished, that some such events should have taken place? For certain words, when savouring of falsehood, produce upon such characters a corrective effect (like the similar declarations of physicians to their patients), rather than when spoken in the spirit of truth. This, however, must be our defence against other opponents. For there is no absurdity in Him who healed sick friends, healing the dear human race by means of such remedies as He would not employ preferentially, but only according to circumstances.75 The human race, moreover, when in a state of mental alienation, had to be cured by methods which the Word saw would aid in bringing back those so afflicted to a sound

state of mind. But Celsus says also, that "one acts thus towards enemies when taking measures to escape danger. But God does not fear any one, so as to escape danger by leading into error those who conspire against him." Now it is altogether unnecessary and absurd to answer a charge which is advanced by no one against our Saviour. And we have already replied, when answering other charges, to the statement that "no one who is either in a state of sickness or mental alienation is a friend of God." For the answer is, that such arrangements have been made, not for the sake of those who, being already friends, afterwards fell sick or became afflicted with mental disease, but in order that those who were still enemies through sickness of the soul, and alienation of the natural reason, might become the friends of God. For it is distinctly stated that Jesus endured all things on behalf of sinners, that He might free them from sin, and convert them to righteousness.

Chapter XX. In the next place, as he represents the Jews accounting in a way peculiar to themselves for their belief that the advent of Christ among them is still in the future, and the Christians as maintaining in their way that the coming of the Son of God into the life of men has already taken place, let us, as far as we can, briefly consider these points. According to Celsus, the Jews say that "(human) life, being filled with all wickedness, needed one sent from God, that the wicked might be punished, and all things purified in a manner analogous to the first deluge which happened." And as the Christians are said to make statements additional to this, it is evident that he alleges that they admit these. Now, where is the absurdity in the coming of one who is, on account of the prevailing flood of wickedness, to purify the world, and to treat every one according to his deserts? For it is not in keeping with the character of God that the diffusion of wickedness should not cease, and all things be renewed. The Greeks, moreover, know of the earth's being purified at certain times by a deluge or a fire, as Plato, too, says somewhere to this effect: "And when the gods overwhelm the earth, purifying it with water, some of them on the mountains,"76 etc., etc. Must it be said, then, that if the Greeks make such assertions, they are to be deemed worthy of respect and consideration, but that if we too maintain certain of these views, which are quoted with approval by the Greeks, they cease to be honourable? And yet they who care to attend to the connection and truth of all our records, will endeavour to establish not only the antiquity of the writers, but the venerable nature of their writings, and the consistency of their several parts.

Chapter XXI. But I do not understand how he can imagine the overturning of the tower (of Babel) to have happened with a similar object to that of the deluge, which effected a purification of the earth, according to the accounts both of Jews and Christians. For, in order that the narrative contained in Genesis respecting the tower may be held to convey no secret meaning, but, as Celsus supposes, may be taken as true to the letter,77 the event does not on such a view appear to have taken place for the purpose of purifying the earth; unless, indeed, he imagines that the so-called confusion of tongues is such a purificatory process. But on this point, he who has the opportunity will treat more seasonably when his object is to show not only what is the meaning of the narrative in its historical connection, but what metaphorical meaning may be deduced from it.78 Seeing that he imagines, however, that Moses, who wrote the account of the tower, and the confusion of tongues, has perverted the story of the sons of Aloeus,79 and referred it to the tower, we must remark that I do not think any one prior to the time of Homer80 has mentioned the sons of Aloeus, while I am persuaded that what is related about the tower has been recorded by Moses as being much older not only than Homer, but even than the invention of letters among the Greeks.

Who, then, are the perverters of each other's narratives? Whether do they who relate the story of the Aloadae pervert the history of the time, or he who wrote the account of the tower and the confusion of tongues the story of the Aloadae? Now to impartial hearers Moses appears to be more ancient than Homer. The destruction by fire, moreover, of Sodom and Gomorrah on account of their sins, related by Moses in Genesis, is compared by Celsus to the story of Phaethon,-all these statements of his resulting from one blunder, viz., his not attending to the (greater) antiquity of Moses.81 For they who relate the story of Phaethon seem to be younger even than Homer, who, again, is much younger than Moses. We do not deny, then, that the purificatory fire and the destruction of the world took place in order that evil might be swept away, and all things be renewed; for we assert that we have learned these things from the sacred books of the prophets. But since, as we have said in the preceding pages, the prophets, in uttering many predictions regarding future events, show that they have spoken the truth concerning many things that are past, and thus give evidence of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit, it is manifest that, with respect to things still future, we should repose faith in them, or rather in the Divine Spirit that is in them.

Chapter XXII.

But, according to Celsus, "the Christians, making certain additional statements to those of the Jews, assert that the Son of God has been already sent on account of the sins of the Jews; and that the Jews hating chastised Jesus, and given him gall to drink, have brought upon themselves the divine wrath." And any one who likes may convict this statement of falsehood, if it be not the case that the whole Jewish nation was overthrown within one single generation after Jesus had undergone these sufferings at their hands. For forty and two years, I think, after the date of the crucifixion of Jesus, did the destruction of Jerusalem take place. Now it has never been recorded, since the Jewish nation began to exist, that they have been expelled for so long a period from their venerable temple-worship82 and service, and enslaved by more powerful nations; for if at any time they appeared to be abandoned because of their sins, they were notwithstanding visited (by God),83 and returned to their own country, and recovered their possessions, and performed unhindered the observances of their law. One fact, then, which proves that Jesus was something divine and sacred,84 is this, that Jews should have suffered on His account now for a lengthened time calamities of such severity. And we say with confidence that they will never be restored to their former condition.85 For they committed a crime of the most unhallowed kind, in conspiring against the Saviour of the human race in that city where they offered up to God a worship containing the symbols of mighty mysteries. It accordingly behoved that city where Jesus underwent these sufferings to perish utterly, and the Jewish nation to be overthrown, and the invitation to happiness offered them by God to pass to others,-the Christians, I mean, to whom has come the doctrine of a pure and holy worship, and who have obtained new laws, in harmony with the established constitution in all countries;86 seeing those which were formerly imposed, as on a single nation which was ruled by princes of its own race and of similar manners,87 could not now be observed in all their entireness.

Chapter XXIII. In the next place, ridiculing after his usual style the race of Jews and Christians, he compares them all "to a flight of bats or to a swarm of ants issuing out of their nest, or to frogs holding council in a marsh, or to worms crawling together in the comer of a dunghill, and quarrelling with one another as to which of them were the greater sinners, and asserting that God shows and announces to us all things beforehand; and that, abandoning the whole world, and the

regions of heaven,88 and this great earth, he becomes a citizen89 among us alone, and to us alone makes his intimations, and does not cease sending and inquiring, in what way we may be associated with him for ever." And in his fictitious representation, he compares us to "worms which assert that there is a God, and that immediately after him, we who are made by him are altogether like unto God, and that all things have been made subject to us,-earth, and water, and air, and stars,-and that all things exist for our sake, and are ordained to be subject to us." And, according to his representation, the worms-that is, we ourselves-say that "now, since certain amongst us commit sin, God will come or will send his Son to consume the wicked with fire, that the rest of us may have eternal life with him." And to all this he subjoins the remark, that "such wranglings would be more endurable amongst worms and frogs than betwixt Jews and Christians."

Chapter XXIV. In reply to these, we ask of those who accept such aspersions as are scattered against us, Do you regard all men as a collection of bats, or as frogs, or as worms, in consequence of the pre-eminence of God or do you not include the rest of mankind in this proposed comparison, but on account of their possession of reason, and of the established laws, treat them as men, while you hold cheap90 Christians and Jews, because their opinions are distasteful to you, and compare them to the animals above mentioned? And whatever answer you may return to our question, we shall reply by endeavouring to show that such assertions are most unbecoming, whether spoken of all men in general, or of us in particular. For, let it be supposed that you say justly that all men, as compared with God, are (rightly) likened to these worthless91 animals, since their littleness is not at all to be compared with the superiority of God, what then do you mean by littleness? Answer me, good sirs. If you refer to littleness of body, know that superiority and inferiority, if truth is to be judge, are not determined by a bodily standard.92 For, on such a view, vultures93 and elephants would be superior to us men; for they are larger, and stronger, and longer-lived than we. But no sensible person would maintain that these irrational creatures are superior to rational beings, merely on account of their bodies: for the possession of reason raises a rational being to a vast superiority over all irrational creatures. Even the race of virtuous and blessed beings would admit this, whether they are, as ye say, good demons, or, as we are accustomed to call them, the angels of God, or any other natures whatever superior to that of man, since the rational faculty within them has been made perfect, and endowed with all virtuous qualities.94

Chapter XXV. But if you depreciate the littleness of man, not on account of his body, but of his soul, regarding it as inferior to that of other rational beings, and especially of those who are virtuous; and inferior, because evil dwells in it,-why should those among Christians who are wicked, and those among the Jews who lead sinful lives, be termed a collection of bats, or ants, or worms, or frogs, rather than those individuals among other nations who are guilty of wickedness?-seeing, in this respect, any individual whatever, especially if carried away by the tide of evil, is, in comparison with the rest of mankind, a bat, and worm, and frog, and ant. And although a man may be an orator like Demosthenes, yet, if stained with wickedness like his,95 and guilty of deeds proceeding, like his, from a wicked nature; or an Antiphon, who was also considered to be indeed an orator, yet who annihilated the doctrine of providence in his writings, which were entitled Concerning Truth, like that discourse of Celsus,-such individuals are notwithstanding worms, rolling in a comer of the dung-heap of stupidity and ignorance. Indeed, whatever be the nature of the rational faculty, it could not reasonably be compared to a worm,

because it possesses capabilities of virtue.96 For these adumbrations97 towards virtue do not allow of those who possess the power of acquiring it, and who are incapable of wholly losing its seeds, to be likened to a worm. It appears, therefore, that neither can men in general be deemed worms in comparison with God. For reason, having its beginning in the reason of God, cannot allow of the rational animal being considered wholly alien from Deity. Nor can those among Christians and Jews who are wicked, and who, in truth, are neither Christians nor Jews, be compared, more than other wicked men, to worms rolling in a corner of a dunghill. And if the nature of reason will not permit of such comparisons, it is manifest that we must not calumniate human nature, which has been formed for virtue, even if it should sin through ignorance, nor liken it to animals of the kind described.

Chapter XXVI. But if it is on account of those opinions of the Christians and Jews-which displease Celsus (and which he does not at all appear to understand) that they are to be regarded as worms and ants, and the rest of mankind as different, let us examine the acknowledged opinions of Christians and Jews,98 and compare them with those of the rest of mankind, and see whether it will not appear to those who have once admitted that certain men are worms and ants, that they are the worms and ants and frogs who have fallen away from sound views of God, and, under a vain appearance of piety,99 worship either irrational animals, or images, or other objects, the works of men's hands;100 whereas, from the beauty of such, they ought to admire the Maker of them, and worship Him: while those are indeed men, and more honourable than men (if there be anything that is so), who, in obedience to their reason, are able to ascend from stocks and stones,101 nay, even from what is reckoned the most precious of all matter-silver and gold; and who ascend up also from the beautiful things in the world to the Maker of all, and entrust themselves to Him who alone is able to satisfy102 all existing things, and to overlook the thoughts of all, and to hear the prayers of all; who send up their prayers to Him, and do all things as in the presence of Him who beholds everything, and who are careful, as in the presence of the Hearer of all things, to say nothing which might not with propriety be reported to God. Will not such piety as this-which can be overcome neither by labours, nor by the dangers of death, nor by logical plausibilities103 -be of no avail in preventing those who have obtained it from being any longer compared to worms, even if they had been so represented before their assumption of a piety so remarkable? Will they who subdue that fierce longing for sexual pleasures which has reduced the souls of many to a weak and feeble condition, and who subdue it because they are persuaded that they cannot otherwise have communion with God, unless they ascend to Him through the exercise of temperance, appear to you to be the brothers of worms, and relatives of ants, and to bear a likeness to frogs? What! is the brilliant quality of justice, which keeps inviolate the rights common to our neighbour, and our kindred, and which observes fairness, and benevolence, and goodness, of no avail in saving him who practises it from being termed a bird of the night? And are not they who wallow in dissoluteness, as do the majority of mankind, and they who associate promiscuously with common harlots, and who teach that such practices are not wholly contrary to propriety, worms who roll in mire?-especially when they are compared with those who have been taught not to take the "members of Christ," and the body inhabited by the Word, and make them the "members of a harlot; "and who have already learned that the body of the rational being, as consecrated to the God of all things, is the temple of the God whom they worship, becoming such from the pure conceptions which they entertain of the Creator, and who also, being careful not to corrupt the temple of God by unlawful pleasure; practise temperance as constituting piety towards

God!

Chapter XXVII. And I have not yet spoken of the other evils which prevail amongst men, from which even those who have the appearance of philosophers are not speedily freed, for in philosophy there are many pretenders. Nor do I say anything on the point that many such evils are found to exist among those who are neither Jews nor Christians. Of a truth, such evil practices do not at all prevail among Christians, if you properly examine what constitutes a Christian. Or, if any persons of that kind should be discovered, they are at least not to be found among those who frequent the assemblies, and come to the public prayers, without their being excluded from them, unless it should happen, and that rarely, that some one individual of such a character escapes notice in the crowd. We, then, are not worms who assemble together; who take our stand against the Jews on those Scriptures which they believe to be divine, and who show that He who was spoken of in prophecy has come, and that they have been abandoned on account of the greatness of their sins, and that we who have accepted the Word have the highest hopes in God, both because of our faith in Him, and of His ability to receive us into His communion pure from all evil and wickedness of life. If a man, then, should call himself a Jew or a Christian, he would not say without qualification that God had made the whole world, and the vault of heaven104 for us in particular. But if a man is, as Jesus taught, pure in heart, and meek, and peaceful, and cheerfully submits to dangers for the sake of his religion, such an one might reasonably have confidence in God, and with a full apprehension of the word contained in the prophecies, might say this also: "All these things has God shown beforehand, and announced to us who believe."

Chapter XXVIII. But since he has represented those whom he regards as worms, viz., the Christians, as saying that "God, having abandoned the heavenly regions, and despising this great earth, takes up His abode amongst us alone, and to us alone makes His announcements, and ceases not His messages and inquiries as to how we may become His associates for ever," we have to answer that he attributes to us words which we never uttered, seeing we both read and know that God loves all existing things, and loathes105 nothing which He has made, for He would not have created anything in hatred. We have, moreover, read the declaration: "And Thou sparest all things, because they ate Thine, O lover of souls. For Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all. And therefore those also who have fallen away for a little time Thou rebukest, and admonishest, reminding them of their sins."106 How can we assert that "God, leaving the regions of heaven, and the whole world, and despising this great earth, takes up His abode amongst us only," when we have found that all thoughtful persons must say in their prayers, that "the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord,"107 and that "the mercy of the Lord is upon all flesh; "108 and that God, being good, "maketh His sun to arise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth His rain upon the just and the unjust; "109 and that He encourages us to a similar course of action, in order that we may become His sons, and teaches us to extend the benefits which we enjoy, so far as in our power, to all men? For He Himself is said to be the Saviour of all men, especially of them that believe;110 and His Christ to be the "propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."111 And this, then, is our answer to the allegations of Celsus. Certain other statements, in keeping with the character of the Jews, might be made by some of that nation, but certainly not by the Christians, who have been taught that "God commendeth His love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us; "112 and although "scarcely for a righteous man will one die, yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die."113 But now is Jesus declared

to have come for the sake of sinners in all parts of the world (that they may forsake their sin, and entrust themselves to God), being called also, agreeably to an ancient custom of these Scriptures, the "Christ of God."

Chapter XXIX. But Celsus perhaps has misunderstood certain of those whom he has termed "worms," when they affirm that "God exists, and that we are next to Him." And he acts like those who would find fault with an entire sect of philosophers, on account of certain words uttered by some rash youth who, after a three days' attendance upon the lectures of a philosopher, should exalt himself above other people as inferior to himself, and devoid of philosophy. For we know that there are many creatures more honourable114 than man; and we have read that "God standeth in the congregation of gods,"115 but of gods who are not worshipped by the nations, "for all the gods of the nations are idols."116 We have read also, that "God, standing in the congregation of the gods, judgeth among the gods."117 We know, moreover, that "though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him."118 And we know that in this way the angels are superior to men; so that men, when made perfect, become like the angels. "For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but the righteous are as the angels in heaven,"119 and also become "equal to the angels."120 We know, too, that in the arrangement of the universe there are certain beings termed "thrones," and others "dominions," and others "powers," and others "principalities; "and we see that we men, who are far inferior to these, may entertain the hope that by a virtuous life, and by acting in all things agreeably to reason, we may rise to a likeness with all these. And, lastly, because "it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that when He shall appear, we shall be like God, and shall see Him as He is."121 And if any one were to maintain what is asserted by some (either by those who possess intelligence or who do not, but have misconceived sound reason), that "God exists, and we are next to Him," I would interpret the word "we," by using in its stead, "We who act according to reason," or rather, "We virtuous, who act according to reason."122 For, in our opinion, the same virtue belongs to all the blessed, so that the virtue of man and of God is identical.123 And therefore we are taught to become "perfect," as our Father in heaven is perfect.124 No good and virtuous man, then, is a "worm rolling in filth," nor is a pious man an "ant," nor a righteous man a "frog; "nor could one whose soul is enlightened with the bright light of truth be reasonably likened to a "bird of the night."

Chapter XXX.

It appears to me that Celsus has also misunderstood this statement, "Let Us make man in Our image and likeness; "125 and has therefore represented the "worms" as saying that, being created by God, we altogether resemble Him. If, however, he had known the difference between man being created "in the image of God" and "after His likeness," and that God is recorded to have said, "Let Us make man after Our image and likeness," but that He made man "after the image" of God, but not then also "after His likeness,"126 he would not have represented us as saying that "we are altogether like Him." Moreover, we do not assert that the stars are subject to us; since the resurrection which is called the "resurrection of the just," and which is understood by wise men, is compared to the sun, and moon, and stars, by him who said, "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead."127 Daniel also prophesied long ago regarding

these things.128 Celsus says further, that we assert that "all things have been arranged so as to be subject to us," having perhaps heard some of the intelligent among us speaking to that effect, and perhaps also not understanding the saying, that "he who is the greatest amongst us is the servant of all."129 And if the Greeks say, "Then sun and moon are the slaves of mortal men,"130 they express approval of the statement, and give an explanation of its meaning; but since such a statement is either not made at all by us, or is expressed in a different way, Celsus here too falsely accuses us. Moreover, we who, according to Celsus, are "worms," are represented by him as saying that, "seeing some among us are guilty of sin, God will come to us, or will send His own Son, that He may consume the wicked, and that we other frogs may enjoy eternal life with Him." Observe how this venerable philosopher, like a low buffoon,131 turns into ridicule and mockery, and a subject of laughter, the announcement of a divine judgment, and of the punishment of the wicked, and of the reward of the righteous; and subjoins to all this the remark, that "such statements would be more endurable if made by worms and flogs than by Christians and Jews who quarrel with one another!" We shall not, however, imitate his example, nor say similar things regarding those philosophers who profess to know the nature of all things, and who discuss with each other the manner in which all things were created, and how the heaven and earth originated, and all things in them; and how the souls (of men), being either unbegotten, and not created by God, are yet governed by Him, and pass from one body to another;132 or being formed at the same time with the body, exist for ever or pass away. For instead of treating with respect and accepting the intention of those who have devoted themselves to the investigation of the truth, one might mockingly and revilingly say that such men were "worms," who did not measure themselves by their comer of their dung-heap in human life, and who accordingly gave forth their opinions on matters of such importance as if they understood them, and who strenuously assert that they have obtained a view of those things which cannot be seen without a higher inspiration and a diviner power. "For no man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him: even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."133 We are not, however, mad, nor do we compare such human wisdom (I use the word "wisdom" in the common acceptation), which busies itself not about the affairs of the multitude, but in the investigation of truth, to the wrigglings of worms or any other such creatures; but in the spirit of truth, we testify of certain Greek philosophers that they knew God, seeing "He manifested Himself to them,"134 although "they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations; and professing themselves to be wise, they became foolish, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."135

Chapter XXXI.

After this, wishing to prove that there is no difference between Jews and Christians, and those animals previously enumerated by him, he asserts that the Jews were "fugitives from Egypt, who never performed anything worthy of note, and never were held in any reputation or account."136 Now, on the point of their not being fugitives, nor Egyptians, but Hebrews who settled in Egypt, we have spoken in the preceding pages. But if he thinks his statement, that "they were never held in any reputation or account," to be proved, because no remarkable event in their history is found recorded by the Greeks, we would answer, that if one will examine their polity from its first beginning, and the arrangement of their laws, he will find that they were men who represented

upon earth the shadow of a heavenly life, and that amongst them God is recognised as nothing else, save He who is over all things, and that amongst them no maker of images was permitted to enjoy the rights of citizenship.137 For neither painter nor image-maker existed in their state, the law expelling all such from it; that there might be no pretext for the construction of images,-an art which attracts the attention of foolish men, and which drags down the eyes of the soul from God to earth.138 There was, accordingly, amongst them a law to the following effect: "Do not transgress the law, and make to yourselves a graven image, any likeness of male or female; either a likeness of any one of the creatures that are upon the earth, or a likeness of any winged fowl that flieth under the heaven, or a likeness of any creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, or a likeness of any of the fishes which are in the waters under the earth."139 The law, indeed, wished them to have regard to the truth of each individual thing, and not to form representations of things contrary to reality, feigning the appearance merely of what was really male or really female, or the nature of animals, or of birds, or of creeping things, or of fishes. Venerable, too, and grand was this prohibition of theirs: "Lift not up thine eyes unto heaven, lest, when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and all the host of heaven, thou shouldst be led astray to worship them, and serve them."140 And what a regime141 was that under which the whole nation was placed, and which rendered it impossible for any effeminate person to appear in public;142 and worthy of admiration, too, was the arrangement by which harlots were removed out of the state, those incentives to the passions of the youth! Their courts of justice also were composed of men of the strictest integrity, who, after having for a lengthened period set the example of an unstained life, were entrusted with the duty of presiding over the tribunals, and who, on account of the superhuman purity of their character,143 were said to be gods, in conformity with an ancient Jewish usage of speech. Here was the spectacle of a whole nation devoted to philosophy; and in order that there might be leisure to listen to their sacred laws, the days termed "Sabbath," and the other festivals which existed among them, were instituted. And why need I speak of the orders of their priests and sacrifices, which contain innumerable indications (of deeper truths) to those who wish to ascertain the signification of things?

Chapter XXXII. But since nothing belonging to human nature is permanent, this polity also must gradually be corrupted and changed. And Providence, having remodelled their venerable system where it needed to be changed, so as to adapt it to men of all countries, gave to believers of all nations, in place of the Jews, the venerable religion of Jesus, who, being adorned not only with understanding, but also with a share of divinity,144 and having overthrown the doctrine regarding earthly demons, who delight in frankincense, and blood, and in the exhalations of sacrificial odours, and who, like the fabled Titans or Giants, drag down men from thoughts of God; and having Himself disregarded their plots, directed chiefly against the better class of men, enacted laws which ensure happiness to those who live according to them, and who do not flatter the demons by means of sacrifices, but altogether despise them, through help of the word of God, which aids those who look upwards to Him. And as it was the will of God that the doctrine of Jesus should prevail amongst men, the demons could effect nothing, although straining every nerve145 to accomplish the destruction of Christians; for they stirred up both princes, and senates, and rulers in every place,-nay, even nations themselves, who did not perceive the irrational and wicked procedure of the demons,-against the word, and those who believed in it; yet, notwithstanding, the word of God, which is more powerful than all other things, even when meeting with opposition, deriving from the opposition, as it were, a means of increase, advanced onwards, and won many

souls, such being the will of God. And we have offered these remarks by way of a necessary digression. For we wished to answer the assertion of Celsus concerning the Jews, that they were "fugitives from Egypt, and that these men, beloved by God, never accomplished anything worthy of note." And further, in answer to the statement that "they were never held in any reputation or account," we say, that living apart as a "chosen nation and a royal priesthood," and shunning intercourse with the many nations around them, in order that their morals might escape corruption, they enjoyed the protection of the divine power, neither coveting like the most of mankind the acquisition of other kingdoms, nor yet being abandoned so as to become, on account of their smallness, an easy object of attack to others, and thus be altogether destroyed; and this lasted so long as they were worthy of the divine protection. But when it became necessary for them, as a nation wholly given to sin, to be brought back by their sufferings to their God, they were abandoned (by Him), sometimes for a longer, sometimes for a shorter period, until in the time of the Romans, having committed the greatest of sins in putting Jesus to death, they were completely deserted.

Chapter XXXIII.

Immediately after this, Celsus, assailing the contents of the first book of Moses, which is entitled "Genesis," asserts that "the Jews accordingly endeavoured to derive their origin from the first race of jugglers and deceivers,146 appealing to the testimony of dark and ambiguous words, whose meaning was veiled in obscurity, and which they misinterpreted147 to the unlearned and ignorant, and that, too, when such a point had never been called in question during the long preceding period." Now Celsus appears to me in these words to have expressed very obscurely the meaning which he intended to convey. It is probable, indeed, that his obscurity on this subject is intentional, inasmuch as he saw the strength of the argument which establishes the descent of the Jews from their ancestors; while again, on the other hand, he wished not to appear ignorant that the question regarding the Jews and their descent was one that could not be lightly disposed of. It is certain, however, that the Jews trace their genealogy back to the three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And the names of these individuals possess such efficacy, when united with the name of God, that not only do those belonging to the nation employ in their prayers to God, and in the exorcising of demons, the words, "God of Abraham,148 and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob," but so also do almost all those who occupy themselves with incantations and magical rites. For there is found in treatises on magic in many countries such an invocation of God, and assumption of the divine name, as implies a familiar use of it by these men in their dealings with demons. These facts, then-adduced by Jews and Christians to prove the sacred character of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, the fathers of the Jewish race-appear to me not to have been altogether unknown to Celsus, but not to have been distinctly set forth by him, because he was unable to answer the argument which might be founded on them.

Chapter XXXIV. For we inquire of all those who employ such invocations of God, saying: Tell us, friends, who was Abraham, and what sort of person was Isaac, and what power did Jacob possess, that the appellation "God," when joined with their name, could effect such wonders? And from whom have you learned, or can you learn, the facts relating to these individuals? And who has occupied himself with writing a history about them, either directly magnifying these men by ascribing to them mysterious powers, or hinting obscurely at their possession of certain great and marvellous qualities, patent to those who are qualified to see them?149 And when, in answer to

our inquiry, no one can show from what history-whether Greek or Barbarian-or, if not a history, yet at least from what mystical narrative,150 the accounts of these men are derived, we shall bring forward the book entitled "Genesis," which contains the acts of these men, and the divine oracles addressed to them, and will say, Does not the use by you of the names of these three ancestors of the race, establishing in the clearest manner that effects not to be lightly regarded are produced by the invocation of them, evidence the divinity of the men?151 And yet we know them from no other source than the sacred books of the Jews! Moreover, the phrases, "the God of Israel," and "the God of the Hebrews," and "the God who drowned in the Red Sea the king of Egypt and the Egyptians," are formulae152 frequently employed against demons and certain wicked powers. And we learn the history of the names and their interpretation from those Hebrews, who in their national literature and national tongue dwell with pride upon these things, and explain their meaning. How, then, should the Jews attempt to derive their origin from the first race of those whom Celsus supposed to be jugglers and deceivers, and shamelessly endeavour to trace themselves and their beginning back to these?-whose names, being Hebrew, are an evidence to the Hebrews, who have their sacred books written in the Hebrew language and letters, that their nation is akin to these men. For up to the present time, the Jewish names belonging to the Hebrew language were either taken from their writings, or generally from words the meaning of which was made known by the Hebrew language.

Chapter XXXV. And let any one who peruses the treatise of Celsus observe whether it does not convey some such insinuation as the above, when he says: "And they attempted to derive their origin from the first race of jugglers and deceivers, appealing to the testimony of dark and ambiguous words, whose meaning was veiled in obscurity." For these names are indeed obscure, and not within the comprehension and knowledge of many, though not in our opinion of doubtful meaning, even although assumed by those who are aliens to our religion; but as, according to Celsus, they do not153 convey any ambiguity, I am at a loss to know why he has rejected them. And yet, if he had wished honestly to overturn the genealogy which he deemed the Jews to have so shamelessly arrogated, in boasting of Abraham and his descendants (as their progenitors), he ought to have quoted all the passages bearing on the subject; and, in the first place, to have advocated his cause with such arguments as he thought likely to be convincing, and in the next to have bravely154 refuted, by means of what appeared to him to be the true meaning, and by arguments in its favour, the errors existing on the subject. But neither Celsus nor any one else will be able, by their discussions regarding the nature of names employed for miraculous purposes, to lay down the correct doctrine regarding them, and to demonstrate that those men were to be lightly esteemed whose names merely, not among their countrymen alone, but also amongst foreigners, could accomplish (such results). He ought to have shown, moreover, how we, in misinterpreting155 the passages in which these names are found, deceive our hearers, as he imagines, while he himself, who boasts that he is not ignorant or unintelligent, gives the true interpretation of them. And he hazarded the assertion,156 in speaking of those names, from which the Jews deduce their genealogies, that "never, during the long antecedent period, has there been any dispute about these names, but that at the present time the Jews dispute about them with certain others," whom he does not mention. Now, let him who chooses show who these are that dispute with the Jews, and who adduce even probable arguments to show that Jews and Christians do not decide correctly on the points relating to these names, but that there are others who have discussed these questions with the greatest learning and accuracy. But we are well

assured that none can establish anything of the sort, it being manifest that these names are derived from the Hebrew language, which is found only among the Jews.

Chapter XXXVI.

Celsus in the next place, producing from history other than that of the divine record, those passages which bear upon the claims to great antiquity put forth by many nations, as the Athenians, and Egyptians, and Arcadians, and Phrygians, who assert that certain individuals have existed among them who sprang from the earth, and who each adduce proOfs of these assertions, says: "The Jews, then, leading a grovelling life157 in some comer of Palestine, and being a wholly uneducated people, who had not heard that these matters had been committed to verse long ago by Hesiod and innumerable other inspired men, wove together some most incredible and insipid stories,158 viz., that a certain man was formed by the hands of God, and had breathed into him the breath of life, and that a woman was taken from his side, and that God issued certain commands, and that a serpent opposed these, and gained a victory over the commandments of God; thus relating certain old wives' fables, and most impiously representing God as weak at the very beginning (of things), and unable to convince even a single human being whom He Himself had formed." By these instances, indeed, this deeply read and learned Celsus, who accuses Jews and Christians of ignorance and want of instruction, clearly evinces the accuracy of his knowledge of the chronology of the respective historians, whether Greek or Barbarian, since he imagines that Hesiod and the "innumerable" others, whom he styles "inspired" men, are older than Moses and his writings-that very Moses who is shown to be much older than the time of the Trojan war! It is not the Jews, then, who have composed incredible and insipid stories regarding the birth of man from the earth, but these "inspired" men of Celsus, Hesiod and his other "innumerable" companions, who, having neither learned nor heard of the far older and most venerable accounts existing in Palestine, have written such histories as their Theogonies, attributing, so far as in their power, "generation" to their deities, and innumerable other absurdities. And these are the writers whom Plato expels from his "State" as being corrupters of the youth,159 -Homer, viz., and those who have composed poems of a similar description! Now it is evident that Plato did not regard as "inspired" those men who had left behind them such works. But perhaps it was from a desire to cast reproach upon us, that this Epicurean Celsus, who is better able to judge than Plato (if it be the same Celsus who composed two other books against the Christians), called those individuals "inspired" whom he did not in reality regard as such.

Chapter XXXVII.

He charges us, moreover, with introducing "a man formed by the hands of God," although the book of Genesis has made no mention of the "hands" of God, either when relating the creation or the "fashioning"160 of the man; white it is Job and David who have used the expression, "Thy hands have made me and fashioned me; "161 with reference to which it would need a lengthened discourse to point out the sense in which these words were understood by those who used them, both as regards the difference between "making" and "fashioning," and also the "hands" of God. For those who do not understand these and similar expressions in the sacred Scriptures, imagine that we attribute to the God who is over all things a form162 such as that of man; and according to their conceptions, it follows that we consider the body of God to be furnished with wings, since the Scriptures, literally understood, attribute such appendages to God. The subject before us,

however, does not require us to interpret these expressions; for, in our explanatory remarks upon the book of Genesis, these matters have been made, to the best of our ability, a special subject of investigation. Observe next the malignity163 of Celsus in what follows. For the Scripture, speaking of the "fashioning"164 of the man, says, "And breathed into his face the breath of life, and the man became a living soul."165 Whereon Celsus, wishing maliciously to ridicule the "inbreathing into his face of the breath of life," and not understanding the sense in which the expression was employed, states that "they composed a story that a man was fashioned by the hands of God, and was inflated by breath blown into him,"166 in order that, taking the word" inflated" to be used in a similar way to the inflation of skins, he might ridicule the statement, "He breathed into his face the breath of life,"-terms which are used figuratively, and require to be explained in order to show that God communicated to man of His incorruptible Spirit; as it is said, "For Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things."167 Chapter XXXVIII. In the next place, as it is his object to slander our Scriptures, he ridicules the following statement: "And God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept: and He took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof. And the rib, which He had taken from the man, made He a woman,"168 and so on; without quoting the words, which would give the hearer the impression that they are spoken with a figurative meaning. He would not even have it appear that the words were used allegorically, although he says afterwards, that "the more modest among Jews and Christians are ashamed of these things, and endeavour to give them somehow an allegorical signification." Now we might say to him, Are the statements of your "inspired" Hesiod, which he makes regarding the woman in the form of a myth, to be explained allegorically, in the sense that she was given by Jove to men as an evil thing, and as a retribution for the theft of "the fire; "169 while that regarding the woman who was taken from the side of the man (after he had been buried in deep slumber), and was formed by God, appears to you to be related without any rational meaning and secret signification?170 But is it not uncandid, not to ridicule the former as myths, but to admire them as philosophical ideas in a mythical dress, and to treat with contempt171 the latter, as offending the understanding, and to declare that they are of no account? For if, because of the mere phraseology, we are to find fault with what is intended to have a secret meaning, see whether the following lines of Hesiod, a man, as you say," inspired," are not better fitted to excite laughter:- "Son of Iapetus!' with wrathful heart Spake the cloud-gatherer: `Oh, unmatched in art!

Exultest thou in this the flame retrieved, And dost thou triumph in the god deceived? But thou, with the posterity of man, Shalt rue the fraud whence mightier ills began;

I will send evil for thy stealthy fire, While all embrace it, and their bane desire.' The sire, who rules the earth, and sways the pole, Had said, and laughter fill'd his secret soul.

He bade the artist-god his best obey, And mould with tempering waters ductile clay:

Infuse, as breathing life and form began, The supple vigour, and the voice of man: Her aspect fair as goddesses above, A virgin's likeness, with the brows of love.

He bade Minerva teach the skill that dyes The web with colours, as the shuttle flies;

He called the magic of Love's Queen to shed A nameless grace around her courteous head;

Instil the wish that longs with restless aim, And cares of dress that feed upon the frame:

Bade Hermes last implant the craft refined Of artful manners, and a shameless mind.

He said; their king th' inferior powers obeyed: The fictile likeness of a bashful maid Rose from the temper'd earth, by Jove's behest, Under the forming god; the zone and vest Were clasp'd and folded by Minerva's hand: The heaven-born graces, and persuasion bland Deck'd her round limbs with chains of gold: the hours Of loose locks twined her temples with spring flowers. The whole attire Minerva's curious care Form'd to her shape, and fitted to her air. But in her breast the herald from above, Full of the counsels of deep thundering Jove, Wrought artful manners, wrought perfidious lies, And speech that thrills the blood, and lulls the wise. Her did th' interpreter of gods proclaim, And named the woman with Pandora's name;

Since all the gods conferr'd their gifts, to charm, For man's inventive race, this beauteous harm."172 Moreover, what is said also about the casket is fitted of itself to excite laughter; for example:- "Whilome on earth the sons of men abode From ills apart, and labour's irksome load, And sore diseases, bringing age to man;

Now the sad life of mortals is a span. The woman's hands a mighty casket bear;

She lifts the lid; she scatters griefs in air:

Alone, beneath the vessel's rims detained, Hope still within th' unbroken cell remained, Nor fled abroad; so will'd cloud-gatherer Jove: The woman's hand had dropp'd the lid above."173

Now, to him who would give to these lines a grave allegorical meaning (whether any such meaning be contained in them or not), we would say: Are the Greeks alone at liberty to convey a philosophic meaning in a secret covering? or perhaps also the Egyptians, and those of the Barbarians who pride themselves upon their mysteries and the truth (which is concealed within them); while the Jews alone, with their lawgiver and historians, appear to you the most unintelligent of men? And is this the only nation which has not received a share of divine power, and which yet was so grandly instructed how to rise upwards to the uncreated nature of God, and to gaze on Him alone, and to expect from Him alone (the fulfilment of) their hopes?

Chapter XXXIX. But as Celsus makes a jest also of the serpent, as counteracting the injunctions given by God to the man, taking the narrative to be an old wife's fable,174 and has purposely neither mentioned the paradise175 of God, nor stated that God is said to have planted it in Eden towards the east, and that there afterwards sprang up from the earth every tree that was beautiful to the sight, and good for food, and the tree of life in the midst of the paradise, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and the other statements which follow, which might of themselves lead a candid reader to see that all these things had not inappropriately an allegorical meaning, let us contrast with this the words of Socrates regarding Eros in the Symposium of Plato, and which are put in the mouth of Socrates as being more appropriate than what was said regarding him by all the others at the Symposium. The words of Plato are as follow: "When Aphrodite was born, the gods held a banquet, and there was present, along with the others, Porus the son of Metis. And after they had dined, Penia176 came to beg for something (seeing there was an entertainment), and she stood at the gate. Porus meantime, having become intoxicated with the nectar (for there was then no wine), went into the garden of Zeus, and, being heavy with liquor, lay down to sleep. Penia accordingly formed a secret plot, with a view of freeing herself from her condition of poverty,177 to get a child by Porus, and accordingly lay down beside him, and became pregnant

with Eros. And on this account Eros has become the follower and attendant of Aphrodite, having been begotten on her birthday feast,178 and being at the same time by nature a lover of the beautiful, because Aphrodite too is beautiful. Seeing, then, that Eros is the son of Porus and Penia, the following is his condition.179 In the first place, he is always poor, and far from being delicate and beautiful, as most persons imagine; but is withered, and sunburnt,180 and unshod, and without a home, sleeping always upon the ground, and without a covering; lying in the open air beside gates, and on public roads; possessing the nature of his mother, and dwelling continually with indigence.181 But, on the other hand, in conformity with the character of his father, he is given to plotting against the beautiful and the good, being courageous, and hasty, and vehement;182 a keen183 hunter, perpetually devising contrivances; both much given to forethought, and also fertile in resources;184 acting like a philosopher throughout the whole of his life; a terrible185 sorcerer, and dealer in drugs, and a sophist as well; neither immortal by nature nor yet mortal, but on the same day, at one time he flourishes and lives when he has plenty, and again at another time dies, and once more is recalled to life through possessing the nature of his father. But the supplies furnished to him are always gradually disappearing, so that he is never at any time in want, nor yet rich; and, on the other hand, he occupies an intermediate position between wisdom and ignorance."186 Now, if those who read these words were to imitate the malignity of Celsus-which be it far from Christians to do!-they would ridicule the myth, and would turn this great Plato into a subject of jest; but if, on investigating in a philosophic spirit what is conveyed in the dress of a myth, they should be able to discover the meaning of Plato, (they will admire)187 the manner in which he was able to conceal, on account of the multitude, in the form of this myth, the great ideas which presented themselves to him, and to speak in a befitting manner to those who know how to ascertain from the myths the true meaning of him who wove them together. Now I have brought forward this myth occurring in the writings of Plato, because of the mention in it of the garden of Zeus, which appears to bear some resemblance to the paradise of God, and of the comparison between Penia and the serpent, and the plot against Porus by Penia, which may be compared with the plot of the serpent against the man. It is not very clear, indeed, whether Plato fell in with these stories by chance, or whether, as some think, meeting during his visit to Egypt with certain individuals who philosophized on the Jewish mysteries, and learning some things from them, he may have preserved a few of their ideas, and thrown others aside, being careful not to offend the Greeks by a complete adoption of all the points of the philosophy of the Jews, who were in bad repute with the multitude, on account of the foreign character of their laws and their peculiar polity. The present, however, is not the proper time for explaining either the myth of Plato, or the story of the serpent and the paradise of God, and all that is related to have taken place in it, as in our exposition of the book of Genesis we have especially occupied ourselves as we best could with these matters.

Chapter XL. But as he asserts that "the Mosaic narrative most impiously represents God as in a state of weakness from the very commencement (of things), and as unable to gain over (to obedience) even one single man whom He Himself had formed," we say in answer that the objection188 is much the same as if one were to find fault with the existence of evil, which God has not been able to prevent even in the case of a single individual, so that one man might be found from the very beginning of things who was born into the world untainted by sin. For as those whose business it is to defend the doctrine of providence do so by means of arguments which are not to be despised,189 so also the subjects of Adam and his son will be philosophically dealt with

by those who are aware that in the Hebrew language Adam signifies man; and that in those parts of the narrative which appear to refer to Adam as an individual, Moses is discoursing upon the nature of man in general.190 For "in Adam" (as the Scripture191 says) "all die," and were condemned in the likeness of Adam's transgression, the word of God asserting this not so much of one particular individual as of the whole human race. For in the connected series of statements which appears to apply as to one particular individual, the curse pronounced upon Adam is regarded as common to all (the members of the race), and what was spoken with reference to the woman is spoken of every woman without exception.192 And the expulsion of the man and woman from paradise, and their being clothed with tunics of skins (which God, because of the transgression of men, made for those who had sinned), contain a certain secret and mystical doctrine (far transcending that of Plato) of the souls losing its wings,193 and being borne downwards to earth, until it can lay hold of some stable resting-place.

Chapter XLI.

After this he continues as follows: "They speak, in the next place, of a deluge, and of a monstrous194 ark, having within it all things, and of a dove and a crow195 as messengers, falsifying and recklessly altering196 the story of Deucalion; not expecting, I suppose, that these things would come to light, but imagining that they were inventing stories merely for young children." Now in these remarks observe the hostility-so unbecoming a philosopher-displayed by this man towards this very ancient Jewish narrative. For, not being able to say anything against the history of the deluge, and not perceiving what he might have urged against the ark and its dimensions,-viz., that, according to the general opinion, which accepted the statements that it was three hundred cubits in length, and fifty in breadth, and thirty in height, it was impossible to maintain that it contained (all) the animals that were upon the earth, fourteen specimens of every clean and four of every unclean beast,-he merely termed it "monstrous, containing all things within it." Now wherein was its "monstrous" character, seeing it is related to have been a hundred years in building, and to have had the three hundred cubits of its length and the fifty of its breadth contracted, until the thirty cubits of its height terminated in a top one cubit long and one cubit broad? Why should we not rather admire a structure which resembled an extensive city, if its measurements be taken to mean what they are capable of meaning,197 so that it was nine myriads of cubits long in the base, and two thousand five hundred in breadth?198 And why should we not admire the design evinced in having it so compactly built, and rendered capable of sustaining a tempest which caused a deluge? For it was not daubed with pitch, or any material of that kind, but was securely coated with bitumen. And is it not a subject of admiration, that by the providential arrangement of God, the elements of all the races were brought into it, that the earth might receive again the seeds of all living things, while God made use of a most righteous man to be the progenitor of those who were to be born after the deluge?

Chapter XLII. In order to show that he had read the book of Genesis, Celsus rejects the story of the dove, although unable to adduce any reason which might prove it to be a fiction. In the next place, as his habit is, in order to put the narrative in a more ridiculous light, he converts the "raven" into a "crow," and imagines that Moses so wrote, having recklessly altered the accounts related of the Grecian Deucalion; unless perhaps he regards the narrative as not having proceeded from Moses, but from several individuals, as appears from his employing the plural number in the expressions, "falsifying and recklessly altering the story of Deucalion,"199 as well as from the

words, "For they did not expect, I suppose, that these things would come to light." But how should they, who gave their Scriptures to the whole nation, not expect that they would come to light, and who predicted, moreover, that this religion should be proclaimed to all nations? Jesus declared, "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof; "200 and in uttering these words to the Jews, what other meaning did He intend to convey than this, viz., that He Himself should, through his divine power, bring forth into light the whole of the Jewish Scriptures, which contain the mysteries of the kingdom of God? If, then, they peruse the Theogonies of the Greeks, and the stories about the twelve gods, they impart to them an air of dignity, by investing them with an allegorical signification; but when they wish to throw contempt upon our biblical narratives, they assert that they are fables, clumsily invented for infant children!

Chapter XLIII.

"Altogether absurd, and out of season,"201 he continues, "is the (account of the) begetting of children," where, although he has mentioned no names, it is evident that he is referring to the history of Abraham and Sarah. Cavilling also at the "conspiracies of the brothers," he allies either to the story of Cain plotting against Abel,202 or, in addition, to that of Esau against Jacob;203 and (speaking) of "a father's sorrow," he probably refers to that of Isaac on account of the absence of Jacob, and perhaps also to that of Jacob because of Joseph having been sold into Egypt. And when relating the "crafty procedure of mothers," I suppose he means the conduct of Rebecca, who contrived that the blessing of Isaac should descend, not upon Esau, but upon Jacob. Now if we assert that in all these cases God interposed in a very marked degree,204 what absurdity do we commit, seeing we are persuaded that He never withdraws His providence205 from those who devote themselves to Him in an honourable and vigorous206 life? He ridicules, moreover, the acquisition of property made by Jacob while living with Laban, not understanding to what these words refer: "And those which had no spots were Laban's, and those which were spotted were Jacob's; "207 and he says that "God presented his sons with asses, and sheep, and camels,"208 and did not see that "all these things happened unto them for ensamples, and were written for our sake, upon whom the ends of the world are come."209 The varying customs (prevailing among the different nations) becoming famous,210 are regulated by the word of God, being given as a possession to him who is figuratively termed Jacob. For those who become converts to Christ from among the heathen, are indicated by the history of Laban and Jacob.

Chapter XLIV. And erring widely from the meaning of Scripture, he says that "God gave wells211 also to the righteous." Now he did not observe that the righteous do not construct cisterns,212 but dig wells, seeking to discover the inherent ground and source of potable blessings,213 inasmuch as they receive in a figurative sense the commandment which enjoins, "Drink waters from your own vessels, and from your own wells of fresh water. Let not your water be poured out beyond your own fountain, but let it pass into your own streets. Let it belong to you alone, and let no alien partake with thee."214 Scripture frequently makes use of the histories of real events, in order to present to view more important truths, which are but obscurely intimated; and of this kind are the narratives relating to the "wells," and to the "marriages," and to the various acts of "sexual intercourse" recorded of righteous persons, respecting which, however, it will be more seasonable to offer an explanation in the exegetical writings referring to those very passages. But that wells were constructed by righteous men in the land of the Philistines, as related in the book of Genesis,215 is manifest from the wonderful wells which are shown at Ascalon, and which are

deserving of mention on account of their structure, so foreign and peculiar compared with that of other wells. Moreover, that both young women216 and female servants are to be understood metaphorically, is not our doctrine merely, but one which we have received from the beginning from wise men, among whom a certain one said, when exhorting his hearers to investigate the figurative meaning: "Tell me, ye that read the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written that Abraham had two sons; the one by a bond maid, the other by a free woman. But he who was of the bond woman was born after the flesh; but he of the free woman was by promise. Which things are an allegory: for these are the two covenants; the one from the Mount Sinai, which gendereth to bondage, which is Agar."217 And a little after, "But Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all." And any one who will take up the Epistle to the Galatians may learn how the passages relating to the "marriages," and the intercourse with "the maid-servants," have been allegorized; the Scripture desiring us to imitate not the literal acts of those who did these things, but (as the apostles of Jesus are accustomed to call them) the spiritual.

Chapter XLV. And whereas Celsus ought to have recognised the love of truth displayed by the writers of sacred Scripture, who have not concealed even what is to their discredit,218 and thus been led to accept the other and more marvellous accounts as true, he has done the reverse, and has characterized the story of Lot and his daughters (without examining either its literal or its figurative meaning) as "worse than the crimes of Thyestes." The figurative signification of that passage of history it is not necessary at present to explain, nor what is meant by Sodom, and by the words of the angels to him who was escaping thence, when they said: "Look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the surrounding district; escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed; "219 nor what is intended by Lot and his wife, who became a pillar of salt because she turned back; nor by his daughters intoxicating their father, that they might become mothers by him. But let us in a few words soften down the repulsive features of the history. The nature of actions-good, bad, and indifferent-has been investigated by the Greeks; and the more successful of such investigators220 lay down the principle that intention alone gives to actions the character of good or bad, and that all things which are done without a purpose are, strictly speaking, indifferent; that when the intention is directed to a becoming end, it is praiseworthy; when the reverse, it is censurable. They have said, accordingly, in the section relating to" things indifferent," that, strictly speaking, for a man to have sexual intercourse with his daughters is a thing indifferent, although such a thing ought not to take place in established communities. And for the sake of hypothesis, in order to show that such an act belongs to the class of things indifferent, they have assumed the case of a wise man being left with an only daughter, the entire human race besides having perished; and they put the question whether the father can fitly have intercourse with his daughter, in order, agreeably to the supposition, to prevent the extermination of mankind. Is this to be accounted sound reasoning among the Greeks, and to be commended by the influential221 sect of the Stoics; but when young maidens, who had heard of the burning of the world, though without comprehending (its full meaning), saw fire devastating their city and country, and supposing that the only means left of rekindling the flame222 of human life lay in their father and themselves, should, on such a supposition, conceive the desire that the world should continue, shall their conduct be deemed worse than that of the wise man who, according to the hypothesis of the Stoics, acts becomingly in having intercourse with his daughter in the case already supposed, of all men having been destroyed? I am not unaware, however, that some have taken offence at the desire223 of Lot's daughters, and have regarded their conduct as very wicked; and have said that

two accursed nations-Moab and Ammon-have sprung from that unhallowed intercourse. And yet truly sacred Scripture is nowhere found distinctly approving of their conduct as good, nor yet passing sentence upon it as blameworthy. Nevertheless, whatever be the real state of the case, it admits not only of a figurative meaning, but also of being defended on its own merits.224

Chapter XLVI.

Celsus, moreover, sneers at the "hatred" of Esau (to which, I suppose, he refers) against Jacob, although he was a man who, according to the Scriptures, is acknowledged to have been wicked; and not clearly stating the story of Simeon and Levi, who sallied out (on the Shechemites) on account of the insult offered to their sister, who had been violated by the son of the Shechemite king, he inveighs against their conduct. And passing on, he speaks of" brothers selling (one another)," alluding to the sons of Jacob; and of "a brother sold," Joseph to wit; and of "a father deceived," viz., Jacob, because he entertained no suspicion of his sons when they showed him Joseph's coat of many colours, but believed their statement, and mourned for his son, who was a slave in Egypt, as if he were dead. And observe in what a spirit of hatred and falsehood Celsus collects together the statements of the sacred history; so that wherever it appeared to him to contain a ground of accusation he produces the passage, but wherever there is any exhibition of virtue worthy of mention- as when Joseph would not gratify the lust of his mistress, refusing alike her allurements and her threats-he does not even mention the circumstance! He should see, indeed, that the conduct of Joseph was far superior to what is related of Bellerophon,225 since the former chose rather to be shut up in prison than do violence to his virtue. For although he might have offered a just defence against his accuser, he magnanimously remained silent, entrusting his cause to God.

Chapter XLVII.

Celsus next, for form's sake,226 and with great want of precision, speaks of "the dreams of the chief butler and chief baker, and of Pharaoh, and of the explanation of them, in consequence of which Joseph was taken out of prison in order to be entrusted by Pharaoh with the second place in Egypt." What absurdity, then, did the history contain, looked at even in itself, that it should be adduced as matter of accusation by this Celsus, who gave the title of True Discourse to a treatise not containing doctrines, but full of charges against Jews and Christians? He adds: "He who had been sold behaved kindly to his brethren (who had sold him), when they were suffering from hunger, and had been sent with their asses to purchase (provisions); "although he has not related these occurrences (in his treatise). But he does mention the circumstance of Joseph making himself known to his brethren, although I know not with what view, or what absurdity he can point out in such an occurrence; since it is impossible for Momus himself, we might say, to find any reasonable fault with events which, apart from their figurative meaning, present so much that is attractive. He relates, further, that "Joseph, who had been sold as a slave, was restored to liberty, and went up with a solemn procession to his father's funeral," and thinks that the narrative furnishes matter of accusation against us, as he makes the following remark: "By whom (Joseph, namely) the illustrious and divine nation of the Jews, after growing up in Egypt to be a multitude of people, was commanded to sojourn somewhere beyond the limits of the kingdom, and to pasture their flocks in districts of no repute." Now the words, "that they were commanded to pasture their flocks in districts of no repute," are an addition, proceeding from his own feelings of hatred; for he

has not shown that Goshen, the district of Egypt, is a place of no repute. The exodus of the people from Egypt he calls a flight, not at all remembering what is written in the book of Exodus regarding the departure of the Hebrews from the land of Egypt. We have enumerated these instances to show that what, literally considered, might appear to furnish ground of accusation, Celsus has not succeeded in proving to be either objectionable or foolish, having utterly failed to establish the evil character, as he regards it, of our Scriptures.

Chapter XLVIII. In the next place, as if he had devoted himself solely to the manifestation of his hatred and dislike of the Jewish and Christian doctrine, he says: "The more modest of Jewish and Christian writers give all these things an allegorical meaning; "and, "Because they are ashamed of these things, they take refuge in allegory." Now one might say to him, that if we must admit fables and fictions, whether written with a concealed meaning or with any other object, to be shameful narratives when taken in their literal acceptation,227 of what histories can this be said more truly than of the Grecian? In these histories, gods who are sons castrate the gods who are their fathers, and gods who are parents devour their own children, and a goddess-mother gives to the "father of gods and men" a stone to swallow instead of his own son, and a father has intercourse with his daughter, and a wife binds her own husband, having as her allies in the work the brother of the fettered god and his own daughter! But why should I enumerate these absurd stories of the Greeks regarding their gods, which are most shameful in themselves, even though invested with an allegorical meaning? (Take the instance) where Chrysippus of Soli, who is considered to be an ornament of the Stoic sect, on account of his numerous and learned treatises, explains a picture at Samos, in which Juno was represented as committing unspeakable abominations with Jupiter. This reverend philosopher says in his treatises, that matter receives the spermatic words228 of the god, and retains them within herself, in order to ornament the universe. For in the picture at Samos Juno represents matter, and Jupiter god. Now it is on account of these, and of countless other similar fables, that we would not even in word call the God of all things Jupiter, or the sun Apollo, or the moon Diana. But we offer to the Creator a worship which is pure, and speak with religious respect of His noble works of creation, not contaminating even in word the things of God; approving of the language of Plato in the Philebus, who would not admit that pleasure was a goddess, "so great is my reverence, Protarchus," he says, "for the very names of the gods." We verily entertain such reverence for the name of God, and for His noble works of creation, that we would not, even under pretext of an allegorical meaning, admit any fable which might do injury to the young.

Chapter XLIX.

If Celsus had read the Scriptures in an impartial spirit, he would not have said that "our writings are incapable of admitting an allegorical meaning." For from the prophetic Scriptures, in which historical events are recorded (not from the historical), it is possible to be convinced that the historical portions also were written with an allegorical purpose, and were most skilfully adapted not only to the multitude of the simpler believers, but also to the few who are able or willing to investigate matters in an intelligent spirit. If, indeed, those writers at the present day who are deemed by Celsus the "more modest of the Jews and Christians" were the (first) allegorical interpreters of our Scriptures, he would have the appearance, perhaps, of making a plausible allegation. But since the very fathers and authors of the doctrines themselves give them an allegorical signification, what other inference can be drawn than that they were composed so as to

be allegorically understood in their chief signification?229 And we shall adduce a few instances out of very many to show that Celsus brings an empty charge against the Scriptures, when he says "that they are incapable of admitting an allegorical meaning." Paul, the apostle of Jesus, says: "It is written in the law, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? or saith He it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written, that he that plougheth should plough in hope, and he that thresheth in hope of partaking."230 And in another passage the same Paul says: "For it is written, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall be joined to his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery; but I speak concerning Christ and the Church."231 And again, in another place: "We know that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea."232 Then, explaining the history relating to the manna, and that referring to the miraculous issue of the water from the rock, he continues as follows: "And they did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink. For they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ."233 Asaph, moreover, who, in showing the histories in Exodus and Numbers to be full of difficulties and parables,234 begins in the following manner, as recorded in the book of Psalms, where he is about to make mention of these things: "Give ear, O my people, to my law: incline your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth in parables; I will utter dark sayings of old, which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us."235

Chapter L

Moreover, if the law of Moses had contained nothing which was to be understood as hating a secret meaning, the prophet would not have said in his prayer to God, "Open Thou mine eyes, and I will behold wondrous things out of Thy law; "236 whereas he knew that there was a veil of ignorance lying upon the heart of those who read but do not understand the figurative meaning, which veil is taken away by the gift of God, when He hears him who has done all that he can,237 and who by reason of habit has his senses exercised to distinguish between good and evil, and who continually utters the prayer, "Open Thou mine eyes, and I will behold wondrous things out of Thy law." And who is there that, on reading of the dragon that lives in the Egyptian river,238 and of the fishes which lurk in his scales, or of the excrement of Pharaoh which fills the mountains of Egypt,239 is not led at once to inquire who he is that fills the Egyptian mountains with his stinking excrement, and what the Egyptian mountains are; and what the rivers in Egypt are, of which the aforesaid Pharaoh boastfully says, "The rivers are mine, and I have made them; "240 and who the dragon is, and the fishes in its scales,-and this so as to harmonize with the interpretation to be given of the rivers? But why establish at greater length what needs no demonstration? For to these things applies the saying: "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? or who is prudent, and he shall know them? "241 Now I have gone at some length into the subject, because I wished to show the unsoundness of the assertion of Celsus, that "the more modest among the Jews and Christians endeavour somehow to give these stories an allegorical signification, although some of them do not admit of this, but on the contrary are exceedingly silly inventions." Much rather are the stories of the Greeks not only very silly, but very impious inventions. For our narratives keep expressly in view the multitude of simpler believers, which was not done by those who invented the Grecian fables. And therefore not without propriety does Plato expel from his state all fables and poems of such a nature as those of which we have been speaking.

Chapter LI.

Celsus appears to me to have heard that there are treatises in existence which contain allegorical explanations of the law of Moses. These however, he could not have read; for if he had he would not have said: "The allegorical explanations, however, which have been devised are much more shameful and absurd than the fables themselves, inasmuch as they endeavour to unite with marvellous and altogether insensate folly things which cannot at all be made to harmonize." He seems to refer in these words to the works of Philo, or to those of still older writers, such as Aristobulus. But I conjecture that Celsus has not read their books, since it appears to me that in many passages they have so successfully hit the meaning (of the sacred writers), that even Grecian philosophers would have been captivated by their explanations; for in their writings we find not only a polished style, but exquisite thoughts and doctrines, and a rational use of what Celsus imagines to be fables in the sacred writings. I know, moreover, that Numenius the Pythagorean-a surpassingly excellent expounder of Plato, and who held a foremost place as a teacher of the doctrines of Pythagoras-in many of his works quotes from the writings of Moses and the prophets, and applies to the passages in question a not improbable allegorical meaning, as in his work called Epops, and in those which treat of "Numbers" and of "Place." And in the third book of his dissertation on The Good, he quotes also a narrative regarding Jesus-without, however, mentioning His name-and gives it an allegorical signification, whether successfully or the reverse I may state on another occasion. He relates also the account respecting Moses, and Jannes, and Jambres.242 But we are not elated on account of this instance, though we express our approval of Numenius, rather than of Celsus and other Greeks, because he was willing to investigate our histories from a desire to acquire knowledge, and was (duly) affected by them as narratives which were to be allegorically understood, and which did not belong to the category of foolish compositions.

Chapter LII.

After this, selecting from all the treatises which contain allegorical explanations and interpretations, expressed in a language and style not to be despised, the least important,243 such as might contribute, indeed, to strengthen the faith of the multitude of simple believers, but were not adapted to impress those of more intelligent mind, he continues: "Of such a nature do I know the work to be, entitled Controversy between one Papiscus and Jason, which is fitted to excite pity and hatred instead of laughter. It is not my purpose, however, to confute the statements contained in such works; for their fallacy is manifest to all, especially if any one will have the patience to read the books themselves. Rather do I wish to show that Nature teaches this, that God made nothing that is mortal, but that His works, whatever they are, are immortal, and theirs mortal. And the soul244 is the work of God, while the nature of the body is different. And in this respect there is no difference between the body of a bat, or of a worm, or of a frog, and that of a man; for the matter245 is the same, and their corruptible part is alike." Nevertheless I could wish that every one who heard Celsus declaiming and asserting that the treatise entitled Controversy between Jason and Papiscus regarding Christ was fitted to excite not laughter, but hatred, could fake the work into his hands, and patiently listen to its contents; that, finding in it nothing to excite hatred, he might condemn Celsus out of the book itself. For if it be impartially perused, it will be found that there is nothing to excite even laughter in a work in which a Christian is described as conversing with a Jew on the subject of the Jewish Scriptures, and proving that the predictions regarding Christ fitly

apply to Jesus; although the other disputant maintains the discussion in no ignoble style, and in a manner not unbecoming the character of a Jew.

Chapter LIII.

I do not know, indeed, how he could conjoin things that do not admit of union, and which cannot exist together at the same time in human nature, in saying, as he did, that "the above treatise deserved to be treated both with pity and hatred." For every one will admit that he who is the object of pity is not at the same moment an object of hatred, and that he who is the object of hatred is not at the same time a subject of pity. Celsus, moreover, says that it was not his purpose to refute such statements, because he thinks that their absurdity is evident to all, and that, even before offering any logical refutation, they will appear to be bad, and to merit both pity and hatred. But we invite him who peruses this reply of ours to the charges of Celsus to have patience, and to listen to our sacred writings themselves, and, as far as possible, to form an opinion from their contents of the purpose of the writers, and of their consciences and disposition of mind; for he will discover that they are men who strenuously contend for what they uphold, and that some of them show that the history which they narrate is one which they have both seen and experienced,246 which was miraculous, and worthy of being recorded for the advantage of their future hearers. Will any one indeed venture to say that it is not the source and fountain of all blessing247 (to men) to believe in the God of all things, and to perform all our actions with the view of pleasing Him in everything whatever, and not to entertain even a thought unpleasing to Him, seeing that not only our words and deeds, but our very thoughts, will be the subject of future judgment? And what other arguments would more effectually lead human nature to adopt a virtuous life, than the belief or opinion that the supreme God beholds all things, not only what is said and done, but even what is thought by us? And let any one who likes compare any other system which at the same time converts and ameliorates, not merely one or two individuals, but, as far as in it lies, countless numbers, that by the comparison of both methods he may form a correct idea of the arguments which dispose to a virtuous life.

Chapter LIV. But as in the words which I quoted from Celsus, which are a paraphrase from the Timaeus, certain expressions occur, such as, "God made nothing mortal, but immortal things alone, while mortal things are the works of others, and the soul is a work of God, but the nature of the body is different, and there is no difference between the body of a man and that of a bat, or of a worm, or of a frog; for the matter is the same, and their corruptible part alike,"-let us discuss these points for a little; and let us show that Celsus either does not disclose his Epicurean opinions, or, as might be said by one person, has exchanged them for better, or, as another might say, has nothing in common save the name, with Celsus, the Epicurean. For he ought, in giving expression to such opinions, and in proposing to contradict not only us, but the by no means obscure sect of philosophers who are the adherents of Zeno of Citium, to have proved that the bodies of animals are not the work of God, and that the great skill displayed in their construction did not proceed from the highest intelligence. And he ought also, with regard to the countless diversities of plants, which are regulated by an inherent, incomprehensible nature,248 and which have been created for the by no means despicable249 use of man in general, and of the animals which minister to man, whatever other reasons may be adduced for their existence,250 not only to have stated his opinion, but also to have shown us that it was no perfect intelligence which impressed these qualities upon the matter of plants. And when he had once represented (various)

divinities as the creators of all the bodies, the soul alone being the work of God, why did not he, who separated these great acts of creation, and apportioned them among a plurality of creators, next demonstrate by some convincing reason the existence of these diversities among divinities, some of which construct the bodies of men, and others-those, say, of beasts of burden, and others-those of wild animals? And he who saw that some divinities were the creators of dragons, and of asps, and of basilisks, and others of each plant and herb according to its species, ought to have explained the causes of these diversities. For probably, had he given himself carefully to the investigation of each particular point, he would either have observed that it was one God who was the creator of all, and who made each thing with a certain object and for a certain reason; or if he had failed to observe this, he would have discovered the answer which he ought to return to those who assert that corruptibility is a thing indifferent in its nature; and that there was no absurdity in a world which consists of diverse materials, being formed by one architect, who constructed the different kinds of things so as to secure the good of the whole. Or, finally, he ought to have expressed no opinion at all on so important a doctrine, since he did not intend to prove what he professed to demonstrate; unless, indeed, he who censures others for professing a simple faith, would have us to believe his mere assertions, although he gave out that he would not merely assert, but would prove his assertions.

Chapter LV. But I maintain that, if he had the patience (to use his own expression) to listen to the writings of Moses and the prophets, he would have had his attention arrested by the circumstance that the expression "God made" is applied to heaven and earth, and to what is called the firmament, and also to the lights and stars; and after these, to the great fishes, and to every living thing among creeping animals which the waters brought forth after their kinds, and to every fowl of heaven after its kind; and after these, to the wild beasts of the earth after their kind, and the beasts after their kind, and to every creeping thing upon the earth after its kind; and last of all to man. The expression "made," however, is not applied to other things; but it is deemed sufficient to say regarding light, "And it was light; "and regarding the one gathering together of all the waters that are under the whole heaven, "It was so." And in like manner also, with regard to what grew upon the earth, where it is said, "The earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after its kind and after its likeness, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit, whose seed is in itself, after its kind, upon the earth." He would have inquired, moreover, whether the recorded commands of God respecting the coming into existence of each part of the world were addressed to one thing or to several;251 and he would not lightly have charged with being unintelligible, and as having no secret meaning, the accounts related in these books, either by Moses, or, as we would say, by the Divine Spirit speaking in Moses, from whom also he derived the power of prophesying; since he "knew both the present, and the future, and the past," in a higher degree than those priests who are alleged by the poets to have possessed a knowledge of these things.

Chapter LVI.

Moreover, since Celsus asserts that "the soul is the work of God, but that the nature of body is different; and that in this respect there is no difference between the body of a bat, or of a worm, or of a frog, and that of a man, for the matter is the same, and their corruptible part alike,"-we have to say in answer to this argument of his, that if, since the same matter underlies the body of a bat, or of a worm, or of a frog, or of a man, these bodies will differ in no respect from one another, it is evident then that these bodies also will differ in no respect from the sun, or the moon, or the stars,

or the sky, or any other thing which is called by the Greeks a god, cognisable by the senses.252 For the same matter, underlying all bodies, is, properly speaking, without qualities and without form, and derives its qualities from some (other) source, I know not whence, since Celsus will have it that nothing corruptible can be the work of God. Now the corruptible part of everything whatever, being produced from the same underlying matter, must necessarily be the same, by Celsus' own showing; unless, indeed, finding himself here hard pressed, he should desert Plato, who makes the soul arise from a certain bowl,253 and take refuge with Aristotle and the Peripatetics, who maintain that the ether is immaterial,254 and consists of a fifth nature, separate from the other four elements,255 against which view both the Platonists and the Stoics have nobly protested. And we too, who are despised by Celsus, will contravene it, seeing we are required to explain and maintain the following statement of the prophet: The heavens shall perish, but Thou remainest: and they all shall wax old as a garment; and as a vesture shall Thou fold them up, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same."256 These remarks, however, are sufficient in reply to Celsus, when he asserts that "the soul is the work of God, but that the nature of body is different; "for from his argument it follows that there is no difference between the body of a bat, or of a worm, or of a frog, and that of a heavenly257 being.

Chapter LVII.

See, then, whether we ought to yield to one who, holding such opinions, calumniates the Christians, and thus abandon a doctrine which explains the difference existing among bodies as due to the different qualities, internal and external, which are implanted in them. For we, too, know that there are "bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial; "and that "the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial another; "and that even the glory of the celestial bodies is not alike: for "one is the glory of the sun, and another the glory of the stars; "and among the stars themselves, "one star differeth from another star in glory."258 And therefore, as those who expect the resurrection of the dead, we assert that the qualities which are in bodies undergo change: since some bodies, which are sown in corruption, are raised in incorruption; and others, sown in dishonour, are raised in glory; and others, again, sown in weakness, are raised in power; and those which are sown natural bodies, are raised as spiritual.259 That the matter which underlies bodies is capable of receiving those qualities which the Creator pleases to bestow, is a point which all of us who accept the doctrine of providence firmly hold; so that, if God so willed, one quality is at the present time implanted in this portion of matter, and afterwards another of a different and better kind. But since there are, from the beginning of the world, laws260 established for the purpose of regulating the changes of bodies, and which will continue while the world lasts, I do not know whether, when a new and different order of things has succeeded261 after the destruction of the world, and what our Scriptures call the end262 (of the ages), it is not wonderful that at the present time a snake should be formed out of a dead man, growing, as the multitude affirm, out of the marrow of the back,263 and that a bee should spring from an ox, and a wasp from a horse, and a beetle from an ass, and, generally, worms from the most of bodies, Celsus, indeed, thinks that this can be shown to be the consequence of none of these bodies being the work of God, and that qualities (I know not whence it was so arranged that one should spring out of another) are not the work of a divine intelligence, producing the changes which occur in the qualities of matter.

Chapter LVIII. But we have something more to say to Celsus, when he declares that "the soul is the work of God, and that the nature of body is different," and puts forward such an opinion not

only without proof, but even without clearly defining his meaning; for he did not make it evident whether he meant that every soul is the work of God, or only the rational soul. This, then, is what we have to say: If every soul is the work of God, it is manifest that those of the meanest irrational animals are God's work, so that the nature of all bodies is different from that of the soul. He appears, however, in what follows, where he says that "irrational animals are more beloved by God than we, and have a purer knowledge of divinity," to maintain that not only is the soul of man, but in a much greater degree that of irrational animals, the work of God; for this follows from their being said to be more beloved by God than we. Now if the rational soul alone be the work of God, then, in the first place, he did not clearly indicate that such was his opinion; and in the second place, this deduction follows from his indefinite language regarding the soul-viz., whether not every one, but only the rational, is the work of God-that neither is the nature of all bodies different (from the soul). But if the nature of all bodies be not different, although the body of each animal correspond to its soul, it is evident that the body of that animal whose soul was the work of God, would differ from the body of that animal in which dwells a soul which was not the work of God. And so the assertion will be false, that there is no difference between the body of a bat, or of a worm, or of a frog, and that of a man.

Chapter LIX. For it would, indeed, be absurd that certain stones and buildings should be regarded as more sacred or more profane than others, according as they were constructed for the honour of God, or for the reception of dishonourable and accursed persons;264 while bodies should not differ from bodies, according as they are inhabited by rational or irrational beings, and according as these rational beings are the most virtuous or most worthless of mankind. Such a principle of distinction, indeed, has led some to deify the bodies of distinguished men,265 as having received a virtuous soul, and to reject and treat with dishonour those of very wicked individuals. I do not maintain that such a principle has been always soundly exercised, but that it had its origin in a correct idea. Would a wise man, indeed, after the death of Anytus and Socrates, think of burying the bodies of both with like honours? And would he raise the same mound or tomb to the memory of both? These instances we have adduced because of the language of Celsus, that "none of these is the work of God" (where the words "of these" refer to the body of a man or to the snakes which come out of the body and to that of an ox, or of the bees which come from the body of an ox; and to that of a horse or of an ass, and to the wasps which come from a horse, and the beetles which proceed from an ass); for which reason we have been obliged to return to the consideration of his statement, that "the soul is the work of God, but that the nature of body is different."

Chapter LX.

He next proceeds to say, that "a common nature pervades all the previously mentioned bodies, and one which goes and returns the same amid recurring changes."266 In answer to this it is evident from what has been already said that not only does a common nature pervade those bodies which have been previously enumerated, but the heavenly bodies as well. And if this is the case, it is clear also that, according to Celsus (although I do not know whether it is according to truth), it is one nature which goes and returns the same through all bodies amid recurring changes. It is evident also that this is the case in the opinion of those who hold that the world is to perish; while those also who hold the opposite view will endeavour to show, with out the assumption of a fifth substance,267 that in their judgment too it is one nature "which goes and returns the same through all bodies amid recurring changes." And thus, even that which is perishable remains in

order to undergo a change;268 for the matter which underlies (all things), while its properties perish, stir abides according to the opinion of those who hold it to be uncreated. If, however, it can be shown by any arguments not to be uncreated, but to have been created for certain purposes, it is clear that it will not have the same nature of permanency which it would possess on the hypothesis of being uncreated. But it is not our object at present, in answering the charges of Celsus, to discuss these questions of natural philosophy.

Chapter LXI.

He maintains, moreover, that "no product of matter is immortal." Now, in answer to this it may be said, that if no product of matter is immortal, then either the whole world is immortal, and thus not a product of matter, or it is not immortal. If, accordingly, the world is immortal (which is agreeable to the view of those who say that the soul alone is the work of God, and was produced from a certain bowl), let Celsus show that the world was not produced from a matter devoid of qualities, remembering his own assertion that "no product of matter is immortal." If, however, the world is not immortal (seeing it is a product of matter), but mortal, does it also perish, or does it not? For if it perish, it will perish as being a work of God; and then, in the event of the world perishing, what will become of the soul, which is also a work of God? Let Celsus answer this! But if, perverting the notion of immortality, he will assert that, although perishable, it is immortal, because it does not really perish; that it is capable of dying, but does not actually die,-it is evident that, according to him, there will exist something which is at the same time mortal and immortal, by being capable of both conditions; and that which does not die will be mortal, and that which is not immortal by nature will be termed in a peculiar sense immortal, because it does not die! According to what distinction, then, in the meaning of words, will he maintain that no product of matter is immortal? And thus you see that the ideas contained in his writings, when closely examined and tested, are proved not to be sound and incontrovertible.269 And after making these assertions he adds: "On this point these remarks are sufficient; and if any one is capable of hearing and examining further, he will come to know (the truth)." Let us, then, who in his opinion are unintelligent individuals, see what will result from our being able to listen to him for a little, and so continue our investigation.

Chapter LXII.

After these matters, then, he thinks that he can make us acquainted in a few words with the questions regarding the nature of evil, which have been variously discussed in many important treatises, and which have received very opposite explanations. His words are: "There neither were formerly, nor are there now, nor will there be again, more or fewer evils in the world (than have always been). For the nature of all things is one and the same, and the generation of evils is always the same." He seems to have paraphrased these words from the discussions in the Theaetetus, where Plato makes Socrates say: "It is neither possible for evils to disappear from among men, nor for them to become established among the gods," and so on. But he appears to me not to have understood Plato correctly, although professing to include all truth270 in this one treatise, and giving to his own book against us the title of A True Discourse. For the language in the Timaeus, where it is said, "When the gods purify the earth with water," shows that the earth, when purified with water, contains less evil than it did before its purification. And this assertion, that there at one time were fewer evils in the world, is one which we make, in harmony with the opinion of Plato, because of the language in the Theaetetus, where he says that "evils cannot

disappear from among men."271

Chapter LXIII.

I do not understand how Celsus, while admitting the existence of Providence, at least so far as appears from the language of this book, can say that there never existed (at any time) either more or fewer evils, but, as it were, a fixed number; thus annihilating the beautiful doctrine regarding the indefinite272 nature of evil, and asserting that evil, even in its own nature,273 is infinite. Now it appears to follow from the position, that there never have been, nor are now, nor ever will be, more or fewer evils in the world; that as, according to the view of those who hold the indestructibility of the world, the equipoise of the elements is maintained by a Providence (which does not permit one to gain the preponderance over the others, in order to prevent the destruction of the world), so a kind of Providence presides, as it were, over evils (the number of which is fixed),274 to prevent their being either increased or diminished! In other ways, too, are the arguments of Celsus concerning evil confuted, by those philosophers who have investigated the subjects of good and evil, and who have proved also from history that in former times it was without the city, and with their faces concealed by masks, that loose women hired themselves to those who wanted them; that subsequently, becoming more impudent, they laid aside their masks, though not being permitted by the laws to enter the cities, they (still) remained without them, until, as the dissoluteness of manners daily increased, they dared even to enter the cities. Such accounts are given by Chrysippus in the introduction to his work on Good and Evil. From this also it may be seen that evils both increase and decrease, viz., that those individuals who were called "Ambiguous"275 used formerly to present themselves openly to view, suffering and committing all shameful things, while subserving the passions of those who frequented their society; but recently they have been expelled by the authorities.276 And of countless evils which, owing to the spread of wickedness, have made their appearance in human life, we may say that formerly they did not exist. For the most ancient histories, which bring innumerable other accusations against sinful men, know nothing of the perpetrators of abominable277 crimes.

Chapter LXIV. And now, after these arguments, and others of a similar kind, how can Celsus escape appearing in a ridiculous light, when he imagines that there never has been in the past, nor will be in the future, a greater or less number of evils? For although the nature of all things is one and the same, it does not at all follow that the production of evils is a constant quantity.278 For although the nature of a certain individual is one and the same, yet his mind, and his reason, and his actions, are not always alike:279 there being a time when he had not yet attained to reason; and another, when, with the possession of reason, he had become stained with wickedness, and when this increased to a greater or less degree; and again, a time when he devoted himself to virtue, and made greater or less progress therein, attaining sometimes the very summit of perfection, through longer or shorter periods of contemplation.280 In like manner, we may make the same assertion in a higher degree of the nature of the universe,281 that although it is one and the same in kind, yet neither do exactly the same things, nor yet things that are similar, occur in it; for we neither have invariably productive nor unproductive seasons, nor yet periods of continuous rain or of drought. And so in the same way, with regard to virtuous souls, there are neither appointed periods of fertility nor of barrenness; and the same is the case with the greater or less spread of evil. And those who desire to investigate all things to the best of their ability, must keep in view this estimate of evils, that their amount is not always the same, owing to the working of a

Providence which either preserves earthly things, or purges them by means of floods and conflagrations; and effects this, perhaps, not merely with reference to things on earth, but also to the whole universe of things282 I which stands in need of purification, when the wickedness that is in it has become great.

Chapter LXV.

After this Celsus continues: "It is not easy, indeed, for one who is not a philosopher to ascertain the origin of evils, though it is sufficient for the multitude to say that they do not proceed from God, but cleave to matter, and have their abode among mortal things; while the course283 of mortal things being the same from beginning to end, the same things must always, agreeably to the appointed cycles,284 recur in the past, present, and future." Celsus here observes that it is not easy for one who is not a philosopher to ascertain the origin of evils, as if it were an easy matter for a philosopher to gain this knowledge, while for one who is not a philosopher it was difficult, though still possible, for such an one, although with great labour, to attain it. Now, to this we say, that the origin of evils is a subject which is not easy even for a philosopher to master, and that perhaps it is impossible even for such to attain a clear understanding of it, unless it be revealed to them by divine inspiration, both what evils are, and how they originated, and how they shall be made to disappear. But although ignorance of God is an evil, and one of the greatest of these is not to know how God is to be served and worshipped, yet, as even Celsus would admit, there are undoubtedly some philosophers who have been ignorant of this, as is evident from the views of the different philosophical sects; whereas, according to our judgment, no one is capable of ascertaining the origin of evils who does not know that it is wicked to suppose that piety is preserved uninjured amid the laws that are established in different states, in conformity with the generally prevailing ideas of government.285 No one, moreover, who has not heard what is related of him who is called "devil," and of his "angels," and what he was before he became a devil, and how he became such, and what was the cause of the simultaneous apostasy of those who are termed his angels, will be able to ascertain the origin of evils. But he who would attain to this knowledge must learn more accurately the nature of demons, and know that they are not the work of God so far as respects their demoniacal nature, but only in so far as they are possessed of reason; and also what their origin was, so that they became beings of such a nature, that while converted into demons, the powers of their mind286 remain. And if there be any topic of human investigation which is difficult for our nature to grasp, certainly the origin of evils may be considered to be such.

Chapter LXVI.

Celsus in the next place, as if he were able to tell certain secrets regarding the origin of evils, but chose rather to keep silence, and say only what was suitable to the multitude, continues as follows: "It is sufficient to say to the multitude regarding the origin of evils, that they do not proceed from God, but cleave to matter, and dwell among mortal things." It is true, certainly, that evils do not proceed from God; for according to Jeremiah, one of our prophets, it is certain that "out of the mouth of the Most High proceedeth not evil and good."287 But to maintain that matter, dwelling among mortal things, is the cause of evils, is in our opinion not true. For it is the mind of each individual which is the cause of the evil which arises in him, and this is evil (in the abstract);288 while the actions which proceed from it are wicked, and there is, to speak with accuracy, nothing

else in our view that is evil. I am aware, however, that this topic requires very elaborate treatment, which (by the grace of Cod enlightening the mind) may be successfully attempted by him who is deemed by God worthy to attain the necessary knowledge on this subject.

Chapter LXVII.

I do not understand how Celsus should deem it of advantage, in writing a treatise against us, to adopt an opinion which requires at least much plausible reasoning to make it appear, as far as he can do so, that "the course of mortal things is the same from beginning to end, and that the same things must always, according to the appointed cycles, recur in the past, present, and future." Now, if this be true, our free-will is annihilated.289 For if, in the revolution of mortal things, the same events must perpetually occur in the past, present, and future, according to the appointed cycles, it is clear that, of necessity, Socrates will always be. a philosopher, and be condemned for introducing strange gods and for corrupting the youth. And Anytus and Melitus must always be his accusers, and the council of the Areopagus must ever condemn him to death by hemlock. And in the same way, according to the appointed cycles, Phalaris must always play the tyrant, and Alexander of Pherae commit the same acts of cruelty, and those condemned to the bull of Phalaris continually pour forth their wailings from it. But if these things be granted, I do not see how our free-will can be preserved, or how praise or blame can be administered with propriety. We may say further to Celsus, in answer to such a view, that "if the course of moral things be always the same from beginning to end, and if, according to the appointed cycles, the same events must always occur in the past, present, and future," then, according to the appointed cycles, Moses must again come forth from Egypt with the Jewish people, and Jesus again come to dwell in human life, and perform the same actions which (according to this view) he has done not once, but countless times, as the periodshave revolved. Nay, Christians too will be the same in the appointed cycles; and Celsus will again write this treatise of his, which he has done innumerable times before.

Chapter LXVIII.

Celsus, however, says that it is only "the course of mortal things which, according to the appointed cycles, must always be the same in the past, present, and future; "whereas the majority of the Stoics maintain that this is the case not only with the course of mortal, but also with that of immortal things, and of those whom they regard as gods. For after the conflagration of the world,290 which has taken place countless times in the past, and will happen countless times in the future, there has been, and will be, the same arrangement of all things from the beginning to the end. The Stoics, indeed, in endeavouring to parry, I don't know how, the objections raised to their views, allege that as cycle after cycle returns, all men will be altogether unchanged291 from those who lived in former cycles; so that Socrates will not live again, but one altogether like to Socrates, who will marry a wife exactly like Xanthippe, and will be accused by men exactly like Anytus and Melitus. I do not understand, however, how the world is to be always the same, and one individual not different from another, and yet the things in it not the same, though exactly alike. But the main argument in answer to the statements of Celsus and of the Stoics will be more appropriately investigated elsewhere, since on the present occasion it is not consistent with the purpose we have in view to expatiate on these points.

Chapter LXIX.

He continues to say that "neither have visible things292 been given to man (by God), but each individual thing comes into existence and perishes for the sake of the safety of the whole passing agreeably to the change, which I have already mentioned, from one thing to another." It is unnecessary, however, to linger over the refutation of these statements, which have been already refuted to the best of my ability. And the following, too, has been answered, viz., that "there will neither be more nor less good and evil among mortals." This point also has been referred to, viz., that "God does not need to amend His work afresh."293 But it is not as a man who has imperfectly designed some piece of workmanship, and executed it unskilfully, that God administers correction to the world, in purifying it by a flood or by a conflagration, but in order to prevent the tide of evil from rising to a greater height; and, moreover, I am of opinion that it is at periods which are precisely determined beforehand that He sweeps wickedness away, so as to contribute to the good of the whole world.294 If, however, he should assert that, after the disappearance of evil, it again comes into existence, such questions will have to be examined in a special treatise.295 It is, then, always in order to repair what has become faulty296 that God desires to amend His work afresh. For although, in the creation of the world, all things had been arranged by Him in the most beautiful and stable manner, He nevertheless needed to exercise some healing power upon those who were labouring under the disease of wickedness, and upon a whole world, which was polluted as it were thereby. But nothing has been neglected by God, or will be neglected by Him; for He does at each particular juncture what it becomes Him to do in a perverted and changed world. And as a husbandman performs different acts of husbandry upon the soil and its productions, according to the varying seasons of the year, so God administers entire ages of time, as if they were, so to speak, so many individual years, performing during each one of them what is requisite with a reasonable regard to the care of the world; and this, as it is truly understood by God alone, so also is it accomplished by Him.

Chapter LXX.

Celsus has made a statement regarding evils of the following nature, viz., that "although a thing may seem to you to be evil, it is by no means certain that it is so; for you do not know what is of advantage to yourself, or to another, or to the whole world." Now this assertion is made with a certain degree of caution;297 and it hints that the nature of evil is not wholly wicked, because that which may be considered so in individual cases, may contain something which is of advantage to the whole community. However, lest any one should mistake my words, and find a pretence of wrongdoing, as if his wickedness were profitable to the world, or at least might be so, we have to say, that although God, who preserves the free-will of each individual, may make use of the evil of the wicked for the administration of the world, so disposing them as to conduce to the benefit of the whole; yet, notwithstanding, such an individual is deserving of censure, and as such has been appointed for a use, which is a subject of loathing to each separate individual, although of advantage to the whole community.298 It is as if one were to say that in the case of a city, a man who had committed certain crimes, and on account of these had been condemned to serve in public works that were useful to the community, did something that was of advantage to the entire city, while he himself was engaged in an abominable task,299 in which no one possessed of moderate understanding would wish to be engaged. Paul also, the apostle of Jesus, teaches us that even the very wicked will contribute to the good of the whole, while in themselves they will be amongst the vile, but that the most virtuous men, too, will be of the greatest advantage to the

world, and will therefore on that account occupy the noblest position. His words are: "But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour. If a man therefore purge himself, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, prepared unto every good work."300 These remarks I have thought it necessary to make in reply to the assertion, that "although a thing may seem to you to be evil, it is by no means certain that it is so, for you do not know what is of advantage either to yourself or to another," in order that no one may take occasion from what has been said on the subject to commit sin, on the pretext that he will thus be useful to the world.

Chapter LXXI. But as, in what follows, Celsus, not understanding that the language of Scripture regarding God is adapted to an anthropopathic point of view,301 ridicules those passages which speak of words of anger addressed to the ungodly, and of threatenings directed against sinners, we have to say that, as we ourselves, when talking with very young children, do not aim at exerting our own power of eloquence,302 but, adapting ourselves to the weakness of our charge, both say and do those thingS which may appear to us useful for the correction and improvement of the children as children, so the word of God appears to have dealt with the history, making the capacity of the hearers, and the benefit which they were to receive, the standard of the appropriateness of its announcements (regarding Him). And, generally, with regard to such a style of speaking about God, we find in the book of Deuteronomy the following: "The Lord thy God bare with your manners, as a man would bear with the manners of his son."303 It is, as it were, assuming the manners of a man in order to secure the advantage of men that the Scripture makes use of such expressions; for it would not have been suitable to the condition of the multitude, that what God had to say to them should be spoken by Him in a manner more befitting the majesty of His own person. And yet he who is anxious to attain a true understanding of holy Scripture, will discover the spiritual truths which are spoken by it to those who are called "spiritual," by comparing the meaning of what is addressed to those of weaker mind with what is announced to such as are of acuter understanding, both meanings being frequently found in the same passage by him who is capable of comprehending it.

Chapter LXXII.

We speak, indeed, of the "wrath" of God. We do not, however, assert that it indicates any "passion" on His part, but that it is something which is asumed in order to discipline by stern means those sinners who have committed many and grievous sins. For that which is called God's "wrath," and "anger," is a means of discipline; and that such a view is agreeable to Scripture, is evident from what is said in the Psalms 6, "O Lord, rebuke me not in Thine anger, neither chasten me in Thy hot displeasure; "304 and also in jeremiah. "O Lord, correct me, but with judgment: not in Thine anger, lest Thou bring me to nothing."305 Any one, moreover, who reads in the second book of Kings of the "wrath" of God, inducing David to number the people, and finds from the first book of Chronicles that it was the devil who suggested this measure, will, on comparing together the two statements, easily see for what purpose the "wrath" is mentioned, of which "wrath," as the Apostle Paul declares, all men are children: "We were by nature children of wrath, even as others."306 Moreover, that "wrath" is no passion on the part of God, but that each one bringS it upon himself by his sins, will be clear from the further statement of Paul: "Or despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto

thyself wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God." How, then, can any one treasure up for himself "wrath" against a "day of wrath," if "wrath" be understood in the sense of "passion? "or how can the "passion of wrath" be a help to discipline? Besides, the Scripture, which tells us not to be angry at all, and which says in the Psalms 37, "Cease from anger, and forsake wrath,"307 and which commands us by the mouth of Paul to "put off all these, anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication,"308 would not involve God in the same passion from which it would have us to be altogether free. It is manifest, further, that the language used regarding the wrath of God is to be understood figuratively from what is related of His "sleep," from which, as if awaking Him, the prophet says: "Awake, why sleepest Thou, Lord? "309 and again: "Then the Lord awaked as one out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine."310 If, then, "sleep" must mean something else, and not what the first acceptation of the word conveys, why should not "wrath" also be understood in a similar way? The "threatenings," again, are intimations of the (punishments) which are to befall the wicked: for it is as if one were to call the words of a physician "threats," when he tells his patients, "I will have to use the knife, and apply cauteries, if you do not obey my prescriptions, and regulate your diet and mode of life in such a way as I direct you." It is no human passions, then, which we ascribe to God, nor impious opinions which we entertain of Him; nor do we err when we present the various narratives concerning Him, drawn from the Scriptures themselves, after careful comparison one with another. For those who are wise ambassadors of the "word" have no other object in view than to free as far as they can their hearers from weak opinions, and to endue them with intelligence.

Chapter LXXIII. And as a sequel to his non-understanding of the statements regarding the "wrath" of God, he continues: "Is it not ridiculous to suppose that, whereas a man, who became angry with the Jews, slew them all from the youth upwards, and burned their city (so powerless were they to resist him), the mighty God, as they say, being angry, and indignant, and uttering threats, should, (instead of punishing them) send His own Son, who endured the sufferings which He did? "If the Jews, then, after the treatment which they dared to inflict upon Jesus, perished with all their youth, and had their city consumed by fire, they suffered this punishment in consequence of no other wrath than that which they treasured up for themselves; for the judgment of God against them, which was determined by the divine appointment, is termed "wrath" agreeably to a traditional usage of the Hebrews. And what the Son of the mighty God suffered, He suffered voluntarily for the salvation of men, as has been stated to the best of my ability in the preceding pages. He then continues: "But that I may speak not of the Jews alone (for that is not my object), but of the whole of nature, as I promised, I will bring out more clearly what has been already stated." Now what modest man, on reading these words, and knowing the weakness of humanity, would not be indignant at the offensive nature of the promise to give an account of the "whole of nature," and at an arrogance like that which prompted him to inscribe upon his book the title which he ventured to give it (of a True Discourse)? But let us see what he has to say regarding the "whole of nature," and what he is to place "in a clearer light."

Chapter LXXIV.

He next, in many words, blames us for asserting that God made all things for the sake of man. Because from the history of animals, and from the sagacity manifested by them, he would show that all things came into existence not more for the sake of man than of the irrational animals. And here he seems to me to speak in a similar manner to those who, through dislike of their enemies,

accuse them of the same things for which their own friends are commended. For as, in the instance referred to, hatred blinds these persons from seeing that they are accusing their very dearest friends by the means through which they think they are slandering their enemies; so in the same way, Celsus also, becoming confused in his argument, does not see that he is bringing a charge against the philosophers of the Porch, who, not amiss, place man in the foremost rank, and rational nature in general before irrational animals, and who maintain that Providence created all things mainly on account of rational nature. Rational beings, then, as being the principal ones, occupy the place, as it were, of children in the womb, while irrational and soulless beings hold that of the envelope which is created along with the child.311 I think, too, that as in cities the superintendents of the goods and market discharge their duties for the sake of no other than human beings, while dogs and other irrational animals have the benefit of the superabundance; so Providence provides in a special manner for rational creatures; while this l also follows, that irrational creatures likewise enjoy the benefit of what is done for the sake of man. And as he is in error who alleges that the superintendents of the markets312 make provision in no greater degree for men than for dogs, because dogs also get their share of the goods; so in a far greater degree are Celsus and they who think with him guilty of impiety towards the God who makes provision for rational beings, in asserting that His arrangements are made in no greater degree for the sustenance of human beings than for that of plants, and trees, and herbs, and thorns.

Chapter LXXV.

For, in the first place, he is of opinion that "thunders, and lightnings, and rains are not the works of God,"-thus showing more clearly at last his Epicurean leanings; and in the second place, that "even if one were to grant that these were the works of God, they are brought into existence not more for the support of us who are human beings, than for that of plants, and trees, and herbs, and thorns,"-maintaining, like a true Epicurean, that these things are the product of chance, and not the work of Providence. For if these things are of no more use to us than to plants, and trees, and herbs, and thorns, it is evident either that they do not proceed from Providence at all, or from a providence which does not provide for us in a greater degree than for trees, and herbs, and thorns. Now, either of these suppositions is impious in itself, and it would be foolish to refute such statements by answering any one who brought against us the charge of impiety; for it is manifest to every one, from what has been said, who is the person guilty of impiety. In the next place, he adds: "Although you may say that these things, viz., plants, and trees, and herbs, and thorns, grow for the use of men, why will you maintain that they grow for the use of men rather than for that of the most savage of irrational animals? "Let Celsus then say distinctly that the great diversity among the products of the earth is not the work of Providence, but that a certain fortuitous concurrence of atoms313 gave birth to qualities so diverse, and that it was owing to chance that so many kinds of plants, and trees, and herbs resemble one another, and that no disposing reason gave existence to them,314 and that they do not derive their origin from an understanding that is beyond all admiration. We Christians, however, who are devoted to the worship of the only God, who created these things, feel grateful for them to Him who made them, because not only for us, but also (on our account) for the animals which are subject to us, He has prepared such a home,315 seeing "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, that He may bring forth food out of the earth, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart."316 But that He should

have provided food even for the most savage animals is not matter of surprise, for these very animals are said by some who have philosophized (upon the subject) to have been created for the purpose of affording exercise to the rational creature. And one of our own wise men says somewhere: "Do not say, What is this? or Wherefore is that? for all things have been made for their uses. And do not say, What is this? or Wherefore is that? for everything shall be sought out in its season."317

Chapter LXXVI.

After this, Celsus, desirous of maintaining that Providence created the products of the earth, not more on our account than on that of the most savage animals, thus proceeds: "We indeed by labour and suffering earn a scanty and toilsome subsistence,318 while all things are produced for them without their sowing and ploughing." He does not observe that God, wishing to exercise the human understanding in all countries (that it might not remain idle and unacquainted with the arts), created man a being full of wants,319 in order that by virtue of his very needy condition he might be compelled to be the inventor of arts, some of which minister to his subsistence, and others to his protection. For it was better that those who would not have sought out divine things, nor engaged in the study of philosophy, should be placed in a condition of want, in order that they might employ their understanding in the invention of the arts, than that they should altogether neglect the cultivation of their minds, because their condition was one of abundance. The want of the necessaries of human life led to the invention on the one hand of the art of husbandry, on the other to that of the cultivation of the vine; again, to the art of gardening, and the arts of carpentry and smithwork, by means of which were formed the tools required for the arts which minister to the support of life. The want of covering, again, introduced the art of weaving, which followed that of wool-carding and spinning; and again, that of house-building: and thus the intelligence of men ascended even to the art of architecture. The want of necessaries caused the products also of other places to be conveyed, by means of the arts of sailing and pilotage,320 to those who were without them; so that even on that account one might admire the Providence which made the rational being subject to want in a far higher degree than the irrational animals, and yet all with a view to his advantage. For the irrational animals have their food provided for them, because there is not in them even an impulse321 towards the invention of the arts. They have, besides, a natural covering; for they are provided either with hair, or wings, or scales, or shells. Let the above, then, be our answer to the assertions of Celsus, when he says that "we indeed by labour and suffering earn a scanty and toilsome subsistence, while all things are produced for them without their sowing and ploughing."

Chapter LXXVII. In the next place, forgetting that his object is to accuse both Jews and Christians, he quotes against himself an iambic verse of Euripides, which is opposed to his view, and, joining issue with the words, charges them with being an erroneous statement. His words are as follow: "But if you will quote the saying of Euripides, that

`The Sun and Night are to mortals slaves, '322 why should they be so in a greater degree to us than to ants and flies? For the night is created for them in order that they may rest, and the day that they may see and resume their work." Now it is undoubted, that not only have certain of the Jews and Christians declared that the sun and the heavenly bodies323 are our servants; but he also has said this, who, according to some, is the philosopher of the stage,324 and who was a

hearer of the lectures on the philosophy of nature delivered by Anaxagoras. But this man asserts that all things in the world are subject to all rational beings,-one rational nature being taken to represent all, On the principle of a part standing for the whole;325 which, again, clearly appears from the verse:-

"The Sun and Night are to mortals slaves."Perhaps the tragic poet meant the day when he said the sun, inasmuch as it is the cause of the day,-teaching that those things which most need the day and night are the things which are under the moon, and other things in a less degree than those which are upon the earth. Day and night, then, are subject to mortals, being created for the sake of rational beings. And if ants and flies, which labour by day and rest by night, have, besides, the benefit of those things which were created for the sake of men, we must not say that day and night were brought into being for the sake of ants and flies, nor must we suppose that they were created for the sake of nothing, but, agreeably to the design of Providence, were formed for the sake of man.

Chapter LXXVIII.

He next proceeds further to object against himself326 what is said on behalf of man, viz., that the irrational animals were created on his account, saying: "If one were to call us the lords of the animal creation because we hunt the other animals and live upon their flesh, we would say, Why were not we rather created on their account, since they hunt and devour us? Nay, we require nets and weapons, and the assistance of many persons, along with dogs, when engaged in the chase; while they are immediately and spontaneously provided by nature with weapons which easily bring us under their power." And here we may observe, that the gift of understanding has been bestowed upon us as a mighty aid, far superior to any weapon which wild beasts may seem to possess. We, indeed, who are far weaker in bodily strength than the beasts, and shorter in stature than some of them, yet by means of our understanding obtain the mastery, and capture the huge elephants. We subdue by our gentle treatment those animals whose nature it is to be tamed, while with those whose nature is different, or which do not appear likely to be of use to us when tamed, we take such precautionary measures, that when we desire it, we keep such wild beasts shut up; and when we need the flesh of their bodies for food, we slaughter them, as we do those beasts which are not of a savage nature. The Creator, then, has constituted all things the servants of the rational being and of his natural understanding. For some purposes we require dogs, say as guardians of our sheep-folds, or of our cattle-yards, or goat-pastures, or of our dwellings; and for other purposes we need oxen, as for agriculture; and for others, again, we make use of those which bear the yoke, or beasts of burden. And so it may be said that the race of lions, and bears, and leopards, and wild boars, and such like, has been given to us in order to call into exercise the elements of the manly character that exists within us.

Chapter LXXIX. In the next place, in answer to the human race, who perceive their own superiority, which far exceeds that of the irrational animals, he says: "With respect to your assertion, that God gave you the power to capture wild beasts, and to make your own use of them, we would say that, in all probability, before cities were built, and arts invented, and societies such as now exist were formed, and weapons and nets employed, men were generally caught and devoured by wild beasts, while wild beasts were very seldom captured by men." Now, in reference to this, observe that although men catch wild beasts, and wild beasts make prey of men, there is a

great difference between the case of such as by means of their understanding obtain the mastery over those whose superiority consists in their savage and cruel nature, and that of those who do not make use of their understanding to secure their safety from injury by wild beasts. But when Celsus gays, "before cities were built, and arts invented, and societies such as now exist were formed," he appears to have forgotten what he had before said, that "the world was uncreated and incorruptible, and that it was only the things on earth which underwent deluges and conflagrations, and that all these things did not happen at the same time." Now let if be granted that these admissions on his part are entirely in harmony with our views, though not at all with him and his statements made above; yet what does it all avail to prove that in the beginning men were mostly captured and devoured by wild beasts, while wild beasts were never caught by men? For, since the world was created in conformity with the will of Providence, and God presided over the universe of things, it was necessary that the elements327 of the human race should at the commencement of its existence be placed under some protection of the higher powers, so that there might be formed from the beginning a union of the divine nature with that of men. And the poet of Ascra, perceiving this, sings:- "For common then were banquets, and common were seats, Alike to immortal gods and mortal men."328

Chapter LXXX.

Those holy Scriptures, moreover, which bear the name of Moses, introduce the first men as hearing divine voices and oracles, and beholding sometimes the angels of God coming to visit them.329 For it was probable that in the beginning of the world's existence human nature would be assisted to a greater degree (than afterwards), until progress had been made towards the attainment of understanding and the other virtues, and the invention of the arts, and they should thus be able to maintain life of themselves, and no longer stand in need of superintendents, and of those to guide them who do so with a miraculous manifestation of the means which subserve the will of God. Now it follows from this, that it is false that "in the beginning men were captured and devoured by wild beasts, while wild beasts were very seldom caught by men." And from this, too, it is evident that the following statement of Celsus is untrue, that "in this way God rather subjected men to wild beasts." For God did not subject men to wild beasts, but gave wild beasts to be a prey to the understanding of man, and to the arts, which are directed against them, and which are the product of the understanding. For it was not without the help of God330 that men desired for themselves the means of protection against wild beasts, and of securing the mastery over them.

Chapter LXXXI. Our noble opponent, however, not observing how many philosophers there are who admit the existence of Providence, and who hold that Providence created all things for the sake of rational beings, overturns as far as he can those doctrines which are of use in showing the harmony that prevails in these matters between Christianity and philosophy; nor does he see how great is the injury done to religion from accepting the statement that before God there is no difference between a man and an ant or a bee, but proceeds to add, that "if men appear to be superior to irrational animals on this account, that they have built cities, and make use of a political constitution, and forms of government, and sovereignties,331 this is to say nothing to the purpose, for ants and bees do the same. Bees, indeed, have a sovereign, who has followers and attendants; and there occur among them wars and victories, and slaughterings of the vanquished,332 and cities and suburbs, and a succession of labours, and judgments passed upon the idle and the wicked; for the drones are driven away and punished." Now here he did not

observe the difference that exists between what is done after reason and consideration, and what is the result of an irrational nature, and is purely mechanical. For the origin of these things is not explained by the existence of any rational principle in those who make them, because they do not possess any such principle; but the most ancient Being, who is also the Son of God, and the King of all things that exist, has created an irrational nature, which, as being irrational, acts as a help to those who are deemed worthy of reason. Cities, accordingly, were established among men, with many arts and well-arranged laws; while constitutions, and governments, and sovereignties among men are either such as are properly so termed, and which exemplify certain virtuous tendencies and workings, or they are those which are improperly so called, and which were devised, so far as could be done, in imitation of the former: for it was by contemplating these that the most successful legislators established the best constitutions, and governments, and sovereignties. None of these things, however, can be found among irrational animals, although Celsus may transfer rational names, and arrangements which belong to rational beings, as cities and constitutions, and rulers and sovereignties, even to ants and bees; in respect to which matters, however, ants and bees merit no approval, because they do not act from reflection. But we ought to admire the divine nature, which extended even to irrational animals the capacity, as it were, of imitating rational beings, perhaps with a view of putting rational beings to shame; so that by looking upon ants, for instance, they might become more industrious and more thrifty in the management of their goods; while, by considering the bees, they might place themselves in subjection to their Ruler, and take their respective parts in those constitutional duties which are of use in ensuring the safety of cities.

Chapter LXXXII.

Perhaps also the so-called wars among the bees convey instruction as to the manner in which wars, if ever there arise a necessity for them, should be waged in a just and orderly way among men. But the bees have no cities or suburbs; while their hives and hexagonal cells, and succession of labours, are for the sake of men, who require honey for many purposes, both for cure of disordered bodies, and as a pure article of food. Nor ought we to compare the proceedings taken by the bees against the drones with the judgments and punishments inflicted on the idle and wicked in cities. But, as I formerly said, we ought on the one hand in these things to admire the divine nature, and on the other to express our admiration of man, who is capable of considering and admiring all things (as co-operating with Providence), and who executes not merely the works which are determined by the providence of God, but also those which are the consequences of his own foresight.

Chapter LXXXIII.

After Celsus has finished speaking of the bees, in order to depreciate (as far as he can) the cities, and constitutions, and governments, and sovereignties not only of us Christians, but of all mankind, as well as the wars which men undertake on behalf of their native countries, he proceeds, by way of digression, to pass a eulogy upon the ants, in order that, while praising them, he may compare the measures which men take to secure their subsistence with those adopted by these insects,333 and so evince his contempt for the forethought which makes provision for winter, as being nothing higher than the irrational providence of the ants, as he regards it. it. Now might not some of the more simple-minded, and such as know not how to look into the nature of all

things, be turned away (so far, at least, as Celsus could accomplish it) from helping those who are weighed down with the burdens (of life), and from sharing their toils, when he says of the ants, that "they help one another with their loads, when they see one of their number toiling under them? "For he who needs to be disciplined by the word, but who does not at all understand334 its voice, will say: "Since, then, there is no difference between us and the ants, even when we help those who are weary with bearing their heavy burdens, why should we continue to do so to no purpose? "And would not the ants, as being irrational creature, be greatly puffed up, and think highly of themselves, because their works were compared to those of men? while men, on the other hand, who by means of their reason are enabled to hear how their philanthropy335 towards others is contemned, would be injured, so far as could be effected by Celsus and his arguments: for he does not perceive that, while he wishes to turn away from Christianity those who read his treatise, he turns away also the sympathy of those who are not Christians from those who bear the heaviest burdens (of life). Whereas, had he been a philosopher, who was capable of perceiving the good which men may do each other, he ought, in addition to not removing along with Christianity the blessings which are found amongst men, to have lent his aid to co-operate (if he had it in his power) with those principles of excellence which are common to Christianity and the rest of mankind. Moreover, even if the ants set apart in a place by themselves those grains which sprout forth, that they may not swell into bud, but may continue throughout the year as their food, this is not to be deemed as evidence of the existence of reason among ants, but as the work of the universal mother, Nature, which adorned even irrational animals, so that even the most insignificant is not omitted, but bears traces of the reason implanted in it by nature. Unless, indeed, by these assertions Celsus means obscurely to intimate (for in many instances he would like to adopt Platonic ideas) that all souls are of the same species, and that there is no difference between that of a man and those of ants and bees, which is the act of one who would bring down the soul from the vault of heaven, and cause it to enter not only a human body, but that of an animal. Christians, however, will not yield their assent to such opinions: for they have been instructed before now that the human soul was created in the image of God; and they see that it is impossible for a nature fashioned in the divine image to have its (original) features altogether obliterated, and to assume others, formed after I know not what likeness of irrational animals.

Chapter LXXXIV. And since he asserts that, "when ants die, the survivors set apart a special place (for their interment), and that their ancestral sepulchres such a place is," we have to answer, that the greater the laudations which he heaps upon irrational animals, so much the more does he magnify (although against his will) the work of that reason which arranged all things in order, and points out the skill336 which exists among men, and which is capable of adorning by its reason even the gifts which are bestowed by nature on the irrational creation. But why do I say "irrational," since Celsus is of opinion that these animals, which, agreeably to the common ideas of all men, are termed irrational, are not really so? Nor does he regard the ants as devoid of reason, who professed to speak of "universal nature," and who boasted of his truthfulness in the inscription of his book. For, speaking of the ants conversing with one another, he uses the following language: "And when they meet one another they enter into conversation, for which reason they never mistake their way; consequently they possess a full endowment of reason, and some common ideas on certain general subjects, and a voice by which they express themselves regarding accidental things."337 Now conversation between one man and another is carried on by means of a voice, which gives expression to the meaning intended, and which also gives utterances

concerning what are called "accidental things; "but to say that this was the case with ants would be a most ridiculous assertion.

Chapter LXXXV.

He is not ashamed, moreover, to say, in addition to these statements (that the unseemly character338 of his opinions may be manifest to those who will live after him): "Come now, if one were to look down from heaven upon earth, in what respect would our actions appear to differ from those of ants and bees? "Now does he who, according to his own supposition, looks from heaven upon the proceedings of men and ants, look upon their bodies alone, and not rather have regard to the controlling reason which is called into action by reflection;339 while, on the other hand, the guiding principle of the latter is irrational, and set in motion irrationally by impulse and fancy, in conjunction with a certain natural apparatus?340 But it is absurd to suppose that he who looks from heaven upon earthly things would desire to look from such a distance upon the bodies of men and ants, and would not rather consider the nature of the guiding principles, and the source of impulses, whether that be rational or irrational. And if he once look upon the source of all impulses, it is manifest that he would behold also the difference which exists, and the superiority of man, not only over ants, but even over elephants. For he who looks from heaven will see among irrational creatures, however large their bodies, no other principle341 than, so to speak, irrationality;342 while amongst rational beings he will discover reason, the common possession of men, and of divine and heavenly beings, and perhaps of the Supreme God Himself, on account of which man is said to have been created in the image of God, for the image of the Supreme God is his reason.343

Chapter LXXXVI.

Immediately after this, as if doing his utmost to reduce the human race to a still lower position, and to bring them to the level of the irrational animals, and desiring to omit not a single circumstance related of the latter which manifests their greatness, he declares that "in certain individuals among the irrational creation there exists the power of sorcery; "so that even in this particular men cannot specially pride themselves, nor wish to arrogate a superiority over irrational creatures. And the following are his words: "If, however, men entertain lofty notions because of their possessing the power of sorcery, yet even in that respect are serpents and eagles their superiors in wisdom; for they are acquainted with many prophylactics against persons and diseases, and also with the virtues of certain stones which help to preserve their young. If men, however, fall in with these, they think that they have gained a wonderful possession." Now, in the first place, I know not why he should designate as sorcery the knowledge of natural prophylactics displayed by animals,-whether that knowledge be the result of experience, or of some natural power of apprehension;344 for the term "sorcery" has by usage been assigned to something else. Perhaps, indeed, he wishes quietly, as an Epicurean, to censure the entire use of such arts, as resting only on the professions of sorcerers. However, let it be granted him that men do pride themselves greatly upon the knowledge of such arts, whether they are sorcerers or not: how can serpents be in this respect wiser than men, when they make use of the well-known fennel345 to sharpen their power of vision and to produce rapidity of movement, having obtained this natural power not from the exercise of reflection, but from the constitution of their body,346 while men do not, like serpents, arrive at such knowledge merely by nature, but partly by experiment, partly by reason,

and sometimes by reflection and knowledge? So, if eagles, too, in order to preserve their young in the nest, carry thither the eagle-stone347 when they have discovered it, how does it appear that they are wise, and more intelligent than men, who find out by the exercise of their reflective powers and of their understanding what has been bestowed by nature upon eagles as a gift?

Chapter LXXXVII.

Let it be granted, however, that there are other prophylactics against poisons known to animals: what does that avail to prove that it is not nature, but reason, which leads to the discovery of such things among them? For if reason were the discoverer, this one thing (or, if you will, one or two more things) would not be (exclusive348 of all others) the sole discovery made by serpents, and some other thing the sole discovery of the eagle, and so on with the rest of the animals; but as many discoveries would have been made amongst them as among men. But now it is manifest from the determinate inclination of the nature of each animal towards certain kinds of help, that they possess neither wisdom nor reason, but a natural constitutional tendency implanted by the Logoj349 towards such things in order to ensure the preservation of the animal. And, indeed, if I wished to join issue with Celsus in these matters, I might quote the words of Solomon from the book of Proverbs, which run thus: "There be four things which are little upon the earth, but these are wiser than the wise: The ants are a people not strong, yet they prepare their meat in the summer; the conies350 are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks; the locusts have no king, yet go they forth in order at one command; and the spotted lizard,351 though leaning upon its hands, and being easily captured, dwelleth in kings' fortresses."352 I do not quote these words, however, as taking them in their literal signification, but, agreeably to the title of the book (for it is inscribed "Proverbs"), I investigate them as containing a secret meaning. For it is the custom of these writers (of Scripture) to distribute into many classes those writings which express one sense when taken literally,353 but which convey a different signification as their hidden meaning; and one of these kinds of writing is "Proverbs." And for this reason, in our Gospels too, is our Saviour described as saying: "These things have I spoken to you in proverbs, but the time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs."354 It is not, then, the visible ants which are "wiser even than the wise," but they who are indicated as such under the "proverbial" style of expression. And such must be our conclusion regarding the rest of the animal creation, although Celsus regards the books of the Jews and Christians as exceedingly simple and commonplace,355 and imagines that those who give them an allegorical interpretation do violence to the meaning of the writers. By what we have said, then, let it appear that Celsus calumniates us in vain, and let his assertions that serpents and eagles are wiser than men also receive their refutation.

Chapter LXXXVIII. And wishing to show at greater length that even the thoughts of God entertained by the human race are not superior to those of all other mortal creatures, but that certain of the irrational animals are capable of thinking about Him regarding whom opinions so discordant have existed among the most acute of mankind-Greeks and Barbarians-he continues: "If, because man has been able to grasp the idea of God, he is deemed superior to the other animals, let those who hold this opinion know that this capacity will be claimed by many of the other animals; and with good reason: for what would any one maintain to be more divine than the power of foreknowing and predicting future events? Men accordingly acquire the art from the other animals, and especially from birds. And those who listen to the indications furnished by them,

become possessed of the gift of prophecy. If, then, birds, and the other prophetic animals, which are enabled by the gift of God to foreknow events, instruct us by means of signs, so much the nearer do they seem to be to the society of God, and to be endowed with greater wisdom, and to be more beloved by Him. The more intelligent of men, moreover, say that the animals hold meetings which are more sacred than our assemblies, and that they know what is said at these meetings, and show that in reality they possess this knowledge, when, having previously stated that the birds have declared their intention of departing to some particular place, and of doing this thing or the other, the truth of their assertions is established by the departure of the birds to the place in question, and by their doing what was foretold. And no race of animals appears to be more observant of oaths than the elephants are, or to show greater devotion to divine things; and this, I presume, solely because they have some knowledge of God." See here now how he at once lays hold of, and brings forward as acknowledged facts, questions which are the subject of dispute among those philosophers, not only among the Greeks, but also among the Barbarians, who have either discovered or learned from certain demons some things about birds of augury and other animals, by which certain prophetic intimations are said to be made to men. For, in the first place, it has been disputed whether there is an art of augury, and, in general, a method of divination by animals, or not. And, in the second place, they who admit that there is an art of divination by birds, are not agreed about the manner of the divination; since some maintain that it is from certain demons or gods of divination356 that the animals receive their impulses to action-the birds to flights and sounds of different kinds, and the other animals to movements of one sort or another. Others, again, believe that their souls are more divine in their nature, and fitted to operations of that kind, which is a most incredible supposition.

Chapter LXXXIX.

Celsus, however, seeing he wished to prove by the foregoing statements that the irrational animals are more divine and intelligent than human beings, ought to have established at greater length the actual existence of such an art of divination, and in the next place have energetically undertaken its defence, and effectually refuted the arguments of those who would annihilate such arts of divination, and have overturned in a convincing manner also the arguments of those who say that it is from demons or from gods that animals receive the movements which lead them to divination, and to have proved in the next place that the soul of irrational animals is more divine than that of man. For, had he done so, and manifested a philosophical spirit in dealing with such things, we should to the best of our power have met his confident assertions, refuting in the first place the allegation that irrational animals are wiser than men, and showing the falsity of the statement that they have ideas of God more sacred than ours, and that they hold among themselves certain sacred assemblies. But now, on the contrary, he who accuses us because we believe in the Supreme God, requires us to believe that the souls of birds entertain ideas of God more divine and distinct than those of men. Yet if this is true, the birds have clearer ideas of God than Celsus himself; and it is not matter of surprise that it should be so with him, who so greatly depreciates human beings. Nay, so far as Celsus can make it appear, the birds possess grander and more divine ideas than, I do not say we Christians do, or than the Jews, who use the same Scriptures with ourselves, but even than are possessed by the theologians among the Greeks, for they were only human beings. According to Celsus, indeed, the tribe of birds that practise divination, forsooth, understand the nature of the Divine Being better than Pherecydes, and

Pythagoras, and Socrates and Plato! We ought then to go to the birds as our teachers, in order that as, according to the view of Celsus, they instruct us by their power of divination in the knowledge of future events, so also they may free men from doubts regarding the Divine Being, by imparting to them the clear ideas which they have obtained respecting Him! It follows, accordingly, that Celsus, who regards birds as superior to men, ought to employ them as his instructors, and not one of the Greek philosophers.

Chapter XC. But we have a few remarks to make, out of a larger number, in answer to these statements of Celsus, that we may show the ingratitude towards his Maker which is involved in his holding these false opinions.357 For Celsus, although a man, and "being in honour,"358 does not possess understanding, and therefore he did not compare himself with the birds and the other irrational animals, which he regards as capable of divining; but yielding to them the foremost place, he lowered himself, and as far as he could the whole human race with him (as entertaining lower and inferior views of God than the irrational animals), beneath the Egyptians, who worship irrational animals as divinities. Let the principal point of investigation, however, be this: whether there actually is or not an art of divination, by means of birds and other living things believed to have such power. For the arguments which tend to establish either view are not to be despised. On the one hand, it is pressed upon us not to admit such an art, lest the rational being should abandon the divine oracles, and betake himself to birds; and on the other, there is the energetic testimony of many, that numerous individuals have been saved from the greatest dangers by putting their trust in divination by birds. For the present, however, let it be granted that an art of divination does exist, in order that I may in this way show to those who are prejudiced on the subject, that if this be admitted, the superiority of man over irrational animals, even over those that are endowed with power of divination, is great, and beyond all reach of comparison with the latter. We have then to say, that if there was in them any divine nature capable of foretelling future events, and so rich (in that knowledge) as out of its superabundance to make them known to any man who wished to know them, it is manifest that they would know what concerned themselves far sooner (than what concerned others); and had they possessed this knowledge, they would have been upon their guard against flying to any particular place where men had planted snares and nets to catch them, or where archers took aim and shot at them in their flight. And especially, were eagles aware beforehand of the designs formed against their young, either by serpents crawling up to their nests and destroying them, or by men who take them for their amusement, or for any other useful purpose or service, they would not have placed their young in a spot where they were to be attacked; and, in general, not one of these animals would have been captured by men, because they were more divine and intelligent than they.

Chapter XCI. But besides, if birds of augury converse with one another,359 as Celsus maintains they do, the prophetic birds having a divine nature, and the other rational animals also ideas of the divinity and foreknowledge of future events; and if they had communicated this knowledge to others, the sparrow mentioned in Homer would not have built her nest in the spot where a serpent was to devour her and her young ones, nor would the serpent in the writings of the same poet have failed to take precautions against being captured by the eagle. For this wonderful poet says, in his poem regarding the former:- "A mighty dragon shot, of dire portent; From Jove himself the dreadful sign was sent.

Straight to the tree his sanguine spires he rolled, And curled around in many a winding fold. The topmost branch a mother-bird possessed;

Eight callow infants filled the mossy nest;

Herself the ninth: the serpent, as he hung, Stretched his black jaws, and crashed the dying young;

While hovering near, with miserable moan, The drooping mother wailed her children gone. The mother last, as round the nest she flew, Seized by the beating wing, the monster slew: Nor long survived: to marble turned, he stands A lasting prodigy on Aulis' sands.

Such was the will of Jove; and hence we dare Trust in his omen, and support the war."360 And regarding the second-the bird-the poet says:- "Jove's bird on sounding pinions beat the skies; A bleeding serpent of enormous size, His talons twined; alive, and curling round, He stung the bird, whose throat received the wound.

Mad with the smart, he drops the fatal prey, In airy circles wings his painful way, Floats on the winds, and rends the heaven with cries;

Amidst the host, the fallen serpent lies.

They, pale with terror, mark its spires unrolled, And Jove's portent with beating hearts behold."361 Did the eagle, then, possess the power of divination, and the serpent (since this animal also is made use of by the augurs) not? But as this distinction can be easily refuted, cannot the assertion that both were capable of divination be refuted also? For if the serpent had possessed this knowledge, would not he have been on his guard against suffering what he did from the eagle? And innumerable other instances of a similar character may be found, to show that animals do not possess a prophetic soul, but that, according to the poet and the majority of mankind, it is the "Olympian himself who sent him to the light." And it is with a symbolical meaning362 that Apollo employs the hawk363 as his messenger, for the hawk364 is called the "swift messenger of Apollo."365

Chapter XCII. In my opinion, however, it is certain wicked demons, and, so to speak, of the race of Titans or Giants, who have been guilty of impiety towards the true God, and towards the angels in heaven, and who have fallen from it, and who haunt the denser parts of bodies, and frequent unclean places upon earth, and who, possessing some power of distinguishing future events, because they are without bodies of earthly material, engage in an employment of this kind, and desiring to lead the human race away from the true God, secretly enter the bodies of the more rapacious and savage and wicked of animals, and stir them up to do whatever they choose, and at whatever time they choose: either turning the fancies of these animals to make flights and movements of various kinds, in order that men may be caught by the divining power that is in the irrational animals, and neglect to seek after the God who contains all things; or to search after the pure worship of God, but allow their reasoning powers to grovel on the earth, and amongst birds and serpents, and even foxes and wolves. For it has been observed by those who are skilled in such matters, that the clearest prognostications are obtained from animals of this kind; because the demons cannot act so effectively in the milder sort of animals as they can in these, in consequence of the similarity between them in point of wickedness; and yet it is not wickedness, but something like wickedness,366 which exist in these animals.

Chapter XCIII. For which reason, whatever else there may be in the writings of Moses which excites my wonder, I would say that the following is worthy of admiration, viz. that Moses, having observed the varying natures of animals, and having either learned from God what was peculiar to them, and to the demons which are kindred to each of the animals, or having himself ascertained these things by his own wisdom, has, in arranging the different kinds of animals, pronounced all those which are supposed by the Egyptians and the rest of mankind to possess the power of divination to be unclean, and, as a general rule, all that are not of that class to be clean. And amongst the unclean animals mentioned by Moses are the wolf, and fox, and serpent, and eagle, and hawk, and such like. And, generally speaking, you will find that not only in the law, but also in the prophets, these animals are employed as examples of all that is most wicked; and that a wolf or a fox is never mentioned for a good purpose. Each species of demon, consequently, would seem to possess a certain affinity with a certain species of animal. And as among men there are some who are stronger than others, and this not at all owing to their moral character, so, in the same way, some demons will be more powerful in things indifferent than others;367 and one class of them employs one kind of animal for the purpose of deluding men, in accordance with the will of him who is called in our Scriptures the "prince of this world," while others predict future events by means of another kind of animal. Observe, moreover, to what a pitch of wickedness the demons proceed, so that they even assume the bodies of weasels in order to reveal the future! And now, consider with yourself whether it is better to accept the belief that it is the Supreme God and His Son who stir up the birds and the other living creatures to divination, or that those who stir up these creatures, and not human beings (although they are present before them), are wicked, and, as they are called by our Scriptures, unclean demons.

Chapter XCIV. But if the soul of birds is to be esteemed divine because future events are predicted by them, why should we not rather maintain, that when omens368 are accepted by men, the souls of those are divine through which the omens are heard? Accordingly, among such would be ranked the female slave mentioned in Homer, who ground the corn, when she said regarding the suitors:- "For the very last time, now, will they sup here."369 This slave, then, was divine, while the great Ulysses, the friend of Homer's Pallas Athene, was not divine, but understanding the words spoken by this "divine" grinder of corn as an omen, rejoiced, as the poet says:- "The divine Ulysses rejoiced at the omen."370

Observe, now, as the birds are possessed of a divine soul, and are capable of perceiving God, or, as Celsus says, the gods, it is clear that when we men also sneeze, we do so in consequence of a kind of divinity that is within us, and which imparts a prophetic power to our soul. For this belief is testified by many witnesses, and therefore the poet also says:- "And while he prayed, he sneezed."371 And Penelope, too, said:- "Perceiv'st thou not that at every word my son did sneeze? "372

Chapter XCV. The true God, however, neither employs irrational animals, nor any individuals whom chance may offer,373 to convey a knowledge of the future; but, on the contrary, the most pure and holy of human souls, whom He inspires and endows with prophetic power. And therefore, whatever else in the Mosaic writings may excite our wonder, the following must be considered as fitted to do so: "Ye shall not practise augury, nor observe the flight of birds; "374 and in another place: "For the nations whom the Lord thy God will destroy from before thy face, shall listen to omens and divinations; but as for thee, the Lord thy God has not suffered thee to do so."375 And

he adds: "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you from among your brethren."376 On one occasion, moreover, God, wishing by means of an augur to turn away (His people) from the practice of divination, caused the spirit that was in the augur to speak as follows: "For there is no enchantment in Jacob, nor is there divination in Israel. In due time will it be declared to Jacob and Israel what the Lord will do."377 And now, we who knew these and similar sayings wish to observe this precept with the mystical meaning, viz., "Keep thy heart with all diligence,"378 that nothing of a demoniacal nature may enter into our minds, or any spirit of our adversaries turn our imagination whither it chooses. But we pray that the light of the knowledge of the glory of God may shine in our hearts, and that the Spirit of God may dwell in our imaginations, and lead them to contemplate the things of God; for "as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."379

Chapter XCVI.

We ought to take note, however, that the power of foreknowing the future is by no means a proof of divinity; for in itself it is a thing indifferent, and is found occurring amongst both good and bad. Physicians, at any rate, by means of their professional skill foreknow certain things, although their character may happen to be bad. And in the same way also pilots, although perhaps wicked men, are able to foretell the signs380 (of good or bad weather), and the approach of violent tempests of wind, and atmospheric changes,381 because they gather this knowledge from experience and observation, although I do not suppose that on that account any one would term them "gods" if their characters happened to be bad. The assertion, then, of Celsus is false, when he says: "What could be called more divine than the power of foreknowing and foretelling the future? "And so also is this, that "many of the animals claim to have ideas of God; "for none of the irrational animals possess any idea of God. And wholly false, too, is his assertion, that "the irrational animals are nearer the society of God (than men)," when even men who are still in a state of wickedness, however great their progress in knowledge, are far removed from that society. It is, then, those alone who are truly wise and sincerely religious who are nearer to God's society; such persons as were our prophets, and Moses, to the latter of whom, on account of his exceeding purity, the Scripture said: "Moses alone shall come near the Lord, but the rest shall not come nigh."382

Chapter XCVII.

How impious, indeed, is the assertion of this man, who charges us with impiety, that "not only are the irrational animals wiser than the human race, but that they are more beloved by God (than they)!" And who would not be repelled (by horror) from paying any attention to a man who declared that a serpent, and a fox, and a wolf, and an eagle, and a hawk, were more beloved by God than the human race? For it follows from his maintaining such a position, that if these animals be more beloved by God than human beings, it is manifest that they are dearer to God than Socrates, and Plato, and Pythagoras, and Pherecydes, and those theologians whose praises he had sung a little before. And one might address him with the prayer: "If these animals be dearer to God than men, may you be beloved of God along with them, and be made like to those whom you consider as dearer to Him than human beings!" And let no one suppose that such a prayer is meant as an imprecation; for who would not pray to resemble in all respects those whom he believes to be dearer to God than others, in order that he, like them, may enjoy the divine love? And as Celsus is desirous to show that the assemblies of the irrational animals are more sacred than ours, he ascribes the statement to that effect not to any ordinary individuals, but to persons of intelligence.

Yet it is the virtuous alone who are truly wise, for no wicked man is so. He speaks, accordingly, in the following style: "Intelligent men say that these animals hold assemblies which are more sacred than ours, and that they know what is spoken at them, and actually prove that they are not without such knowledge, when they mention beforehand that the birds have announced their intention of departing to a particular place, or of doing this thing or that, and then show that they have departed to the place in question, and have done the particular thing which was foretold." Now, truly, no person of intelligence ever related such things; nor did any wise man ever say that the assemblies of the irrational animals were more sacred than those of men. But if, for the purpose of examining (the soundness of) his statements, we look to their consequences, it is evident that, in his opinion, the assemblies of the irrational animals are more sacred than those of the venerable Pherecydes, and Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato, and of philosophers in general; which assertion is not only incongruous383 in itself, but full of absurdity. In order that we may believe, however, that certain individuals do learn from the indistinct sound of birds that they are about to take their departure, and do this thing or that, and announce these things beforehand, we would say that this information is imparted to men by demons by means of signs, with the view of having men deceived by demons, and having their understanding dragged down from God and heaven to earth, and to places lower still.

Chapter XCVIII.

I do not know, moreover, how Celsus could hear of the elephants' (fidelity to) oaths, and of their great devotedness to our God, and of the knowledge which they possess of Him. For I know many wonderful things which are related of the nature of this animal, and of its gentle disposition. But I am not aware that any one has spoken of its observance of oaths; unless indeed to its gentle disposition, and its observance of compacts, so to speak, when once concluded between it and man, he give the name of keeping its oath, which statement also in itself is false. For although rarely, yet sometimes it has been recorded that, after their apparent tameness, they have broken out against men in the most savage manner, and have committed murder, and have been on that account condemned to death, because no longer of any use. And seeing that after this, in order to establish (as he thinks he does) that the stork is more pious than any human being, he adduces the accounts which are narrated regarding that creature's display of filial affection384 in bringing food to its parents for their support, we have to say in reply, that this is done by the storks, not from a regard to what is proper, nor from reflection, but from a natural instinct; the nature which formed them being desirous to show an instance among the irrational animals which might put men to shame, in the matter of exhibiting their gratitude to their parents. And if Celsus had known how great the difference is between acting in this way from reason, and from an irrational natural impulse, he would not have said that storks are more pious than human beings. But further, Celsus, as still contending for the piety of the irrational creation, quotes the instance of the Arabian bird the phoenix, which after many years repairs to Egypt, and bears thither its parent, when dead and buried in a ball of myrrh, and deposits its body in the Temple of the Sun. Now this story is indeed recorded, and, if it be true,385 it is possible that it may occur in consequence of some provision of nature; divine providence freely displaying to human beings, by the differences which exist among living things, the variety of constitution which prevails in the world, and which extends even to birds, and in harmony with which He has brought into existence one creature, the only one of its kind, in order that by it men may be led to admire, not the creature, but Him who created it.

Chapter XCIX. In addition to all that he has already said, Celsus subjoins the following: "All things, accordingly, were not made for man, any more than they were made for lions, or eagles, or dolphins, but that this world, as being God's work, might be perfect and entire in all respects. For this reason all things have been adjusted, not with reference to each other, but with regard to their bearing upon the whole.386 And God takes care of the whole, and (His) providence will never forsake it; and it does not become worse; nor does God after a time bring it back to himself; nor is He angry on account of men any more than on account of apes or flies; nor does He threaten these beings, each one of which has received its appointed lot in its proper place." Let us then briefly reply to these statements. I think, indeed, that I have shown in the preceding pages that all things were created for man, and every rational being, and that it was chiefly for the sake of the rational creature that the creation took place. Celsus, indeed, may say that this was done not more for man than for lions, or the other creatures which he mentions; but we maintain that the Creator did not form these things for lions, or eagles, or dolphins, but all for the sake of the rational creature, and "in order that this world, as being God's work, might be perfect and complete in all things." For to this sentiment we must yield our assent as being well said. And God takes care, not, as Celsus supposes, merely of the whole, but beyond the whole, in a special degree of every rational being. Nor will Providence ever abandon the whole; for although it should become more wicked, owing to the sin of the rational being, which is a portion of the whole, He makes arrangements to purify it, and after a time to bring back the whole to Himself. Moreover, He is not angry with apes or flies; but on human beings, as those who have transgressed the laws of nature, He sends judgments and chastisements, and threatens them by the mouth of the prophets, and by the Saviour who came to visit the whole human race, that those who hear the threatenings may be converted by them, while those who neglect these calls to conversion may deservedly suffer those punishments which it becomes God, in conformity with that will of His which acts for the advantage of the whole, to inflict upon those who need such painful discipline and correction. But as our fourth book has now attained sufficient dimensions, we shall here terminate our discourse. And may God grant, through His Son, who is God the Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, and everything else which the sacred Scriptures when speaking of God call Him, that we may make a good beginning of the fifth book, to the benefit of our readers, and may bring it to a successful conclusion, with the aid of His word abiding in our soul.

1: Cf. Jer. i. 9, 10.

2: Cf. Gen. xi. 4.

3: Cf. 2 Cor. x. 5.

4: Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 9.

5: tou0j a0na/lofon au0rw=| profhtikou\j lo/fouj. .

6: dikaiwth/j .

7: a0kolouqi/aj .

8: Piqano/thtoj .

9: Dikaiwth/sm not Dikasth/j .

10: tou\j karpou=j th=j tou= Qeou basilsi9aj a0podw/sousi tw=| Qew=|, e0n toi=j e9ka/sthj pra/cewj ou!shj karpou= th=j basilei/aj kairoi=j|. .

11: eu0h/qwj .

12: The word fu/sei which is found in the text seems out of place, and has been omitted in the translation, agreeably to the emendation of Boherellus.

13: 'Ara fa\r h!qele fantasioume/noij toi=j a0nqrw/poij u9po= Qeou=, a0peilhfo/toj me\n a/qro/wj th\n kaki/an. emfu/ontoj di\ th\n a0reth\n, th=n e0panoi/rqwdin gene/sqai ;

14: 'Ara fa\r h!qele fantasioume/noij toi=j a0nqrw/poij u9po= Qeou=, a0peilhfo/toj me\n a/qro/wj th\n kaki/an. emfu/ontoj di\ th\n a0reth\n, th=n e0panoi/rqwdin gene/sqai ;

15: oi9 la\r e0pi\ ta\ ne/ltista prokalou/menoi lo/foi, Qeou= au0tou\j dedwko/toj, ei0si\n e0n a0nqrw/poij. .

16: lennaio/tatoj .

17: Wisd. Solom. i. 7, kai\ to\ sune/xon ta\ pa\nta gnw=sin e!xei fwnh=j. .

18: Cf. Jer. xxiii. 24.

19: Cf. Acts xvii. 28.

20: kai\ para\ tou=t' e!latton e!cein dokw=n .

21: kaqa\per oi9 neo/ploutoi tw=n a0nqrw/pwn e0pideiktiw=tej, pollh/n tina kai\ pa/nu qnhth\n filotmi/an tou= Qeou= katamarturou=si .

22: oi0kei/wsin .

23: meta\ tosou=ton ai0w=na .

24: dikaiw=sai .

25: to\ lagiko\n zw=on .

26: e0n th= paradoxh= th=j qeio/thtoj .

27: e0cai/reto/n ti xrh=ma .

28: Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 (according to the LXX.).

29: Cf. Ps. ii. 8.

30: Ei0si\ ga/r tinej ei0rmoi\ kai\ a0kolouqi/ai a!fatoi kai\ a0nekdih/fhtoi peri\ th=j kata\ ta\j a0nqrwti/naj yuxa\: diafo/rou oi0konomi/aj .

31: au0to\j e!fa. .

32: [The word "reliable" is used here. I cannot let it stand, and have supplied an English word instead].

33: sunqiasw=tai .

34: tw= panti/ .

35: oi/k a0xrh/stouj . On Origen's views respecting rewards and punishments, cf. Huet's Origeniana , book ii. question xi.

36: ou0k e0pe/sth .

37: di/khn basanistou= pu=r fe/rwn .

38: [Note this testimony to the authorship of Koheleth , and that it is Scripture.] 39: Cf. Eccles. i. 9.

40: ei0 xph\ e0pisthsanta toi=j xro/noij ei0pei=n .

41: a0ne/tlasan kata\ perio/odou: tauto/thtasj kai\ a0paralla/ktouj toi=j i0di/oij poioi=j kai toi=j sumbebhko/sin au0toi=j .

42: kaki/an e0ti\ plei=on xeome/nhn .

43: Cf. Jer. xxiii. 24.

44: sugkatabai/nein .

45: [On this figure (anthropopathy) see vol. ii. p. 363, this series.]

46: geu=sai .

47: Cf. Deut. iv. 24, ix. 3.

48: Cf. Dan. vii. 10.

49: Cf. Mal. iii. 2.

50: Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 12.

51: swmatikw=j .

52: Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 13-15.

53: th\n tou= xrusou= (i#n' ou#twj o0noma/sw), fu/sin th=j yux h=j, h@ th=n a0rgu/rou, dolwsa/ntwn .

54: [See note supra , cap. x. S.] 55: 9O Qeo\j a0gaqo/j e0sti, kai\ kalo\j, kai= e0dai/mwn, kai\ e0n tw=| kalli/stw. kai\ a0ri/stw| .

56: kata/basin .

57: th= pronoi/a| kai\ th= oikonomi/a| .

58: Ps. cii. 27.

59: Mal. iii. 6.

60: h9gemoniko/n .

61: The reading in the text is, e0pi\ me/rouj gi/netai au0th=j , which is thus corrected by Guietus: e0pimerh\j gi/netai au0to\j .

62: Cf. Phil. ii. 6, 7.

63: Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 22.

64: Cf. 2 Cor. v. 21.

65: [Gieseler cites this chapter (and cap. xix. infra) to show that Origen taught that the Logos did not assume a human body. Could words be stronger to the contrary? "He becomes, as it were, flesh ," is used below to guard against transmutation.] 66: prohgoume/nhn .

67: a!timon .

68: e0klei=pon .

69: [The transfiguration did not conflict with his mortal nature, nor the incarnation with his immortality .] 70: ti/ a0kolouqei= .

71: [Such are the accomodations reflected upon by Gieseler. See Book III. cap. lxxix., supra .] 72: ti/ a!topon .

73: Phil. ii. 5-9.

74: o!mwj d' a0pologhso/meqa, o@ti ou0 fh\j, w\ Ke/lse, w9j e0n farma/kou moi/ra pote\ di/dotai xrh=sqai tw= plana=n kai\ tw= yeu/desqai .

75: prohgoume/nwj, a0ll' e0k perista/sewj .

76: Cf. Plato in the Timaeus , and book iii., de Legibus .

77: safh/j .

78: 'Epa\n to\ prokei/menon h\ parasth=sai kai/ ta/ th=j kata/ to/n to\pon isnopi\aj ti/na e!xoi lo/gon, kai\ ta\ th=j pperi\ au0tou= a0nagwgh=j .

79: Otus and Ephialtes. Cf. Smith's Dict. of Myth. and Biog ., s.v.

80: Cf. Hom., Odyss ., xi. 305.

81: [Demonstrated by Justin, vol. i. pp. 277, 278, this series.] 82: a9gistei/aj .

83: e0peskkoph/qhsan .

84: Qei=o/n ti kai= i9ero\n xrh=ma gego/e/nai to\n 'Ihsou=n .

85: ou0d' a0pokatastafh/sontai . [A very bold and confident assertion this must have seemed sixteen hundred years ago.] 86: kai\ a9rmo/zontaj th= pantaxou= kaqestw/sh politei/a .

87: u9po\ oi0kei/wn kai\ omoh/qwn .

88: th\n ou0ra/nion fora/n .

89: e0mpoliteu/etai .

90: e0ceuteli/zontej .

91: eu0tele/si .

92: ou0k e0n sw/mati kri/netai .

93: gu/pej : gru/pej ?

94: kai\ kata\ pa=san a0reth\n pepoi/wtai .

95: The allusion may possibly be to his flight from the field of Chaeronea, or to his avarice, or to the alleged impurity of his life, which is referred to by Plutarch in his Lives of the Ten Orators . - Spencer.

96: a0fopma\j e!xon pro\j a0reth/n .

97: u9potupw/seij .

98: ta\ au0to/qen pa=si profaino/mena do/gmata Xristianw=n kai\ 'Ioudai\wn .

99: fantasi/a d' eu0sebei/aj .

100: h@ kai\ ta\ 9dhmiourgh/mata .

101: li/qwnkai/ cu/lwn .

102: diarkei=n .

103: u9po\ logikw=n piqanoth/twn .

104: th\n ou0ra/nion fora/n .

105: bdelu/ssetai .

106: Cf. Wisd. of Solom. xi. 26, xii. 1, 2.

107: Ps. xxxiii. 5.

108: Ecclus. xviii. 13.

109: Cf. Matt. v. 45.

110: Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 10.

111: Cf. 1 John ii. 2.

112: Cf. Rom. v. 8.

113: Cf. Rom. v. 7.

114: timiw/tera .

115: Cf. Ps. lxxxii. 1.

116: daimo/nia . Cf. Ps. xcvi. 5.

117: Cf. Ps. lxxxii. 1.

118: 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

119: Cf. Matt. xxii. 30.

120: Cf. Luke xx. 36.

121: Cf. 1 John iii. 2.

122: kai\ tou=to/ g'a@n e9rmhneu/oimmi, to\ 123: w#ste kai\ h9 au0th\ a0nqrw/pou kai\ Qeou= . Cf. Cicero, de Leg ., i.: "Jam vero virtus eadem in homine ac deo est, neque ullo alio in genio praeterea. Est autem virtus nihil aliud, quam in se perfecta, et ad summum perducta natura. Est igitur homini cum Deo similitudo." Cf. also Clemens Alex., Strom ., vii. c. 14: Ou0 ga\r, kaqa/per oi9 Stwi>\koi\, a\qe/wj, pa/nu th\n au0th\n a0reth\n a0nqrw/pou le/gomen kai\ Qeou= . [See vol. ii. p. 549. S.] Cf. Theodoret, Serm ., xi. - Spencer.

124: Cf. Matt. v. 48.

125: Cf. Gen. i. 26.

126: Cf. Gen. i. 27.

127: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42.

128: Cf. Dan. xii. 3.

129: Cf. Matt. xx. 27.

130: Cf. Eurip., Phoeniss , 546, 547.

131: bwmolo/xoj .

132: kai\ a0meibousi sw/mata .

133: Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 11.

134: Cf. Rom. i. 19.

135: Rom. i. 21-23.

136: ou!t' e0n lo/gw| ou!t' e0n a0riqmw|= au\tou\j pote gegenhme/nouj .

137: e0politeu/eto .

138: [See note on Book III. cap. lxxvi. supra , and to vol. iii. p. 76, this series.] 139: Cf. Deut. iv. 16-18.

140: Cf. Deut. iv. 19.

141: politei/a .

142: ou0de\ fai/nesqai qhludri/an oi[o/n t' h[n .

143: oi>\ tinej dia\ to\ kaqaro\n h\qoj, kai\ to\ u9pe\r a!nqrwpon .

144: qei/a| moi/ra| .

145: kai/toige pa/nta xa/lwn kinh/santej .

146: a\po\ prw/thj spora=j goh/twn kai: pla/nwn a0nqrw/pwn .

147: parechgou/menoi .

148: [This formula he regards as an adumbration of the Triad (see our vol. ii. p. 101): thus, "the God of Abraham" = Fatherhood; "of Isaac" = Sonship; "of Jacob" = Wisdom, and the Founder of the New Israel.]

149: ei>\te kai\ u0to/qen semnu/nousan e0n a0por0r9h/toij tou\j a!ndraj, ei!te kai\ di' u9ponoiw=n ai0nissme/nhn tina\ mega/la kai\ qauma/sia toi=j qewrh=sai au0ta\ dunagrafh=sai au0ta\ duname/noij .

150: mustikh=j a0nagrafh=j .

151: e0rou=me/n te: o#ti mh/pote to\ kai\ u9f' u9mw=n paralamba/nesqai ta\ o0no/mata tw=n triw=n tou/twn genarxw=n tou= e!qnouj, th= e0nargei/a| katalambano/ntwn, ou0k eu0katafro/nhta a0nu/esqai e0k rh=j katepiklh/sewj au0tw=n, pari/sthsi to\ qei=on tw=n a0ndrw=n . Guietus would expunge the words th= e0nargei/a| katalambano/ntwn .

152: [See p. 511, supra , on the formula of benediction and exorcism, and compare Num. vi. 24.]
153: kata\ de\ Kelson, ou0 parista/nta . Libri editi ad oram w9j parista/nta .

154: gennai/wj .

155: parechgou/menoi .

156: pare/r0r9iye .

157: sugku/yantej .

158: a0mouso/tata .

159: Cf. Plato, de Repub ., book ii. etc.

160: e0pi\ th=j pla/sewj .

161: Cf. Job x. 8 and Ps. cxix. 73.

162: sxh=ma .

163: kakoh/qeian .

164: pla/sewj .

165: Gen. ii. 7; Heb. wyp%/)ab@;

166: e0mfusw/menon .

167: Wisd. of Solom. xii. 1.

168: Cf. Gen. ii. 21, 22.

169: a0nti\ tou= puro/j .

170: xwri\j panto\j lo/gou kai/ tinoj e0pikru/yewj .

171: moxqi/zein .

172: Hesiod, Works and Days , i. 73-114 (Elton's translation [in substance. S.]).

173: Hesiod, Works and Days , i.125-134 (Elton's translation [in substance. S.]).

174: " mu=qo/n tina "

175: para/deisoj .

176: Penia, poverty; Porus, abundance.

177: dia\ th\n au\th=j a0pori/an .

178: e\n toi=j e0kei/nhj geneqli/oij .

179: e0n toiau=th| tu/xh| kaqe/sthke .

180: sklhro\j kai\ auxmhro/j .

181: e0ndei/a .

182: su/ntonoj .

183: deino/j .

184: kai\ fronh/sewj kai\ po/rimoj .

185: deino\j go/hj .

186: [Plato, Symposion , xxiii. p. 203. S.]

187: Boherellus, quem Ruaeus sequitur, in notis; "Ante voces": ti/na tro/pon , videtur deesse: qauma/sontai , aut quid simile." - Lommatzsch.

188: to\ lego/menon .

189: eu0katafronh/twn .

190: fusiologei= Mwu>\sh=j ta\ peri\ tou= a!qrw/pou fu/sewj .

191: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 22 with Rom. v. 14.

192: ou0k e!sti kaq' h[j ou0 le/getai .

193: pteror0r9uou/shj . This is a correction for pterofuou/lhj , the textual reading in the Benedictine and Spencer's edd.

194: a0llo/koton .

195: korw/nh .

196: paraxara/ttontej kai\ r9a|diourgou=ntej .

197: toi= duna/mei le/gesqai ta\ me/tra .

198: [This question, which is little short of astounding, illustrates the marvellous reach and play of Origen's fancy at times. See note supra , p. 262. S.] 199: paraxara/ttontej kai\ r9a|diourgou=ntej .

200: Cf. Matt. xxi. 43.

201: e!cwron .

202: Cf. Gen. iv. 8.

203: Cf. Gen. xxvii. 41.

204: a!gxista de\ toutoij pa=si sumpoliteu/omenon .

205: qeiothta .

206: e0r0r9wme/nwj .

207: Cf. Gen. xxx. 42 (LXX.). "The feebler were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's" (Auth. Vers.).

208: Cf. Gen. xxx. 43.

209: Cf. 1 Cor. x. 11.

210: par' oi[j ta\ poiki\la h!qh e0pi/shma geno/mena, tw=| logw\| tou= Qeou= politeu/etai, doqe/nta kth=sij kaloume/nw| 'Iakw/b : e0pi/shma is the term employed to denote the "spotted" cattle of Laban, and is here used by Origen in its figurative sense of "distinguished," thus playing on the double meaning of the word.

211: fre/ata .

212: la/kkouj .

213: th\n e0nupa/rxousan gh=n kai\ a0rxh\n tw=n poti/mwn a0gaqw=n . Boherellus proposes: th\n e0nupa/rxousan phgh\n kai\ a0rxh\n tw=n poti/mwn u9da/twn .

214: Cf. Prov. v. 15-17.

215: Cf. Gen. xxvi. 15.

216: nu\mfaj .

217: Cf. Gal. iv. 21-24.

218: ta\ a0pemfai/nonta .

219: Gen. xix. 17.

220: oi9 e0pitugxa/nonte/j ge au0tw=n .

221: ou0k eu0katafro/nhtoj au0toi=j .

222: zw/puron .

223: boulh/mati .

224: e!xei de/ tina kai\ kaq' au0to\ a/pologi/an . [Our Edinburgh translator gives a misleading rendering here. Origen throughout this part of his argument is reasoning ad hominem , and has shown that Greek philosophy sustains this idea.] 225: Cf. Homer, Iliad , vi. 160.

226: o9si\aj e#neken .

227: lata\ th\n prw/thn e0kdoxh/n .

228: tou\j spermatikou\j lo/gouj .

229: kata\ to\n prohgou/menon noh=n .

230: Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10, and Deut. xxv. 4.

231: Cf. Eph. v. 31, 32. Cf. Gen. ii. 24.

232: Cf. 1 Cor. x. 1, 2.

233: Cf. 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.

234: problh/mata kai\ parabolai/ .

235: Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 1-3.

236: Cf. Ps. cxix. 18.

237: e0pa\n e0pakou/sh|tou= par' e9autou= pa/nta poih/santoj .

238: Cf. Ezek. xxix. 3.

239: Cf. Ezek. xxxii. 5, 6.

240: Cf. Ezek. xxix. 3.

241: Cf. Hos. xiv. 9.

242: Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 8. [Note this testimony concerning Numenius.] 243: to\ eu0tele/steron .

244: yuxh/ .

245: u#lh .

246: The reading in the text of Spencer and of the Benedictine ed. is kataleifqei=san , for which Lommatzsch has adopted the conjecture of Boherellus, katalhfqei=san .

247: w0felei/aj .

248: u9p' e0nuparxou/shj a0fanta/stou fu/sewj dioikoume/w/ .

249: pro\j xrei/an ou0k eu0katafro/nhton .

250: o#pwj pote\ a!llwj o!ntwn .

251: ti/ni h@ ti/sin .

252: ai0sqhtou= qeou= .

253: Cf. Plato in Timaeo .

254: a!u>\lon .

255: pe/mpthj para\ ta\ te/ssara stouxei=a ei\nai fu/sewj .

256: Cf. Ps. cii. 26, 27.

257: aiqeri/ou .

258: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 41, etc.

259: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 44.

260: odoi/ .

261: kainh=j diadecame/nhj o9dou= kai\ a0lloi/aj , etc. For diadecaue/nhj , Boherellus would read a0pokata/stasij . Cf. Origen, de Princip ., iii. c. 5; ii. c. 3. [See also Neander's Church History , vol. 1. p. 328, and his remarks on "the general a0pokata/stasij " of Origen. S.] 262: sunte/leia .

263: Cf. Pliny, x. c. 66: "Anguem ex medullâ hominis spinae gigni accepimus a multis." Cf. also Ovid, Metamorphos ., xv. fab. iv.

264: swma/twn .

265: tw=n diafero/twn .

266: kai\ mi/a ei0j a0moibh\n pali/ntropon i0ou=sa kai\ e0paniou=sa .

267: sw=ma .

268: ou!tw de\ kai\ to\ a0pollu/menon ei0j metabolh\n diame/nei .

269: diele/gxetai ou0k e0pidexo/mena to\ gennai=on kai\ a!a/ti/r0r9hton .

270: o9 th\n a0lh/qeia/ e0kperilamba/nwn .

271: [Cf. Plato, Theaetetus , xxv. p. 176. S.] 272: ao/riston .

273: kai\ tw/ i0di/w| lo/gw| .

274: tosoi=sde tugxa/nousin .

275: 'Amfi/boloi .

276: 'gorano/moi .

277: a0r0[htopoiou=j ou0k i!sasi .

278: ou9 pa/ntwj kai\ h9 tw=n kakw=n ge/nesij a0ei\ h9 au0th/ .

279: ou0k a0ei\ ta\ au0ta/ e0sti peri\ to\ h9gemoniko\n autou=, kai\ to\n lo/gon au0tou=, kai\ ta\j pra/ceij .

280: qewri/aij .

281: tw=n o_lwn .

282: ta\ e0n o9lw| tw=| ko/smw| .

283: peri/odoj .

284: kata\ ta\j tetagme/aj a0nakuklh/seij .

285: mh\ e0gnwkw\j kako\n ei\nai to\ nomi/zein eu0se/beian sw/zesqai e0n toi=j kaqesthko/si kata\ ta\j koino/teron nooume/aj politei/aj no/moij .

286: to\ h9emoni/ko/n .

287: Cf. Lam. iii. 38. [In the Authorized Version and in the Vulgate the passage is interrogative. S.] 288: htij e0sti\ to\ kako/n .

289: to\ e0f' h9mi=n a0nh\|rhtai .

290: tou= panto/j .

291: a0paralla/ktouj .

292: ta\ o9rw/me/a .

293: ou!te tw= Qew=| kainote/raj dei= diorqw/sewj .

294: o9ti kai kai\ pa/nth tetagme/raj au0th\n a0fani/zwn sufero/ntwj tw=| panti/ .

295: [See note supra , p. 524. S.] 296: ta\ sfa/lmata a0nalamba/nein .

297: e!xei ti\ eu0labe/j .

298: kai\ w9j yekto\j katate/taktai ei0j xrei/an a0peuktai/an me\n e9ka/stw| xrh/simon de\ tw=| panti/ .

299: e0n a0peuktai/w| pragmatl .

300: Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21.

301: [See note, p. 502, supra .] 302: ou0 tou= e9autwn e0n tw| le/gein stoxazo/meqa dunatou= .

303: Cf. Deut. i. 31. Origen appears to have read, not e0trofo/rhsen , the common reading (Heb.)#&/w 304: Cf. Ps. vi. 1.

305: Cf. Jer. x. 24.

306: Cf. Eph. ii. 3.

307: Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 8.

308: Cf. Col. iii. 8.

309: Ps. xliv. 23.

310: Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 65.

311: kai\ lo/gon me\n e!cei ta\ logika\, a_per e\sti\ prohgou/mena, pai/dwn gennwme/nwn: ta\ d' a!loga kai\ ta\ a!yuxa xwri/ou sugktizome/nou ta=| paidi/w .

312: a\gorano/moi .

313: suntuxi/a tij a0toxmwn .

314: ou0dei\j lo/goj texniko/j u9pe/sthsen au0ta/ .

315: e/sti/an .

316: Cf. Ps. civ. 14, 15.

317: Cf. Ecclus. xxxix. 21, and 16, 17.

318: mo/lij kai\ e0pipo/nwj .

319: e0pideh= .

320: dia\ nautikh=j kai\ kubernhtikh=j .

321: a0formh/n .

322: Cf. Eurip., Phoeniss ., 546.

323: ta\ e! ou0ranw=| .

324: o9 kata/ tinaj Skhniko\j filo/sofoj . Euripides himself is the person alluded to. He is called by Athenaeus and Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom ., v. vol. ii. p. 461), o9 e0pi\ th=j skhnh=j filoxsofoj . - De La Rue.

325: sunekdoxikw=j .

326: e9autw=| a0nqupofe/rei .

327: zw/pura .

328: Cf. Hesiod, Fragmenta Incerta , ed. Goettling, p. 231.

329: [Cf. Wordsworth, Excursion : "He sat and talked," etc., book iv., circa med .] 330: ou: ga\r a0qeei .

331: h9gemoni/aij .

332: tw=n h9tthme/nwn ai:re:seij . "Nota ai0rj/seij hoc loco sumi pro internecionibus, caedibus. Haud scio an alibi reperiatur pari signigicatu. Forte etiam scribendum kaqaire/seij ." - Ruaeus.

333: Paraba/lh| tw=| lo/gw| pro\j touj mu/rmhkaj . "Verba: ta| lo/gw| pro\j rouj murmhkaj addititia videntur et recidenda." - RUAEUS.

334: e0pai>\/wn .

335: to\ koinwniko/n .

336: e0ntre/xeian .

337: ou0kou=n kai\ lo/gou sumplh/rwsi/j e0sti par' au0toi=j, kai\ koinai\ e!nnoiai kaqolikw=n tinwn, kai\ fwnh\, kai\ twgxa/nonta shmaino/mena .

338: a0sxhmosu/nhn .

339: ou0 katanoei= de\ to\ logiko\n h9gemoniko\n kai\ logismw=| kinou/menon ;

340: meta\ tinoj fusikh=j u9pokataskeuh=j ;

341: a0rxh/n .

342: th\n a0logi/an .

343: lo\goj .

344: fusikh/n tina kata/lhyin .

345: tw=| mara/qrw| .

346: a0ll' e0k kataskeuh=j .

347: [The a0eti/thj . See Pliny, N. H ., x. 4.] 348: apotetagme/nwj .

349: u0po\ tou= Lo/gou gegenhmi/nh .

350: xoirogru/llioi . Heb. Myn%Ip'#$;

351: a0skalabw/thj .

352: Cf. Prov. xxx. 24-28.

353: au0to/en .

354: John xvi. 25.

355: idiwtika/ .

356: qew=n mantikw=n .

357: th\n a0xa/riston yeudodoci/an .

358: Ps. xlix. 12.

359: ei!per oi0wnoi\ oi0wnoi=j ma/xontai . For ma/xontai Ruaeus conjectures diale/gontai , which is adopted by Lommatzsch.

360: Homer, Iliad , ii. 308 sq. (Pope's translation).

361: Homer, Iliad , xii. 200 sq. (Pope's translation).

362: kata\ de/ ti shmei=on .

363: i9e/rac .

364: ki/rkoj , "the hen-harrier," "Falco," or "Circus pygargus." Cf. Liddell and Scott, s.v.

365: Cf. Homer, Odyss ., xv. 526.

366: kai\ ou0 kaki/an me\n, oi9onei de\ kaki/an ou\san .

367: e0n me/soij .

368: klhdo/nej .

369: Cf. Homer, Odyss., iv. 685; cf. also xx. 116, 119.

370: Cf. Homer, Odyss., xx. 120.

371: Cf. Homer, Odyss., xvii. 541.

372: Cf. Homer, Odyss., xvii. 545.

373: ou!te toi=j tuxou=si tw=n a0nqrw/pwn .

374: Cf. Lev. xix. 26. The Septuagint here differs from the Masoretic text.

375: Cf. Deut. xviii. 14, cf. 12.

376: Cf. Deut. xviii. 15.

377: Cf. Num. xxiii. 23.

378: Prov. iv. 23.

379: Cf. Rom. viii. 14.

380: ek!oj0,aso/aj .

381: tropa/j .

382: Cf. Ex. xxiv. 2.

383: a0pemfai=non .

384: a0ntipelargou=ntoj .

385: [See vol. i. pp. viii., 12, this series. Observe, Origen, in Egypt , doubts the story.]

386: a0ll' ei0 mh\ pa=n e@rgon . "Gelenius does not recognise these words, and Guietus regards them as superfluous." They are omitted in the translation.

Against Celsus - Book 5

Book V.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter III.

Chapter IV.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI.

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV.

Chapter XVI.

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XXI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX.

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter L.

Chapter LI.

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Book V.

Chapter I.

It is not, my reverend Ambrosius, because we seek after many words-a thing which is forbidden, and in the indulgence of which it is impossible to avoid sin1 -that we now begin the fifth book of our reply to the treatise of Celsus, but with the endeavour, so far as may be within our power, to leave none of his statements without examination, and especially those in which it might appear to some that he had skilfully assailed us and the Jews. If it were possible, indeed, for me to enter along with my words into the conscience of every one without exception who peruses this work, and to extract each dart which wounds him who is not completely protected with the "whole armour" of God, and apply a rational medicine to cure the wound inflicted by Celsus, which prevents those who listen to his words from remaining "sound in the faith," I would do so. But since it is the work of God alone, in conformity with His own Spirit, and along with that of Christ, to take up His abode invisibly in those persons whom He judges worthy of being visited; so, on the other hand, is our object to try, by means of arguments and treatises, to confirm men in their faith, and to earn the name of "workmen needing not to be ashamed, tightly dividing the word of truth."2 And there is one thing above all which it appears to us we ought to do, if we would discharge faithfully the task enjoined upon us by you, and that is to overturn to the best of our ability the confident assertions of Celsus. Let us then quote such assertions of his as follow those which we have already refuted (the reader: must decide whether we have done so successfully or not), and let us reply to them. And may God grant that we approach not our subject with our understanding and reason empty and devoid of divine inspiration, that the faith of those whom we wish to aid may not depend upon human wisdom, but that, receiving the "mind" of Christ from His Father, who alone can bestow it, and being strengthened by participating in the word of God, we may pull down "every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God,"3 and the imagination of Celsus, who exalts himself against us, and against Jesus, and also against Moses and the prophets, in order that He who "gave the word to those who published it with great power"4 may supply us also, and bestow upon us "great power," so that faith in the word and power of God may be implanted in the minds of all who will peruse our work.

Chapter II.

We have now, then, to refute that statement of his which runs as follows: "O Jews and Christians, no God or son of a God either came or will come down (to earth). But if you mean that certain angels did so, then what do you call them? Are they gods, or some other race of beings? Some other race of beings (doubtless), and in all probability demons." Now as Celsus here is guilty of repeating himself (for in the preceding pages such assertions have been frequently advanced by him), it is unnecessary to discuss the matter at greater length, seeing what we have already said upon this point may suffice. We shall mention, however, a few considerations out of a greater number, such as we deem in harmony with our former arguments, but which have not altogether the same bearing as they, and by which we shall show that in asserting generally that no God, or son of God, ever descended (among men), he overturns not only the opinions entertained by the majority of mankind regarding the manifestation of Deity, but also what was formerly admitted by himself. For if the general statement, that "no God or son of God has come down or will come down," be truly maintained by Celsus, it is manifest that we have here overthrown the belief in the existence of gods upon the earth who had descended from heaven either to predict the future to mankind or to heal them by means of divine responses; and neither the Pythian Apollo, nor Aesculapius, nor any other among those supposed to have done so, would be a god descended from heaven. He might, indeed, either be a god who had obtained as his lot (the obligation) to dwell on earth for ever, and be thus a fugitive, as it were, from the abode of the gods, or he might be one who had no power to share in the society of the gods in heaven;5 or else Apollo, and Aesculapius, and those others who are believed to perform acts on earth, would not be gods, but only certain demons, much inferior to those wise men among mankind, who on account of their virtue ascend to the vault6 of heaven.

Chapter III. But observe how, in his desire to subvert our opinions, he who never acknowledged himself throughout his whole treatise to be an Epicurean, is convicted of being a deserter to that sect. And now is the time for you, (reader), who peruse the works of Celsus, and give your assent to what has been advanced, either to overturn the belief in a God who visits the human race, and exercises a providence over each individual man, or to grant this, and prove the falsity of the assertions of Celsus. If you, then, wholly annihilate providence, you will falsify those assertions of his in which he grants the existence of "God and a providence," in order that you may maintain the truth of your own position; but if, on the other hand, you still admit the existence of providence, because you do not assent to the dictum of Celsus, that "neither has a God nor the son of a God come down nor is to come down7 to mankind," why not rather carefully ascertain from the statements made regarding Jesus, and the prophecies uttered concerning Him, who it is that we are to consider as having come down to the human race as God, and the Son of God?-whether that Jesus who said and ministered so much, or those who under pretence of oracles and divinations, do not reform the morals of their worshippers, but who have besides apostatized from the pure and holy worship and honour due to the Maker of all things, and who tear away the souls of those who give heed to them from the one only visible and true God, under a pretence of paying honour to a multitude of deities?

Chapter IV. But since he says, in the next place, as if the Jews or Christians had answered regarding those who come down to visit the human race, that they were angels: "But if ye say that they are angels, what do you call them? "he continues, "Are they gods, or some other race of

beings? "and then again introduces us as if answering, "Some other race of beings, and probably demons,"-let us proceed to notice these remarks. For we indeed acknowledge that angels are "ministering spirits," and we say that "they are sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation; "8 and that they ascend, bearing the supplications of men, to the purest of the heavenly places in the universe, or even to supercelestial regions purer still;9 and that they come down from these, conveying to each one, according to his deserts, something enjoined by God to be conferred by them upon those who are to be the recipients of His benefits. Having thus learned to call these beings "angels" from their employments, we find that because they are divine they are sometimes termed "god" in the sacred Scriptures,10 but not so that we are commanded to honour and worship in place of God those who minister to us, and bear to us His blessings. For every prayer, and supplication, and intercession, and thanksgiving, is to be sent up to the Supreme God through the High Priest, who is above all the angels, the living Word and God. And to the Word Himself shall we also pray and make intercessions, and offer thanksgivings and supplications to Him, if we have the capacity of distinguishing between the proper use and abuse of prayer.11

Chapter V. For to invoke angels without having obtained a knowledge of their nature greater than is possessed by men, would be contrary to reason. But, conformably to our hypothesis, let this knowledge of them, which is something wonderful and mysterious, be obtained. Then this knowledge, making known to us their nature, and the offices to which they are severally appointed, will not permit us to pray with confidence to any other than to the Supreme God, who is sufficient for all things, and that through our Saviour the Son of God, who is the Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and everything else which the writings of God's prophets and the apostles of Jesus entitle Him. And it is enough to secure that the holy angels of God be propitious to us,12 and that they do all things on our behalf, that our disposition of mind towards God should imitate as far as it is within the power of human nature the example of these holy angels, who again follow the example of their God; and that the conceptions which we entertain of His Son, the Word, so far as attainable by us, should not be opposed to the clearer conceptions of Him which the holy angels possess, but should daily approach these in clearness and distinctness. But because Celsus has not read our holy Scriptures, he gives himself an answer as if it came from us, saying that we "assert that the angels who come down from heaven to confer benefits on mankind are a different race from the gods," and adds that "in all probability they would be called demons by us: "not observing that the name "demons" is not a term of indifferent meaning like that of "men," among whom some are good and some bad, nor yet a term of excellence like that of "the gods," which is applied not to wicked demons, or to statues, or to animals, but (by those who know divine things) to what is truly divine and blessed; whereas the term "demons" is always applied to those wicked powers, freed from the encumbrance of a grosser body, who lead men astray, and fill them with distractions and drag them down from God and supercelestial thoughts to things here below.

Chapter VI.

He next proceeds to make the following statement about the Jews:-"The first point relating to the Jews which is fitted to excite wonder, is that they should worship the heaven and the angels who dwell therein, and yet pass by and neglect its most venerable and powerful parts, as the sun, the moon, and the other heavenly bodies, both fixed stars and planets, as if it were possible that 'the whole' could be God, and yet its parts not divine; or (as if it were reasonable) to treat with the greatest respect those who are said to appear to such as are in darkness somewhere, blinded by

some crooked sorcery, or dreaming dreams through the influence of shadowy spectres,13 while those who prophesy so clearly and strikingly to all men, by means of whom rain, and heat, and clouds, and thunder (to which they offer worship), and lightnings, and fruits, and all kinds of productiveness, are brought about,-by means of whom God is revealed to them,-the most prominent heralds among those beings that are above,-those that are truly heavenly angels,-are to be regarded as of no account!" In making these statements, Celsus appears to have fallen into confusion, and to have penned them from false ideas of things which he did not understand; for it is patent to all who investigate the practices of the Jews, and compare them with those of the Christians, that the Jews who follow the law, which, speaking in the person of God, says, "Thou shall have no other gods before Me: thou shalt not make unto thee an image, nor a likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth; thou shall not bow down to them, nor serve them,"14 worship nothing else than the Supreme God, who made the heavens, and all things besides. Now it is evident that those who live according to the law, and worship the Maker of heaven, will not worship the heaven at the same time with God. Moreover, no one who obeys the law of Moses will bow down to the angels who are in heaven; and, in like manner, as they do not bow down to sun, moon, and stars, the host of heaven, they refrain from doing obeisance to heaven and its angels, obeying the law which declares: "Lest thou lift up thine eyes to heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations."15

Chapter VII.

Having, moreover, assumed that the Jews consider the heaven to be God, he adds that this is absurd; finding fault with those who bow down to the heaven, but not also to the sun, and moon, and stars, saying that the Jews do this, as if it were possible that "the whole" should be God, and its several parts not divine. And he seems to call the heaven "a whole," and sun, moon, and stars its several parts. Now, certainly neither Jews nor Christians call the "heaven" God. Let it be granted, however, that, as he alleges, the heaven is called God by the Jews, and suppose that sun, moon, and stars are parts of "heaven,"-which is by no means true, for neither are the animals and plants upon the earth any portion of it,-how is it true, even according to the opinions of the Greeks, that if God be a whole, His parts also are divine? Certainly they say that the Cosmos taken as the whole16 is God, the Stoics calling it the First God, the followers of Plato the Second, and some of them the Third. According to these philosophers, then, seeing the whole Cosmos is God, its parts also are divine; so that not only are human beings divine, but the whole of the irrational creation, as being "portions" of the Cosmos; and besides these, the plants also are divine. And if the rivers, and mountains, and seas are portions of the Cosmos, then, since the whole Cosmos is God, are the riven and seas also gods? But even this the Greeks will not assert. Those, however, who preside over rivers and seas (either demons or gods, as they call them), they would term gods. Now from this it follows that the general statement of Celsus, even according to the Greeks, who hold the doctrine of Providence, is false, that if any "whole" be a god, its parts necessarily are divine. But it follows from the doctrine of Celsus, that if the Cosmos be God, all that is in it is divine, being parts of the Cosmos. Now, according to this view, animals, as flies, and gnats, and worms, and every species of serpent, as well as of birds and fishes, will be divine,-an assertion which would not be made even by those who maintain that the Cosmos is

God. But the Jews, who live according to the law of Moses, although they may not know how to receive the secret meaning of the law, which is conveyed in obscure language, will not maintain that either the heaven or the angels are God.

Chapter VIII. As we allege, however, that he has fallen into confusion in consequence of false notions which he has imbibed, come and let us point them out to the best of our ability, and show that although Celsus considers it to be a Jewish custom to bow down to the heaven and the angels in it, such a practice is not at all Jewish, but is in violation of Judaism, as it also is to do obeisance to sun, moon, and stars, as well as images. You will find at least in the book of Jeremiah the words of God censuring by the mouth of the prophet the Jewish people for doing obeisance to such objects, and for sacrificing to the queen of heaven, and to all the host of heaven.17 The writings of the Christians, moreover, show, in censuring the sins committed among the Jews, that when God abandoned that people on account of certain sins, these sins (of idol-worship) also were committed by them. For it is related in the Acts of the Apostles regarding the Jews, that "God turned, and gave them up to worship the host of heaven; as it is written in the book of the prophets, O ye house of Israel, have ye offered to Me slain beasts and sacrifices by the space of forty years in the wilderness? Yea, ye took up the tabernacle of Moloch, and the star of your god Remphan, figures which you made to worship them."18 And in the writings of Paul, who was carefully trained in Jewish customs, and converted afterwards to Christianity by a miraculous appearance of Jesus, the following words may be read in the Epistle to the Colossians: "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind; and not holding the Head, from which all the body by joint and bands having nourishment ministered, and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God."19 But Celsus, having neither read these verses, nor having learned their contents from any other source, has represented, I know not how, the Jews as not transgressing their law in bowing down to the heavens, and to the angels therein.

Chapter IX. And still continuing a little confused, and not taking care to see what was relevant to the matter, he expressed his opinion that the Jews were induced by the incantations employed in jugglery and sorcery (in consequence of which certain phantoms appear, in obedience to the spells employed by the magicians) to bow down to the angels in heaven, not observing that this was contrary to their law, which said to them who practised such observances: "Regard not them which have familiar spirits,20 neither seek after wizards,21 to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God."22 He ought, therefore, either not to have at all attributed this practice to the Jews, seeing he has observed that they keep their law, and has called them "those who live according to their law; "or if he did attribute it, he ought to have shown that the Jews did this in violation of their code. But again, as they transgress their law who offer worship to those who are said to appear to them who are involved in darkness and blinded by sorcery, and who dream dreams, owing to obscure phantoms presenting themselves; so also do they transgress the law who offer sacrifice to sun, moon, and stars.23 And there is thus great inconsistency in the same individual saying that the Jews are careful to keep their law by not bowing down to sun, and moon, and stars, while they are not so careful to keep it in the matter of heaven and the angels.

Chapter X. And if it be necessary for us to offer a defence of our refusal to recognise as gods, equally with angels, and sun, and moon, and stars, those who are called by the Greeks "manifest and visible" divinities, we shall answer that the law of Moses knows that these latter have been

apportioned by God among all the nations under the heaven, but not amongst those who were selected by God as His chosen people above all the nations of the earth. For it is written in the book of Deuteronomy: "And lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them, and serve them, which the Lord thy God hath divided unto all nations unto the whole heaven. But the Lord hath taken us, and brought as forth out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt, to be unto Him a people of inheritance, as ye are this day."24 The Hebrew people, then, being called by God a "chosen generation, and a royal priesthood, and a holy nation, and a purchased people,"25 regarding whom it was foretold to Abraham by the voice of the Lord addressed to him, "Look now towards heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and He said unto him, So shall thy seed be; "26 and having thus a hope that they would become as the stars of heaven, were not likely to bow down to those objects which they were to resemble as a result of their understanding and observing the law of God. For it was said to them: "The Lord our God hath multiplied us; and, behold, ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude."27 In the book of Daniel, also, the following prophecies are found relating to those who are to share in the resurrection: "And at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that has been written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust28 of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and (those) of the many righteous29 as the stars for ever and ever,"30 etc. And hence Paul, too, when speaking of the resurrection, says: "And there are also celestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory. So also is the resurrection of the dead."31 It was not therefore consonant to reason that those who had been taught sublimely32 to ascend above all created things, and to hope for the enjoyment of the most glorious rewards with God on account of their virtuous lives, and who had heard the words, "Ye are the light of I the world,"33 and, "Let your light so shine before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorify your Father who is in heaven,"34 and who possessed through practice this brilliant and unfading wisdom, or who had secured even the "very reflection of everlasting light,"35 should be so impressed with the (mere) visible light of sun, and moon, and stars, that, on account of that sensible light of theirs, they should deem themselves (although possessed of so great a rational light of knowledge, and of the true light, and the light of the world, and the light of men) to be somehow inferior to them, and to bow down to them; seeing they ought to be worshipped, if they are to receive worship at all, not for the sake of the sensible light which is admired by the multitude, but because of the rational and true light, if indeed the stars in heaven are rational and virtuous beings, and have been illuminated with the light of knowledge by that wisdom which is the "reflection of everlasting light." For that sensible light of theirs is the work of the Creator of all things, while that rational light is derived perhaps from the principle of free-will within them.36

Chapter XI. But even this rational light itself ought not to be worshipped by him who beholds and understands the true light, by sharing in which these also are enlightened; nor by him who beholds God, the Father of the true light,-of whom it has been said, "God is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all."37 Those, indeed, who worship sun, moon, and stars because their light is visible and celestial, would not bow down to a spark of fire or a lamp upon earth, because they see the incomparable superiority of those objects which are deemed worthy of homage to the light of

sparks and lamps. So those who understand that God is light, and who have apprehended that the Son of God is "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and who comprehend also how He says, "I am the light of the world," would not rationally offer worship to that which is, as it were, a spark in sun, moon, and stars, in comparison with God, who is light of the true light. Nor is it with a view to depreciate these great works of God's creative power, or to call them, after the fashion of Anaxagoras, "fiery masses,"38 that we thus speak of sun, and moon, and stars; but because we perceive the inexpressible superiority of the divinity of God, and that of His only-begotten Son, which surpasses all other things. And being persuaded that the sun himself, and moon, and stars pray to the Supreme God through His only-begotten Son, we judge it improper to pray to those beings who themselves offer up prayers (to God), seeing even they themselves would prefer that we should send up our requests to the God to whom they pray, rather than send them downwards to themselves, or apportion our power of prayer39 between God and them.40 And here I may employ this illustration, as beating upon this point: Our Lord and Saviour, heating Himself on one occasion addressed as "Good Master,"41 referring him who used it to His own Father, said, "Why callest thou Me good? There is none good but one, that is, God the Father."42 And since it was in accordance with sound reason that this should be said by the Son of His Father's love, as being the image of the goodness of God, why should not the sun say with greater reason to those that bow down to him, Why do you worship me? "for thou wilt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve; "43 for it is He whom I and all who are with me serve and worship. And although one may not be so exalted (as the sun), nevertheless let such an one pray to the Word of God (who is able to heal him), and still more to His Father, who also to the righteous of former times "sent His word, and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions."44

Chapter XII.

God accordingly, in His kindness, condescends to mankind, not in any local sense, but through His providence;45 while the Son of God, not only (when on earth), but at all times, is with His own disciples, fulfilling the promise, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."46 And if a branch cannot bear fruit except it abide in the vine, it is evident that the disciples also of the Word, who are the rational branches of the Word's true vine, cannot produce the fruits of virtue unless they abide in the true vine, the Christ of God, who is with us locally here below upon the earth, and who is with those who cleave to Him in all parts of the world, and is also in all places with those who do not know Him. Another is made manifest by that John who wrote the Gospel, when, speaking in the person of John the Baptist, he said, "There standeth one among you whom ye know not; He it is who cometh after me."47 And it is absurd, when He who fills heaven and earth, and who said, "Do I not fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord,"48 is with us, and near us (for I believe Him when He says, "I am a God nigh at hand, and not afar off, saith the Lord"49 to seek to pray to sun or moon, or one of the stars, whose influence does not reach the whole of the world.50 But, to use the very words of Celsus, let it be granted that "the sun, moon, and stars do foretell rain, and heat, and clouds, and thunders," why, then, if they really do foretell such great things, ought we not rather to do homage to God, whose servant they are in uttering these predictions, and show reverence to Him rather than His prophets? Let them predict, then, the approach of lightnings, and fruits, and all manner of productions, and let all such things be under their administration; yet we shall not on that account worship those who themselves offer worship, as

we do not worship even Moses, and those prophets who came from God after him, and who predicted better things than rain, and heat, and clouds, and thunders, and lightnings, and fruits, and all sorts of productions visible to the senses. Nay, even if sun, and moon, and stars were able to prophesy better things than rain, not even then shall we worship them, but the Father of the prophecies which are in them, and the Word of God, their minister. But grant that they are His heralds, and truly messengers of heaven, why, even then ought we not to worship the God whom they only proclaim and announce, rather than those who are the heralds and messengers?

Chapter XIII.

Celsus, moreover, assumes that sun, and moon, and stars are regarded by us as of no account. Now, with regard to these, we acknowledge that they too are "waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God," being for the present subjected to the "vanity" of their material bodies, "by reason of Him who has subjected the same in hope."51 But if Celsus had read the innumerable other passages where we speak of sun, moon, and stars, and especially these,-"Praise Him, all ye stars, and thou, O light," and, "Praise Him, ye heaven of heavens,"52 -he would not have said of us that we regard such mighty beings, which "greatly praise" the Lord God, as of no account. Nor did Celsus know the passage: "For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope; because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."53 And with these words let us terminate our defence against the charge of not worshipping sun, moon, and stars. And let us now bring forward those statements of his which follow, that we may, God willing, address to him in reply such arguments as shall be suggested by the light of truth.

Chapter XIV. The following, then, are his words: "It is folly on their part to suppose that when God, as if He were a cook,54 introduces the fire (which is to consume the world), all the rest of the human race will be burnt up, while they alone will remain, not only such of them as are then alive, but also those who are long since dead, which latter will arise from the earth clothed with the self-same flesh (as during life); for such a hope is simply one which might be cherished by worms. For what sort of human soul is that which would still long for a body that had been subject to corruption? Whence, also, this opinion of yours is not shared by some of the Christians, and they pronounce it to be exceedingly vile, and loathsome, and impossible; for what kind of body is that which, after being completely corrupted, can return to its original nature, and to that self-same first condition out of which it fell into dissolution? Being unable to return any answer, they betake themselves to a most absurd refuge, viz., that all things are possible to God. And yet God cannot do things that are disgraceful, nor does He wish to do things that are contrary to His nature; nor, if (in accordance with the wickedness of your own heart) you desired anything that was evil, would God accomplish it; nor must you believe at once that it will be done. For God does not rule the world in order to satisfy inordinate desires, or to allow disorder and confusion, but to govern a nature that is upright and just.55 For the soul, indeed, He might be able to provide an everlasting life; while dead bodies, on the contrary, are, as Heraclitus observes, more worthless than dung. God, however, neither can nor will declare, contrary to all reason, that the flesh, which is full of those things which it is not even honourable to mention, is to exist for ever. For He is the reason of all things that exist, and therefore can do nothing either contrary to reason or contrary to Himself."

Chapter XV.

Observe, now, here at the very beginning, how, in ridiculing the doctrine of a conflagration of the world, held by certain of the Greeks who have treated the subject in a philosophic spirit not to be depreciated, he would make us, "representing God, as it were, as a cook, hold the belief in a general conflagration; "not perceiving that, as certain Greeks were of opinion (perhaps having received their information from the ancient nation of the Hebrews), it is a purificatory fire which is brought upon the world, and probably also on each one of those who stand in need of chastisement by the fire and healing at the same time, seeing it burns indeed, but does not consume, those who are without a material body,56 which needs to be consumed by that fire, and which burns and consumes those who by their actions, words, and thoughts have built up wood, or hay, or stubble, in that which is figuratively termed a "building."57 And the holy Scriptures say that the Lord will, like a refiner's fire and fullers' soap,58 visit each one of those who require purification, because of the intermingling in them of a flood of wicked matter proceeding from their evil nature; who need fire, I mean, to refine, as it were, (the dross of) those who are intermingled with copper, and tin, and lead. And he who likes may learn this from the prophet Ezekiel.59 But that we say that God brings fire upon the world, not like a cook, but like a God, who is the benefactor of them who stand in need of the discipline of fire,60 will be testified by the prophet Isaiah, in whose writings it is related that a sinful nation was thus addressed: "Because thou hast coals of fire, sit upon them: they shall be to thee a help."61 Now the Scripture is appropriately adapted to the multitudes of those who are to peruse it, because it speaks obscurely of things that are sad and gloomy,62 in order to terrify those who cannot by any other means be saved from the flood of their sins, although even then the attentive reader will dearly discover the end that is to be accomplished by these sad and painful punishments upon those who endure them. It is sufficient, however, for the present to quote the words of Isaiah: "For My name's sake will I show Mine anger, and My glory I will bring upon thee, that I may not destroy thee."63 We have thus been under the necessity of referring in obscure terms to questions not fitted to the capacity of simple believers,64 who require a simpler instruction in words, that we might not appear to leave unrefuted the accusation of Celsus, that "God introduces the fire (which is to destroy the world), as if He were a cook."

Chapter XVI. From what has been said, it will be manifest to intelligent hearers how we have to answer the following: "All the rest of the race will be completely burnt up, and they alone will remain." It is not to be wondered at, indeed, if such thoughts have been entertained by those amongst us who are called in Scripture the "foolish things" of the world, and "base things," and "things which are despised," and "things which are not," because "by the foolishness of preaching it pleased God to save them that believe on Him, after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God,"65 -because such individuals are unable to see distinctly the sense of each particular passage,66 or unwilling to devote the necessary leisure to the investigation of Scripture, notwithstanding the injunction of Jesus, "Search the Scriptures."67 The following, moreover, are his ideas regarding the fire which is to be brought upon the world by God, and the punishments which are to befall sinners. And perhaps, as it is appropriate to Children that some things should be addressed to them in a manner befitting their infantile condition, to convert them, as being of very tender age, to a better course of life; so, to those whom the word terms "the foolish things of the world," and "the base," and "the despised," the just and obvious meaning of the passages

relating to punishments is suitable, inasmuch as they cannot receive any other mode of conversion than that which is by fear and the presentation of punishment, and thus be saved from the many evils (which would befall them).68 The Scripture accordingly declares that only those who are unscathed by the fire and the punishments are to remain,-those, viz., whose opinions, and morals, and mind have been purified to the highest degree; while, on the other hand, those of a different nature-those, viz., who, according to their deserts, require the administration of punishment by fire-will be involved in these sufferings with a view to an end which it is suitable for God to bring upon those who have been created in His image, but who have lived in opposition to the will of that nature which is according to His image. And this is our answer to the statement, "All the rest of the race will be completely burnt up, but they alone are to remain."

Chapter XVII.

Then, in the next place, having either himself misunderstood the sacred Scriptures, or those (interpreters) by whom they were not understood, he proceeds to assert that "it is said by us that there will remain at the time of the visitation which is to come upon the world by the fire of purification, not only those who are then alive, but also those who are long ago dead; "not observing that it is with a secret kind of wisdom that it was said by the apostle of Jesus: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed."69 Now he ought to have noticed what was the meaning of him who uttered these words, as being one who was by no means dead, who made a distinction between himself and those like him and the dead, and who said afterwards, "The dead shall be raised incorruptible," and "we shall be changed." And as a proof that such was the apostle's meaning in writing those words which I have quoted from the first Epistle to the Corinthians, I will quote also from the first to the Thessalonians, in which Paul, as one who is alive and awake, and different from those who are asleep, speaks as follows: "For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them who are asleep; for the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God."70 Then, again, after this, knowing that there were others dead in Christ besides himself and such as he, he subjoins the words, "The dead in Christ shall rise first; then we who are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air."71

Chapter XVIII. But since he has ridiculed at great length the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, which has been preached in the Churches, and which is more clearly understood by the more intelligent believer; and as it is unnecessary again to quote his words, which have been already adduced, let us, with regard to the problem72 (as in an apologetic work directed against an alien from the faith, and for the sake of those who are still "children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive"73), state and establish to the best of our ability a few points expressly intended for our readers. Neither we, then, nor the holy Scriptures, assert that with the same bodies, without a change to a higher condition, "shall those who were long dead arise from the earth and live again; "for in so speaking, Celsus makes a false charge against us. For we may listen to many passages of Scripture treating of the resurrection in a manner worthy of God, although it may, suffice for the present to quote the language of Paul from the first Epistle to the

Corinthians, where he says: "But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain; but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed his own body."74 Now, observe how in these words he says that there is sown, "not that body that shall be; "but that of the body which is sown and cast naked into the earth (God giving to each seed its own body), there takes place as it were a resurrection: from the seed that was east into the ground there arising a stalk, e.g., among such plants as the following, viz., the mustard plant, or of a larger tree, as in the olive,75 or one of the fruit-trees.

Chapter XIX.

God, then, gives to each thing its own body as He pleases: as in the case of plants that are sown, so also in the case of those beings who are, as it were, sown in dying, and who in due time receive, out of what has been "sown," the body assigned by God to each one according to his deserts. And we may hear, moreover, the Scripture teaching us at great length the difference between that which is, as it were, "sown," and that which is, as it were, "raised" from it in these words: "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body."76 And let him who has the capacity understand the meaning of the words: "As is the earthy, such are they also that are earthy; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly."77 And although the apostle wished to conceal the secret meaning of the passage, which was not adapted to the simpler class of believers, and to the understanding of the common people, who are led by their faith to enter on a better course of life, he was nevertheless obliged afterwards to say (in order that we might not misapprehend his meaning), after "Let us bear the image of the heavenly," these words also: "Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption."78 Then, knowing that there was a secret and mystical meaning in the passage, as was becoming in one who was leaving, in his Epistles, to those who were to come after him words full of significance, he subjoins the following, "Behold, I show you a mystery; "79 which is his usual style in introducing matters of a profounder and more mystical nature, and such as are fittingly concealed from the multitude, as is written in the book of Tobit: "It is good to keep close the secret of a king, but honourable to reveal the works of God,"80 -in a way consistent with truth and God's glory, and so as to be to the advantage of the multitude. Our hope, then, is not" the hope of worms, nor does our soul long for a body that has seen corruption; "for although it may require a body, for the sake of moving from place to place,81 yet it understands-as having meditated on the wisdom (that is from above), agreeably to the declaration, "The mouth of the righteous will speak wisdom"82 -the difference between the "earthly house," in which is the tabernacle of the building that is to be dissolved, and that in which the righteous do groan, being burdened,-not wishing to "put off" the tabernacle, but to be "clothed therewith," that by being clothed upon, mortality might be swallowed up of life. For, in virtue of the whole nature of the body being corruptible, the corruptible tabernacle must put on incorruption; and its other part, being mortal, and becoming liable to the death which follows sin, must put on immortality, in order that, when the corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and the mortal immortality, then shall come to pass what was predicted of old by the prophets,-the

annihilation of the "victory" of death (because it had conquered and subjected us to his sway), and of its "sting," with which it stings the imperfectly defended soul, and inflicts upon it the wounds which result from sin.

Chapter XX. But since our views regarding the resurrection have, as far as time would permit, been stated in part on the present occasion (for we have systematically examined the subject in greater detail in other parts of our writings); and as now we must by means of sound reasoning refute the fallacies of Celsus, who neither understands the meaning of our Scripture, nor has the capacity of judging that the meaning of our wise men is not to be determined by those individuals who make no profession of anything more than of a (simple) faith in the Christian system, let us show that men, not to be lightly esteemed on account of their reasoning powers and dialectic subtleties, have given expression to very absurd83 opinions. And if we must sneer84 at them as contemptible old wives' fables, it is at them rather than at our narrative that we must sneer. The disciples of the Porch assert, that after a period of years there will be a conflagration of the world, and after that an arrangement of things in which everything will be unchanged, as compared with the former arrangement of the world. Those of them, however, who evinced their respect for this doctrine have said that there will be a change, although exceedingly slight, at the end of the cycle, from what prevailed during the preceding.85 And these men maintain, that in the succeeding cycle the same things will occur, and Socrates will be again the son of Sophroniscus, and a native of Athens; and Phaenarete, being married to Sophroniscus, will again become his mother. And although they do not mention the word "resurrection," they show in reality that Socrates, who derived his origin from seed, will spring from that of Sophroniscus, and will be fashioned in the womb of Phaenarete; and being brought up at Athens, will practise the study of philosophy, as if his former philosophy had arisen again, and were to be in no respect different from what it was before. Anytus and Melitus, too, will arise again as accusers of Socrates, and the Council of Areopagus will condemn him to death! But what is more ridiculous still, is that Socrates will clothe himself with garments not at all different from those which he wore during the former cycle, and will live in the same unchanged state of poverty, and in the same unchanged city of Athens! And Phalaris will again play the tyrant, and his brazen bull will pour forth its bellowings from the voices of victims within, unchanged from those who were condemned in the former cycle! And Alexander of Pherae, too, will again act the tyrant with a cruelty unaltered from the former time, and will condemn to death the same "unchanged" individuals as before. But what need is there to go into detail upon the doctrine held by the Stoic philosophers on such things, and which escapes the ridicule of Celsus, and is perhaps even venerated by him, since he regards Zeno as a wiser man than Jesus?

Chapter XXI. The disciples of Pythagoras, too, and of Plato, although they appear to hold the incorruptibility of the world, yet fall into similar errors. For as the planets, after certain definite cycles, assume the same positions, and hold the same relations to one another, all things on earth will, they assert, be like what they were at the time when the same state of planetary relations existed in the world. From this view it necessarily follows, that when, after the lapse of a lengthened cycle, the planets come to occupy towards each other the same relations which they occupied in the time of Socrates, Socrates will again be born of the same parents, and suffer the same treatment, being accused by Anytus and Melitus, and condemned by the Council of Areopagus! The learned among the Egyptians, moreover, hold similar views, and yet they are

treated with respect, and do not incur the ridicule of Celsus and such as he; while we, who maintain that all things are administered by God in proportion to the relation of the free-will of each individual, and are ever being brought into a better condition, so far as they admit of being so,86 and who know that the nature of our free-will admits of the occurrence of contingent events87 (for it is incapable of receiving the wholly unchangeable character of God), yet do not appear to say anything worthy of a testing examination.

Chapter XXII.

Let no one, however, suspect that, in speaking as we do, we belong to those who are indeed called Christians, but who set aside the doctrine of the resurrection as it is taught in Scripture. For these persons cannot, so far as their principles apply, at all establish that the stalk or tree which springs up comes from the grain of wheat, or anything else (which was cast into the ground); whereas we, who believe that that which is "sown" is not "quickened" unless it die, and that there is sown not that body that shall be (for God gives it a body as it pleases Him, raising it in incorruption after it is sown in corruption; and after it is sown in dishonour, raising it in glory; and after it is sown in weakness, raising it in power; and after it is sown a natural body, raising it a spiritual),-we preserve both the doctrine88 of the Church of Christ and the grandeur of the divine promise, proving also the possibility of its accomplishment not by mere assertion, but by arguments; knowing that although heaven and earth, and the things that are in them, may pass away, yet His words regarding each individual thing, being, as parts of a whole, or species of a genus, the utterances of Him who was God the Word, who was in the beginning with God, shall by no means pass away. For we desire to listen to Him who said: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away."89

Chapter XXIII.

We, therefore, do not maintain that the body which has undergone corruption resumes its original nature, any more than the gain of wheat which has decayed returns to its former condition. But we do maintain, that as above the gain of wheat there arises a stalk, so a certain power90 is implanted in the body, which is not destroyed, and from which the body is raised up in incorruption. The philosophers of the Porch, however, in consequence of the opinions which they hold regarding the unchangeableness of things after a certain cycle, assert that the body, after undergoing complete corruption, will return to its original condition, and will again assume that first nature from which it passed into a state of dissolution, establishing these points, as they think, by irresistible arguments.91 We, however, do not betake ourselves to a most absurd refuge, saying that with God all things are possible; for we know how to understand this word "all" as not referring either to things that are "non-existent" or that are inconceivable. But we maintain, at the same time, that God cannot do what is disgraceful, since then He would be capable of ceasing to be God; for if He do anything that is disgraceful, He is not God. Since, however, he lays it down as a principle, that "God does not desire what is contrary to nature," we have to make a distinction, and say that if any one asserts that wickedness is contrary to nature, while we maintain that "God does not desire what is contrary to nature,"-either what springs from wickedness or from an irrational principle,-yet, if such things happen according to the word and will of God, we must at once necessarily hold that they are not contrary to nature. Therefore things which are done by God, although they may be, or may appear to some to be incredible, are not contrary to nature. And if

we must press the force of words,92 we would say that, in comparison with what is generally understood as "nature," there are certain things which are beyond its power, which God could at any time do; as, e.g., in raising man above the level of human nature, and causing him to pass into a better and more divine condition, and preserving him in the same, so long as he who is the object of His care shows by his actions that he desires (the continuance of His help).

Chapter XXIV.

Moreover, as we have already said that for God to desire anything unbecoming Himself would be destructive of His existence as Deity, we will add that if man, agreeably to the wickedness of his nature, should desire anything that is abominable,93 God cannot grant it. And now it is from no spirit of contention that we answer the assertions of Celsus; but it is in the spirit of truth that we investigate them, as assenting to his view that "He is the God, not of inordinate desires, nor of error and disorder, but of a nature just and upright," because He is the source of all that is good. And that He is able to provide an eternal life for the soul we acknowledge; and that He possesses not only the "power," but the "will." In view, therefore, of these considerations, we are not at all distressed by the assertion of Heraclitus, adopted by Celsus, that "dead bodies are to be cast out as more worthless than dung; "and yet, with reference even to this, one might say that dung, indeed, ought to be cast out, while the dead bodies of men, on account of the soul by which they were inhabited, especially if it had been virtuous, ought not to be cast out. For, in harmony with those laws which are based upon the principles of equity, bodies are deemed worthy of sepulture, with the honours accorded on such occasions, that no insult, so far as can be helped, may be offered to the soul which dwelt within, by casting forth the body (after the soul has departed) like that of the animals. Let it not then be held, contrary to reason, that it is the will of God to declare that the grain of wheat is not immortal, but the stalk which springs from it, while the body which is sown in corruption is not, but that which is raised by Him in incorruption. But according to Celsus, God Himself is the reason of all things, while according to our view it is His Son, of whom we say in philosophic language, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God; "94 while in our judgment also, God cannot do anything which is contrary to reason, or contrary to Himself.95

Chapter XXV.

Let us next notice the statements of Celsus, which follow the preceding, and which are as follow: "As the Jews, then, became a peculiar people, and enacted laws in keeping with the customs of their country,96 and maintain them up to the present time, and observe a mode of worship which, whatever be its nature, is yet derived from their fathers, they act in these respects like other men, because each nation retains its ancestral customs, whatever they are, if they happen to be established among them. And such an arrangement appears to be advantageous, not only because it has occurred to the mind of other nations to decide some things differently, but also because it is a duty to protect what has been established for the public advantage; and also because, in all probability, the various quarters of the earth were from the beginning allotted to different superintending spirits,97 and were thus distributed among certain governing powers,98 and in this manner the administration of the world is carried on. And whatever is done among each nation in this way would be rightly done, wherever it was agreeable to the wishes (of the superintending powers), while it would be an act of impiety to get rid of99 the institutions

established from the beginning in the various places." By these words Celsus shows that the Jews, who were formerly Egyptians, subsequently became a "peculiar people," and enacted laws which they carefully preserve. And not to repeat his statements, which have been already before us, he says that it is advantageous to the Jews to observe their ancestral worship, as other nations carefully attend to theirs. And he further states a deeper reason why it is of advantage to the Jews to cultivate their ancestral customs, in hinting dimly that those to whom was allotted the office of superintending the country which was being legislated for, enacted the laws of each land in co-operation with its legislators. He appears, then, to indicate that both the country of the Jews, and the nation which inhabits it, are superintended by one or more beings, who, whether they were one or more, co-operated with Moses, and enacted the laws of the Jews.

Chapter XXVI.

"We must," he says, "observe the laws, not only because it has occurred to the mind of others to decide some things differently, but because it is a duty to protect what has been enacted for the public advantage, and aim because, in all probability, the various quarters of the earth were from the beginning allotted to different superintending spirits, and were distributed among certain governing powers, and in this manner the administration of the world is carried on." Thus Celsus, as if he had forgotten what he had said against the Jews, now includes them in the general eulogy which he passes upon all who observe their ancestral customs, remarking: "And whatever is done among each nation in this way, would be rightly done whenever agreeable to the wishes (of the superintendents)." And observe here, whether he does not openly, so far as he can, express a wish that the Jew should live in the observance of his own laws, and not depart from them, because he would commit an act of impiety if he apostatized; for his words are: "It would be an act of impiety to get rid of the institutions established from the beginning in the various places." Now I should like to ask him, and those who entertain his views, who it was that distributed the various quarters of the earth from the beginning among the different superintending spirits; and especially, who gave the country of the Jews, and the Jewish people themselves, to the one or more superintendents to whom it was allotted? Was it, as Celsus would say, Jupiter who assigned the Jewish people and their country to a certain spirit or spirits? And was it his wish, to whom they were thus assigned, to enact among them the laws which prevail, or was it against his will that it was done? You will observe that, whatever be his answer, he is in a strait. But if the various quarters of the earth were not allotted by some one being to the various superintending spirits, then each one at random, and without the superintendence of a higher power, divided the earth according to chance; and yet such a view is absurd, and destructive in no small degree of the providence of the God who presides over all things.

Chapter XXVII.

Any one, indeed, who chooses, may relate how the various quarters of the earth, being distributed among certain governing powers, are administered by those who superintend them; but let him tell us also how what is done among each nation is done rightly when agreeable to the wishes of the superintendents. Let him, for example, tell us whether the laws of the Scythians, which permit the murder of parents, are right laws; or those of the Persians, which do not forbid the marriages of sons with their mothers, or of daughters with their own fathers. But what need is there for me to make selections from those who have been engaged in the business of enacting laws among the

different nations, and to inquire how the laws are rightly enacted among each, according as they please the superintending powers? Let Celsus, however, tell us how it would be an act of impiety to get rid of those ancestral laws which permit the marriages of mothers and daughters; or which pronounce a man happy who puts an end to his life by hanging, or declare that they undergo entire purification who deliver themselves over to the fire, and who terminate their existence by fire; and how it is an act of impiety to do away with those laws which, for example, prevail in the Tauric Chersonese, regarding the offering up of strangers in sacrifice to Diana, or among certain of the Libyan tribes regarding the sacrifice of children to Saturn. Moreover, this inference follows from the dictum of Celsus, that it is an act of impiety on the part of the Jews to do away with those ancestral laws which forbid the worship of any other deity than the Creator of all things. And it will follow, according to his view, that piety is not divine by its own nature, but by a certain (external) arrangement and appointment. For it is an act of piety among certain tribes to worship a crocodile, and to eat what is an object of adoration among other tribes; while, again, with others it is a pious act to worship a calf, and among others, again, to regard the goat as a god. And, in this way, the same individual will be regarded as acting piously according to one set of laws, and impiously according to another; and this is the most absurd result that can be conceived!

Chapter XXVIII.

It is probable, however, that to such remarks as the above, the answer returned would be, that he was pious who kept the laws of his own country, and not at all chargeable with impiety for the non-observance of those of other lands; and that, again, he who was deemed guilty of impiety among certain nations was not really so, when he worshipped his own gods, agreeably to his country's laws, although he made war against, and even feasted on,100 those who were regarded as divinities among those nations which possessed laws of an opposite kind. Now, observe here whether these statements do not exhibit the greatest confusion of mind regarding the nature of what is just, and holy, and religious; since there is no accurate definition laid down of these things, nor are they described as having a peculiar character of their own, and stamping as religious those who act according to their injunctions. If, then, religion, and piety, and righteousness belong to those things which are so only by comparison, so that the same act may be both pious and impious, according to different relations and different laws, see whether it will not follow that temperance101 also is a thing of comparison, and courage as well, and prudence, and the other virtues, than which nothing could be more absurd! What we have said, however, is sufficient for the more general and simple class of answers to the allegations of Celsus. But as we think it likely that some of those who are accustomed to deeper investigation will fall in with this treatise, let us venture to lay down some considerations of a profounder kind, conveying a mystical and secret view respecting the original distribution of the various quarters of the earth among different superintending spirits; and let us prove to the best of our ability, that our doctrine is free from the absurd consequences enumerated above.

Chapter XXIX.

It appears to me, indeed, that Celsus has misunderstood some of the deeper reasons relating to the arrangement of terrestrial affairs, some of which are touched upon102 even in Grecian history, when certain of those who are considered to be gods are introduced as having contended with each other about the possession of Attica; while in the writings of the Greek poets also, some who

are called gods are represented as acknowledging that certain places here are preferred by them103 before others. The history of barbarian nations, moreover, and especially that of Egypt, contains some such allusions to the division of the so-called Egyptian homes, when it states that Athena, who obtained Sais by lot, is the same who also has possession of Attica. And the learned among the Egyptians can enumerate innumerable instances of this kind, although I do not know whether they include the Jews and their country in this division. And now, so far as testimonies outside the word God bearing on this point are concerned, enough have been adduced for the present. We say, moreover, that our prophet of God and His genuine servant Moses, in his song in the book of Deuteronomy, makes a statement regarding the portioning out of the earth in the following terms: "When the Most High divided the nations, when He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the angels of God; and the portion was His people Jacob, and Israel the cord of His inheritance."104 And regarding the distribution of the nations, the same Moses, in his work entitled Genesis, thus expresses himself in the style of a historical narrative: "And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech; and it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and they dwelt there."105 A little further on he continues: "And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men had built. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they have begun to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do. Go to, let Us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. And the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city and the tower. Therefore is the name of it called Confusion;106 because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."107 In the treatise of Solomon, moreover, on "Wisdom," and on the events at the time of the confusion of languages, when the division of the earth took place, we find the following regarding Wisdom: "Moreover, the nations in their wicked conspiracy being confounded, she found out the righteous, and preserved him blameless unto God, and kept him strong in his tender compassion towards his son."108 But on these subjects much, and that of a mystical kind, might be said; in keeping with which is the following: "It is good to keep close the secret of a king,"109 -in order that the doctrine of the entrance of souls into bodies (not, however, that of the transmigration from one body into another) may not be thrown before the common understanding, nor what is holy given to the dogs, nor pearls be cast before swine. For such a procedure would be impious, being equivalent to a betrayal of the mysterious declarations of God's wisdom. of which it has been well said: "Into a malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in a body subject to sin."110 It is sufficient, however, to represent in the style of a historic narrative what is intended to convey a secret meaning in the garb of history, that those who have the capacity may work out for themselves all that relates to the subject. (The narrative, then, may be understood as follows.)

Chapter XXX.

All the people upon the earth are to be regarded as having used one divine language, and so long as they lived harmoniously together were preserved in the use of this divine language, and they remained without moving from the east so long as they were imbued with the sentiments of the "light," and of the "reflection" of the eternal light.111 But when they departed from the east, and began to entertain sentiments alien to those of the east,112 they found a place in the land of

Shinar (which, when interpreted, means "gnashing of teeth," by way of indicating symbolically that they had lost the means of their support), and in it they took up their abode. Then, desiring to gather together material things,113 and to join to heaven what had no natural affinity for it, that by means of material things they might conspire against such as were immaterial, they said, "Come, let us made bricks, and burn them with fire." Accordingly, when they had hardened and compacted these materials of clay and matter, and had shown their desire to make brick into stone, and clay into bitumen, and by these means to build a city and a tower, the head of which was, at least in their conception, to reach up to the heavens, after the manner of the "high things which exalt themselves against the I knowledge of God," each one was handed over (in proportion to the greater or less departure from the east which had taken place among them, and in proportion to the extent in which bricks had been converted into stones, and clay into bitumen, and building carried on out of these materials) to angels of character more or less severe, and of a nature more or less stern, until they had paid the penalty of their daring deeds; and they were conducted by those angels, who imprinted on each his native language, to the different parts of the earth according to their deserts: some, for example, to a region of burning heat, others to a country which chastises its inhabitants by its cold; others, again, to a land exceedingly difficult of cultivation, others to one less so in degree; while a fifth were brought into a land filled with wild beasts, and a sixth to a country comparatively free of these.

Chapter XXXI.

Now, in the next place, if any one has the capacity, let him understand that in what assumes the form of history, and which contains some things that are literally true, while yet it conveys a deeper meaning, those who preserved their original language continued, by reason of their not having migrated from the east, in possession of the east, and of their eastern language. And let him notice, that these alone became the portion of the Lord, and His people who were called Jacob, and Israel the cord of His inheritance; and these alone were governed by a ruler who did not receive those who were placed under him for the purpose of punishment, as was the case with the others. Let him also, who has the capacity to perceive as far as mortals may, observe that in the body politic114 of those who were assigned to the Lord as His pre-eminent portion, sins were committed, first of all, such as might be forgiven, and of such a nature as not to make the sinner worthy of entire desertion while subsequently they became more numerous though still of a nature to be pardoned. And while remarking that this state of matters continued for a considerable time, and that a remedy was always applied, and that after certain intervals these persons returned to their duty, let him notice that they were given over, in proportion to their transgressions, to those to whom had been assigned the other quarters of the earth; and that, after being at first slightly punished, and having made atonement,115 they returned, as if they had undergone discipline,116 to their proper habitations. Let him notice also that afterwards they were delivered over to rulers of a severer character-to Assyrians and Babylonians, as the Scriptures would call them. In the next place, notwithstanding that means of healing were being applied, let him observe that they were still multiplying their transgressions, and that they were on that account dispersed into other regions by the rulers of the nations that oppressed them. And their own ruler intentionally overlooked their oppression at the hands of the rulers of the other nations, in order that he also with good reason, as avenging himself, having obtained power to tear away from the other nations as many as he can, may do so, and enact for them laws, and point out a manner of life agreeably

to which they ought to live, that so he may conduct them to the end to which those of the former people were conducted who did not commit sin.

Chapter XXXII. And by this means let those who have the capacity of comprehending truths so profound, learn that he to whom were allotted those who had not formerly sinned is far more powerful than the others, since he has been able to make a selection of individuals from the portion of the whole,117 and to separate them from those who received them for the purpose of punishment, and to bring them under the influence of laws, and of a mode of life which helps to produce an oblivion of their former transgressions. But, as we have previously observed, these remarks are to be understood as being made by us with a concealed meaning, by way of pointing out the mistakes of those who asserted that "the various quarters of the earth were from the beginning distributed among different superintending spirits, and being allotted among certain governing powers, were administered in this way; "from which statement Celsus took occasion to make the remarks referred to. But since those who wandered away from the east were delivered over, on account of their sins, to "a reprobate mind," and to "vile affections," and to "uncleanness through the lusts of their own hearts,"118 in order that, being sated with sin, they might hate it, we shall refuse our assent to the assertion of Celsus, that "because of the superintending spirits distributed among the different parts of the earth, what is done among each nation is rightly done; "for our desire is to do what is not agreeable to these spirits.119 For we see that it is a religious act to do away with the customs originally established in the various places by means of laws of a better and more divine character, which were enacted by Jesus, as one possessed of the greatest power, who has rescued us "from the present evil world," and "from the princes of the world that come to nought; "and that it is a mark of irreligion not to throw ourselves at the feet of Him who has manifested Himself to be holier and more powerful than all other rulers, and to whom God said, as the prophets many generations before predicted: "Ask of Me, and I shall give Thee the heathen for Thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for Thy possession."120 For He, too, has become the "expectation" of us who from among the heathen have believed upon Him, and upon His Father, who is God over all things.

Chapter XXXIII. The remarks which we have made not only answer the statements of Celsus regarding the superintending spirits, but anticipate in some measure what he afterwards brings forward, when he says: "Let the second party come forward; and I shall ask them whence they come, and whom they regard as the originator of their ancestral customs. They will reply, No one, because they spring from the same source as the Jews themselves, and derive their instruction and superintendence124 the disobedient, who are many in number. And to those who inquire of us whence we come, or who is our founder,125 we reply that we are come, agreeably to the counsels of Jesus, to "cut down our hostile and insolent `wordy'126 swords into ploughshares, and to convert into pruning-hooks the spears formerly employed in war."127 For we no longer take up "sword against nation," nor do we "learn war any more," having become children of peace, for the sake of Jesus, who is our leader, instead of those whom our fathers followed, among whom we were "strangers to the covenant," and having received a law, for which we give thanks to Him that rescued us from the error (of our ways), saying, "Our fathers honoured lying idols, and there is not among them one that causeth it to rain."128 Our Superintendent, then, and Teacher, having come forth from the Jews, regulates the whole world by the word of His teaching. And having made these remarks by way of anticipation, we have refuted as well as we could the untrue statements

of Celsus, by subjoining the appropriate answer.

Chapter XXXIV.

But, that we may not pass without notice what Celsus has said between these and the preceding paragraphs, let us quote his words: "We might adduce Herodotus as a witness on this point, for he expresses himself as follows: `For the people of the cities Mares and Apis, who inhabit those parts of Egypt that are adjacent to Libya, and who look upon themselves as Libyans, and not as Egyptians, finding their sacrificial worship oppressive, and wishing not to be excluded from the use of cows' flesh, sent to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, saying that there was no relationship between them and the Egyptians, that they dwelt outside the Delta, that there was no community of sentiment between them and the Egyptians, and that they wished to be allowed to partake of all kinds of food. But the god would not allow them to do as they desired, saying that that country was a part of Egypt, which was watered by the inundation of the Nile, and that those were Egyptians who dwell to the south of the city of Elephantine, and drink of the river Nile.'129 Such is the narrative of Herodotus. But," continues Celsus, "Ammon in divine things would not make a worse ambassador than the angels of the Jews,130 so that there is nothing wrong in each nation observing its established method of worship. Of a truth, we shall find very great differences prevailing among the nations, and yet each seems to deem its own by far the best. Those inhabitants of Ethiopia who dwell in Meroe worship Jupiter and Bacchus alone; the Arabians, Urania and Bacchus only; all the Egyptians, Osiris and Isis; the Saites, Minerva; while the Naucratites have recently classed Serapis among their deities, and the rest according to their respective laws. And some abstain from the flesh of sheep, and others from that of crocodiles; others, again, from that of cows, while they regard swine's flesh with loathing. The Scythians, indeed, regard it as a noble act to banquet upon human beings. Among the Indians, too, there are some who deem themselves discharging a holy duty in eating their fathers, and this is mentioned in a certain passage by Herodotus. For the sake of credibility, I shall again quote his very words, for he writes as follows: `For if any one were to make this proposal to all men, viz., to bid him select out of all existing laws the best, each would choose, after examination, those of his own country. Men each consider their own laws much the best, and therefore it is not likely than any other than a madman would make these things a subject of ridicule. But that such are the conclusions of all men regarding the laws, may be determined by many other evidences, and especially by the following illustration. Darius, during his reign, having summoned before him those Greeks who happened to be present at the time, inquired of them for how much they would be willing to eat their deceased fathers? their answer was, that for no consideration would they do such a thing. After this, Darius summoned those Indians who are called Callatians. who are in the habit of eating their parents, and asked of them in the presence of these Greeks, who learned what passed through an interpreter, for what amount of money they would undertake to burn their deceased fathers with fire? on which they raised a loud shout, and bade the king say no more.'131 Such is the way, then, in which these matters are regarded. And Pindar appears to me to be right in saying that `law' is the king of all things."132

Chapter XXXV. The argument of Celsus appears to point by these illustrations to this conclusion: that it is "an obligation incumbent on all men to live according to their country's customs, in which case they will escape censure; whereas the Christians, who have abandoned their native usages, and who are not one nation like the Jews, are to be blamed for giving their adherence to the

teaching of Jesus." Let him then tell us whether it is a becoming thing for philosophers, and those who have been taught not to yield to superstition, to abandon their country's customs, so as to eat of those articles of food which are prohibited in their respective cities? or whether this proceeding of theirs is opposed to what is becoming? For if, on account of their philosophy, and the instructions which they have received against superstition, they should eat, in disregard of their native laws, what was interdicted by their fathers, why should the Christians (since the Gospel requires them not to busy themselves about statues and images, or even about any of the created works of God but to ascend on high, and present the soul to the Creator); when acting in a similar manner to the philosophers, be censured for so doing? But if, for the sake of defending the thesis which he has proposed to himself, Celsus, or those who think with him, should say, that even one who had studied philosophy would keep his country's laws, then philosophers in Egypt, for example, would act most ridiculously in avoiding the eating of onions, in order to observe their country's laws, or certain parts of the body, as the head and shoulders, in order not to transgress the traditions of their fathers. And I do not speak of those Egyptians who shudder with fear at the discharge of wind from the body, because if any one of these were to become a philosopher, and still observe the laws of his country, he would be a ridiculous philosopher, acting very unphilosophically.133 In the same way, then, he who has been led by the Gospel to worship the God of all things, and, from regard to his country's laws, lingers here below among images and statues of men, and does not desire to ascend to the Creator, will resemble those who have indeed learned philosophy, but who are afraid of things which ought to inspire no terrors, and who regard it as an act of impiety to eat of those things which have been enumerated.

Chapter XXXVI. But what sort of being is this Ammon of Herodotus, whose words Celsus has quoted, as if by way of demonstrating how each one ought to keep his country's laws? For this Ammon would not allow the people of the cities of Marea and Apis, who inhabit the districts adjacent to Libya, to treat as a matter of indifference the use of cows' flesh, which is a thing not only indifferent in its own nature, but which does not prevent a man from being noble and virtuous. If Ammon, then, forbade the use of cows' flesh, because of the advantage which results from the use of the animal in the cultivation of the ground, and in addition to this, because it is by the female that the breed is increased, the account would possess more plausibility. But now he simply requires that those who drink of the Nile should observe the laws of the Egyptians regarding kine. And hereupon Celsus, taking occasion to pass a jest upon the employment of the angels among the Jews as the ambassadors of God, says that "Ammon did not make a worse ambassador of divine things than did the angels of the Jews," into the meaning of whose words and manifestations he instituted no investigation; otherwise he would have seen, that it is not for oxen that God is concerned, even where He may appear to legislate for them, or for irrational animals, but that what is written for the sake of men, under the appearance of relating to irrational animals, contains certain truths of nature.134 Celsus, moreover, says that no wrong is committed by any one who wishes to observe the religious worship sanctioned by the laws of his country; and it follows, according to his view, that the Scythians commit no wrong, when, in conformity with their country's laws, they eat human beings. And those Indians who eat their own fathers are considered, according to Celsus, to do a religious, or at least not a wicked act. He adduces, indeed, a statement of Herodotus which favours the principle that each one ought, from a sense of what is becoming, to obey his country's laws; and he appears to approve of the custom of those Indians called Callatians, who in the time of Darius devoured their parents, since, on Darius

inquiring for how great a sum of money they would be willing to lay aside this usage, they raised a loud shout, and bade the king say no more.

Chapter XXXVII. As there are, then, generally two laws presented to us, the one being the law of nature, of which God would be the legislator, and the other being the written law of cities, it is a proper thing, when the written law is not opposed to that of God, for the citizens not to abandon it under pretext of foreign customs; but when the law of nature, that is, the law of God, commands what is opposed to the written law, observe whether reason will not tell us to bid a long farewell to the written code, and to the desire of its legislators, and to give ourselves up to the legislator God, and to choose a life agreeable to His word, although in doing so it may be necessary to encounter dangers, and countless labours, and even death and dishonour. For when there are some laws in harmony with the will of God, which are opposed to others which are in force in cities, and when it is impracticable to please God (and those who administer laws of the kind referred to), it would be absurd to contemn those acts by means of which we may please the Creator of all things, and to select those by which we shall become displeasing to God, though we may satisfy unholy laws, and those who love them. But since it is reasonable in other matters to prefer the law of nature, which is the law of God, before the written law, which has been enacted by men in a spirit of opposition to the law of God, why should we not do this still more in the case of those laws which relate to God? Neither shall we, like the Ethiopians who inhabit the parts about Meroe, worship, as is their pleasure, Jupiter and Bacchus only; nor shall we at all reverence Ethiopian gods in the Ethiopian manner; nor, like the Arabians, shall we regard Urania and Bacchus alone as divinities; nor in any degree at all deities in which the difference of sex has been a ground of distinction (as among the Arabians, who worship Urania as a female, and Bacchus as a male deity); nor shall we, like all the Egyptians, regard Osiris and Isis as gods; nor shall we enumerate Athena among these, as the Saites are pleased to do. And if to the ancient inhabitants of Naucratis it seemed good to worship other divinities, while their modern descendants have begun quite recently to pay reverence to Serapis, who never was a god at all, we shall not on that account assert that a new being who was not formerly a god, nor at all known to men, is a deity. For the Son of God, "the First-born of all creation," although He seemed recently to have become incarnate, is not by any means on that account recent. For the holy Scriptures know Him to be the most ancient of all the works of creation;135 for it was to Him that God said regarding the creation of man, "Let Us make man in Our image, after Our likeness."136 Chapter XXXVIII.

I wish, however, to show how Celsus asserts without any good reason, that each one reveres his domestic and native institutions. For he declares that "those Ethiopians who inhabit Meroe know only of two gods, Jupiter and Bacchus, and worship these alone; and that the Arabians also know only of two, viz., Bacchus, who is also an Ethiopian deity, and Urania, whose worship is confined to them." According to his account, neither do the Ethiopians worship Urania, nor the Arabians Jupiter. If, then, an Ethiopian were from any accident to fall into the hands of the Arabians, and were to be judged guilty of impiety because he did not worship Urania, and for this reason should incur the danger of death, would it be proper for the Ethiopian to die, or to act contrary to his country's laws, and do obeisance to Urania? Now, if it would be proper for him to act contrary to the laws of his country, he will do what is not right, so far as the language of Celsus is any standard; while, if he should be led away to death, let him show the reasonableness of selecting such a fate. I know not whether, if the Ethiopian doctrine taught men to philosophize on the

immortality of the soul, and the honour which is paid to religion, they would reverence those as deities who are deemed to be such by the laws of the country.137 A similar illustration may be employed in the case of the Arabians, if from any accident they happened to visit the Ethiopians about Meroe. For, having been taught to worship Urania and Bacchus alone, they will not worship Jupiter along with the Ethiopians; and if, adjudged guilty of impiety, they should be led away to death, let Celsus tell us what it would be reasonable on their part to do. And with regard to the fables which relate to Osiris and Isis, it is superfluous and out of place at present to enumerate them. For although an allegorical meaning may be given to the fables, they will nevertheless teach us to offer divine worship to cold water, and to the earth, which is subject to men, and all the animal creation. For in this way, I presume, they refer Osiris to water, and Isis to earth; while with regard to Serapis the accounts are numerous and conflicting, to the effect that very recently he appeared in public, agreeably to certain juggling tricks performed at the desire of Ptolemy, who wished to show to the people of Alexandria as it were a visible god. And we have read in the writings of Numenius the Pythagorean regarding his formation, that he partakes of the essence of all the animals and plants that are under the control of nature, that he may appear to have been fashioned into a god, not by the makers of images alone, with the aid of profane mysteries, and juggling tricks employed to invoke demons, but also by magicians and sorcerers, and those demons who are bewitched by their incantations.138

Chapter XXXIX.

We must therefore inquire what may be fittingly eaten or not by the rational and gentle139 animal, which acts always in conformity with reason; and not worship at random, sheep, or goats, or kine; to abstain from which is an act of moderation,140 for much advantage is derived by men from these animals. Whereas, is it not the most foolish of all things to spare crocodiles, and to treat them as sacred to some fabulous divinity or other? For it is a mark of exceeding stupidity to spare those animals which do not spare us, and to bestow care on those which make a prey of human beings. But Celsus approves of those who, in keeping with the laws of their country, worship and tend crocodiles, and not a word does he say against them, while the Christians appear deserving of censure, who have been taught to loath evil, and to turn away from wicked works, and to reverence and honour virtue as being generated by God, and as being His Son. For we must not, on account of their feminine name and nature, regard wisdom and righteousness as females;141 for these things are in our view the Son of God, as His genuine disciple has shown, when he said of Him, "Who of God is made to us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."142 And although we may call Him a "second" God, let men know that by the term "second God" we mean nothing else than a virtue capable of including all other virtues, and a reason capable of containing all reason whatsoever which exists in all things, which have arisen naturally, directly, and for the general advantage, and which "reason," we say, dwelt in the soul of Jesus, and was united to Him in a degree far above all other souls, seeing He alone was enabled completely to receive the highest share in the absolute reason, and the absolute wisdom, and the absolute righteousness.

Chapter XL. But since, after Celsus had spoken to the above effect of the different kinds of laws, he adds the following remark, "Pindar appears to me to be correct in saying that law is king of all things," let us proceed to discuss this assertion. What law do you mean to say, good sir, is "king of all things? "If you mean those which exist in the various cities, then such an assertion is not true.

For all men are not governed by the same law. You ought to have said that "laws are kings of all men," for in every nation some law is king of all. But if you mean that which is law in the proper sense, then it is this which is by nature "king of all things; "although there are some individuals who, having like robbers abandoned the law, deny its validity, and live lives of violence and injustice. We Christians, then, who have come to the knowledge of the law which is by nature "king of all things," and which is the same with the law of God, endeavour to regulate our lives by its prescriptions, having bidden a long farewell to those of an unholy kind.

Chapter XLI.

Let us notice the charges which are next advanced by Celsus, in which there is exceedingly little that has reference to the Christians, as most of them refer to the Jews. His words are: "If, then, in these respects the Jews were carefully to preserve their own law, they are not to be blamed for so doing, but those persons rather who have forsaken their own usages, and adopted those of the Jews. And if they pride themselves on it, as being possessed of superior wisdom, and keep aloof from intercourse with others, as not being equally pure with themselves, they have already heard that their doctrine concerning heaven is not peculiar to them, but, to pass by all others, is one which has long ago been received by the Persians, as Herodotus somewhere mentions. `For they have a custom, 'he says, `of going up to the tops of the mountains, and of offering sacrifices to Jupiter, giving the name of Jupiter to the whole circle of the heavens.'143 And I think," continues Celsus, "that it makes no difference whether you call the highest being Zeus, or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth, or Ammoun like the Egyptians, or Pappaeus like the Scythians. Nor would they be deemed at all holier than others in this respect, that they observe the rite of circumcision, for this was done by the Egyptians and Colchians before them; nor because they abstain from swine's flesh, for the Egyptians practised abstinence not only from it, but from the flesh of goats, and sheep, and oxen, and fishes as well; while Pythagoras and his disciples do not eat beans, nor anything that contains life. It is not probable, however, that they enjoy God's favour, or are loved by Him differently from others, or that angels were sent from heaven to them alone, as if they had had allotted to them `some region of the blessed, '144 for we see both themselves and the country of which they were deemed worthy. Let this band,145 then, take its departure, after paying the penalty of its vaunting, not having a knowledge of the great God, but being led away and deceived by the artifices of Moses, having become his pupil to no good end."

Chapter XLII.

It is evident that, by the preceding remarks, Celsus charges the Jews with falsely giving themselves out as the chosen portion of the Supreme God above all other nations. And he accuses them of boasting, because they gave out that they knew the great God, although they did not really know Him, but were led away by the artifices of Moses, and were deceived by him, and became his disciples to no good end. Now we have in the preceding pages already spoken in part of the venerable and distinguished polity of the Jews, when it existed amongst them as a symbol of the city of God, and of His temple, and of the sacrificial worship offered in it and at the altar of sacrifice. But if any one were to turn his attention to the meaning of the legislator, and to the constitution which he established, and were to examine the various points relating to him, and compare them with the present method of worship among other nations, there are none which he would admire to a greater degree; because, so far as can be accomplished among mortals,

everything that was not of advantage to the human race was withheld from them, and only those things which are useful bestowed.146 And for this reason they had neither gymnastic contests, nor scenic representations, nor horse-races; nor were there among them women who sold their beauty to any one who wished to have sexual intercourse without offspring, and to cast contempt upon the nature of human generation. And what an advantage was it to be taught from their tender years to ascend above all visible nature, and to hold the belief that God was not fixed anywhere within its limits, but to look for Him on high, and beyond the sphere of all bodily substance!147 And how great was the advantage which they enjoyed in being instructed almost from their birth, and as soon as they could speak,148 in the immortality of the soul, and in the existence of courts of justice under the earth, and in the rewards provided for those who have lived righteous lives! These truths, indeed, were proclaimed in the veil of fable to children, and to those whose views of things were childish; while to those who were already occupied in investigating the truth, and desirous of making progress therein, these fables, so to speak, were transfigured into the truths which were concealed within them. And I consider that it was in a manner worthy of their name as the "portion of God" that they despised all kinds of divination, as that which bewitches men to no purpose, and which proceeds rather from wicked demons than from anything of a better nature; and sought the knowledge of future events in the souls of those who, owing to their high degree of purity, received the spirit of the Supreme God.

Chapter XLIII. But what need is there to point out how agreeable to sound reason, and unattended with injury either to master or slave, was the law that one of the same faith149 should not be allowed to continue in slavery more than six years?150 The Jews, then, cannot be said to preserve their own law in the same points with the other nations. For it would be censurable in them, and would involve a charge of insensibility to the superiority of their law, if they were to believe that they had been legislated for in the same way as the other nations among the heathen. And although Celsus will not admit it, the Jews nevertheless are possessed of a wisdom superior not only to that of the multitude, but also of those who have the appearance of philosophers; because those who engage in philosophical pursuits, after the utterance of the most venerable philosophical sentiments, fall away into the worship of idols and demons, whereas the very lowest Jew directs his look to the Supreme God alone; and they do well, indeed, so far as this point is concerned, to pride themselves thereon, and to keep aloof from the society of others as accursed and impious. And would that they had not sinned, and transgressed the law, and slain the prophets in former times, and in these latter days conspired against Jesus, that we might be in possession of a pattern of a heavenly city which even Plato would have sought to describe; although I doubt whether he could have accomplished as much as was done by Moses and those who followed him, who nourished a "chosen generation," and "a holy nation," dedicated to God, with words free from all superstition.

Chapter XLIV. But as Celsus would compare the venerable customs of the Jews with the laws of certain nations, let us proceed to look at them. He is of opinion, accordingly, that there is no difference between the doctrine regarding "heaven" and that regarding "God; "and he says that "the Persians, like the Jews, offer sacrifices to Jupiter upon the tops of the mountains,"-not observing that, as the Jews were acquainted with one God, so they had only one holy house of prayer, and one altar of whole burnt-offerings, and one censer for incense, and one high priest of God. The Jews, then, had nothing in common with the Persians, who ascend the summits of their

mountains, which are many in number, and offer up sacrifices which have nothing in common with those which are regulated by the Mosaic code,-in conformity to which the Jewish priests "served unto the example and shadow of heavenly things," explaining enigmatically the object of the law regarding the sacrifices, and the things of which these sacrifices were the symbols. The Persians therefore may call the "whole circle of heaven" Jupiter; but we maintain that "the heaven" is neither Jupiter nor God, as we indeed know that certain beings of a class inferior to God have ascended above the heavens and all visible nature: and in this sense we understand the words, "Praise God, ye heaven of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens: let them praise the name of the Lord."151

Chapter XLV. As Celsus, however, is of opinion that it matters nothing whether the highest being be called Jupiter, or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth, or Ammoun (as the Egyptians term him), or Pappaeus (as the Scythians entitle him), let us discuss the point for a little, reminding the reader at the same time of what has been said above upon this question, when the language of Celsus led us to consider the subject. And now we maintain that the nature of names is not, as Aristotle supposes, an enactment of those who impose them.152 For the languages which are prevalent among men do not derive their origin from men, as is evident to those who are able to ascertain the nature of the charms which are appropriated by the inventors of the languages differently, according to the various tongues, and to the varying pronunciations of the names, on which we have spoken briefly in the preceding pages, remarking that when those names which in a certain language were possessed of a natural power were translated into another, they were no longer able to accomplish what they did before when uttered in their native tongues. And the same peculiarity is found to apply to men; for if we were to translate the name of one who was called from his birth by a certain appellation in the Greek language into the Egyptian or Roman, or any other tongue, we could not make him do or suffer the same things which he would have done or suffered under the appellation first bestowed upon him. Nay, even if we translated into the Greek language the name of an individual who had been originally invoked in the Roman tongue, we could not produce the result which the incantation professed itself capable of accomplishing had it preserved the name first conferred upon him. And if these statements are true when spoken of the names of men, what are we to think of those which are transferred, for any cause whatever, to the Deity? For example, something is transferred153 from the name Abraham when translated into Greek, and something is signified by that of Isaac, and also by that of Jacob; and accordingly, if any one, either in an invocation or in swearing an oath, were to use the expression, "the God of Abraham," and "the God of Isaac," and "the God of Jacob," he would produce certain effects, either owing to the nature of these names or to their powers, since even demons are vanquiShed and become submissive to him who pronounces these names; whereas if we say, "the god of the chosen father of the echo, and the god of laughter, and the god of him who strikes with the heel,"154 the mention of the name is attended with no result, as is the case with other names possessed of no power. And in the same way, if we translate the word "Israel" into Greek or any other language, we shall produce no result; but if we retain it as it is, and join it to those expressions to which such as are skilled in these matters think it ought to be united, there would then follow some result from the pronunciation of the word which would accord with the professions of those who employ such invocations. And we may say the same also of the pronunciation of "Sabaoth," a word which is frequently employed in incantations; for if we translate the term into "Lord of hosts," or "Lord of armies," or "Almighty" (different acceptation of it having

been proposed by the interpreters), we shall accomplish nothing; whereas if we retain the original pronunciation, we shall, as those who are skilled in such matters maintain, produce some effect. And the same observation holds good of Adonai. If, then, neither "Sabaoth" nor "Adonai," when rendered into what appears to be their meaning in the Greek tongue, can accomplish anything, how much less would be the result among those who regard it as a matter of indifference whether the highest being be called Jupiter, or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth!

Chapter XLVI.

It was for these and similar mysterious reasons, with which Moses and the prophets were acquainted, that they forbade the name of other gods to be pronounced by him who bethought himself of praying to the one Supreme God alone, or to be remembered by a heart which had been taught to be pure from all foolish thoughts and words. And for these reasons we should prefer to endure all manner of suffering rather than acknowledge Jupiter to be God. For we do not consider Jupiter and Sabaoth to be the same, nor Jupiter to be at all divine, but that some demon, unfriendly to men and to the true God, rejoices under this title.155 And although the Egyptians were to hold Ammon before us under threat of death, we would rather die than address him as God, it being a name used in all probability in certain Egyptian incantations in which this demon is invoked. And although the Scythians may call Pappaeus the supreme God, vet we will not yield our assent to this; granting, indeed, that there is a Supreme Deity, although we do not give the name Pappaeus to Him as His proper title, but regard it as one which is agreeable to the demon to whom was allotted the desert of Scythia, with its people and its language. He, however, who gives God His title in the Scythian tongue, or in the Egyptian or in any language in which he has been brought up, will not be guilty of sin.156

Chapter XLVII.

Now the reason why circumcision is practised among the Jews is not the same as that which explains its existence among the Egyptians and Colchians, and therefore it is not to be considered the same circumcision. And as he who sacrifices does not sacrifice to the same god, although he appears to perform the rite of sacrifice in a similar manner, and he who offers up prayer does not pray to the same divinity, although he asks the same things in his supplication; so, in the same way, if one performs the rite of circumcision, it by no means follows that it is not a different act from the circumcision performed upon another. For the purpose, and the law, and the wish of him who performs the rite, place the act in a different category. But that the whole subject may be still better understood, we have to remark that the term for "righteousness"157 is the same among all the Greeks; but righteousness is shown to be one thing according to the view of Epicurus; and another according to the Stoics, who deny the threefold division of the soul; and a different thing again according to the followers of Plato, who hold that righteousness is the proper business of the parts of the soul.158 And so also the "courage"159 of Epicures is one thing, who would undergo some labours in order to escape from a greater number; and a different thing that of the philosopher of the Porch, who would choose all virtue for its own sake; and a different thing still that of Plato, who maintains that virtue itself is the act of the irascible part of the soul, and who assigns to it a place about the breast.160 And so circumcision will be a different thing according to the varying opinions of those who undergo it. But on such a subject it is unnecessary to speak on this occasion in a treatise like the present; for whoever desires to see what led us to the subject, can read what we

have said upon it in the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.

Chapter XLVIII.

Although the Jews, then, pride themselves on circumcision, they will separate it not only from that of the Colchians and Egyptians, but also from that of the Arabian Ishmaelites; and yet the latter was derived from their ancestor Abraham, the father of Ishmael, who underwent the rite of circumcision along with his father. The Jews say that the circumcision performed on the eighth day is the principal circumcision, and that which is performed according to circumstances is different; and probably it was performed on account of the hostility of some angel towards the Jewish nation, who had the power to injure such of them as were not circumcised, but was powerless against those who had undergone the rite. This may be said to appear from what is written in the book of Exodus, where the angel before the circumcision of Eliezer161 was able to work against162 Moses, but could do nothing after his son was circumcised. And when Zipporah had learned this, she took a pebble and circumcised her child, and is recorded, according to the reading of the common copies, to have said, "The blood of my child's circumcision is stayed," but according to the Hebrew text, "A bloody husband art thou to me."163 For she had known the story about a certain angel having power before the shedding of the blood, but who became powerless through the blood of circumcision. For which reason the words were addressed to Moses, "A bloody husband art thou to me." But these things, which appear rather of a curious nature, and not level to the comprehension of the multitude, I have ventured to treat at such length; and now I shall only add, as becomes a Christian, one thing more, and shall then pass on to what follows. I For this angel might have had power, I think, over those of the people who were not circumcised, and generally over all who worshipped only the Creator; and this power lasted so long as Jesus had not assumed a human body. But when He had done this, and had undergone the rite of circumcision in His own person, all the power of the angel over those who practise the same worship, but are not circumcised,164 was abolished; for Jesus reduced it to nought by (the power of) His unspeakable divinity. And therefore His disciples are forbidden to circumcise themselves, and are reminded (by the apostle): "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing."165

Chapter XLIX. But neither do the Jews pride themselves upon abstaining from swine's flesh, as if it were some great thing; but upon their having ascertained the nature of clean and unclean animals, and the cause of the distinction, and of swine being classed among the unclean. And these distinctions were signs of certain things until the advent of Jesus; after whose coming it was said to His disciple, who did not yet comprehend the doctrine concerning these matters, but who said, "Nothing that is common or unclean hath entered into my mouth,"166 "What God hath cleansed, call not thou common." It therefore in no way affects either the Jews or us that the Egyptian priests abstain not only from the flesh of swine, but also from that of goats, and sheep, and oxen, and fish. But since it is not that "which entereth into the mouth that defiles a man," and since "meat does not commend us to God," we do not set great store on refraining from eating, nor yet are we induced to eat from a gluttonous appetite. And therefore, so far as we are concerned, the followers of Pythagoras, who abstain from all things that contain life may do as they please; only observe the different reason for abstaining from things that have life on the part of the Pythagoreans and our ascetics. For the former abstain on account of the fable about the transmigration of souls, as the poet says:- "And some one, lifting up his beloved son, Will slay him after prayer; O how foolish he!"167

We, however, when we do abstain, do so because "we keep under our body, and bring it into subjection,"168 and desire "to mortify our members that are upon the earth, fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence; "169 and we use every effort to "mortify the deeds of the flesh."170

Chapter L.

Celsus, still expressing his opinion regarding the Jews, says: "It is not probable that they are in great favour with God, or are regarded by Him with more affection than others, or that angels are sent by Him to them alone, as if to them had been allotted some region of the blessed. For we may see both the people themselves, and the country of which they were deemed worthy." We shall refute this, by remarking that it is evident that this nation was in great favour with God, from the fact that the God who presides over all things was called the God of the Hebrews, even by those who were aliens to our faith. And because they were in favour with God, they were not abandoned by Him;171 but although few in number, they continued to enjoy the protection of the divine power, so that in the reign of Alexander of Macedon they sustained no injury from him, although they refused, on account of certain covenants and oaths, to take up arms against Darius. They say that on that occasion the Jewish high priest, clothed in his sacred robe, received obeisance from Alexander, who declared that he had beheld an individual arrayed in this fashion, who announced to him in his sleep that he was to be the subjugator of the whole of Asia.172 Accordingly, we Christians maintain that "it was the fortune of that people in a remarkable degree to enjoy God's favour, and to be loved by Him in a way different from others; "but that this economy of things and this divine favour were transferred to us, after Jesus had conveyed the power which had been manifested among the Jews to those who had become converts to Him from among the heathen. And for this reason, although the Romans desired to perpetrate many atrocities against the Christians, in order to ensure their extermination, they were unsuccessful; for there was a divine hand which fought on their behalf, and whose desire it was that the word of God should spread from one comer of the land of Judea throughout the whole human race.

Chapter LI. But seeing that we have answered to the best of our ability the charges brought by Celsus against the Jews and their doctrine, let us proceed to consider what follows, and to prove that it is no empty boast on our part when we make. a profession of knowing the great God, and that we have not been led away by any juggling tricks173 of Moses (as Celsus imagines), or even of our own Saviour Jesus; but that for a good end we listen to the God who speaks in Moses, and have accepted Jesus, whom he testifies to be God, as the Son of God, in hope of receiving the best rewards if we regulate our lives according to His word. And we shall willingly pass over what we have already stated by way of anticipation on the points, "whence we came and who is our leader, and what law proceeded from Him." And if Celsus would maintain that there is no difference between us and the Egyptians, who worship the goat, or the ram, or the crocodile, or the ox, or the river-horse, or the dog-faced baboon,174 or the cat, he can ascertain if it be so, and so may any other who thinks alike on the subject. We, however, have to the best of our ability defended ourselves at great length in the preceding pages on the subject of the honour which we render to our Jesus, pointing out that we have found the better part;175 and that in showing that the truth which is contained in the teaching of Jesus Christ is pure and unmixed with error, we are not commending ourselves, but our Teacher, to whom testimony was borne through many witnesses by the Supreme God and the prophetic writings among the Jews, and by the very

clearness of the case itself, for it is demonstrated that He could not have accomplished such mighty works without the divine help.

Chapter LII. But the statement of Celsus which we wish to examine at present is the following: "Let us then pass over the refutations which might be adduced against the claims of their teacher, and let him be regarded as really an angel. But is he the first and only one who came (to men), or were there others before him? If they should say that he is the only one, they would be convicted of telling lies against themselves. For they assert that on many occasions others came, and sixty or seventy of them together, and that these became wicked, and were cast under the earth and punished with chains, and that from this source originate the warm springs, which are their tears; and, moreover, that there came an angel to the tomb of this said being-according to some, indeed, one, but according to others, two-who answered the women that he had arisen. For the Son of God could not himself, as it seems, open the tomb, but needed the help of another to roll away the stone. And again, on account of the pregnancy of Mary, there came an angel to the carpenter, and once more another angel, in order that they might take up the young Child and flee away (into Egypt). But what need is there to particularize everything, or to count up the number of angels said to have been sent to Moses, and others amongst them? If, then, others were sent, it is manifest that he also came from the same God. But he may be supposed to have the appearance of announcing something of greater importance (than those who preceded him), as if the Jews had been committing sin, or corrupting their religion, or doing deeds of impiety; for these things are obscurely hinted at."

Chapter LIII. The preceding remarks might suffice as an answer to the charges of Celsus, so far as regards those points in which our Saviour Jesus Christ is made the subject of special investigation. But that we may avoid the appearance of intentionally passing over any portion of his work, as if we were unable to meet him, let us, even at the risk of being tautological (since we are challenged to this by Celsus), endeavour as far as we can with all due brevity to continue our discourse, since perhaps something either more precise or more novel may occur to us upon the several topics. He says, indeed, that "he has omitted the refutations which have been adduced against the claims which Christians advance on behalf of their teacher," although he has not omitted anything which he was able to bring forward, as is manifest from his previous language, but makes this statement only as an empty rhetorical device. That we are not refuted, however, on the subject of our great Saviour, although the accuser may appear to refute us, will be manifest to those who peruse in a spirit of truth-loving investigation all that is predicted and recorded of Him. And, in the next place, since he considers that he makes a concession in saying of the Saviour, "Let him appear to be really an angel," we reply that we do not accept of such a concession from Celsus; but we look to the work of Him who came to visit the whole human race in His word and teaching, as each one of His adherents was capable of receiving Him. And this was the work of one who, as the prophecy regarding Him said, was not simply an angel, but the "Angel of the great counsel: "176 for He announced to men the great counsel of the God and Father of all things regarding them, (saying) of those who yield themselves up to a life of pure religion, that they ascend by means of their great deeds to God; but of those who do not adhere to Him, that they place themselves at a distance from God, and journey on to destruction through their unbelief of Him. He then continues: "If even the angel came to men, is he the first and only one who came, or did others come on former occasions? "And he thinks he can meet either of these dilemmas at great length, although there is

not a single real Christian who asserts that Christ was the only being that visited the human race. For, as Celsus says, "If they should say the only one," there are others who appeared to different individuals.

Chapter LIV. In the next place, he proceeds to answer himself as he thinks fit in the following terms: "And so he is not the only one who is recorded to have visited the human race, as even those who, under pretext of teaching in the name of Jesus, have apostatized from the Creator as an inferior being, and have given in their adherence to one who is a superior God and father of him who visited (the world), assert that before him certain beings came from the Creator to visit the human race." Now, as it is in the spirit of truth that we investigate all that relates to the subject, we shall remark that it is asserted by Apelles, the celebrated disciple of Marcion, who became the founder of a certain sect, and who treated the writings of the Jews as fabulous, that Jesus is the only one that came to visit the human race. Even against him, then, who maintained that Jesus was the only one that came from God to men, it would be in vain for Celsus to quote the statements regarding the descent of other angels, seeing Apelles discredits, as we have already mentioned, the miraculous narratives of the Jewish Scriptures; and much more will he decline to admit what Celsus has adduced, from not understanding the contents of the book of Enoch. No one, then, convicts us of falsehood, or of making contradictory assertions, as if we maintained both that our Saviour was the only being that ever came to men, and yet that many others came on different occasions. And in a most confused manner, moreover, does be adduce, when examining the subject of the visits of angels to men, what he has derived, without seeing its meaning, from the contents of the book of Enoch; for he does not appear to have read the passages in question, nor to have been aware that the books whichbear the name Enoch177 do not at all circulate in the Churches as divine, although it is from this source that he might be supposed to have obtained the statement, that "sixty or seventy angels descended at the same time, who fell into a state of wickedness."

Chapter LV.

But, that we may grant to him in a spirit of candour what he has not discovered in the contents of the book of Genesis, that "the sons of God, seeing the daughters of men, that they were fair, took to them wives of all whom they chose,"178 we shall nevertheless even on this point persuade those who are capable of understanding the meaning of the prophet, that even before us there was one who referred this narrative to the doctrine regarding souls, which became possessed with a desire for the corporeal life of men, and this in metaphorical language, he said, was termed "daughters of men." But whatever may be the meaning of the "sons of God desiring to possess the daughters of men," it will not at all contribute to prove that Jesus was not the only one who visited mankind as an angel, and who manifestly became the Saviour and benefactor of all those who depart from the flood of wickedness. Then, mixing up and confusing whatever he had at any time heard, or had anywhere found written-whether held to be of divine origin among Christians or not-he adds: "The sixty or seventy who descended together were cast under the earth, and were punished with chains." And he quotes (as from the book of Enoch, but without naming it) the following: "And hence it is that the tears of these angels are warm springs,"-a thing neither mentioned nor heard of in the Churches of God! For no one was ever so foolish as to materialize into human tears those which were shed by the angels who had come down from heaven. And if it were right to pass a jest upon what is advanced against us in a serious spirit by Celsus, we might

observe that no one would ever have said that hot springs, the greater part of which are fresh water, were the tears of the angels, since tears are saltish in their nature, unless indeed the angels, in the opinion of Celsus, shed tears which are fresh.

Chapter LVI.

Proceeding immediately after to mix up and compare with one another things that are dissimilar, and incapable of being united, he subjoins to his statement regarding the sixty or seventy angels who came down from heaven, and who, according to him, shed fountains of warm water for tears, the following: "It is related also that there came to the tomb of Jesus himself, according to some, two angels, according to others, one; "having failed to notice, I think, that Matthew and Mark speak of one, and Luke and John of two, which statements are not contradictory. For they who mention "one," say that it was he who rolled away the stone from the sepulchre; while they who mention "two," refer to those who appeared in shining raiment to the women that repaired to the sepulchre, or who were seen within sitting in white garments. Each of these occurrences might now be demonstrated to have actually taken place, and to be indicative of a figurative meaning existing in these "phenomena," (and intelligible) to those who were prepared to behold the resurrection of the Word. Such a task, however, does not belong to our present purpose, but rather to an exposition of the Gospel.179

Chapter LVII.

Now, that miraculous appearances have sometimes been witnessed by human beings, is related by the Greeks; and not only by those of them who might be suspected of composing fabulous narratives, but also by those who have given every evidence of being genuine philosophers, and of having related with perfect truth what had happened to them. Accounts of this kind we have read in the writings of Chrysippus of Soli, and also some things of the same kind relating to Pythagoras; as well as in some of the more recent writers who lived a very short time ago, as in the treatise of Plutarch of Chaeronea "on the Soul," and in the second book of the work of Numenius the Pythagorean on the "Incorruptibility of the Soul." Now, when such accounts are related by the Greeks, and especially by the philosophers among them, they are not to be received with mockery and ridicule, nor to be regarded as fictions and fables; but when those who are devoted to the God of all things, and who endure all kinds of injury, even to death itself, rather than allow a falsehood to escape their lips regarding God, announce the appearances of angels which they have themselves witnessed, they are to be deemed unworthy of belief, and their words are not to be regarded as true! Now it is opposed to sound reason to judge in this way whether individuals are speaking truth or falsehood. For those who act honestly, only after a long and careful examination into the details of a subject, slowly and cautiously express their opinion of the veracity or falsehood of this or that person with regard to the marvels which they may relate; since it is the case that neither do all men show themselves worthy of belief, nor do all make it distinctly evident that they are relating to men only fictions and fables. Moreover, regarding the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, we have this remark to make, that it is not at all wonderful if, on such an occasion, either one or two angels should have appeared to announce that Jesus had risen from the dead, and to provide for the safety of those who believed in such an event to the advantage of their souls. Nor does it appear to me at all unreasonable, that those who believe in the resurrection of Jesus, and who manifest, as a fruit of their faith not to be lightly esteemed, their possession of a

virtuous180 life, and their withdrawal from the flood of evils, should not be unattended by angels who lend their help in accomplishing their conversion to God.

Chapter LVIII. But Celsus challenges the account also that an angel rolled away the stone from the sepulchre where the body of Jesus lay, acting like a lad at school, who should bring a charge against any one by help of a string of commonplaces. And, as if he had discovered some clever objection to the narrative, he remarks: "The Son of God, then, it appears, could not open his tomb, but required the aid of another to roll away the stone." Now, not to overdo the discussion. of this matter, or to have the appearance of unreasonably introducing philosophical remarks, by explaining the figurative meaning at present, I shall simply say of the narrative alone, that it does appear in itself a more respectful proceeding, that the servant and inferior should have rolled away the stone, than that such an act should have been performed by Him whose resurrection was to be for the advantage of mankind. I do not speak of the desire of those who conspired against the Word, and who wished to put Him to death, and to show to all men that He was dead and non-existent,181 that His tomb should not be opened, in order that no one might behold the Word alive after their conspiracy; but the "Angel of God" who came into the world for the salvation of men, with the help of another angel, proved more powerful than the conspirators, and rolled away the weighty stone, that those who deemed the Word to be dead might be convinced that He is not with the "departed," but is alive, and precedes those who are willing to follow Him, that He may manifest to them those truths which come after those which He formerly showed them at the time of their first entrance (into the school of Christianity), when they were as yet incapable of receiving deeper instruction. In the next place, I do not understand what advantage he thinks will accrue to his purpose when he ridicules the account of "the angel's visit to Joseph regarding the pregnancy of Mary; "and again, that of the angel to warn the parents "to take up the new-born Child, whose life was in danger, and to flee with it into Egypt." Concerning these matters, however, we have in the preceding pages answered his statements. But what does Celsus mean by saying, that "according to the Scriptures, angels are recorded to have been sent to Moses, and others as well? "For it appears to me to contribute nothing to his purpose, and especially because none of them made any effort to accomplish, as far as in his power, the conversion of the human race from their sins. Let it be granted, however, that other angels were sent from God, but that he came to announce something of greater importance (than any others who preceded him); and when the Jews had fallen into sin, and corrupted their religion, and had done unholy deeds, transferred the kingdom of God to other husbandmen, who in all the Churches take special care of themselves,182 and use every endeavour by means of a holy life, and by a doctrine conformable thereto, to win over to the God of all things those who would rush away from the teaching of Jesus.183

Chapter LIX.

Celsus then continues: "The Jews accordingly, and these (clearly meaning the Christians), have the same God; "and as if advancing a proposition which would not be conceded, he proceeds to make the following assertion: "It is certain, indeed, that the members of the great Church184 admit this, and adopt as true the accounts regarding the creation of the world which are current among the Jews, viz., concerning the six days and the seventh; "on which day, as the Scripture says, God "ceased"185 from His works, retiring into the contemplation of Himself, but on which, as Celsus says (who does not abide by the letter of the history, and who does not understand its meaning),

God "rested,"186 -a term which is not found in the record. With respect, however, to the creation of the world, and the "rest187 which is reserved after it for the people of God," the subject is extensive, and mystical, and profound, and difficult of explanation. In the next place, as it appears to me, from a desire to fill up his book, and to give it an appearance of importance, he recklessly adds certain statements, such as the following, relating to the first man, of whom he says: "We give the same account. as do the Jews, and deduce the same genealogy from him as they do." However, as regards "the conspiracies of brothers against one another," we know of none such, save that Cain conspired against Abel, and Esau against Jacob; but not Abel against Cain, nor Jacob against Esau: for if this had been the case, Celsus would have been correct in saying that we give the same accounts as do the Jews of "the conspiracies of brothers against one another." Let it be granted, however, that we speak of the same descent into Egypt as they, and of their return188 thence, which was not a "flight,"189 as Celsus considers it to have been, what does that avail towards founding an accusation against us or against the Jews? Here, indeed, he thought to cast ridicule upon us, when, in speaking of the Hebrew people, he termed their exodus a "flight; "but when it was his business to investigate the account of the punishments inflicted by God upon Egypt, that topic he purposely passed by in silence.

Chapter LX.

If, however, it be necessary to express ourselves with precision in our answer to Celsus, who thinks that we hold the same opinions on the matters in question as do the Jews, we would say that we both agree that the books (of Scripture) were written by the Spirit of God, but that we do not agree about the meaning of their contents; for we do not regulate our lives like the Jews, because we are of opinion that the literal acceptation of the laws is not that which conveys the meaning of the legislation. And we maintain, that "when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart,"190 because the meaning of the law of Moses has been concealed from those who have not welcomed191 the way which is by Jesus Christ. But we know that if one turn to the Lord (for "the Lord is that Spirit"), the veil being taken away, "he beholds, as in a mirror with unveiled face, the glory of the Lord" in those thoughts which are concealed in their literal expression, and to his own glory becomes a participator of the divine glory; the term "face" being used figuratively for the "understanding," as one would call it without a figure, in which is the face of the "inner man," filled with light and glory, flowing from the true comprehension of the contents of the law.

Chapter LXI.

After the above remarks he proceeds as follows: "Let no one suppose that I am ignorant that some of them will concede that their God is the same as that of the Jews, while others will maintain that he is a different one, to whom the latter is in opposition, and that it was from the former that the Son came," Now, if he imagine that the existence of numerous heresies among the Christians is a ground of accusation against Christianity, why, in a similar way, should it not be a ground of accusation against philosophy, that the various sects of philosophers differ from each other, not on small and indifferent points, but upon those of the highest importance? Nay, medicine also ought to be a subject of attack, on account of its many conflicting schools. Let it be admitted, then, that there are amongst us some who deny that our God is the same as that of the Jews: nevertheless, on that account those are not to be blamed who prove from the same Scriptures that one and the same Deity is the God of the Jews and of the Gentiles alike, as Paul, too, distinctly says, who was

a convert from Judaism to Christianity, "I thank my God, whom I serve from my forefathers with a pure conscience."192 And let it be admitted also, that there is a third class who call certain persons "carnal," and others "spiritual,"-I think he here means the followers of Valentinus,-yet what does this avail against us, who belong to the Church, and who make it an accusation against such as hold that certain natures are saved, and that others perish in consequence of their natural constitution?193 And let it be admitted further, that there are some who give themselves out as Gnostics, in the same way as those Epicureans who call themselves philosophers: yet neither will they who annihilate the doctrine of providence be deemed true philosophers, nor those true Christians who introduce monstrous inventions, which are disapproved of by those who are the disciples of Jesus. Let it be admitted, moreover, that there are some who accept Jesus, and who boast on that account of being Christians, and yet would regulate their lives, like the Jewish multitude, in accordance with the Jewish law,-and these are the twofold sect of Ebionites, who either acknowledge with us that Jesus was born of a virgin, or deny this, and maintain that He was begotten like other human beings,-what does that avail by way of charge against such as belong to the Church, and whom Celsus has styled "those of the multitude? "194 He adds, also, that certain of the Christians are believers in the Sibyl,195 having probably misunderstood some who blamed such as believed in the existence of a prophetic Sibyl, and termed those who held this belief Sibyllists.

He next pours down upon us a heap of names, saying that he knows of the existence of certain Simonians who worship Helene, or Helenus, as their teacher, and are called Helenians. But it has escaped the notice of Celsus that the Simonians do not at all acknowledge Jesus to be the Son of God, but term Simon the "power" of God, regarding whom they relate certain marvellous stories, saying that he imagined that if he could become possessed of similar powers to those with which be believed Jesus to be endowed, he too would become as powerful among men as Jesus was amongst the multitude. But neither Celsus nor Simon could comprehend how Jesus, like a good husbandman of the word of God, was able to sow the greater part of Greece, and of barbarian lands, with His doctrine, and to fill these countries with words which transform the soul from all that is evil, and bring it back to the Creator of all things. Celsus knows, moreover, certain Marcellians, so called from Marcellina, and Harpocratians from Salome, and others who derive their name from Mariamme, and others again from Martha. We, however, who from a love of learning examine to the utmost of our ability not only the contents of Scripture, and the differences to which they give rise, but have also, from love to the truth, investigated as far as we could the opinions of philosophers, have never at any time met with these sects. He makes mention also of the Marcionites, whose leader was Marcion.

Chapter LXIII. In the next place, that he may have the appearance of knowing still more than he has yet mentioned, he says, agreeably to his usual custom, that "there are others who have wickedly invented some being as their teacher and demon, and who wallow about in a great darkness, more unholy and accursed than that of the companions of the Egyptian Antinous." And he seems to me, indeed, in touching on these matters, to say with a certain degree of truth, that there are certain others who have wickedly invented another demon, and who have found him to be their lord, as they wallow about in the great darkness of their ignorance. With respect, however, to Antinous, who is compared with our Jesus, we shall not repeat what we have already said in the preceding pages. "Moreover," he continues, "these persons utter against one another dreadful

blasphemies, saying all manner of things shameful to be spoken; nor will they yield in the slightest point for the sake of harmony, hating each other with a perfect hatred." Now, in answer to this, we have already said that in philosophy and medicine sects are to be found warring against sects. We, however, who are followers of the word of Jesus, and have exercised ourselves in thinking, and saying, and doing what is in harmony with His words, "when reviled, bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat; "196 and we would not utter "all manner of things shameful to be spoken" against those who have adopted different opinions from ours, but, if possible, use every exertion to raise them to a better condition through adherence to the Creator alone, and lead them to perform every act as those who will (one day) be judged. And if those who hold different opinions will not be convinced, we observe the injunction laid down for the treatment of such: "A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject, knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself."197 Moreover, we who know the maxim, "Blessed are the peacemakers," and this also, "Blessed are the meek," would not regard with hatred the corrupters of Christianity, nor term those who had fallen into error Circes and flattering deceivers.198

Chapter LXIV.

Celsus appears to me to have misunderstood the statement of the apostle, which declares that "in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils; speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them who believe; "199 and to have misunderstood also those who employed these declarations of the apostle against such as had corrupted the doctrines of Christianity. And it is owing to this cause that Celsus has said that "certain among the Christians are called `cauterized in the ears; "'200 and also that some are termed "enigmas,"201 -a term which we have never met. The expression "stumbling-block"202 is, indeed, of frequent occurrence in these writings,-an appellation which we are accustomed to apply to those who turn away simple persons, and those who are easily deceived, from sound doctrine. But neither we, nor, I imagine, any other, whether Christian or heretic, know of any who are styled Sirens, who betray and deceive,203 and stop their ears, and change into swine those whom they delude. And yet this man, who affects to know everything, uses such language as the following: "You may hear," he says, "all those who differ so widely, and who assail each other in their disputes with the most shameless language, uttering the words, `The world is crucified to me, and I unto the world."' And this is the only phrase which, it appears, Celsus could remember out of Paul's writings; and yet why should we not also employ innumerable other quotations from the Scriptures, such as, "For though we do walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; (for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds,) casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God? "204

Chapter LXV. But since he asserts that "you may hear all those who differ so widely saying, `The world is crucified to me, and I unto the world, "' we shall show the falsity of such a statement. For there are certain heretical sects which do not receive the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, as the two sects of Ebionites, and those who are termed Encratites.205 Those, then, who do not regard the apostle as a holy and wise man, will not adopt his language, and say, "The world is crucified to me, and I unto the world." And consequently in this point, too, Celsus is guilty of falsehood. He

continues, moreover, to linger over the accusations which he brings against the diversity of sects which exist, but does not appear to me to be accurate in the language which he employs, nor to have carefully observed or understood how it is that those Christians who have made progress in their studies say that they are possessed of greater knowledge than the Jews; and also, whether they acknowledge the same Scriptures, but interpret them differently, or whether they do not recognise these books as divine. For we find both of these views prevailing among the sects. He then continues: "Although they have no foundation for the doctrine, let us examine the system itself; and, in the first place, let us mention the corruptions which they have made through ignorance and misunderstanding, when in the discussion of elementary principles they express their opinions in the most absurd manner on things which they do not understand, such as the following." And then, to certain expressions which are continually in the mouths of the believers in Christianity, he opposes certain others from the writings of the philosophers, with the object of making it appear that the noble sentiments which Celsus supposes to be used by Christians have been expressed in better and clearer language by the philosophers, in order that he might drag away to the study of philosophy those who are caught by opinions which at once evidence their noble and religious character. We shall, however, here terminate the fifth book, and begin the sixth with what follows.

1: Cf. Prov. x. 19.

2: Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 15.

3: Cf. 2 Cor. x. 5.

4: Cf. Ps. lxviii. 11.

5: toi=j e0kei= qeoi=j .

6: a9yi=da .

7: kate/rxesqai .

8: Cf. Heb. i. 14.

9: e0n toi=j kaqarwta/toij tou= ko/smou xwri/oij e0pourani/oij, h! kai\ toi=j toi=j tou/twn kaqarwte/roij u=perourani/oij .

10: Cf. Ps. lxxxvi. 8, xcvi. 4, cxxxvi. 2.

11: e0an dunw/meqa katakou/ein th=j peri\ proseuxh=j kurioleci/aj kai\ kataxrh/sewj .

12: [Comp. Col. iii. 18and cap. viii., infra .]

13: h@ tou\j me\n e0n sko/tw pou e0k gohtei/aj ou0k o0rqh=j tuglw/ttousin, h@ di' a0mudrw=n fasma/twn o0neirw/ttousin e0gxri/mptein legomenouj, eu\ ma/la qrhskeu/ein .

14: Cf. Ex. xx. 3, 4, 5.

15: Cf. Deut. iv. 19.

16: to\ o#lon o9 ko/smoj .

17: Cf. Jer. vii. 17, 18.

18: Cf. Acts vii. 42, 43.

19: Cf. Col. ii. 18, 19.

20: e0ggastrimu/qoij .

21: e0paoidoi=j .

22: Cf. Lev. xix. 31.

23: The emendations of Ruaeus have been adopted in the translation, the text being probably corrupt. Cf. Ruaeus, in loc .

24: Cf. Deut. iv. 19, 20.

25: Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

26: Cf. Gen. xv. 5.

27: Cf. Deut. i. 10.

28: xw/mati .

29: a0po\ tw=n dikai/wn tw=n pollw=n .

30: Cf. Dan. xii. 1, 2, 3.

31: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 40-42.

32: megalofuw=j .

33: Matt. v. 14.

34: Cf. Matt. v. 16.

35: Cf. Origen, de Principiis , i. c. vii.

36: e0k tou= e0n au0toi=j au0tecousi/ou e0lhluqo/j .

37: Cf. 1 John i. 5.

38: mu/dron dia/puron .

39: th\n eu0ktikh\n du/namin .

40: [See note in Migne's edition of Origen's Works , vol. i. p. 1195; also note supra , p. 262. S.] 41: Cf. Matt. xix. 17; cf. Mark x. 18.

42: Ibid.

43: Cf. Deut. vi. 13.

44: Cf. Ps. cvii. 20.

45: pronohtikw=j .

46: Matt. xxviii. 20.

47: Cf. John i. 26, 27.

48: Cf. Jer. xxiii. 24.

49: Cf. Jer. xxiii. 23.

50: zhtei=n eu!xesqai tw= mh\ fqa/nonti e0pi\ ta\ su/mpanta .

51: Cf. Rom. viii. 19-21.

52: Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 3, 4.

53: Cf. Rom. viii. 19-21.

54: w#sper ma/geiroj .

55: ou0 ga\r th=j plhmmelo=j o0re/cew=, ou0de\ th=j peplanhme/nh= a0kosmi/aj, a0lla\ th=j o0rqh=j kai\ dikai/aj fu/sewj Qeo/j e0stin a0rxhge0thj .

56: u#lhn .

57: Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 12.

58: Cf. Mal. iii. 2.

59: Cf. Ezek. xxii. 18, 20.

60: po/nou kai\ puro/j .

61: Cf. Isa. xlvii. 14, 15.

62: ta\ skuqrwpa/ .

63: Cf. Isa. xlviii. 9 (Septuagint).

64: [See Robertson's History of the Church , vol. i. p. 156, 157. S.] 65: Cf. 1 Cor. 1. 21.

66: ta\ kata\ tou\j to/pouj .

67: Cf. John v. 39.

68: kai\ tw=n pollw=n kakw=n a0poxh/n .

69: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.

70: Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 15, 16.

71: Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.

72: peri\ tou= problh/matoj tou/tou .

73: Cf. Eph. iv. 14.

74: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 35-38.

75: e0n e0lai/aj purhni .

76: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 42-44.

77: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 48, 49.

78: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 50.

79: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 51.

80: Cf. Tobit xii. 7.

81: dia\ ta\j topika=j metaba/seij .

82: Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 30.

83: sfo/dr' a0pemfai/nonta .

84: muxqi/zein .

85: [Comp. book iv. capp. lxv.-lxix. pp. 526-528, supra .] 86: kata\ to\ e0ndexo/menon .

87: kai\ th\n tou= e0f' h9mi=n fu/sin gignw/skontej e0ndexome/nou \ e0nde/xetai .

88: bou/lhna .

89: Cf. Matt. xxiv. 35; cf. Mark xiii. 31.

90: lo/goj .

91: dialektikai=j a0na/gkaij .

92: ei0 de= xrh\ bebiasme/nwj o0noma/sai .

93: bdeluro/n .

94: Cf. John i. 1.

95: [See note infra , bk. vi. cap. xlvii. S.] 96: kai\ kata\ to\ e0pixw/rion no/mouj qe/menoi .

97: ta\ me/rh th=j gh=j yh=j e0c a0rxh=j a!lloij e0po/ptaij nenemhme/na .

98: kai\ kata/ tinaj e0pikratei/aj dieilhmme/na .

99: paralu/ein .

100: kata1oina=tai .

101: swfrosu/nh .

102: e0fa/ptetai .

103: oi/keiote/rouj .

104: Cf. Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 (LXX.).

105: Cf. Gen. xi. 1, 2.

106: su/gxusij .

107: Cf. Gen. xi. 5-9.

108: Cf. Wisd. of Sol. x. 5.

109: Cf. Tobit xii. 7.

110: Cf. Wisd. of Sol. i. 4.

111: e0j o$son ei0si\ ta\ tou= fwto\j kai/ tou= a0po\ fwto\j a0i@di/ou a0pauga/smatoj fronou=ntej .

112: a0lla/tria a0natolw=n fronou=ntej .

113: ta\ th=j u#lhj .

114: politei/a| .

115: kai\ ti/santaj di/khn .

116: w9sperei/ paideuqe/ntaj .

117: a0po\ th=j pa/ntwn meri/doj .

118: Cf. Rom. i. 24, 26, 28.

119: a0lla\ kai\ boulo/meqa, ou0x o#ph h\ e0kei/noij fi/lon, piei=n ta0 e0kei/nwn .

120: Ps. ii. 8.

124: e0le/gxh .

125: a0rxhge/thn .

126: sugdo/yai ta\j polemida\j h9mw=n logika\j maxai/raj kai\ u0bristika\j ei0j a!rotra, kai\ ta\j kata\ to\ pro/teron h9mw=n ma/ximon zibu/naj ei0j dre/pana metaskeuazomen .

127: Cf. Isa. ii. 4.

128: Cf. Jer. xvi. 19 and xiv. 22: w0j yeudh= e0kth/santo oi9pate/rej h9mw=n ei!dwla, kai\ ou\k e!stin e0n au0toi=j u9etti/zwn .

129: Cf. Herodot., ii. 18.

130: o9 de\ Ammwn ou0de/n ti kaki/wn diapresbeu=sai ta\ daimo/nia, h$ oi9 'Ioudai/wn a!ggeloi .

131: eu0fhmei=n min e0ke/leuon .

132: Cf. Herodot., iii. 38.

133: ge/loioj a@n ei!h filo/sofoj a0filo/sofa pra/ttwn .

134: fusiologi/an .

135: presbu/taton pa/ntwn tw=n dhmiourghma/twn .

136: Cf. Gen. i. 26.

137: This sentence is regarded by Guietus as an interpolation, which should be struck out of the text.

138: i>\na do/c meta\ tw=n a9tele/stwn teletwsn, kai\ tw=n kalonsw=n dai/monaj magganeiw=n, ou0x u0po\ a0galmatopoiw=n mo/nwn kataskena/zesqai qeo\j, a0lla0 kai\ u9po\ ma/gwn, kai\ farmakw=n, kai\ tw=n e0pw|dai=j au0tw=n khloume/nwn daimo/nwn .

139: h9me/rw| .

140: me0trion .

141: ou0 ga\r para\ to\ qhluko\n o!noma, kai\ th=| ou0si/a| qh/leian nomiste/on ei\nai thn sofi/an, kai\ th\n dikaiosu/nhn .

142: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 30.

143: Cf. Herodot., i. 131.

144: oi[on dh/ tina maka/rwn xw/ran laxou=sin .

145: xoro/j .

146: [Note this eulogy on the law, even though it "made nothing perfect."] 147: u9pe\r ta\ sw/mata .

148: sumplhrw/sei tou= lo/gou .

149: to\n a0po\ tw=n au0tw=n o9rw/menon dogma/twn .

150: Cf. Ex. xxi. 2 and Jer. xxxiv. 14. [An important comment on Mosaic servitude.] 151: Cf. Ps. cxlviii. 4, 5.

152: o#ti h9 tw=n o0nma/twn fu/sij ou0 qeme/nwn ei0si\ no/moi .

153: metalamba/netai ga/r ti, fer' ei0pei=n . In the editions of Hoeschel and Spencer, ti is wanting.

154: o0 qeo\j patro\j e0klektou= th=j h0gou=j, kai\ o9 qeo\j tou= ge/lwtoj, kai\ o9 qeo\j tou= pternistou . Cf. note in Benedictine ed.

155: [Note the bearing of this chapter on the famous controversy concerning the Chinese renderings of God's name.] 156: [Note the bearing of this chapter on the famous controversy concerning the Chinese renderings of God's name.] 157: dikaiosu/nh .

158: i0diopragi/an tw=n merw=n th=j yuxh=j .

159: a0ndrei/a .

160: tou= qumikou= me/rouj th=j yuxh=j fa/skontoj au0to\ ei\nai a0reth\n, kai\ a0pota/ssontoj au0th|= to\n peri\ to\n qw/raka .

161: Cf. Ex. iv. 24, 25. Eliezer was one of the two sons of Moses. Cf. Ex. xviii. 4.

162: e0nergei=n kata\ Mwu>\se/wj .

163: Cf. Ex. iv. 25, 26.

164: kata\ tw=n e0n th|= qeosebei/a| tan/th| peritemnome/nwn du/amij . Boherellus inserts mh\ before peritemnome/nwn, , which has been adopted in the text.

165: Gal. v. 2.

166: Cf. Acts x. 14.

167: kai/ tij fi/lon ui9o/n a0ei/raj, sfa/cei e0peuxo/menoj me/ga nh/pioj . - A verse of Empedocles, quoted by Plutarch, de Superstitione , c. xii. Spencer. Cf. note in loc . in Benedictine edition.

168: Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 27.

169: Cf. Col. iii. 5.

170: Cf. Rom. viii. 13.

171: kai\ w9j eu0dokimou=nte/j ge o#son ou0k e9gkatlei/ponto . The negative particle (ou0k) is wanting in the editions of Hoeschel and Spencer, but is found in the Royal, Basil, and Vatican mss. Guietus would delete o#son (which emendation has been adopted in the translation), while Boherellus would read o#soi instead. - Ruaeus.

172: [Josephus, Antiquities , b. xi. cap. viii.]

173: gohtei/a .

174: to\n kunoke/falon .

175: o#ti krei=tton eu#romen .

176: Cf. Isa. ix. 6. [according to Sept. See vol. i. pp. 223, 236, this series.] 177: [See p. 380, supra .] 178: [Gen. vi. 2. S.]

179: [See Dr. Lee on The Inspiration of Holy Scripture , p. 383, where it is pointed out that the primitive Church was fully aware of the difficulties urged against the historic accuracy of the Four Gospels. Dr. Lee also notes that the culminating sarcasm of Gibbon's famous fifteenth chapter "has not even the poor merit of originality." S.] 180: to\n e0r0r9wme/non bi/on .

181: kai\ to\ mhde\n tugxa/nonta .

182: e9autw=n . Guietus would read au0tw=n , to agree with tw=n e0kklhsiw=n .

183: Instead of ta\j a0po\ th=j didaskali/aj tou= 'Ihsou= a9forma/j , Boherellus conjectures tou\j ... a0formw=ntaj , which has been adopted in the translation.

184: tw=n a0po\ mega/lhj e0kklhsi/aj .

185: kate/pausen .

186: a0napausa/menoj .

187: sabbatismou= .

188: th\n e0kei=qen e0pa/nodon .

189: fugh/n .

190: 2 Cor. iii. 15.

191: a0spasame/noij .

192: 2 Tim. i. 3.

193: e0k kataskeuh=j .

194: a0po\ tou= plh/qouj .

195: Sibullista/j .

196: 1 Cor. iv. 12, 13.

197: Tit. iii. 10, 11.

198: Ki/rkaj kai\ ku/khqra ai0mu/la .

199: Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 1-3.

200: a0koh=j dausth/ria . Cf. note in Benedictine ed.

201: ai0ni/gmata . Cf. note in Benedictine ed.

202: skanda/lou .

203: e0corxoume/naj kai\ sofistri/aj .

204: Cf. 2 Cor. x. 3-5.

205: [Irenaeus, vol. i. p. 353.]

Against Celsus - Book 6

Book VI.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter III.

Chapter IV.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI.

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV.

Chapter XVI.

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XXI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX.

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter L.

Chapter LI.

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXII.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVII.

Chapter LXVIII.

Chapter LXIX.

Chapter LXX.

Chapter LXXI.

Chapter LXXII.

Chapter LXXIII.

Chapter LXXIV.

Chapter LXXV.

Chapter LXXVI.

Chapter LXXVII.

Chapter LXXVIII.

Chapter LXXIX.

Chapter LXXX.

Chapter LXXXI.

Book VI.

Chapter I. In beginning this our sixth book, we desire, my reverend Ambrosius, to answer in it those accusations which Celsus brings against the Christians, not, as might be supposed, those objections which he has adduced from writers on philosophy. For he has quoted a considerable number of passages, chiefly from Plato, and has placed alongside of these such declarations of holy Scripture as are fitted to impress even the intelligent mind; subjoining the assertion that "these things are stated much better among the Greeks (than in the Scriptures). and in a manner which is free from all exaggerations1 and promises on the part of God, or the Son of God." Now we maintain, that if it is the object of the ambassadors of the truth to confer benefits upon the greatest possible number, and, so far as they can, to win over to its side, through their love to men, every one without exception-intelligent as well as simple-not Greeks only, but also Barbarians (and great, indeed, is the humanity which should succeed in converting the rustic and the ignorant2), it is manifest that they must adopt a style of address fitted to do good to all, and to gain over to them men of every sort. Those, on the other hand, who turn away3 from the ignorant as being mere slaves,4 and unable to understand the flowing periods of a polished and logical discourse, and so devote their attention solely to such as have been brought up amongst literary pursuits,5 confine their views of the public good within very strait and narrow limits.

Chapter II.

I have made these remarks in reply to the charges which Celsus and others bring against the simplicity of the language of Scripture, which appears to be thrown into the shade by the splendour of polished discourse. For our prophets, and Jesus Himself, and His apostles, were careful to adopt6 a style of address which should not merely convey the truth, but which should be fitted to gain over the multitude, until each one, attracted and led onwards, should ascend as far as he could towards the comprehension of those mysteries which are contained in these apparently simple words. For, if I may venture to say so, few have been benefited (if they have indeed been benefited at all) by the beautiful and polished style of Plato, and those who have written like him;7 while, on the contrary, many have received advantage from those who wrote and taught in a simple and practical manner, and with a view to the wants of the multitude. It is easy, indeed, to observe that Plato is found only in the hands of those who profess to be literary men;8 while Epictetus is admired by persons of ordinary capacity, who have a desire to be benefited, and who perceive the improvement which may be derived from his writings. Now we make these remarks, not to disparage Plato (for the great world of men has found even him useful), but to point out the aim of those who said: "And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, that our faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."9 For the word of God declares that the preaching (although in itself true and most worthy of belief) is not sufficient to reach the human heart, unless a certain power be imparted to the speaker from God, and a grace appear upon his words; and it is only by the divine agency that this takes place in those who speak effectually. The prophet says in the Psalms 67, that "the Lord will give a word with great power to them who preach."10 If, then, it should be granted with respect to certain points, that the same doctrines are found among the Greeks as in our own Scriptures, yet they do not possess the same power of attracting and disposing the souls of men to follow them. And therefore the disciples of Jesus, men ignorant so far as regards Grecian philosophy, yet traversed many countries of the world, impressing, agreeably to the desire of the Logos, each one of their hearers according to his deserts, so that

they received a moral amelioration in proportion to the inclination of their will to accept of that which is good.

Chapter III.

Let the ancient sages, then, make known their sayings to those who are capable of understanding them. Suppose that Plato, for example, the son of Ariston, in one of his Epistles, is discoursing about the "chief good," and that he says, "The chief good can by no means be described in words, but is produced by long habit, and bursts forth suddenly as a light in the soul, as from a fire which had leapt forth." We, then, on hearing these words, admit that they are well said, for it is God who revealed to men these as well as all other noble expressions. And for this reason it is that we maintain that those who have entertained correct ideas regarding God, but who have not offered to Him a worship in harmony with the truth, are liable to the punishments which fall on sinners. For respecting such Paul says in express words: "The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-looted beasts, and creeping things."11 The truth, then, is verily held (in unrighteousness), as our Scriptures testify, by those who are of opinion that "the chief good cannot be described in words," but who assert that, "after long custom and familiar usage,12 a light becomes suddenly kindled in the soul, as if by a fire springing forth, and that it now supports itself alone."

Chapter IV.

Notwithstanding, those who have written in this manner regarding the "chief good" will go down to the Piraeus and offer prayer to Artemis, as if she were God, and will look (with approval) upon the solemn assembly held by ignorant men; and after giving utterance to philosophical remarks of such profundity regarding the soul, and describing its passage (to a happier world) after a virtuous life, they pass from those great topics which God has revealed to them, and adopt mean and trifling thoughts, and offer a cock to Aesculapius!13 And although they had been enabled to form representations both of the "invisible things" of God and of the "archetypal forms" of things from the creation of the world, and from (the contemplation of) sensible things, from which they ascend to those objects which are comprehended by the understanding alone,-and although they had no mean glimpses of His "eternal power and Godhead,"14 they nevertheless became "foolish in their imaginations," and their "foolish heart" was involved in darkness and ignorance as to the (true) worship of God. Moreover, we may see those who greatly pride themselves upon their wisdom and theology worshipping the image of a corruptible man, in honour, they say, of Him, and sometimes even descending, with the Egyptians, to the worship of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things! And although some may appear to have risen above such practices, nevertheless they will be found to have changed the truth of God into a lie, and to worship and serve the "creature more than the Creator."15 As the wise and learned among the Greeks, then,

commit errors in the service which they render to God, God "chose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and base things of the world, and things that are weak, and things which are despised, and things which are nought, to bring to nought things that are; "and this, truly, "that no flesh should glory in the presence of God."16 Our wise men, however,-Moses, the most ancient of them all, and the prophets who followed him,-knowing that the chief good could by no means be described in words, were the first who wrote that, as God manifests Himself to the deserving, and to those who are qualified to behold Him,17 He appeared to Abraham, or to Isaac, or to Jacob. But who He was that appeared, and of what form, and in what manner, and like to which of mortal beings,18 they have left to be investigated by those who are able to show that they resemble those persons to whom God showed Himself: for He was seen not by their bodily eyes, but by the pure heart. For, according to the declaration of our Jesus, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."19

Chapter V. But that a light is suddenly kindled in the soul, as by a fire leaping forth, is a fact known long ago to our Scriptures; as when the prophet said, "Light ye for yourselves the light of knowledge."20 John also, who lived after him, said, "That which was in the Logos was life, and the life was the light of men; "21 which "true light lighteneth every man that cometh into the world" (i.e., the true world, which is perceived by the understanding22), and maketh him a light of the world: "For this light shone in our hearts, to give the light of the glorious Gospel of God in the face of Christ Jesus."23 And therefore that very ancient prophet, who prophesied many generations before the reign of Cyrus (for he was older than he by more than fourteen generations), expressed himself in these words: "The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom shall I fear? "24 and, "Thy law is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path; "25 and again, "The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, was manifested towards us; "26 and, "In Thy light we shall see light."27 And the Logos, exhorting us to come to this light, says, in the prophecies of Isaiah: "Enlighten thyself, enlighten thyself, O Jerusalem; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."28 The same prophet also, when predicting the advent of Jesus, who was to turn away men from the worship of idols, and of images, and of demons, says, "To those that sat in the land and shadow of death, upon them hath the light arisen; "29 and again, "The people that sat in darkness saw a great light."30 Observe now the difference between the fine phrases of Plato respecting the "chief good," and the declarations of our prophets regarding the "light" of the blessed; and notice that the truth as it is contained in Plato concerning this subject did not at all help his readers to attain to a pure worship of God, nor even himself, who could philosophize so grandly about the "chief good," whereas the simple language of the holy Scriptures has led to their honest readers being filled with a divine spirit;31 and this light is nourished within them by the oil, which in a certain parable is said to have preserved the light of the torches of the five wise virgins.32

Chapter VI.

Seeing, however, that Celsus quotes from an epistle of Plato another statement to the following effect, viz.: "If it appeared to me that these matters could be adequately explained to the multitude in writing and in oral address, what nobler pursuit in life could have been followed by me, than to commit to writing what was to prove of such advantage to human beings, and to lead the nature of all men onwards to the light? "-let us then consider this point briefly, viz., whether or not Plato were acquainted with any doctrines more profound than are contained in his writings, or more divine than those which he has left behind him, leaving it to each one to investigate the subject according

to his ability, while we demonstrate that our prophets did know of greater things than any in the Scriptures, but which they did not commit to writing. Ezekiel, e.g., received a roll,33 written within and without, in which were contained "lamentations," and "songs," and "denunciations; "34 but at the command of the Logos he swallowed the book, in order that its contents might not be written, and so made known to unworthy persons. John also is recorded to have seen and done a similar thing.35 Nay, Paul even heard "unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."36 And it is related of Jesus, who was greater than all these, that He conversed with His disciples in private, and especially in their sacred retreats, concerning the Gospel of God; but the words which He uttered have not been preserved, because it appeared to the evangelists that they could not be adequately conveyed to the multitude in writing or in speech. And if it were not tiresome to repeat the truth regarding these illustrious individuals, I would say that they saw better than Plato (by means of the intelligence which they received by the grace of God), what things were to be committed to writing, and how this was to be done, and what was by no means to be written to the multitude, and what was to be expressed in words, and what was not to be so conveyed. And once more, John, in teaching us the difference between what ought to be committed to writing and what not, declares that he heard seven thunders instructing him on certain matters, and forbidding him to commit their words to writing.37

Chapter VII.

There might also be found in the writings of Moses and of the prophets, who are older not only than Plato, but even than Homer and the invention of letters among the Greeks, passages worthy of the grace of God bestowed upon them, and filled with great thoughts, to which they gave utterance, but not because they understood Plato imperfectly, as Celsus imagines. For how was it possible that they should have heard one who was not yet born? And if any one should apply the words of Celsus to the apostles of Jesus, who were younger than Plato, say whether it is not on the very face of it an incredible assertion, that Paul the tentmaker, and Peter the fisherman, and John who left his father's nets, should, through misunderstanding the language of Plato in his Epistles, have expressed themselves as they have done regarding God? But as Celsus now, after having often required of us immediate assent (to his views), as if he were babbling forth something new in addition to what he has already advanced, only repeats himself,38 what we have said in reply may suffice. Seeing, however, he produces another quotation from Plato, in which he asserts that the employment of the method of question and answer sheds light on the thoughts of those who philosophize like him, let us show from the holy Scriptures that the word of God also encourages us to the practice of dialectics: Solomon, e.g., declaring in one passage, that "instruction unquestioned goes astray; "39 and Jesus the son of Sirach, who has left us the treatise called "Wisdom," declaring in another, that "the knowledge of the unwise is as words that will not stand investigation."40 Our methods of discussion, however, are rather of a gentle kind; for we have learned that he who presides over the preaching of the word ought to be able to confute gainsayers. But if some continue indolent, and do not train themselves so as to attend to the reading of the word, and "to search the Scriptures," and, agreeably to the command of Jesus, to investigate the meaning of the sacred writings, and to ask of God concerning them, and to keep "knocking" at what may be closed within them, the Scripture is not on that account to be regarded as devoid of wisdom.

Chapter VIII. In the next place, after other Platonic declarations, which demonstrate that "the good" can be known by few, he adds: "Since the multitude, being puffed up with a contempt for others, which is far from right, and being filled with vain and lofty hopes, assert that, because they have come to the knowledge of some venerable doctrines, certain things are true." "Yet although Plato predicted these things, he nevertheless does not talk marvels,41 nor shut the mouth of those who wish to ask him for information on the subject of his promises; nor does he command them to come at once and believe that a God of a particular kind exists, and that he has a son of a particular nature, who descended (to earth) and conversed with me." Now, in answer to this we have to say, that with regard to Plato, it is Aristander, I think, who has related that he was not the son of Ariston, but of a phantom, which approached Amphictione in the guise of Apollo. And there are several other of the followers of Plato who, in their lives of their master, have made the same statement. What are we to say, moreover, about Pythagoras, who relates the greatest possible amount of wonders, and who, in a general assembly of the Greeks, showed his ivory thigh, and asserted that he recognised the shield which he wore when he was Euphorbus, and who is said to have appeared on one day in two different cities! He, moreover, who will declare that what is related of Plato and Socrates belongs to the marvellous, will quote the story of the swan which was recommended to Socrates while he was asleep, and of the master saying when he met the young man, "This, then, was the swan!"42 Nay, the third eye which Plato saw that he himself possessed, he will refer to the category of prodigies.43 But occasion for slanderous accusations will never be wanting to those who are ill-disposed, and who wish to speak evil of what has happened to such as are raised above the multitude. Such persons will deride as a fiction even the demon of Socrates. We do not, then, relate marvels when we narrate the history of Jesus, nor have His genuine disciples recorded any such stories of Him; whereas this Celsus, who professes universal knowledge, and who quotes many of the sayings of Plato, is, I think, intentionally silent on the discourse concerning the Son of God which is related in Plato's Epistle to Hermeas and Coriscus. Plato's words are as follows: "And calling to witness the God of all things-the ruler both of things present and things to come, father and lord both of the ruler and cause-whom, if we are philosophers indeed, we shall all clearly know, so far as it is possible for happy human beings to attain such knowledge."44

Chapter IX.

Celsus quotes another saying of Plato to the following effect: "It has occurred to me to speak once more upon these subjects at greater length, as perhaps I might express myself about them more clearly than I have already done for there is a certain `real' cause, which proves a hindrance in the way of him who has ventured, even to a slight extent, to write on such topics; and as this has been frequently mentioned by me on former occasions, it appears to me that it ought to be stated now. In each of existing things, which are necessarily employed in the acquisition of knowledge, there are three elements; knowledge itself is the fourth; and that ought to be laid down as the fifth which is both capable of being known and is true. Of these, one is `name; 'the second is `word; 'the third, `image; 'the fourth, `knowledge.'"45 Now, according to this division, John is introduced before Jesus as the voice of one crying in the wilderness, so as to correspond with the "name" of Plato; and the second after John, who is pointed out by him, is Jesus, with whom agrees the statement, "The Word became flesh; "and that corresponds to the "word" of Plato. Plato terms the third "image; "but we, who apply the expression "image" to something different, would say with greater

precision, that the mark of the wounds which is made in the soul by the word is the Christ which is in each one of us and this mark is impressed by Christ the Word.46 And whether Christ, the wisdom which is in those of us who are perfect, correspond to the "fourth" element-knowledge-will become known to him who has the capacity to ascertain it.

Chapter X.

He next continues: "You see how Plato, although maintaining that (the chief good) cannot be described, in words, yet, to avoid the appearance of retreating to an irrefutable position, subjoins a reason in explanation of this difficulty, as even `nothing'47 might perhaps be explained in words." But as Celsus adduces this to prove that we ought not to yield a simple assent, but to furnish a reason for our belief, we shall quote also the words of Paul, where he says, in censuring the hasty48 believer, "unless ye have believed inconsiderately."49 Now, through his practice of repeating himself, Celsus, so far as he can, forces us to be guilty of tautology, reiterating, after the boastful language which has been quoted, that "Plato is not guilty of boasting and falsehood, giving out that he has made some new discovery, or that he has come down from heaven to announce it, but acknowledges whence these statements are derived." Now, if one wished to reply to Celsus, one might say in answer to such assertions, that even Plato is guilty of boasting, when in the Timaeus50 he puts the following language in the month of Zeus: "Gods of gods, whose creator and father I am," and so on. And if any one will defend such language on account of the meaning which is conveyed under the name of Zeus, thus speaking in the dialogue of Plato, why should not he who investigates the meaning of the words of the Son of God, or those of the Creator (51 in the prophets, express a profounder meaning than any conveyed by the words of Zeus in the Timaeus? For the characteristic of divinity is the announcement of future events, predicted not by human power, but shown by the result to be due to a divine spirit in him who made the announcement. Accordingly, we do not say to each of our hearers, "Believe, first of all, that He whom I introduce to thee is the Son of God; "but we put the Gospel before each one, as his character and disposition may fit him to receive it, inasmuch as we have learned to know "how we ought to answer every man."52 And there are some who are capable of receiving nothing more than an exhortation to believe, and to these we address that alone; while we approach others, again, as far as possible, in the way of demonstration, by means of question and answer. Nor do we at all say, as Celsus scoffingly alleges, "Believe that he whom I introduce to thee is the Son of God, although he was shamefully bound, and disgracefully punished, and very recently53 was most contumeliously treated before the eyes of all men; "neither do we add, "Believe it even the more (on that account)." For it is our endeavour to state, on each individual point, arguments more numerous even than we have brought forward in the preceding pages.

Chapter XI.

After this Celsus continues: "If these (meaning the Christians) bring forward this person, and others, again, a different individual (as the Christ), while the common and ready cry54 of all parties is, `Believe, if thou wilt be saved, or else begone,' what shall those do who are in earnest about their salvation? Shall they cast the dice, in order to divine whither they may betake themselves, and whom they shall join? "Now we shall answer this objection in the following manner, as the clearness of the case impels us to do. If it had been recorded that several individuals had appeared in human life as sons of God in the manner in which Jesus did, and if each of them had

drawn a party of adherents to his side, so that, on account of the similarity of the profession (in the case of each individual) that he was the Son of God, he to whom his followers bore testimony to that effect was an object of dispute, there would have been ground for his saying, "If these bring forward this person, and others a different individual, while the common and ready cry of all parties is, `Believe, if thou wilt be saved, or else begone, '" and so on; whereas it has been proclaimed to the entire world that Jesus Christ is the only Son of God who visited the human race: for those who, like Celsus, have supposed that (the acts of Jesus) were a series of prodigies,55 and who for that reason wished to perform acts of the same kind,56 that they, too, might gain a similar mastery over the minds of men, were convicted of being utter nonentities.57 Such were Simon, the Magus of Samaria, and Dositheus, who was a native of the same place; since the former gave out that he was the power of God that is called great,58 and the latter that he was the Son of God. Now Simonians are found nowhere throughout the world; and yet, in order to gain over to himself many followers, Simon freed his disciples from the danger of death, which the Christians were taught to prefer, by teaching them to regard idolatry as a matter of indifference. But even at the beginning of their existence the followers of Simon were not exposed to persecution. For that wicked demon who was conspiring against the doctrine of Jesus, was well aware that none of his own maxims would be weakened by the teaching of Simon. The Dositheans, again, even in former times, did not rise to any eminence, and now they are completely extinguished, so that it is said their whole number does not amount to thirty. Judas of Galilee also, as Luke relates in the Acts of the Apostles,59 wished to call himself some great personage, as did Theudas before him; but as their doctrine was not of God, they were destroyed, and all who obeyed them were immediately dispersed. We do not, then, "cast the dice in order to divine whither we shall betake ourselves, and whom we shall join," as if there were many claimants able to draw us after them by the profession of their having come down from God to visit the human race. On these points, however, we have said enough.

Chapter XII.

Accordingly, let us pass on to another charge made by Celsus, who is not even acquainted with the words (of our sacred books), but who, from misunderstanding them, has said that "we declare the wisdom that is among men to be foolishness with God; "Paul having said that "the wisdom of the world is foolishness with God."60 Celsus says that "the reason of this has been stated long ago." And the reason he imagines to be, "our desire to win over by means of this saying the ignorant and foolish alone." But, as he himself has intimated, he has said the same thing before; and we, to the best of our ability, replied to it. Notwithstanding this, however, he wished to show that this statement was an invention61 of ours, and borrowed from the Grecian sages, who declare that human wisdom is of one kind, and divine of another. And he quotes the words of Heraclitus, where he says in one passage, that "man's method of action is not regulated by fixed principles, but that of God is; "62 and in another, that "a foolish man listens to a demon, as a boy does to a man." He quotes, moreover, the following from the Apology of Socrates, of which Plato was the author: "For I, O men of Athens, have obtained this name by no other means than by my wisdom. And of what sort is this wisdom? Such, probably, as is human; for in that respect I venture to think that I am in reality wise."63 Such are the passages adduced by Celsus. But I shall subjoin also the following from Plato's letter to Hermeas, and Erastus, and Coriscus: "To Erastus and Coriscus I say, although I am an old man, that, in addition to this noble knowledge of 'forms' (which they

possess), they need a wisdom, with regard to the class of wicked and unjust persons, which may serve as a protective and repelling force against them. For they are inexperienced, in consequence of having passed a large portion of their lives with us, who are moderate64 individuals, and not wicked. I have accordingly said that they need these things, in order that they may not be compelled to neglect the true wisdom, and to apply themselves in a greater degree than is proper to that which is necessary and human."

Chapter XIII.

According to the foregoing, then, the one kind of wisdom is human, and the other divine. Now the "human" wisdom is that which is termed by us the wisdom of the "world," which is "foolishness with God; "whereas the "divine"-being different from the "human," because it is "divine"-comes, through the grace of God who bestows it, to those who have evinced their capacity for receiving it, and especially to those who, from knowing the difference between either kind of wisdom, say, in their prayers to God, "Even if one among the sons of men be perfect, while the wisdom is wanting that comes from Thee, he shall be accounted as nothing."65 We maintain, indeed, that "human" wisdom is an exercise for the soul, but that "divine" wisdom is the "end," being also termed the "strong" meat of the soul by him who has said that "strong meat belongeth to them that are perfect,66 even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."67 This opinion, moreover, is truly an ancient one, its antiquity not being referred back, as Celsus thinks, merely to Heraclitus and Plato. For before these individuals lived, the prophets distinguished between the two kinds of wisdom. It is sufficient for the present to quote from the words of David what he says regarding the man who is wise, according to divine wisdom, that "he will not see corruption when he beholds wise men dying."68 Divine wisdom, accordingly, being different from faith, is the "first" of the so-called "charismata" of God; and the "second" after it-in the estimation of those who know how to distinguish such things accurately-is what is called "knowledge; "69 and the "third"-seeing that even the more simple class of men who adhere to the service of God, so far as they can, must be saved-is faith. And therefore Paul says: "To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit."70 And therefore it is no ordinary individuals whom you will find to have participated in the "divine" wisdom, but the more excellent and distinguished among those who have given in their adherence to Christianity; for it is not "to the most ignorant, or servile, or most uninstructed of mankind," that one would discourse upon the topics relating to the divine wisdom.

Chapter XIV. In designating others by the epithets of "uninstructed, and servile, and ignorant," Celsus, I suppose, means those who are not acquainted with his laws, nor trained in the branches of Greek learning; while we, on the other hand, deem those to be "uninstructed" who are not ashamed to address (supplications) to inanimate objects, and to call upon those for health that have no strength, and to ask the dead for life, and to entreat the helpless for assistance.71 And although some may say that these objects are not gods, but only imitations and symbols of real divinities, nevertheless these very individuals, in imagining that the hands of low mechanics72 can frame imitations of divinity, are "uninstructed, and servile, and ignorant; "for we assert that the lowest73 among us have been set free from this ignorance and want of knowledge, while the most intelligent can understand and grasp the divine hope. We do not maintain, however, that it is impossible for one who has not been trained in earthly wisdom to receive the "divine," but we do

acknowledge that all human wisdom is "folly" in comparison with the "divine." In the next place, instead of endeavouring to adduce reasons, as he ought, for his assertions, he terms us "sorcerers,"74 and asserts that "we flee away with headlong speed75 from the more polished76 class of persons, because they are not suitable subjects for our impositions, while we seek to decoy77 those who are more rustic." Now he did not observe that from the very beginning our wise men were trained in the external branches of learning: Moses, e.g., in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; Daniel, and Ananias, and Azariah, and Mishael, in all Assyrian learning, so that they were found to surpass in tenfold degree all the wise men of that country. At the present time, moreover, the Churches have, in proportion to the multitudes (of ordinary believers), a few "wise" men, who have come over to them from that wisdom which is said by us to be "according to the flesh; "78 and they have also some who have advanced from it to that wisdom which is "divine."

Chapter XV.

Celsus, in the next place, as one who has heard the subject of humility greatly talked about;79 but who has not been at the pains to understand it,80 would wish to speak evil of that humility which is practised among us, and imagines that it is borrowed from some words of Plato imperfectly understood, where he expresses himself in the Laws as follows: "Now God, according to the ancient account, having in Himself both the beginning and end and middle of all existing things, proceeds according to nature, and marches straight on.81 He is constantly followed by justice, which is the avenger of all breaches of the divine law: he who is about to become happy follows her closely in humility, and becomingly adorned."82 He did not observe, however, that in writers much older than Plato the following words occur in a prayer: "Lord, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty, neither do I walk in great matters, nor in things too wonderful for me; if I had not been humble,"83 etc. Now these words show that he who is of humble mind does not by any means humble himself in an unseemly or inauspicious manner, falling down upon his knees, or casting himself headlong on the ground, putting on the dress of the miserable, or sprinkling himself with dust. But he who is of humble mind in the sense of the prophet, while "walking in great and wonderful things," which are above his capacity-viz., those doctrines that are truly great, and those thoughts that are wonderful-"humbles himself under the mighty hand of God." If there are some, however, who through their stupidity84 have not clearly understood the doctrine of humiliation, and act as they do, it is not our doctrine which is to be blamed; but we must extend our forgiveness to the stupidity85 of those who aim at higher things, and owing to their fatuity of mind86 fail to attain them. He who is "humble and becomingly adorned," is so in a greater degree than Plato's "humble and becomingly adorned" individual: for he is becomingly adorned, on the one hand, because "he walks in things great and wonderful," which are beyond his capacity; and humble, on the other hand, because, while being in the midst of such, he yet voluntarily humbles himself, not under any one at random, but under "the mighty hand of God," through Jesus Christ, the teacher of such instruction, "who did not deem equality with God a thing to be eagerly clung to, but made Himself of no reputation, and took on Him the form of a servant, and being found in fashion as a man, humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."87 And so great is this doctrine of humiliation, that it has no ordinary individual as its teacher; but our great Saviour Himself says: "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, and ye shall find rest for your souls."88

Chapter XVI. In the next place, with regard to the declaration of Jesus against rich men, when He said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God,"89 Celsus alleges that this saying manifestly proceeded from Plato, and that Jesus perverted the words of the philosopher, which were, that "it was impossible to be distinguished for goodness, and at the same time for riches."90 Now who is there that is capable of giving even moderate attention to affairs-not merely among the believers on Jesus, but among the rest of mankind-that would not laugh at Celsus, on hearing that Jesus, who was born and brought up among the Jews, and was supposed to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, and who had not studied literature-not merely that of the Greeks, but not even that of the Hebrews-as the truth-loving Scriptures testify regarding Him,91 had read Plato, and being pleased with the opinion he expressed regarding rich men, to the effect that "it was impossible to be distinguished for goodness and riches at the same time," had perverted this, and changed it into, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God!" Now, if Celsus had not perused the Gospels in a spirit of hatred and dislike, but had been imbued with a love of truth, he would have turned his attention to the point why a camel-that one of animals which, as regards its physical structure, is crooked-was chosen as an object of comparison with a rich man, and what signification the "narrow eye of a needle" had for him who saw that "strait and narrow was the way that leadeth unto life;92 and to this point also, that this animal. according to the law, is described as "unclean," having one element of acceptability, viz. that it ruminates, but one of condemnation, viz., that it does not divide the hoof. He would have inquired, moreover, how often the camel was adduced as an object of comparison in the sacred Scriptures, and in reference to what objects, that he might thus ascertain the meaning of the Logoj concerning the rich men. Nor would he have left without examination the fact that "the poor" are termed "blessed" byJesus, while "the rich" are designated as "miserable; "and whether these words refer to the rich and poor who are visible to the senses, or whether there is any kind of poverty known to the Logoj which is to be deemed "altogether blessed," and any rich man who is to be wholly condemned. For even a common individual would not thus indiscriminately have praised the poor, many of whom lead most wicked byes. But on this point we have said enough.

Chapter XVII.

Since Celsus, moreover, from a desire to depreciate the accounts which our Scriptures give of the kingdom of God, has quoted none of them, as if they were unworthy of being recorded by him (or perhaps because he was unacquainted with them), while, on the other hand, he quotes the sayings of Plato, both from his Epistles and the Phaedrus, as if these were divinely inspired, but our Scriptures were not, let us set forth a few points, for the sake of comparison with these plausible declarations of Plato, which did not however, dispose the philosopher to worship in a manner worthy of him the Maker of all things. For he ought not to have adulterated or polluted this worship with what we call "idolatry," but what the many would describe by the term "superstition." Now, according to a Hebrew figure of speech, it is said of God in the Psalms 18, that "He made darkness His secret place,"93 to signify that those notions which should be worthily entertained of God are invisible and unknowable, because God conceals Himself in darkness, as it were, from those who cannot endure the splendours of His knowledge, or are incapable of looking at them, partly owing to the pollution of their understanding, which is clothed with the body of mortal lowliness, and partly owing to its feebler power of comprehending God. And in order that it may

appear that the knowledge of God has rarely been vouch-safed to men, and has been found in very few individuals, Moses is related to have entered into the darkness where God was.94 And again, with regard to Moses it is said: "Moses alone shall come near the Lord, but the rest shall not come nigh."95 And again, that the prophet may show the depth of the doctrines which relate to God, and which is unattainable by those who do not possess the "Spirit which searcheth all things, even the deep things of God," he added: "The abyss like a garment is His covering."96 Nay, our Lord and Saviour, the Logos of God, manifesting that the greatness of the knowledge of the Father is appropriately comprehended and known pre-eminently by Him alone, and in the second place by those whose minds are enlightened by the Logos Himself and God, declares: "No man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him."97 For no one can worthily know the "uncreated"98 and first-born of all created nature like the Father who begat Him, nor any one the Father like the living Logos, and His Wisdom and Truth.99 By sharing in Him who takes away from the Father what is called "darkness," which He "made His secret place," and "the abyss," which is called His "covering," and in this way unveiling the Father, every one knows the Father who100 is capable of knowing Him.

Chapter XVIII.

I thought it right to quote these few instances from a much larger number of passages, in which our sacred writers express their ideas regarding God, in order to show that, to those who have eyes to behold the venerable character of Scripture, the sacred writings of the prophets contain things more worthy of reverence than those sayings of Plato which Celsus admires. Now the declaration of Plato, quoted by Celsus, runs as follows: "All things are around the King of all, and all things exist for his sake, and he is the cause of all good things. With things of the second rank he is second, and with those of the third rank he is third. The human soul, accordingly, is eager to learn what these things are, looking to such things as are kindred to itself, none of which is perfect. But as regards the King and those things which I mentioned, there is nothing which resembles them."101 I might have mentioned, moreover, what is said of those beings which are called seraphim by the Hebrews, and described in Isaiah,102 who cover the face and feet of God, and of those called cherubim, whom Ezekiel103 has described, and the postures of these, and of the manner in which God is said to be borne upon the cherubim. But since they are mentioned in a very mysterious manner, on account of the unworthy and the indecent, who are unable to enter into the great thoughts and venerable nature of theology, I have not deemed it becoming to discourse of them in this treatise.

Chapter XIX.

Celsus in the next place alleges, that "certain Christians, having misunderstood the words of Plato, loudly boast of a 'super-celestial' God thus ascending beyond the heaven of the Jews." By these words, indeed, he does not make it clear whether they also ascend beyond the God of the Jews, or only beyond the heaven by which they swear. It is not our purpose at present, however, to speak of those who acknowledge another god than the one worshipped by the Jews, but to defend ourselves, and to show that it was impossible for the prophets of the Jews, whose writings are reckoned among ours, to have borrowed anything from Plato, because they were older than he. They did not then borrow from him the declaration, that "all things are around the King of all, and that all exist on account of him; "for we have learned that nobler thoughts than these have been

uttered by the prophets, by Jesus Himself and His disciples, who have clearly indicated the meaning of the spirit that was in them, which was none other than the spirit of Christ. Nor was the philosopher the first to present to view the "super-celestial" place; for David long ago brought to view the profundity and multitude of the thoughts concerning God entertained by those who have ascended above visible things, when he said in the book of Psalms: "Praise God, ye heaven of heavens and ye waters that be above the heavens, let them praise the name of the Lord."104 I do not indeed, deny that Plato learned from certain Hebrews the words quoted from the Phaedrus, or even, as some have recorded, that he quoted them from a perusal of our prophetic writings, when he said: "No poet here below has ever sung of the super-celestial place, or ever will sing in a becoming manner," and so on. And in the same passage is the following: "For the essence, which is both colourless and formless, and which cannot be touched, which really exists, is the pilot of the soul, and is beheld by the understanding alone; and around it the genus of true knowledge holds this place."105 Our Paul, moreover, educated by these words, and longing after things "supra-mundane" and "super-celestial," and doing his utmost for their sake to attain them, says in the second Epistle to the Corinthians: "For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are unseen are eternal."106

Chapter XX.

Now, to those who are capable of understanding him, the apostle manifestly presents to view "things which are the objects of perception," calling them "things seen; "while he terms "unseen," things which are the object of the understanding, and cognisable by it alone. He knows, also, that things "seen" and visible are "temporal," but that things cognisable by the mind, and "not seen," are "eternal; "and desiring to remain in the contemplation of these. and being assisted by his earnest longing for them, he deemed all affliction as "light" and as "nothing," and during the season of afflictions and troubles was not at all bowed down by them, but by his contemplation of (divine) things deemed every calamity a light thing, seeing we also have "a great High Priest," who by the greatness of His power and understanding "has passed through the heavens, even Jesus the Son of God," who has promised to all that have truly learned divine things, and have lived lives in harmony with them, to go before them to the things that are supra-mundane; for His words are: "That where I go, ye may be also."107 And therefore we hope, after the troubles and struggles which we suffer here, to reach the highest heavens,108 and receiving, agreeably to the teaching of Jesus, the fountains of water that spring up unto eternal life, and being filled with the rivers of knowledge,109 shall be united with those waters that are said to be above the heavens, and which praise His name. And as many of us110 as praise Him shall not be carried about by the revolution of the heaven, but shall be ever engaged in the contemplation of the invisible things of God, which are no longer understood by us through the things which He hath made from the creation of the world, but seeing, as it was expressed by the true disciple of Jesus in these words, "then face to face; "111 and in these, "When that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part will be done away."112

Chapter XXI. The Scriptures which are current in the Churches113 of God do not speak of "seven" heavens, or of any definite number at all,114 but they do appear to teach the existence of "heavens," whether that means the "spheres" of those bodies which the Greeks call "planets," or

something more mysterious. Celsus, too, agreeably to the opinion of Plato,115 asserts that souls can make their way to and from the earth through the planets; while Moses, our most ancient prophet, says that a divine vision was presented to the view of our prophet Jacob,116 -a ladder stretching to heaven, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon it, and the Lord supported117 upon its top,-obscurely pointing, by this matter of the ladder, either to the same truths which Plato had in view, or to something greater than these. On this subject Philo has composed a treatise which deserves the thoughtful and intelligent investigation of all lovers of truth.

Chapter XXII.

After this, Celsus, desiring to exhibit his learning in his treatise against us, quotes also certain Persian mysteries, where he says: "These things are obscurely hinted at in the accounts of the Persians, and especially in the mysteries of Mithras, which are celebrated amongst them. For in the latter there is a representation of the two heavenly revolutions,-of the movement, viz., of the fixed118 stars, and of that which take place among the planets, and of the passage of the soul through these. The representation is of the following nature: There is a ladder with lofty gates,119 and on the top of it an eighth gate. The first gate consists of lead, the second of tin, the third of copper, the fourth of iron, the fifth of a mixture of metals,120 the sixth of silver, and the seventh of gold. The first gate they assign to Saturn, indicating by the 'lead' the slowness of this star; the second to Venus, comparing her to the splendour and softness of tin; the third to Jupiter, being firm121 and solid; the fourth to Mercury, for both Mercury and iron are fit to endure all things, and are money-making and laborious;122 the fifth to Mars, because, being composed of a mixture of metals, it is varied and unequal; the sixth, of silver, to the Moon; the seventh, of gold, to the Sun,-thus imitating the different colours of the two latter." He next proceeds to examine the reason of the stars being arranged in this order, which is symbolized by the names of the rest of matter.123 Musical reasons, moreover, are added or quoted by the Persian theology; and to these, again, he strives to add a second explanation, connected also with musical considerations. But it seems to me, that to quote the language of Celsus upon these matters would be absurd, and similar to what he himself has done, when, in his accusations against Christians and Jews, he quoted, most inappropriately, not only the words of Plato; but, dissatisfied even with these,124 he adduced in addition the mysteries of the Persian Mithras, and the explanation of them. Now, whatever be the case with regard to these,-whether the Persians and those who conduct the mysteries of Mithras give false or true accounts regarding them,-why did he select these for quotation, rather than some of the other mysteries, with the explanation of them? For the mysteries of Mithras do not appear to be more famous among the Greeks than those of Eleusis, or than those in Aegina, where individuals are initiated in the rites of Hecate. But if he must introduce barbarian mysteries with their explanation, why not rather those of the Egyptians, which are highly regarded by many,125 or those of the Cappadocians regarding the Comanian Diana, or those of the Thracians, or even those of the Romans themselves, who initiate the noblest members of their senate?126 But if he deemed it inappropriate to institute a comparison with any of these, because they furnished no aid in the way of accusing Jews or Christians, why did it not also appear to him inappropriate to adduce the instance of the mysteries of Mithras?

Chapter XXIII.

If one wished to obtain means for a pro-founder contemplation of the entrance of souls into divine things, not from the statements of that very insignificant sect from which he quoted, hut from books-partly those of the Jews, which are read in their synagogues, and adopted by Christians, and partly from those of Christians alone-let him peruse, at the end of Ezekiel's prophecies, the visions beheld by the prophet, in which gates of different kinds are enumerated,127 which obscurely refer to the different modes in which divine souls enter into a better world;128 and let him peruse also, from the Apocalypse of John, what is related of the city of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and of its foundations and gates.129 And if he is capable of finding out also the road, which is indicated by symbols, of those who will march on to divine things, let him read the book of Moses entitled Numbers, and let him seek the help of one who is capable of initiating him into the meaning of the narratives concerning the encampments of the children of Israel; viz., of what sort those were which were arranged towards the east, as was the case with the first; and what those towards the south-west. and south; and what towards the sea; and what the last were, which were stationed towards the north. For he will see that there is in the respective places a meaning130 not to be lightly treated, nor, as Celsus imagines, such as calls only for silly and servile listeners: but he will distinguish in the encampments certain things relating to the numbers that are enumerated, and which are specially adapted to each tribe, of which the present does not appear to us to be the proper time to speak. Let Celsus know, moreover, as well as those who read his book, that in no part of the genuine and divinely accredited Scriptures are "seven" heavens mentioned; neither do our prophets, nor the apostles of Jesus, nor the Son of God Himself, repeat anything which they borrowed from the Persians or the Cabiri.

Chapter XXIV.

After the instance borrowed from the Mithraic mysteries, Celsus declares that he who would investigate the Christian mysteries, along with the aforesaid Persian, will, on comparing the two together, and on unveiling the rites of the Christians, see in this way the difference between them. Now, wherever he was able to give the names of the various sects, he was nothing loth to quote those with which he thought himself acquainted; but when he ought most of all to have done this, if they were really known to him, and to have informed us which was the sect that makes use of the diagram he has drawn, he has not done so. It seems to me, however, that it is from some statements of a very insignificant sect called Ophites,131 which he has misunderstood, that, in my opinion, he has partly borrowed what he says about the diagram.132 Now, as we have always been animated by a love of learning,133 we have fallen in with this diagram, and we have found in it the representations of men who, as Paul says, "creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, led away with divers lusts; ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."134 The diagram was, however, so destitute of all credibility, that neither these easily deceived women, nor the most rustic class of men, nor those who were ready to be led away by any plausible pretender whatever, ever gave their assent to the diagram. Nor, indeed, have we ever met any individual, although we have visited many parts of the earth, and have sought out all those who anywhere made profession of knowledge, that placed any faith in this diagram.

Chapter XXV. In this diagram were described ten circles, distinct from each other, but united by one circle, which was said to be the soul of all things, and was called "Leviathan."135 This Leviathan, the Jewish Scriptures say, whatever they mean by the expression, was created by God for a plaything;136 for we find in the Psalms: "In wisdom hast Thou made all things: the earth is full

of Thy creatures; so is this great and wide sea. There go the ships; small animals with great; there is this dragon, which Thou hast formed to play therein."137 Instead of the word "dragon," the term "leviathan" is in the Hebrew. This impious diagram, then, said of this leviathan, which is so clearly depreciated by the Psalmist, that it was the soul which had travelled through all things! We observed, also, in the diagram, the being named "Behemoth," placed as it were under the lowest circle. The inventor of this accursed diagram had inscribed this leviathan at its circumference and centre, thus placing its name in two separate places. Moreover, Celsus says that the diagram was "divided by a thick black line, and this line he asserted was called Gehenna, which is Tartarus." Now as we found that Gehenna was mentioned in the Gospel as a place of punishment, we searched to see whether it is mentioned anywhere in the ancient Scriptures, and especially because the Jews too use the word. And we ascertained that where the valley of the son of Ennom was named in Scripture in the Hebrew, instead of "valley," with fundamentally the same meaning, it was termed both the valley of Ennom and also Geenna. And continuing our researches, we find that what was termed "Geenna," or "the valley of Ennom," was included in the lot of the tribe of Benjamin, in which Jerusalem also was situated. And seeking to ascertain what might be the inference from the heavenly Jerusalem belonging to the lot of Benjamin and the valley of Ennom, we find a certain confirmation of what is said regarding the place of punishment, intended for the purification of such souls as are to be purified by torments, agreeably to the saying: "The Lord cometh like a refiner's fire, and like fullers' soap: and He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver and of gold."138

Chapter XXVI.

It is in the precincts of Jerusalem, then, that punishments will be inflicted upon those who undergo the process of purification,139 who have received into the substance of their soul the elements of wickedness, which in a certain place140 is figuratively termed "lead," and on that account iniquity is represented in Zechariah as sitting upon a "talent of lead."141 But the remarks which might be made on this topic are neither to be made to all, nor to be uttered on the present occasion; for it is not unattended with danger to commit to writing the explanation of such subjects, seeing the multitude need no further instruction than that which relates to the punishment of sinners; while to ascend beyond this is not expedient, for the sake of those who are with difficulty restrained, even by fear of eternal punishment, from plunging into any degree of wickedness, and into the flood of evils which result from sin.142 The doctrine of Geenna, then, is unknown both to the diagram and to Celsus: for had it been otherwise, the framers of the former would not have boasted of their pictures of animals and diagrams, as if the truth were represented by these; nor would Celsus, in his treatise against the Christians, have introduced among the charges directed against them statements which they never uttered instead of what was spoken by some who perhaps are no longer in existence, but have altogether disappeared, or been reduced to a very few individuals, and these easily counted. And as it does not beseem those who profess the doctrines of Plato to offer a defence of Epicurus and his impious opinions, so neither is it for us to defend the diagram, or to refute the accusations brought against it by Celsus. We may therefore allow his charges on these points to pass as superfluous and useless,143 for we would censure more severely than Celsus any who should be carried away by such opinions.

Chapter XXVII.

After the matter of the diagram, he brings forward certain monstrous statements, in the form of question and answer,144 regarding what is called by ecclesiastical writers the "seal," statements which did not arise from imperfect information; such as that "he who impresses the seal is called father, and he who is sealed is called young man and son; "and who answers, "I have been anointed with white ointment from the tree of life,"-things which we never heard to have occurred even among the heretics. In the next place, he determines even the number mentioned by those who deliver over the seal, as that "of seven angels, who attach themselves to both sides of the soul of the dying body; the one party being named angels of light, the others `archontics; '"145 and he asserts that the "ruler of those named `archontics' is termed the `accursed' god." Then, laying hold of the expression, he assails, not without reason; those who venture to use such language; and on that account we entertain a similar feeling of indignation with those who censure such individuals, if indeed there exist any who call the God of the Jews-who sends rain and thunder, and who is the Creator of this world, and the God of Moses, and of the cosmogony which he records-an "accursed" divinity. Celsus, however, appears to have had in view in employing these expressions, not a rational146 object, but one of a most irrational kind, arising out of his hatred towards us, which is so unlike a philosopher. For his aim was, that those who are unacquainted with our customs should, on perusing his treatise, at once assail us as if we called the noble Creator of this world an "accursed divinity." He appears to me, indeed, to have acted like those Jews who, when Christianity began to be first preached, scattered abroad false reports of the Gospel, such as that "Christians offered up an infant in sacrifice, and partook of its flesh; "and again, "that the professors of Christianity, wishing to do the `works of darkness, 'used to extinguish the lights (in their meetings), and each one to have sexual intercourse with any woman whom he chanced to meet." These calumnies have long exercised, although unreasonably, an influence over the minds of very many, leading those who are aliens to the Gospel to believe that Christians are men of such a character; and even at the present day they mislead some, and prevent them from entering even into the simple intercourse of conversation with those who are Christians.

Chapter XXVIII. With some such object as this in view does Celsus seem to have been actuated, when he alleged that Christians term the Creator an "accursed divinity; "in order that he who believes these charges of his against us, should, if possible, arise and exterminate the Christians as the most impious Of mankind. Confusing, moreover, things that are distinct,147 he states also the reason why the God of the Mosaic cosmogony is termed "accursed," asserting that "such is his character, and worthy of execration in the opinion of those who so regard him, inasmuch as he pronounced a curse upon the serpent, who introduced the first human beings to the knowledge of good and evil." Now he ought to have known that those who have espoused the cause of the serpent, because he gave good advice to the first human beings, and who go far beyond the Titans and Giants of fable, and are on this account called Ophites, are so far from being Christians, that they bring accusations against Jesus to as great a degree as Celsus himself; and they do not admit any one into their assembly148 until he has uttered maledictions against Jesus. See, then, how irrational is the procedure of Celsus, who, in his discourse against the Christians, represents as such those who will not even listen to the name of Jesus, or omit even that He was a wise man, or a person of virtuous149 character! What, then, could evince greater folly or madness, not only on the part of those who wish to derive their name from the serpent as the author of good,150 but also on the part of Celsus, who thinks that the accusations with which the Ophites151 are charged, are chargeable also against the Christians! Long ago, indeed, that Greek

philosopher who preferred a state of poverty,152 and who exhibited the pattern of a happy life, showing that he was not excluded from happiness although he was possessed of nothing,153 termed himself a Cynic; while these impious wretches, as not being human beings, whose enemy the serpent is, but as being serpents, pride themselves upon being called Ophites from the serpent, which is an animal most hostile to and greatly dreaded by man, and boast of one Euphrates154 as the introducer of these unhallowed opinions.

Chapter XXIX. In the next place, as if it were the Christians whom he was calumniating, he continues his accusations against those who termed the God of Moses and of his law an "accursed" divinity; and imagining that it is the Christians who so speak, he expresses himself thus: "What could be more foolish or insane than such senseless155 wisdom? For what blunder has the Jewish lawgiver committed? and why do you accept, by means, as you say,156 of a certain allegorical and typical method of interpretation, the cosmogony which he gives, and the law of the Jews, while it is with unwillingness, O most impious man, that you give praise to the Creator of the world, who promised to give them all things; who promised to multiply their race to the ends of the earth, and to raise them up from the dead with the same flesh and blood, and who gave inspiration157 to their prophets; and, again, you slander Him! When you feel the force of such considerations, indeed, you acknowledge that you worship the same God; but when your teacher Jesus and the Jewish Moses give contradictory decisions,158 you seek another God, instead of Him, and the Father!" Now, by such statements, this illustrious philosopher Celsus distinctly slanders the Christians, asserting that, when the Jews press them hard, they acknowledge the same God as they do; but that when Jesus legislates differently from Moses, they seek another god instead of Him. Now, whether we are conversing with the Jews, or are alone with ourselves, we know of only one and the same God, whom the Jews also worshipped of old time, and still profess to worship as God, and we are guilty of no impiety towards Him. We do not assert, however; that God will raise men from the dead with the same flesh and blood, as has been shown in the preceding pages; for we do not maintain that the natural159 body, which is sown in corruption, and in dishonour, and in weakness, will rise again such as it was sown. On such subjects, however, we have spoken at adequate length in the foregoing pages.

Chapter XXX.

He next returns to the subject of the Seven ruling Demons,160 whose names are not found among Christians, but who, I think, are accepted by the Ophites. We found, indeed, that in the diagram, which on their account we procured a sight of, the same order was laid down as that which Celsus has given. Celsus says that "the goat was shaped like a lion," not mentioning the name given him by those who are truly the most impious of individuals; whereas we discovered that He who is honoured in holy Scripture as the angel of the Creator is called by this accursed diagram Michael the Lion-like. Again, Celsus says that the "second in order is a bull; "whereas the diagram which we possessed made him to be Suriel, the bull-like. Further, Celsus termed the third "an amphibious sort of animal, and one that hissed frightfully; "while the diagram described the third as Raphael, the serpent-like. Moreover, Celsus asserted that the "fourth had the form of an eagle; "the diagram representing him as Gabriel, the eagle-like. Again, the "fifth," according to Celsus, "had the countenance of a bear; "and this, according to the diagram, was Thauthabaoth,161 the bear-like. Celsus continues his account, that the "sixth was described as having the face of a dog; "and him the diagram called Erataoth. The "seventh," he adds, "had the countenance of an ass,

and was named Thaphabaoth or Onoel; "whereas we discovered that in the diagram he is called Onoel, or Thartharaoth, being somewhat asinine in appearance. We have thought it proper to be exact in stating these matters, that we might not appear to be ignorant of those things which Celsus professed to know, but that we Christians, knowing them better than he, may demonstrate that these are not the words of Christians, but of those who are altogether alienated from salvation, and who neither acknowledge Jesus as Saviour, nor God, nor Teacher, nor Son of God.

Chapter XXXI.

Moreover, if any one would wish to become acquainted with the artifices of those sorcerers, through which they desire to lead men away by their teaching (as if they possessed the knowledge of certain secret rites), but are not at all successful in so doing, let him listen to the instruction which they receive after passing through what is termed the "fence of wickedness,"162 -gates which are subjected to the world of ruling spirits.163 (The following, then, is the manner in which they proceed): "I salute the one-formed164 king, the bond of blindness, complete165 oblivion, the first power, preserved by the spirit of providence and by wisdom, from whom I am sent forth pure, being already part of the light of the son and of the father: grace be with me; yea, O father, let it be with me." They say also that the beginnings of the Ogdoad166 are derived from this. In the next place, they are taught to say as follows, while passing through what they call Ialdabaoth: "Thou, O first and seventh, who art born to command with confidence, thou, O Ialdabaoth, who art the rational ruler of a pure mind, and a perfect work to son and father, bearing the symbol of life in the character of a type, and opening to the world the gate which thou didst close against thy kingdom, I pass again in freedom through thy realm. Let grace be with me; yea, O father, let it be with me." They say, moreover, that the star Phaenon167 is in sympathy168 with the lion-like ruler. They next imagine that he who has passed through Ialdabaoth and arrived at Iao ought thus to speak: "Thou, O second Iao, who shinest by night169 who art the ruler of the secret mysteries of son and father, first prince of death, and portion of the innocent, bearing now mine own beard as symbol, I am ready to pass through thy realm, having strengthened him who is born of thee by the living word. Grace be with me; father, let it be with me." They next come to Sabaoth, to whom they think the following should be addressed: "O governor of the fifth realm, powerful Sabaoth, defender of the law of thy creatures, who are liberated by thy grace through the help of a more powerful Pentad,170 admit me, seeing the faultless symbol of their art, preserved by the stamp of an image, a body liberated by a Pentad. Let grace be with me, O father, let grace be with me." And after Sabaoth they come to Astaphaeus, to whom they believe the following prayer should be offered: "O Astaphaeus, ruler of the third gate, overseer of the first principle of water, look upon me as one of thine initiated,171 admit me who am purified with the spirit of a virgin, thou who seest the essence of the world. Let grace be with me, O father, let grace be with me." After him comes Aloaeus, who is to be thus addressed: "O Aloaeus, governor of the second gate, let me pass, seeing I bring to thee the symbol of thy mother, a gracewhich is hidden by the powers of the realms.172 Let grace be with me, O father, let it be with me." And last of all they name Horaeus, and think that the following prayer ought to be offered to him: "Thou who didst fearlessly overleap the rampart of fire, O Horaeus, who didst obtain the government of the first gate, let me pass, seeing thou beholdest the symbol of thine own power, sculptured173 on the figure of the tree of life, and formed after this image, in the likeness of innocence. Let grace be with me, O father, let grace be with me."

Chapter XXXII. The supposed great learning of Celsus, which is composed, however, rather of curious trifles and silly talk than anything else, has made us touch upon these topics, from a wish to show to every one who peruses his treatise and our reply, that we have no lack of information on those subjects, from which he takes occasion to calumniate the Christians, who neither are acquainted with, nor concern themselves about, such matters. For we, too, desired both to learn and set forth these things, in order that sorcerers might not, under pretext of knowing more than we, delude those who are easily carried away by the glitter174 of names. And I could have given many more illustrations to show that we are acquainted with the opinions of these deluders,175 and that we disown them, as being alien to ours, and impious, and not in harmony with the doctrines of true Christians, of which we are ready to make confession even to the death. It must be noticed, too, that those who have drawn up this array of fictions, have, from neither understanding magic, nor discriminating the meaning of holy Scripture, thrown everything into confusion; seeing that they have borrowed from magic the names of Ialdabaoth, and Astaphaeus, and Horaeus, and from the Hebrew Scriptures him who is termed in Hebrew Iao or Jah, and Sabaoth, and Adonaeus, and Eloaeus. Now the names taken from the Scriptures are names of one and the same God; which, not being understood by the enemies of God, as even themselves acknowledge, led to their imagining that Iao was a different God, and Sabaoth another, and Adonaeus, whom the Scriptures term Adonai, a third besides, and that Eloaeus, whom the prophets name in Hebrew Eloi, was also different.

Chapter XXXIII.

Celsus next relates other fables, to the effect that "certain persons return to the shapes of the archontics,176 so that some are called lions, others bulls, others dragons, or eagles, or bears, or dogs." We found also in the diagram which we possessed, and which Celsus called the "square pattern," the statements177 made by these unhappy beings concerning the gates of Paradise. The flaming sword was depicted as the diameter of a flaming circle, and as if mounting guard over the tree of knowledge and of life. Celsus, however, either would not or could not repeat the harangues which, according to the fables of these impious individuals, are represented as spoken at each of the gates by those who pass through them; but this we have done in order to show to Celsus and those who read his treatise, that we know the depth of these unhallowed mysteries,178 and that they are far removed from the worship which Christians offer up to God.

Chapter XXXIV.

After finishing the foregoing, and those analogous matters which we ourselves have added, Celsus continues as follows: "They continue to heap together one thing after another,-discourses of prophets, and circles upon circles, and effluents179 from an earthly church, and from circumcision; and a power flowing from one Prunicos, a virgin and a living soul; and a heaven slain in order to live, and an earth slaughtered by the sword, and many put to death that they may live, and death ceasing in the world, when the sin of the world is dead; and, again, a narrow way, and gates that open spontaneously. And in all their writings (is mention made) of the tree of life, and a resurrection of the flesh by means180 of the `tree, 'because, I imagine, their teacher was nailed to a cross, and was a carpenter by craft; so that if he had chanced to have been cast from a precipice, or thrust into a pit, or suffocated by hanging, or had been a leather-cutter, or stone-cutter, or worker in iron, there would have been (invented) a precipice of life beyond the

heavens, or a pit of resurrection, or a cord of immortality, or a blessed stone, or an iron of love, or a sacred leather! Now what old woman would not be ashamed to utter such things in a whisper, even when making stories to lull an infant to sleep? "In using such language as this, Celsus appears to me to confuse together matters which he has imperfectly heard. For it seems likely that, even supposing that he had heard a few words traceable to some existing heresy, he did not clearly understand the meaning intended to be conveyed; but heaping the words together, he wished to show before those who knew nothing either of our opinions or of those of the heretics, that he was acquainted with all the doctrines of the Christians. And this is evident also from the foregoing words.

Chapter XXXV.

It is our practice, indeed, to make use of the words of the prophets, who demonstrate that Jesus is the Christ predicted by them, and who show from the prophetic writings the events in the Gospels regarding Jesus have been fulfilled. But when Celsus speaks of "circles upon circles," (he perhaps borrowed the expression) from the aforementioned heresy, which includes in one circle (which they call the soul of all things, and Leviathan) the seven circles of archontic demons, or perhaps it arises from misunderstanding the preacher, when he says: "The wind goeth in a circle of circles, and returneth again upon its circles."181 The expression, too, "effluents of an earthly church and of circumcision," was probably taken from the fact that the church on earth was called by some an effluent from a heavenly church and a better world; and that the circumcision described in the law was a symbol of the circumcision performed there, in a certain place set apart for purification. The adherents of Valentinus, moreover, in keeping with their system of error,182 give the name of Prunicos to a certain kind of wisdom, of which they would have the woman afflicted with the twelve years' issue of blood to be the symbol; so that Celsus, who confuses together all sorts of opinions-Greek, Barbarian, and Heretical-having heard of her, asserted that it was a power flowing forth from one Prunicos, a virgin. The "living soul," again, is perhaps mysteriously referred by some of the followers of Valentinus to the being whom they term the psychic183 creator of the world; or perhaps, in contradistinction to a "dead" soul, the "living" soul is termed by some, not inelegantly,184 the soul of "him who is saved." I know nothing, however, of a "heaven which is said to be slain," or of an "earth slaughtered by the sword," or of many persons slain in order that they might live; for it is not unlikely that these were coined by Celsus out of his own brain.

Chapter XXXVI.

We would say, moreover, that death ceases in the world when the sin of the world dies, referring the saying to the mystical words of the apostle, which run as follows: "When He shall have put all enemies under His feet, then the last enemy that shall be destroyed is death."185 And also: "When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory."186 The "strait descent,"187 again, may perhaps be referred by those who hold the doctrine of transmigration of souls to that view of things. And it is not incredible that the gates which are said to open spontaneously are referred obscurely by some to the words, "Open to me the gates of righteousness, that I may go into them, and praise the Lord; this gate of the Lord, into it the righteous shall enter; "188 and again, to what is said in the ninth psalm, "Thou that liftest me up from the gates of death, that I may show forth all Thy praise in the gates of the daughter of Zion."189 The Scripture further gives the name of "gates of death" to

those sins which lead to destruction, as it terms, on the contrary, good actions the "gates of Zion." So also "the gates of righteousness," which is an equivalent expression to "the gates of virtue," and these are ready to be opened to him who follows after virtuous pursuits. The subject of the "tree of life" will be more appropriately explained when we interpret the statements in the book of Genesis regarding the paradise planted by God. Celsus, moreover, has often mocked at the subject of a resurrection,-a doctrine which he did not comprehend; and on the present occasion, not satisfied with what he has formerly said, he adds, "And there is said to be a resurrection of the flesh by means of the tree; "not understanding, I think, the symbolical expression, that "through the tree came death, and through the tree comes life,"190 because death was in Adam, and life in Christ. He next scoffs at the "tree," assailing it on two grounds, and saying, "For this reason is the tree introduced, either because our teacher was nailed to a cross, or because he was a carpenter by trade; "not observing that the tree of life is mentioned in the Mosaic writings, and being blind also to this, that in none of the Gospels current in the Churches191 is Jesus Himself ever described as being a carpenter.192

Chapter XXXVII.

Celsus, moreover, thinks that we have invented this "tree of life" to give an allegorical meaning to the cross; and in consequence of his error upon this point, he adds: "If he had happened to be cast down a precipice, or shoved into a pit, or suffocated by hanging, there would have been invented a precipice of life far beyond the heavens, or a pit of resurrection, or a cord of immortality." And again: "If the 'tree of life' were an invention, because he-Jesus-(is reported) to have been a carpenter, it would follow that if he had been a leather-cutter, something would have been said about holy leather; or had he been a stone-cutter, about a blessed stone; or if a worker in iron, about an iron of love." Now, who does not see at once193 the paltry nature of his charge, in thus calumniating men whom he professed to convert on the ground of their being deceived? And after these remarks, he goes on to speak in a way quite in harmony with the tone of those who have invented the fictions of lion-like, and ass-headed, and serpent-like ruling angels,194 and other similar absurdities, but which does not affect those who belong to the Church. Of a truth, even a drunken old woman would be ashamed to chaunt or whisper to an infant, in order to lull him to sleep, any such fables as those have done who invented the beings with asses' heads, and the harangues, so to speak, which are delivered at each of the gates. But Celsus is not acquainted with the doctrines of the members of the Church, which very few have been able to comprehend, even of those who have devoted all their lives, in conformity with the command of Jesus, to the searching of the Scriptures, and have laboured to investigate the meaning of the sacred books, to a greater degree than Greek philosophers in their efforts to attain a so-called wisdom.

Chapter XXXVIII. Our noble (friend), moreover, not satisfied with the objections which he has drawn from the diagram, desires, in order to strengthen his accusations against us, who have nothing in common with it, to introduce certain other charges, which he adduces from the same (heretics), but yet as if they were from a different source. His words are: "And that is not the least of their marvels, for there are between the upper circles-those that are above the heavens-certain inscriptions of which they give the interpretation, and among others two words especially, `a greater and a less, 'which they refer to Father and Son."195 Now, in the diagram referred to, we found the greater and the lesser circle, upon the diameter of which was inscribed "Father and Son; "and between the greater circle (in which the lesser was contained) and another196 composed of

two circles,-the outer one of which was yellow, and the inner blue,-a barrier inscribed in the shape of a hatchet. And above it, a short circle, close to the greater of the two former, having the inscription "Love; "and lower down, one touching the same circle, with the word "Life." And on the second circle, which was intertwined with and included two other circles, another figure, like a rhomboid, (entitled) "The foresight of wisdom." And within their point of common section was "The nature of wisdom." And above their point of common section was a circle, on which was inscribed "Knowledge; "and lower down another, on which was the inscription, "Understanding." We have introduced these matters into our reply to Celsus, to show to our readers that we know better than he, and not by mere report, those things, even although we also disapprove of them. Moreover, if those who pride themselves upon such matters profess also a kind of magic and sorcery,-which, in their opinion, is the summit of wisdom,-we, on the other hand, make no affirmation about it, seeing we never have discovered anything of the kind. Let Celsus, however, who has been already often convicted of false witness and irrational accusations, see whether he is not guilty of falsehood in these also, or whether he has not extracted and introduced into his treatise, statements taken from the writings of those who are foreigners and strangers to our Christian faith.

Chapter XXXIX. In the next place, speaking of those who employ the arts of magic and sorcery, and who invoke the barbarous names of demons, he remarks that such persons act like those who, in reference to the same things,197 perform marvels before those who are ignorant that the names of demons among the Greeks are different from what they are among the Scythians. He then quotes a passage from Herodotus, stating that "Apollo is called Gongosyrus by the Scythians; Poseidon, Thagimasada; Aphrodite, Argimpasan; Hestia, Tabiti."198 Now, he who has the capacity can inquire whether in these matters Celsus and Herodotus are not both wrong; for the Scythians do not understand the same thing as the Greeks, in what relates to those beings which are deemed to be gods. For how is it credible199 that Apollo should be called Gongosyrus by the Scythians? I do not suppose that Gongosyrus, when transferred into the Greek language, yields the same etymology as Apollo; or that Apollo, in the dialect of the Scythians, has the signification of Gongosyrus. Nor has any such assertion hitherto been made regarding the other names,200 for the Greeks took occasion from different circumstances and etymologies to give to those who are by them deemed gods the names which they bear; and the Scythians, again, from another set of circumstances; and the same also was the case with the Persians, or Indians, or Ethiopians, or Libyans, or with those who delight to bestow names (from fancy), and who do not abide by the just and pure idea of the Creator of all things. Enough, however, has been said by us in the preceding pages, where we wished to demonstrate that Sabaoth and Zeus were not the same deity, and where also we made some remarks, derived from the holy Scriptures, regarding the different dialects. We willingly, then, pass by these points, on which Celsus would make us repeat ourselves. In the next place, again, mixing up together matters which belong to magic and sorcery, and referring them perhaps to no one,-because of the non-existence of any who practise magic under pretence of a worship of this character,-and yet, perhaps, having in view some who do employ such practices in the presence of the simple (that they may have the appearance of acting by divine power), he adds: "What need to number up all those who have taught methods of purification, or expiatory hymns, or spells for averting evil, or (the making of) images, or resemblances of demons, or the various sorts of antidotes against poison (to be found)201 in clothes, or in numbers, or stones, or plants, or roots, or generally in all kinds of things? "In respect to these matters, reason does not require us to offer any defence, since we are not liable in the

slightest degree to suspicions of such a nature.

Chapter XL.

After these things, Celsus appears to me to act like those who, in their intense hatred of the Christians, maintain, in the presence of those who are utterly ignorant of the Christian faith, that they have actually ascertained that Christians devour the flesh of infants, and give themselves without restraint to sexual intercourse with their women. Now, as these statements have been condemned as falsehoods invented against the Christians, and this admission made by the multitude and those altogether aliens to our faith; so would the following statements of Celsus be found to be calumnies invented against the Christians, where he says that "he has seen in the hands of certain presbyters belonging to our faith202 barbarous books, containing the names and marvellous doings of demons; "asserting further, that "these presbyters of our faith professed to do no good, but all that was calculated to injure human beings." Would, indeed, that all that is said by Celsus against the Christians was of such a nature as to be refuted by the multitude, who have ascertained by experience that such things are untrue, seeing that most of them have lived as neighbours with the Christians, and have not even heard of the existence of any such alleged practices!

Chapter XLI. In the next place, as if he had forgotten that it was his object to write against the Christians, he says that, "having become acquainted with one Dionysius, an Egyptian musician, the latter told him, with respect to magic arts, that it was only over the uneducated and men of corrupt morals that they had any power, while on philosophers they were unable to produce any effect, because they were careful to observe a healthy manner of life." If, now, it had been our purpose to treat of magic, we could have added a few remarks in addition to what we have already said on this topic; but since it is only the more important matters which we have to notice in answer to Celsus, we shall say of magic, that any one who chooses to inquire whether philosophers were ever led captive by it or not, can read what has been written by Moiragenes regarding the memoirs of the magician and philosopher Apollonius of Tyana, in which this individual, who is not a Christian, but a philosopher, asserts that some philosophers of no mean note were won over by the magic power possessed by Apollonius, and resorted to him as a sorcerer; and among these, I think, he especially mentioned Euphrates and a certain Epicurean. Now we, on the other hand, affirm, and have learned by experience, that they who worship the God of all things in conformity with the Christianity which comes by Jesus, and who live according to His Gospel, using night and day, continuously and becomingly, the prescribed prayers, are not carried away either by magic or demons. For verily "the angel of the Lord encamps round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them"203 from all evil; and the angels of the little ones in the Church, who are appointed to watch over them, are said always to behold the face of their Father who is in heaven,204 whatever be the meaning of "face" or of "behold."

Chapter XLII.

After these matters, Celsus brings the following charges against us from another quarter: "Certain most impious errors," he says, "are committed by them, due to their extreme ignorance, in which they have wandered away from the meaning of the divine enigmas, creating an adversary to God, the devil, and naming him in the Hebrew tongue, Satan. Now, of a truth, such statements are altogether of mortal invention,205 and not even proper to be repeated, viz., that the mighty God, in

His desire to confer good upon men, has yet one counterworking Him, and is helpless. The Son of God, it follows, is vanquished by the devil; and being punished by him, teaches us also to despise the punishments which he inflicts, telling us beforehand that Satan, after appearing to men as He Himself had done, will exhibit great and marvellous works, claiming for himself the glory of God, but that those who wish to keep him at a distance ought to pay no attention to these works of Satan, but to place their faith in Him alone. Such statements are manifestly the words of a deluder, planning and manoeuvring against those who are opposed to his views, and who rank themselves against them." In the next place, desiring to point out the "enigmas," our mistakes regarding which lead to the introduction of our views concerning Satan, he continues: "The ancients allude obscurely to a certain war among the gods, Heraclitus speaking thus of it: 'If one must say that there is a general war and discord, and that all things are done and administered in strife.' Pherecydes, again, who is much older than Heraclitus, relates a myth of one army drown up in hostile array against another, and names Kronos as the leader of the one, and Ophioneus of the other, and recounts their challenges and struggles, and mentions that agreements were entered into between them, to the end that whichever party should fall into the ocean206 should be held as vanquished, while those who had expelled and conquered them should have possession of heaven. The mysteries relating to the Titans and Giants also had some such (symbolical) meaning, as well as the Egyptian mysteries of Typhon, and Horus, and Osiris." After having made such statements, and not having got over the difficulty207 as to the way in which these accounts contain a higher view of things, while our accounts are erroneous copies of them, he continues his abuse of us, remarking that "these are not like the stories which are related of a devil, or demon, or, as he remarks with more truth, of a man who is an impostor, who wishes to establish an opposite doctrine." And in the same way he understands Homer, as if he referred obscurely to matters similar to those mentioned by Heraclitus, and Pherecydes, and the originators of the mysteries about the Titans and Giants, in those words which Hephaestus addresses to Hera as follows:- "Once in your cause I felt his matchless might, Hurled headlong downward from the ethereal height."208 And in those of Zeus to Hera:- "Hast thou forgot, when, bound and fix'd on high, From the vast concave of the spangled sky, I hung thee trembling in a golden chain, And all the raging gods opposed in vain?

Headlong I hurled them from the Olympian hall, Stunn'd in the whirl, and breathless with the fall."209

Interpreting, moreover, the words of Homer, he adds: "The words of Zeus addressed to Hera are the words of God addressed to matter; and the words addressed to matter obscurely signify that the matter which at the beginning was in a state of discord (with God), was taken by Him, and bound together and arranged under laws, which may be analogically compared to chains;210 and that by way of chastising the demons who create disorder in it, he hurls them down headlong to this lower world." These words of Homer, he alleges, were so understood by Pherecydes, when he said that beneath that region is the region of Tartarus, which is guarded by the Harpies and Tempest, daughters of Boreas, and to which Zeus banishes any one of the gods who becomes disorderly. With the same ideas also are closely connected the peplos of Athena, which is beheld by all in the procession of the Panathenaea. For it is manifest from this, he continues, that a motherless and unsullied demon211 has the mastery over the daring of the Giants. While accepting, moreover, the fictions of the Greeks, he continues to heap against us such accusations

as the following, viz., that "the Son of God is punished by the devil, and teaches us that we also, when punished by him, ought to endure it. Now these statements are altogether ridiculous. For it is the devil, I think, who ought rather to be punished, and those human beings who are calumniated by him ought not to be threatened with chastisement."

Chapter XLIII.

Mark now, whether he who charges us with having committed errors of the most impious kind, and with having wandered away from the (true meaning) of the divine enigmas, is not himself clearly in error, from not observing that in the writings of Moses, which are much older not merely than Heraclitus and Pherecydes, but even than Homer, mention is made of this wicked one, and of his having fallen from heaven. For the serpent212 -from whom the Ophioneus spoken of by Pherecydes is derived-having become the cause of man's expulsion from the divine Paradise, obscurely shadows forth something similar, having deceived the woman213 by a promise of divinity and of greater blessings; and her example is said to have been followed also by the man. And, further, who else could the destroying angel mentioned in the Exodus of Moses214 be, than he who was the author of destruction to them that obeyed him, and did not withstand his wicked deeds, nor struggle against them? Moreover (the goat), which in the book of Leviticus215 is sent away (into the wilderness), and which in the Hebrew language is named Azazel, was none other than this; and it was necessary to send it away into the desert, and to treat it as an expiatory sacrifice, because on it the lot fell. For all who belong to the "worse" part, on account of their wickedness, being opposed to those who are God's heritage, are deserted by God.216 Nay, with respect to the sons of Belial in the book of Judges,217 whose sons are they said to be, save his, on account of their wickedness? And besides all these instances, in the book of Job, which is older even than Moses himself, the devil is distinctly described as presenting himself before God,218 and asking for power against Job, that he might involve him in trials219 of the most painful kind; the first of which consisted in the loss of all his goods and of his children, and the second in afflicting the whole body of Job with the so-called disease of elephantiasis.220 I pass by what might be quoted from the Gospels regarding the devil who tempted the Saviour, that I may not appear to quote in reply to Celsus from more recent writings on this question. In the last (chapter)221 also of Job, in which the Lord utters to Job amid tempest and clouds what is recorded in the book which bears his name there are not a few things referring to the serpent. I have not yet mentioned the passages in Ezekiel,222 where he speaks, as it were, of Pharaoh, or Nebuchadnezzar, or the prince of Tyre; or those in Isaiah,223 where lament is made for the king of Babylon, from which not a little might be learned concerning evil, as to the nature of its origin and generation, and as to how it derived its existence from some who had lost their wings,224 and who had followed him who was the first to lose his own.

Chapter XLIV. For it is impossible that the good which is the result of accident, or of communication, should be like that good which comes by nature; and yet the former will never be lost by him who, so to speak, partakes of the "living" bread with a view to his own preservation. But if it should fail any one, it must be through his own fault, in being slothful to partake of this "living bread" and "genuine drink," by means of which the wings, nourished and watered, are fitted for their purpose, even according to the saying of Solomon, the wisest of men, concerning the truly rich man, that "he made to himself wings like an eagle, and returns to the house of his patron.225 For it became God, who knows how to turn to proper account even those who in their wickedness

have apostatized from Him, to place wickedness of this sort in some part of the universe, and to appoint a training-school of virtue, wherein those must exercise themselves who would desire to recover in a "lawful manner "226 the possession (which they had lost); in order that being tested, like gold in the fire, by the wickedness of these, and having exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent anything base injuring their rational nature, they may appear deserving of an ascent to divine things, and may be elevated by the Word to the blessedness which is above all things, and so to speak, to the very summit of goodness. Now he who in the Hebrew language is named Satan, and by some Satanas-as being more in conformity with the genius of the Greek language-signifies, when translated into Greek, "adversary." But every one who prefers vice and a vicious life, is (because acting in a manner contrary to virtue) Satanas, that is, an "adversary" to the Son of God, who is righteousness, and truth, and wisdom.227 With more propriety, however, is he called "adversary," who was the first among those that were living a peaceful and happy life to lose his wings, and to fall from blessedness; he who, according to Ezekiel, walked faultlessly in all his ways, "until iniquity was found in him,"228 and who being the "seal of resemblance" and the "crown of beauty" in the paradise of God, being filled as it were with good things, fell into destruction, in accordance with the word which said to him in a mystic sense: "Thou hast fallen into destruction, and shalt not abide for ever."229 We have ventured somewhat rashly to make these few remarks, although in so doing we have added nothing of importance to this treatise. If any one, however, who has leisure for the examination of the sacred writings, should collect together from all sources and form into one body of doctrine what is recorded concerning the origin of evil, and the manner of its dissolution, he would see that the views of Moses and the prophets regarding Satan had not been even dreamed of either by Celsus or any one of those whose soul had been dragged down, and torn away from God, and from right views of Him, and from His word, by this wicked demon.

Chapter XLV. But since Celsus rejects the statements concerning Antichrist, as it is termed, having neither read what is said of him in the book of Daniel230 nor in the writings of Paul,231 nor what the Saviour in the Gospels232 has predicted about his coming, we must make a few remarks upon this subject also; because, "as faces do not resemble faces,"233 so also neither do men's "hearts" resemble one another. It is certain, then, that there will be diversities amongst the hearts of men,-those which are inclined to virtue not being all modelled and shaped towards it in the same or like degree; while others, through neglect of virtue, rash to the opposite extreme. And amongst the latter are some in whom evil is deeply engrained, and others in whom it is less deeply rooted. Where is the absurdity, then, in holding that there exist among men, so to speak, two extremes,234 -the one of virtue, and the other of its opposite; so that the perfection of virtue dwells in the man who realizes the ideal given in Jesus, from whom there flowed to the human race so great a conversion, and healing, and amelioration, while the opposite extreme is in the man who embodies the notion of him that is named Antichrist? For God, comprehending all things by means of His foreknowledge, and foreseeing what consequences would result from both of these, wished to make these known to mankind by His prophets, that those who understand their words might be familiarized with the good, and be on their guard against its opposite. It was proper, moreover, that the one of these extremes, and the best of the two, should be styled the Son of God, on account of His pre-eminence; and the other, who is diametrically opposite, be termed the son of the wicked demon, and of Satan, and of the devil. And, in the next place, since evil is specially characterized by its diffusion, and attains its greatest height when it simulates the appearance of the good, for

that reason are signs, and marvels, and lying miracles found to accompany evil, through the co-operation of its father the devil. For, far surpassing the help which these demons give to jugglers (who deceive men for the basest of purposes), is the aid which the devil himself affords in order to deceive the human race. Paul, indeed, speaks of him who is called Antichrist, describing, though with a certain reserve,235 both the manner, and time, and cause of his coming to the human race. And notice whether his language on this subject is not most becoming, and undeserving of being treated with even the slightest degree of ridicule.

Chapter XLVI.

It is thus that the apostle expresses himself: "We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto Him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by word, nor by spirit, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of the Lord is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that Wicked be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."236 To explain each particular here referred to does not belong to our present purpose. The prophecy also regarding Antichrist is stated in the book of Daniel, and is fitted to make an intelligent and candid reader admire the words as truly divine and prophetic; for in them are mentioned the things relating to the coming kingdom, beginning with the times of Daniel, and continuing to the destruction of the world. And any one who chooses may read it. Observe, however, whether the prophecy regarding Antichrist be not as follows: "And at the latter time of their kingdom, when their sins are coming to the full, there shall arise a king, bold in countenance, and understanding riddles. And his power shall be great, and he shall destroy wonderfully, and prosper, and practise; and shall destroy mighty men, and the holy people. And the yoke of his chain shall prosper: there is craft in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by craft shall destroy many; and he shall stand up for the destruction of many, and shall crush them as eggs in his hand."237 What is stated by Paul in the words quoted from him, where he says, "so that he sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God,"238 is in Daniel referred to in the following fashion: "And on the temple shall be the abomination of desolations, and at the end of the time an end shall be put to the desolation."239 So many, out of a greater number of passages, have I thought it right to adduce, that the hearer may understand in some slight degree the meaning of holy Scripture, when it gives us information concerning the devil and Antichrist; and being satisfied with what we have quoted for this purpose, let us look at another of the charges of Celsus, and reply to it as we best may.

Chapter XLVII.

Celsus, after what has been said, goes on as follows: "I can tell how the very thing occurred, viz., that they should call him 'Son of God.' Men of ancient times termed this world, as being born of God, both his child and his son.240 Both the one and other `Son of God, 'then, greatly resembled each other." He is therefore of opinion that we employed the expression "Son of God," having perverted241 what is said of the world, as being born of God, and being His "Son," and "a God." For he was unable so to consider the times of Moses and the prophets, as to see that the Jewish prophets predicted generally that there was a "Son of God" long before the Greeks and those men of ancient time of whom Celsus speaks. Nay, he would not even quote the passage in the letters of Plato, to which we referred in the preceding pages, concerning Him who so beautifully arranged this world, as being the Son of God; lest he too should be compelled by Plato, whom he often mentions with respect, to admit that the architect of this world is the Son of God, and that His Father is the first God and Sovereign Ruler over all things.242 Nor is it at all wonderful if we maintain that the soul of Jesus is made one with so great a Son of God through the highest union with Him, being no longer in a state of separation from Him For the sacred language of holy Scripture knows of other things also, which, although "dual" in their own nature, are considered to be, and really are, "one" in respect to one another. It is said of husband and wife, "They are no longer twain, but one flesh; "243 and of the perfect man, and of him who is joined to the true Lord, Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, that "he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit."244 And if he who "is joined to the Lord is one spirit," who has been joined to the Lord, the Very Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, in a more intimate union, or even in a manner at all approaching to it than the soul of Jesus? And if this be so, then the soul of Jesus and God the Word-the first-born of every creature-are no longer two, (but one).

Chapter XLVIII. In the next place, when the philosophers of the Porch, who assert that the virtue of God and man is the same, maintain that the God who is over all things is not happier than their wise man, but that the happiness of both is equal, Celsus neither ridicules nor scoffs at their opinion. If, however, holy Scripture says that the perfect man is joined to and made one with the Very Word by means of virtue, so that we infer that the soul of Jesus is not separated from the first-born of all creation, he laughs at Jesus being called "Son of God," not observing what is said of Him with a secret and mystical signification in the holy Scriptures. But that we may win over to the reception of our views those who are willing to accept the inferences which flow from our doctrines, and to be benefited thereby, we say that the holy Scriptures declare the body of Christ, animated by the Son of God, to be the whole Church of God, and the members of this body-considered as a whole-to consist of those who are believers; since, as a soul vivifies and moves the body, which of itself has not the natural power of motion like a living being, so the Word, arousing and moving the whole body, the Church, to befitting action, awakens, moreover, each individual member belonging to the Church, so that they do nothing apart from the Word. Since all this, then, follows by a train of reasoning not to be depreciated, where is the difficulty in maintaining that, as the soul of Jesus is joined in a perfect and inconceivable manner with the very Word, so the person of Jesus, generally speaking,245 is not separated from the only-begotten and first-born of all creation, and is not a different being from Him? But enough here on this subject.

Chapter XLIX.

Let us notice now what follows, where, expressing in a single word his opinion regarding the Mosaic cosmogony, without offering, however, a single argument in its support, he finds fault with

it, saying: "Moreover, their cosmogony is extremely silly."246 Now, if he had produced some credible proofs of its silly character, we should have endeavoured to answer them; but it does not appear to me reasonable that I should be called upon to demonstrate, in answer to his mere assertion, that it is not "silly." If any one, however, wishes to see the reasons which led us to accept the Mosaic account, and the arguments by which it may be defended, he may read what we have written upon Genesis, from the beginning of the book up to the passage, "And this is the book of the generation of men,"247 where we have tried to show from the holy Scriptures themselves what the "heaven" was which was created in the beginning; and what the "earth," and the "invisible part of the earth," and that which was "without form; "248 and what the "deep" was, and the "darkness" that was upon it; and what the "water" was, and the "Spirit of God" which was "borne over it; "and what the "light" which was created, and what the "firmament," as distinct from the "heaven" which was created in the beginning; and so on with the other subjects that follow. Celsus has also expressed his opinion that the narrative of the creation of man is "exceedingly silly," without stating any proofs, or endeavouring to answer our arguments; for he had no evidence, in my judgment, which was fitted to overthrow the statement that "man has been made in the image of God."249 He does not even understand the meaning of the "Paradise" that was planted by God, and of the life which man first led in it; and of that which resulted from accident,250 when man was cast forth on account of his sin, and was settled opposite the Paradise of delight. Now, as he asserts that these are silly statements, let him turn his attention not merely to each one of them (in general), but to this in particular, "He placed the cherubim, and the flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life,"251 and say whether Moses wrote these words with no serious object in view, but in the spirit of the writers of the old Comedy, who have sportively related that "Proetus slew Bellerophon," and that "Pegasus came from Arcadia." Now their object was to create laughter in composing such stories; whereas it is incredible that he who left behind him laws252 for a whole nation, regarding which he wished to persuade his subjects that they were given by God, should have written words so little to the purpose,253 and have said without any meaning, "He placed the cherubim, and the flaming sword, which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life," or made any other statement regarding the creation of man, which is the subject of philosophic investigation by the Hebrew sages.

Chapter L. In the next place, Celsus, after heaping together, simply as mere assertions, the varying opinions of some of the ancients regarding the world, and the origin of man, alleges that "Moses and the prophets, who have left to us our books, not knowing at all what the nature of the world is, and of man, have woven together a web of sheer nonsense."254 If he had shown, now, how it appeared to him that the holy Scriptures contained "sheer nonsense," we should have tried to demolish the arguments which appeared to him to establish their nonsensical character; but on the present occasion, following his own example, we also sportively give it as our opinion that Celsus, knowing nothing at all about the nature of the meaning and language of the prophets,255 composed a work which contained "sheer nonsense," and boastfully gave it the title of a "true discourse." And since he makes the statements about the "days of creation" ground of accusation,-as if he understood them clearly and correctly, some of which elapsed before the creation of light and heaven, and sun, and moon, and stars, and some of them after the creation of these,-we shall only make this observation, that Moses must then have forgotten that he had said a little before, "that in six days the creation of the world had been finished," and that in consequence of this act of forgetfulness he subjoins to these words the following: "This is the book

of the creation of man, in the day when God made the heaven and the earth!" But it is not in the least credible, that after what he had said respecting, the six days, Moses should immediately add, without a special meaning, the words, "in the day that God made the heavens and the earth; "and if any one thinks that these words may be referred to the statement, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth," let him observe that before the words, "Let there be light, and there was light," and these, "God called the light day," it has been stated that "in the beginning God made the heaven and the earth."

Chapter LI. On the present occasion, however, it is not our object to enter into an explanation of the subject of intelligent and sensible beings,256 nor of the manner in which the different kinds257 of days were allotted to both sorts, nor to investigate the details which belong to the subject, for we should need whole treatises for the exposition of the Mosaic cosmogony; and that work we had already performed, to the best of our ability, a considerable time before the commencement of this answer to Celsus, when we discussed with such measure of capacity as we then possessed the question of the Mosaic cosmogony of the six days. We must keep in mind, however, that the Word promises to the righteous through the mouth of Isaiah, that days will come258 when not the sun, but the Lord Himself, will be to them an everlasting light, and God will be their glory.259 And it is from misunderstanding, I think, some pestilent heresy which gave an erroneous interpretation to the words, "Let there be light," as if they were the expression of a wish260 merely on the part of the Creator, that Celsus made the remark: "The Creator did not borrow light from above, like those persons who kindle their lamps at those of their neighbours." Misunderstanding, moreover, another impious heresy, he has said: "If, indeed, there did exist an accursed god opposed to the great God, who did this contrary to his approval, why did he lend him the light? "So far are we from offering a defence of such puerilities, that we desire, on the contrary, distinctly to arraign the statements of these heretics as erroneous, and to undertake to refute, not those of their opinions with which we are unacquainted, as Celsus does, but those of which we have attained an accurate knowledge, derived in part from the statements of their own adherents, and partly from a careful perusal of their writings.

Chapter LII.

Celsus proceeds as follows: "With regard to the origin of the world and its destruction, whether it is to be regarded as uncreated and indestructible, or as created indeed, but not destructible, or the reverse, I at present say nothing." For this reason we too say nothing on these points, as the work in hand does not require it. Nor do we allege that the Spirit of the universal God mingled itself in things here below as in things alien to itself,261 as might appear from the expression, "The Spirit of God moved upon the water; "nor do we assert that certain wicked devices directed against His Spirit as if by a different creator from the great God, and which were tolerated by the Supreme Divinity, needed to be completely frustrated. And, accordingly, I have nothing further to say to those262 who utter such absurdities; nor to Celsus, who does not refute them with ability. For he ought either not to have mentioned such matters at all, or else, in keeping with that character for philanthropy which he assumes, have carefully set them forth, and then endeavoured to rebut these impious assertions. Nor have we ever heard that the great God, after giving his spirit to the creator, demands it back again. Proceeding next foolishly to assail these impious assertions, he asks: "What god gives anything with the intention of demanding it back? For it is the mark of a needy person to demand back (what he has given), whereas God stands in need of nothing." To

this he adds, as if saying something clever against certain parties: "Why, when he lent (his spirit), was he ignorant that he was lending it to an evil being? "He asks, further: "Why does he pass without notice263 a wicked creator who was counter-working his purposes? "

Chapter LIII. In the next place, mixing up together various heresies, and not observing that some statements are the utterances of one heretical sect, and others of a different one, he brings forward the objections which we raised against Marcion.264 And, probably, having heard them from some paltry and ignorant individuals,265 he assails the very arguments which combat them, but not in a way that Shows much intelligence. Quoting then our arguments against Marcion, and not observing that it is against Marcion that he is speaking, he asks: "Why does he send secretly, and destroy the works which he has created? Why does he secretly employ force, and persuasion, and deceit? Why does he allure those who, as ye assert, have been condemned or accused by him, and carry them away like a slave-dealer? Why does he teach them to steal away from their Lord? Why to flee from their father? Why does he claim them for himself against the father's will? Why does he profess to be the father of strange children? "To these questions he subjoins the following remark, as if by way of expressing his surprise:266 "Venerable, indeed, is the god who desires to be the father of those sinners who are condemned by another (god), and of the needy,267 and, as themselves say, of the very offscourings268 (of men), and who is unable to capture and punish his messenger, who escaped from him!" After this, as if addressing us who acknowledge that this world is not the work of a different and strange god, he continues in the following strain: "If these are his works, how is it that God created evil? And how is it that he cannot persuade and admonish (men)? And how is it that he repents on account of the ingratitude and wickedness of men? He finds fault, moreover, with his own handwork,269 and hates, and threatens, and destroys his own offspring? Whither can he transport them out of this world, which he himself has made? "Now it does not appear to me that by these remarks he makes clear what "evil" is; and although there have been among the Greeks many sects who differ as to the nature of good and evil, he hastily concludes, as if it were a consequence of our maintaining that this world also is a work of the universal God, that in our judgment God is the author of evil. Let it be, however, regarding evil as it may-whether created by God or not-it nevertheless follows only as a result when you compare the principal design.270 And I am greatly surprised if the inference regarding God's authorship of evil, which he thinks follows from our maintaining that this world also is the work of the universal God, does not follow too from his own statements. For one might say to Celsus: "If these are His works, how is it that God created evil? and how is it that He cannot persuade and admonish men? "It is indeed the greatest error in reasoning to accuse those who are of different opinions of holding unsound doctrines, when the accuser himself is much more liable to the same charge with regard to his own.

Chapter LIV.

Let us see, then, briefly what holy Scripture has to say regarding good and evil, and what answer we are to return to the questions, "How is it that God created evil? "and, "How is He incapable of persuading and admonishing men? "Now, according to holy Scripture, properly speaking, virtues and virtuous actions are good, as, properly speaking, the reverse of these are evil. We shall be satisfied with quoting on the present occasion some verses from the Psalms 34, to the following effect: "They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing. Come, ye children, hearken unto me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord. What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days,

that he may see good? Keep thy tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking guile. Depart from evil, and do good."271 Now, the injunctions to "depart from evil, and to do good," do not refer either to corporeal evils or corporeal blessings, as they are termed by some, nor to external things at all, but to blessings and evils of a spiritual kind; since he who departs from such evils, and performs such virtuous actions, will, as one who desires the true life, come to the enjoyment of it; and as one loving to see "good days," in which the word of righteousness will be the Sun, he will see them, God taking him away from this "present evil world,"272 and from those evil days concerning which Paul said: "Redeeming the time, because the days are evil."273

Chapter LV.

Passages, indeed, might be found where corporeal and external (benefits) are improperly274 called "good,"-those things, viz., which contribute to the natural life, while those which do the reverse are termed "evil." It is in this sense that Job says to his wife: "If we have received good at the hand of the Lord, shall we not also receive evil!"275 Since, then, there is found in the sacred Scriptures, in a certain passage, this statement put into the mouth of God, "I make peace, and create evil; "276 and again another, where it is said of Him that "evil came down from the Lord to the gate of Jerusalem, the noise of chariots and horsemen,"277 -passages which have disturbed many readers of Scripture, who are unable to see what Scripture means by "good" and "evil,"-it is probable that Celsus, being perplexed thereby, gave utterance to the question, "How is it that God created evil? "or, perhaps, having heard some one discussing the matters relating to it in an ignorant manner, he made this statement which we have noticed. We, on the other hand, maintain that "evil," or "wickedness," and the actions which proceed from it, were not created by God. For if God created that which is really evil, how was it possible that the proclamation regarding (the last) judgment should be confidently announced,278 which informs us that the wicked are to be punished for their evil deeds in proportion to the amount of their wickedness, while those who have lived a virtuous life, or performed virtuous actions, will be in the enjoyment of blessedness, and will receive rewards from God? I am well aware that those who would daringly assert that these evils were created by God will quote certain expressions of Scripture (in their support), because we are not able to show one consistent series279 of passages; for although Scripture (generally) blames the wicked and approves of the righteous, it nevertheless contains some statements which, although comparatively280 few in number, seem to disturb the minds of ignorant readers of holy Scripture. I have not,however, deemed it appropriate to my present treatise to quote on the present occasion those discordant statements, which are many in number,281 and their explanations, which would require a long array of proofs. Evils, then, if those be meant which are properly so called, were not created by God; but some, although few in comparison with the order of the whole world, have resulted from His principal works, as there follow from the chief works of the carpenter such things as spiral shavings and sawdust,282 or as architects might appear to be the cause of the rubbish283 which lies around their buildings in the form of the filth which drops from the stones and the plaster.

Chapter LVI.

If we speak, however, of what are called "corporeal" and "external" evils,-which are improperly so termed,-then it may be granted that there are occasions when some of these have been called into existence by God, in order that by their means the conversion of certain individuals might be

effected. And what absurdity would follow from such a course? For as, if we should hear those sufferings284 improperly termed "evils" which are inflicted by fathers, and instructors, and pedagogues upon those who are under their care, or upon patients who are operated upon or cauterized by the surgeons in order to effect a cure, we were to say that a father was ill-treating his son, or pedagogues and instructors their pupils, or physicians their patients, no blame would be laid upon the operators or chastisers; so, in the same way, if God is said to bring upon men such evils for the conversion and cure of those who need this discipline, there would be no absurdity in the view, nor would "evils come down from the Lord upon the gates of Jerusalem,"285 -which evils consist of the punishments inflicted upon the Israelites by their enemies with a view to their conversion; nor would one visit "with a rod the transgressions of those who forsake the law of the Lord, and their iniquities with stripes; "286 nor could it be said, "Thou hast coals of fire to set upon them; they shall be to thee a help."287 In the same way also we explain the expressions, "I, who make peace, and create evil; "288 for He calls into existence "corporeal" or "external" evils, while purifying and training those who would not be disciplined by the word and sound doctrine. This, then, is our answer to the question, "How is it that God created evil? "

Chapter LVII. With respect to the question, "How is he incapable of persuading and admonishing men? "it has been already stated that, if such an objection were really a ground of charge, then the objection of Celsus might be brought against those who accept the doctrine of providence. Any one might answer the charge that God is incapable of admonishing men; for He conveys His admonitions throughout the whole of Scripture, and by means of those persons who, through God's gracious appointment, are the instructors of His hearers. Unless, indeed, some peculiar meaning be understood to attach to the word "admonish," as if it signified both to penetrate into the mind of the person admonished, and to make him hear the words of his289 instructor, which is contrary to the usual meaning of the word. To the objection, "How is he incapable of persuading? "-which also might be brought against all who believe in providence,-we have to make the following remarks. Since the expression "to be persuaded" belongs to those words which are termed, so to speak, "reciprocal"290 (compare the phrase "to shave a man," when he makes an effort to submit himself to the barber291 , there is for this reason needed not merely the effort of him who persuades, but also the submission, so to speak, which is to be yielded to the persuader, or the acceptance of what is said by him. And therefore it must not be said that it is because God is incapable of persuading men that they are not persuaded, but because they will not accept the faithful words of God. And if one were to apply this expression to men who are the "artificers of persuasion,"292 he would not be wrong; for it is possible for a man who has thoroughly learned the principles of rhetoric, and who employs them properly, to do his utmost to persuade, and yet appear to fail, because he cannot overcome the will of him who ought to yield to his persuasive arts. Moreover, that persuasion does not come from God, although persuasive words may be uttered by him, is distinctly taught by Paul, when he says: "This persuasion cometh not of him that calleth you."293 Such also is the view indicated by these words: "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, a sword shall devour you."294 For that one may (really) desire what is addressed to him by one who admonishes, and may become deserving of those promises of God which he hears, it is necessary to secure the will of the hearer, and his inclination to what is addressed to him. And therefore it appears to me, that in the book of Deuteronomy the following words are uttered with peculiar emphasis: "And now, O Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, and to walk in all His ways, and

to love Him, and to keep His commandments? "295

Chapter LVIII.

There is next to be answered the following query: "And how is it that he repents when men become ungrateful and wicked; and finds fault with his own handwork, and hates, and threatens, and destroys his own offspring? "Now Celsus here calumniates and falsities what is written in the book of Genesis to the following effect: "And the Lord God, seeing that the wickedness of men upon the earth was increasing, and that every one in his heart carefully meditated to do evil continually, was grieved296 He had made man upon the earth. And God meditated in His heart, and said, I will destroy man, whom I have made, from the face of the earth, both man and beast, and creeping thing, and fowl of the air, because I am grieved297 that I made them; "298 quoting words which are not written in Scripture, as if they conveyed the meaning of what was actually written. For there is no mention in these words of the repentance of God, nor of His blaming and hating His own handwork. And if there is the appearance of God threatening the catastrophe of the deluge, and thus destroying His own children in it, we have to answer that, as the soul of man is immortal, the supposed threatening has for its object the conversion of the hearers, while the destruction of men by the flood is a purification of the earth, as certain among the Greek philosophers of no mean repute have indicated by the expression: "When the gods purify the earth."299 And with respect to the transference to God of those anthropopathic phrases, some remarks have been already made by us in the preceding pages.

Chapter LIX.

Celsus, in the next place, suspecting, or perhaps seeing clearly enough, the answer which might be returned by those who defend the destruction of men by the deluge, continues: "But if he does not destroy his own offspring, whither does he convey them out of this world300 which he himself created? "To this we reply, that God by no means removes out of the whole world, consisting of heaven and earth, those who suffered death by the deluge, but removes them from a life in the flesh, and, having set them free from their bodies, liberates them at the same time from an existence upon earth, which in many parts of Scripture it is usual to call the "world." In the Gospel according to John especially, we may frequently find the regions of earth301 termed "world," as in the passage, "He was the true Light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into the `world; "'302 as also in this, "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."303 If, then, we understand by "removing out of the world" a transference from "regions on earth," there is nothing absurd in the expression. If, on the contrary, the system of things which consists of heaven and earth be termed "world," then those who perished in the deluge are by no means removed out of the so-called "world." And yet, indeed, if we have regard to the words, "Looking not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; "304 and also to these, "For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made,"305 -we might say that he who dwells amid the "invisible" things, and what are called generally "things not seen,"is gone out of the world, the Word having removed him hence, and transported him to the heavenly regions, in order to behold all beautiful things.

Chapter LX. But after this investigation of his assertions, as if his object were to swell his book by many words, he repeats, in different language, the same charges which we have examined a little

ago, saying: "By far the most silly thing is the distribution of the creation of the world over certain days, before days existed: for, as the heaven was not yet created, nor the foundation of the earth yet laid,306 nor the sun yet revolving,307 how could there be days? "Now, what difference is there between these words and the following: "Moreover, taking and looking at these things from the beginning, would it not be absurd in the first and greatest God to issue the command, Let this (first thing) come into existence, and this second thing, and this (third); and after accomplishing so much on the first day, to do so much more again on the second, and third, and fourth, and fifth, and sixth? "We answered to the best of our ability this objection to God's "commanding this first, second, and third thing to be created," when we quoted the words, "He said, and it was done; He commanded, and all things stood fast; "308 remarking that the immediate309 Creator, and, as it were, very Maker310 of the world was the Word, the Son of God; while the Father of the Word, by commanding His own Son-the Word-to create the world, is primarily Creator. And with regard to the creation of the light upon the first day, and of the firmament upon the second, and of the gathering together of the waters that are under the heaven into their several reservoirs311 on the third (the earth thus causing to sprout forth those (fruits) which are under the control of nature alone312 , and of the (great) lights and stars upon the fourth, and of aquatic313 animals upon the fifth, and of land animals and man upon the sixth, we have treated to the best of our ability in our notes upon Genesis, as well as in the foregoing pages, when we found fault with those who, taking the words in their apparent signification, said that the time of six days was occupied in the creation of the world, and quoted the words: "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens."314

Chapter LXI.

Again, not understanding the meaning of the words, "And God ended315 on the sixth day His works which He had made, and ceased316 on the seventh day from all His works which He had made: and God blessed the seventh day, and hollowed it, because on it He had ceased317 from all His works which He had begun to make; "318 and imagining the expression," He ceased on the seventh day," to be the same as this, "He rested319 on the seventh day," he makes the remark: "After this, indeed, he is weary, like a very bad workman, who stands in need of rest to refresh himself!" For he knows nothing of the day of the Sabbath and rest of God, which follows the completion of the world's creation, and which lasts during the duration of the world, and in which all those will keep festival with God who have done all their works in their six days, and who, because they have omitted none of their duties,320 will ascend to the contemplation (of celestial things), and to the assembly of righteous and blessed beings. In the next place, as if either the Scriptures made such a statement, or as if we ourselves so spoke of God as having rested from fatigue, he continues: "It is not in keeping with the fitness of things321 that the first God should feel fatigue, or work with His hands,322 or give forth commands." Celsus says, that" it is not in keeping with the fitness of things that the first God should feel fatigue. Now we would say that neither does God the Word feel fatigue, nor any of those beings who belong to a better and diviner order of things, because the sensation of fatigue is peculiar to those who are in the body. You can examine whether this is true of those who possess a body of any kind, or of those who have an earthly body, or one a little better than this. But "neither is it consistent with the fitness of things that the first God should work with His own hands." If you understand the words" work with His own hands" literally, then neither are they applicable to the second God, nor to any other being partaking of

divinity. But suppose that they are spoken in an improper and figurative sense, so that we may translate the following expressions, "And the firmament showeth forth His handywork,"323 and "the heavens are the work of Thy hands,"324 and any other similar phrases, in a figurative manner, so far as respects the "hands" and "limbs" of Deity, where is the absurdity in the words, "God thus working with His own hands? "And as there is no absurdity in God thus working, so neither is there in His issuing "commands; "so that what is done at His bidding should be beautiful and praiseworthy, because it was God who commanded it to be performed.

Chapter LXII.

Celsus, again, having perhaps misunderstood the words, "For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it,"325 or perhaps because some ignorant individuals had rashly ventured upon the explanation of such things, and not understanding, moreover, on what principles parts called after the names of the bodily members are assigned to the attributes326 of God, asserts: "He has neither mouth nor voice." Truly, indeed, God can have no voice, if the voice is a concussion of the air, or a stroke on the air, or a species of air, or any other definition which may be given to the voice by those who are skilled in such matters; but what is called the "voice of God" is said to be seen as "God's voice" by the people in the passage; "And all the people saw the voice of God; "327 the word "saw" being taken, agreeably to the custom of Scripture, in a spiritual sense. Moreover, he alleges that "God possesses nothing else of which we have any knowledge; "but of what things we have knowledge he gives no indication. If he means "limbs," we agree with him, understanding the things "of which we have knowledge" to be those called corporeal, and pretty generally so termed. But if we are to understand the words "of which we have knowledge" in a universal sense, then there are many things of which we have knowledge, (and which may be attributed to God); for He possesses virtue, and blessedness, and divinity. If we, however, put a higher meaning upon the words, "of which we have knowledge," since all that we know is less than God, there is no absurdity in our also admitting that God possesses none of those things" of which we have knowledge." For the attributes which belong to God are far superior to all things with which not merely the nature of man is acquainted, but even that of those who have risen far above it. And if he had read the writings of the prophets, David on the one hand saying, "But Thou art the same,"328 and Malachi on the other, "I am (the Lord), and change not,"329 he would have observed that none of us assert that there is any change in God, either in act or thought. For abiding the same, He administers mutable things according to their nature, and His word elects to undertake their administration.

Chapter LXIII.

Celsus, not observing the difference between "after the image of God" and "God's image," next asserts that the "first-born of every creature" is the image of God,-the very word and truth, and also the very wisdom, being the image of His goodness, while man has been created after the image of God; moreover, that every man whose head is Christ is the image and glory of God;-and further, not observing to which of the characteristics of humanity the expression "after the image of God" belongs, and that it consists in a nature which never had nor longer has "the old man with his deeds," being called "after the image of Him who created it," from its not possessing these qualities,-he maintains: "Neither did He make man His image; for God is not such an one, nor like any other species of (visible) being." Is it possible to suppose that the element which is "after the image of God" should exist in the inferior part-I mean the body-of a compound being like man,

because Celsus has explained that to be made after the image of God? For if that which is "after the image of God" be in the body only, the better part, the soul, has been deprived of that which is "after His image," and this (distinction) exists in the corruptible body,-an assertion which is made by none of us. But if that which is "after the image of God" be in both together, then God must necessarily be a compound being, and consist, as it were, of soul and body, in order that the element which is "after God's image," the better part, may be in the soul; while the inferior part, and that which "is according to the body," may be in the body,-an assertion, again, which is made by none of us. It remains, therefore, that that which is "after the image of God" must be understood to be in our "inner man," which is also renewed, and whose nature it is to be "after the image of Him who created it," when a man becomes "perfect," as "our Father in heaven is perfect," and hears the command, "Be ye holy, for I the Lord your God am holy,"330 and learning the precept, "Be ye followers of God,"331 receives into his virtuous soul the traits of God's image. The body, moreover, of him who possesses such a soul is a temple of God; and in the soul God dwells, because it has been made after His image.332

Chapter LXIV.

Celsus, again, brings together a number of statements, which he gives as admissions on our part, but which no intelligent Christian would allow. For not one of us asserts that "God partakes of form or colour." Nor does He even partake of "motion," because He stands firm, and His nature is permanent, and He invites the righteous man also to do the same, saying: "But as for thee, stand thou here by Me."333 And if certain expressions indicate a kind of motion, as it were, on His part, such as this, "They heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day,"334 we must understand them in this way, that it is by sinners that God is understood as moving, or as we understand the "sleep" of God, which is taken in a figurative sense, or His "anger," or any other similar attribute. But "God does not partake even of substance."335 For He is partaken of (by others) rather than that Himself partakes of them, and He is partaken of by those who have the Spirit of God. Our Saviour, also, does not partake of righteousness; but being Himself "righteousness," He is partaken of by the righteous. A discussion about "substance" would be protracted and difficult, and especially if it were a question whether that which is permanent and immaterial be "substance " properly so called, so that it would be found that God is beyond" substance," communicating of His "substance," by means of office and power,336 to those to whom He communicates Himself by His Word, as He does to the Word Himself; or even if He is "substance," yet He is said be in His nature "invisible," in these words respecting our Saviour, who is said to be "the image of the invisible God,"337 while from the term "invisible" it is indicated that He is "immaterial." It is also a question for investigation, whether the "only-begotten" and "first-born of every creature" is to be called "substance of substances," and "idea of ideas," and the "principle of all things," while above all there is His Father and God.338

Chapter LXV.

Celsus proceeds to say of God that "of Him are all things," abandoning (in so speaking), I know not how, all his principles;339 while our Paul declares, that "of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things,"340 showing that He is the beginning of the substance of all things by the words "of Him," and the bond of their subsistence by the expression "through Him," and their final end by the terms "to Him." Of a truth, God is of nothing. But when Celsus adds, that "He is not to be reached

by word,"341 I make a distinction, and say that if he means the word that is in us-whether the word conceived in the mind, or the word that is uttered342 -I, too, admit that God is not to be reached by word. If, however, we attend to the passage, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God,"343 we are of opinion that God is to be reached by this Word, and is comprehended not by Him only, but by any one whatever to whom He may reveal the Father; and thus we shall prove the falsity of the assertion of Celsus, when he says, "Neither is God to be reached by word." The statement, moreover, that "He cannot be expressed by name," requires to be taken with a distinction. If he means, indeed, that there is no word or sign344 that can represent the attributes of God, the statement is true, since there are many qualities which cannot be indicated by words. Who, for example, could describe in words the difference betwixt the quality of sweetness in a palm and that in a fig? And who could distinguish and set forth in words the peculiar qualities of each individual thing? It is no wonder, then, if in this way God cannot be described by name. But if you take the phrase to mean that it is possible to represent by words something of God's attributes, in order to lead the hearer by the hand,345 as it were, and so enable him to comprehend something of God, so far as attainable by human nature, then there is no absurdity in saying that "He can be described by name." And we make a similar distinction with regard to the expression, "for He has undergone no suffering that can be conveyed by words." It is true that the Deity is beyond all suffering. And so much on this point.

Chapter LXVI.

Let us look also at his next statement, in which he introduces, as it were, a certain person, who, after hearing what has been said expresses himself in the following manner, "How, then, shall I know God? and how shall I learn the way that leads to Him? And how will you show Him to me? Because now, indeed, you throw darkness before my eyes, and I see nothing distinctly." He then answers, as it were, the individual who is thus perplexed, and thinks that he assigns the reason why darkness has been poured upon the eyes of him who uttered the foregoing words, when he asserts that "those whom one would lead forth out of darkness into the brightness of light, being unable to withstand its splendours, have their power of vision affected346 and injured, and so imagine that they are smitten with blindness." In answer to this, we would say that all those indeed sit in darkness, and are rooted in it, who fix their gaze upon the evil handiwork of painters, and moulders and sculptors, and who will not look upwards, and ascend in thought from all visible and sensible things, to the Creator of all things, who is light; while, on the other hand, every one is in light who has followed the radiance of the Word, who has shown in consequence of what ignorance, and impiety, and want of knowledge of divine things these objects were worshipped instead of God, and who has conducted the soul of him who desires to be saved towards the uncreated God, who is over all. For "the people that sat in darkness-the Gentiles-saw a great light, and to them who sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up,"347 -the God Jesus. No Christian, then, would give Celsus, or any accuser of the divine Word, the answer, "How shall I know God? "for each one of them knows God according to his capacity. And no one asks, "How shall I learn the way which leads to Him? "because he has heard Him who says, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life,"348 and has tasted, in the course of the journey, the happiness which results from it. And not a single Christian would say to Celsus, "How will you show me God? "

Chapter LXVII. The remark, indeed, was true which Celsus made, that any one, on hearing his words, would answer, seeing that his words are words of darkness, "You pour darkness before my

eyes." Celsus verily, and those like him, do desire to pour darkness before our eyes: we, however, by means of the light of the Word, disperse the darkness of their impious opinions. The Christian, indeed, could retort on Celsus, who says nothing that is distinct or true, "I see nothing that is distinct among all your statements." It is not, therefore, "out of darkness" into "the brightness of light" that Celsus leads us forth: he wishes, on the contrary, to transport us from light into darkness, making the darkness light and the light darkness, and exposing himself to the woe well described by the prophet Isaiah in the following manner: "Woe unto them that put darkness for light, and light for darkness."349 But we, the eyes of whose soul have been opened by the Word, and who see the difference between light and darkness, prefer by all means to take our stand "in the light," and will have nothing to do with darkness at all. The true light, moreover, being endued with life, knows to whom his full splendours are to be manifested, and to whom his light; for he does not display his brilliancy on account of the still existing weakness in the eyes of the recipient. And if we must speak at all of "sight being affected and injured," what other eyes shall we say are in this condition, than his who is involved in ignorance of God, and who is prevented by his passions from seeing the truth? Christians, however, by no means consider that they are blinded by the words of Celsus, or any other who is opposed to the worship of God. But let those who perceive that they are blinded by following multitudes who are in error, and tribes of those who keep festivals to demons, draw near to the Word, who can bestow the gift of sight,350 in order that, like those poor and blind who had thrown themselves down by the wayside, and who were healed by Jesus because they said to Him, "Son of David, have mercy upon me," they too may receive mercy and recover their eyesight,351 fresh and beautiful, as the Word of God can create it.

Chapter LXVIII.

Accordingly, if Celsus were to ask us how we think we know God, and how we shall be saved by Him, we would answer that the Word of God, which entered into those who seek Him, or who accept Him when He appears, is able to make known and to reveal the Father, who was not seen (by any one) before the appearance of the Word. And who else is able to save and conduct the soul of man to the God of all things, save God the Word, who, "being in the beginning with God," became flesh for the sake of those who had cleaved to the flesh, and had become as flesh, that He might be received by those who could not behold Him, inasmuch as He was the Word, and was with God, and was God? And discoursing in human form,352 and announcing Himself as flesh, He calls to Himself those who are flesh, that He may in the first place cause them to be transformed according to the Word that was made flesh, and afterwards may lead them upwards to behold Him as He was before He became flesh; so that they, receiving the benefit, and ascending from their great introduction to Him, which was according to the flesh, say, "Even if we have known Christ after the flesh, yet henceforth know we Him no more."353 Therefore He became flesh, and having become flesh, "He tabernacled among us,"354 not dwelling without us; and after tabernacling and dwelling within us, He did not continue in the form in which He first presented Himself, but caused us to ascend to the lofty mountain of His word, and showed us His own glorious form, and the splendour of His garments; and not His own form alone, but that also of the spiritual law, which is Moses, seen in glory along with Jesus. He showed to us, moreover, all prophecy, which did not perish even after His incarnation, but was received up into heaven, and whose symbol was Elijah. And he who beheld these things could say, "We beheld His glory, the

glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."355 Celsus, then, has exhibited considerable ignorance in the imaginary answer to his question which he puts into our mouth, "How we think we can know God? and how we know we shall be saved by Him? "for our answer is what we have just stated.

Chapter LXIX.

Celsus, however, asserts that the answer which we give is based upon a probable conjecture,356 admitting that he describes our answer in the following terms: "Since God is great and difficult to see,357 He put His own Spirit into a body that resembled ours, and sent it down to us, that we might be enabled to hear Him and become acquainted with Him." But the God and Father of all things is not the only being that is great in our judgment; for He has imparted (a share) of Himself and His greatness to His Only-begotten and First-born of every creature, in order that He, being the image of the invisible God, might preserve, even in His greatness, the image of the Father. For it was not possible that there could exist a well-proportioned,358 so to speak, and beautiful image of the invisible God, which did not at the same time preserve the image of His greatness. God, moreover, is in our judgment invisible, because He is not a body, while He can be seen by those who see with the heart that is, the understanding; not indeed with any kind of heart, but with one which is pure. For it is inconsistent with the fitness of things that a polluted heart should look upon God; for that must be itself pure which would worthily behold that which is pure. Let it be granted, indeed, that God is "difficult to see," yet He is not the only being who is so; for His Only-begotten also is "difficult to see." For God the Word is "difficult to see," and so also is His359 wisdom, by which God created all things. For who is capable of seeing the wisdom which is displayed in each individual part of the whole system of things, and by which God created every individual thing? It was not, then, because God was "difficult to see" that He sent God His Son to be an object "easy to be seen."360 And because Celsus does not understand this, he has represented us as saying, "Because God was 'difficult to see,' He put His own Spirit in a body resembling ours, and sent it down to us, that we might be enabled to hear Him and become acquainted with Him." Now, as we have stated, the Son also is "difficult to see," because He is God the Word, through whom all things were made, and who "tabernacled amongst us."

Chapter LXX.

If Celsus, indeed, had understood our teaching regarding the Spirit of God, and had known that "as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are the sons of God,"361 he would not have returned to himself the answer which he represents as coming from us, that "God put His own Spirit into a body, and sent it down to us; "for God is perpetually bestowing of His own Spirit to those who are capable of receiving it, although it is not by way of division and separation that He dwells in (the hearts of) the deserving. Nor is the Spirit, in our opinion, a "body," any more than fire is a "body," which God is said to be in the passage, "Our God is a consuming fire."362 For all these are figurative expressions, employed to denote the nature of "intelligent beings" by means of familiar and corporeal terms. In the same way, too, if sins are called "wood, and straw, and stubble," we shall not maintain that sins are corporeal; and if blessings are termed "gold, and silver, and precious stones,"363 we shall not maintain that blessings are "corporeal; "so also, if God be said to be a fire that consumes wood, and straw, and stubble, and all substance364 of sin, we shall not understand Him to be a "body," so neither do we understand Him to be a body if He

should be called "fire." In this way, if God be called "spirit,"365 we do not mean that He is a "body." For it is the custom of Scripture to give to "intelligent beings" the names of "spirits" and "spiritual things," by way of distinction from those which are the objects of "sense; "as when Paul says, "But our sufficiency is of God; who hath also made us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life,"366 where by the "letter" he means that "exposition of Scripture which is apparent to the senses,"367 while by the "spirit" that which is the object of the "understanding." It is the same, too, with the expression, "God is a Spirit." And because the prescriptions of the law were obeyed both by Samaritans and Jews in a corporeal and literal368 manner, our Saviour said to the Samaritan woman, "The hour is coming, when neither in Jerusalem, nor in this mountain, shall ye worship the Father. God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."369 And by these words He taught men that God must be worshipped not in the flesh, and with fleshly sacrifices, but in the spirit. And He will be understood to be a Spirit in proportion as the worship rendered to Him is rendered in spirit, and with understanding. It is not, however, with images370 that we are to worship the Father, but "in truth," which "came by Jesus Christ," after the giving of the law by Moses. For when we turn to the Lord (and the Lord is a Spirit371), He takes away the veil which lies upon the heart when Moses is read.

Chapter LXXI.

Celsus accordingly, as not understanding the doctrine relating to the Spirit of God ("for the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned"372), weaves together (such a web) as pleases himself,373 imagining that we, in calling God a Spirit, differ in no respect in this particular from the Stoics among the Greeks, who maintain that "God is a Spirit, diffused through all things, and containing all things within Himself." Now the superintendence and providence of God does extend through all things, but not in the way that spirit does, according to the Stoics. Providence indeed contains all things that are its objects, and comprehends them all, but not as a containing body includes its contents, because they also are "body,"374 but as a divine power does it comprehend what it contains. According to the philosophers of the Porch, indeed, who assert that principles are "corporeal," and who on that account make all things perishable, and who venture even to make the God of all things capable of perishing, the very Word of God, who descends even to the lowest of mankind, would be-did it not appear to them to be too gross an incongruity375 -nothing else than a "corporeal" spirit; whereas, in our opinion,-who endeavour to demonstrate that the rational soul is superior to all "corporeal" nature, and that it is an invisible substance, and incorporeal,-God the Word, by whom all things were made, who came, in order that all things might be made by the Word, not to men only, but to what are deemed the very lowest of things, under the dominion of nature alone, would be no body. The Stoics, then, may consign all things to destruction by fire; we, however, know of no incorporeal substance that is destructible by fire, nor (do we believe) that the soul of man, or the substance of "angels," or of "thrones," or dominions," or "principalities," or "powers," can be dissolved by fire.

Chapter LXXII.

It is therefore in vain that Celsus asserts, as one who knows not the nature of the Spirit of God, that "as the Son of God, who existed in a human body, is a Spirit, this very Son of God would not

be immortal." He next becomes confused in his statements, as if there were some of us who did not admit that God is a Spirit, but maintain that only with regard to His Son, and he thinks that he can answer us by saying that there "is no kind of spirit which lasts for ever." This is much the same as if, when we term God a "consuming fire," he were to say that there "is no kind of fire which lasts for ever; "not observing the sense in which we say that our God is a fire, and what the things are which He consumes, viz., sins, and wickedness. For it becomes a God of goodness, after each individual has shown, by his efforts, what kind of combatant he has been, to consume vice by the fire of His chastisements. He proceeds, in the next place, to assume what we do not maintain, that "God must necessarily have given up the ghost; "from which also it follows that Jesus could not have risen again with His body. For God would not have received back the spirit which He had surrendered after it had been stained by contact with the body. It is foolish, however, for us to answer statements as ours which were never made by us.

Chapter LXXIII.

He proceeds to repeat himself, and after saying a great deal which he had said before, and ridiculing the birth of God from a virgin,-to which we have already replied as we best could,-he adds the following: "If God had wished to send down His Spirit from Himself, what need was there to breathe it into the womb of a woman? For as one who knew already how to form men, He could also have fashioned a body for this person, without casting His own Spirit into so much pollution;376 and in this way He would not have been received with incredulity, if He had derived His existence immediately from above." He had made these remarks, because he knows not the pure and virgin birth, unaccompanied by any corruption, of that body which was to minister to the salvation of men. For, quoting the sayings of the Stoics,377 and affecting not to know the doctrine about "things indifferent," he thinks that the divine nature was cast amid pollution, and was stained either by being in the body of a woman, until a body was formed around it, or by assuming a body. And in this he acts like those who imagine that the sun's rays are polluted by dung and by foul-smelling bodies, and do not remain pure amid such things. If, however, according to the view of Celsus, the body of Jesus had been fashioned without generation, those who beheld the body would at once have believed that it had not been formed by generation; and yet an object, when seen, does not at the same time indicate the nature of that from which it has derived its origin. For example, suppose that there were some honey (placed before one) which had not been manufactured by bees, no one could tell from the taste or sight that it was not their workmanship, because the honey which comes from bees does not make known its origin by the senses,378 but experience alone can tell that it does not proceed from them. In the same way, too, experience teaches that wine comes from the vine, for taste does not enable us to distinguish (the wine) which comes from the vine. In the same manner, therefore, the visible379 body does not make known the manner of its existence. And you will be induced to accept this view,380 by (regarding) the heavenly bodies, whose existence and splendour we perceive as we gaze at them; and yet, I presume, their appearance does not suggest to us whether they are created or uncreated; and accordingly different opinions have existed on these points. And yet those who say that they are created are not agreed as to the manner of their creation, for their appearance does not suggest it, although the force of reason381 may have discovered that they are created, and how their creation was effected.

Chapter LXXIV.

After this he returns to the subject of Marcion's opinions (having already spoken frequently of them), and states some of them correctly, while others he has misunderstood; these, however, it is not necessary for us to answer or refute. Again, after this he brings forward the various arguments that may be urged on Marcion's behalf, and also against him, enumerating what the opinions are which exonerate him from the charges, and what expose him to them; and when he desires to support the statement which declares that Jesus has been the subject of prophecy,-in order to found a charge against Marcion and his followers,-he distinctly asks, "How could he, who was punished in such a manner, be shown to be God's Son, unless these things had been predicted of him? "He next proceeds to jest, and, as his custom is, to pour ridicule upon the subject, introducing "two sons of God, one the son of the Creator,382 and the other the son of Marcion's God; and he portrays their single combats, saying that the Theomachies of the Fathers are like the battles between quails;383 or that the Fathers, becoming useless through age, and falling into their dotage384 do not meddle at all with one another, but leave their sons to fight it out." The remark which he made formerly we will turn against himself: "What old woman would not be ashamed to lull a child to sleep with such stories as he has inserted in the work which he entitles A True Discourse? For when he ought seriously385 to apply himself to argument, he leaves serious argument aside, and betakes himself to jesting and buffoonery, imagining that he is writing mimes or scoffing verses; not observing that such a method of procedure defeats his purpose, which is to make us abandon Christianity and give in our adherence to his opinions, which, perhaps, had they been stated with some degree of gravity,386 would have appeared more likely to convince, whereas since he continues to ridicule, and scoff, and play the buffoon, we answer that it is because he has no argument of weight387 (for such he neither had, nor could understand) that he has betaken himself to such drivelling."388

Chapter LXXV. To the preceding remarks he adds the following: "Since a divine Spirit inhabited the body (of Jesus), it must certainly have been different from that of other beings, in respect of grandeur, or beauty, or strength, or voice, or impressiveness,389 or persuasiveness. For it is impossible that He, to whom was imparted some divine quality beyond other beings, should not differ from others; whereas this person did not differ in any respect from another, but was, as they report, little, and ill-favoured, and ignoble."390 Now it is evident by these words, that when Celsus wishes to bring a charge against Jesus, he adduces the sacred writings, as one who believed them to be writings apparently fitted to afford a handle for a charge against Him; but wherever, in the same writings, statements would appear to be made opposed to those charges which are adduced, he pretends not even to know them! There are, indeed, admitted to be recorded some statements respecting the body of Jesus having been "ill-favoured; "not, however, "ignoble," as has been stated, nor is there any certain evidence that he was "little." The language of Isaiah runs as follows, who prophesied regarding Him that He would come and visit the multitude, not in comeliness of form, nor in any surpassing beauty: "Lord, who hath believed our report, and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? He made announcement before Him, as a child, as a root in a thirsty ground. He has no form nor glory, and we beheld Him, and He had no form nor beauty; but His form was without honour, and inferior to that of the sons of men."391 These passages, then, Celsus listened to, because he thought they were of use to him in bringing a charge against Jesus; but he paid no attention to the words of the Psalms 45, and why it is then said, "Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O most mighty, with Thy comeliness and beauty; and continue, and prosper, and reign."392

Chapter LXXVI.

Let it be supposed, however, that he had not read the prophecy, or that he had read it, but had been drawn away by those who misinterpreted it as not being spoken of Jesus Christ. What has he to say of the Gospel, in the narratives of which Jesus ascended up into a high mountain, and was transfigured before the disciples, and was seen in glory, when both Moses: and Elias, "being seen in glory, spake of the decease which He was about to accomplish at Jerusalem? "393 or when the prophet says, "We beheld Him, and He had no form nor beauty," etc.? and Celsus accepts this prophecy as referring to Jesus, being blinded in so accepting it, ! and not seeing that it is a great proof that the Jesus who appeared to be "without form" was the Son of God, that His very appearance should have been made the subject of prophecy many years before His birth. But if another prophet speak of His comeliness and beauty, he will no longer accept the prophecy as referring to Christ And if it were to be clearly ascertained from the Gospels that "He had no form nor beauty, but that His appearance was without honour, and inferior to that of the sons of men," it might be said that it was not with reference to the prophetic writings, but to the Gospels, that Celsus made his remarks. But now, as neither the Gospels nor the apostolic writings indicate that "He had no form nor beauty," it is evident that we must accept the declaration of the prophets as true of Christ, and this will prevent the charge against Jesus from being advanced.394

Chapter LXXVII. But again, how did he who said, "Since a divine Spirit inhabited the body (of Jesus), it must certainly have been different from that of other beings in respect of grandeur, or voice, or strength, or impressiveness, or persuasiveness," not observe the changing relation of His body according to the capacity of the spectators (and therefore its corresponding utility), inasmuch as it appeared to each one of such a nature as it was requisite for him to behold it? Moreover it is not a subject of wonder that the matter, which is by nature susceptible of being altered and changed, and of being transformed into anything which the Creator chooses, and is capable of receiving all the qualities which the Artificer desires, should at one time possess a quality, agreeably to which it is said, "He had no form nor beauty," and at another, one so glorious, and majestic, and marvellous, that the spectators of such surpassing loveliness-three disciples who had ascended (the mount) with Jesus-should fall upon their faces. He will say, however, that these are inventions, and in no respect different from myths, as are also the other marvels related of Jesus; which objection we have answered at greater length in what has gone before. But there is also something mystical in this doctrine, which announces that the varying appearances of Jesus are to be referred to the nature of the divine Word, who does not show Himself in the same manner to the multitude as He does to those who are capable of following Him to the high mountain which we have mentioned; for to those who still remain below, and are not yet prepared to ascend, the Word "has neither form nor beauty," because to such persons His form is "without honour," and inferior to the words given forth by men, which are figuratively termed "sons of men." For we might say that the words of philosophers-who are "sons of men"-appear far more beautiful than the Word of God, who is proclaimed to the multitude, and who also exhibits (what is called) the "foolishness of preaching," and on account of this apparent "foolishness of preaching" those who look at this alone say, "We saw Him; but He had no form nor beauty." To those, indeed, Who have received power to follow Him, in order that they may attend Him even when He ascends to the "lofty mount," He has a diviner appearance, which they behold, if there happens to be (among them) a Peter, who has received within himself the edifice of the Church based upon the Word,

and who has gained such a habit (of goodness) that none of the gates of Hades will prevail against him, having been exalted by the Word from the gates of death, that he may "publish the praises of God in the gates of the daughter of Sion," and any others who have derived their birth from impressive preaching,395 and who are not at all inferior to "sons of thunder." But how can Celsus and the enemies of the divine Word, and those who have not examined the doctrines of Christianity in the spirit of truth, know the meaning of the different appearances of Jesus? And I refer also to the different stages of His life, and to any actions performed by Him before His sufferings, and after His resurrection from the dead.

Chapter LXXVIII.

Celsus next makes certain observations of the following nature: "Again, if God, like Jupiter in the comedy, should, on awaking from a lengthened slumber, desire to rescue the human race from evil, why did He send this Spirit of which you speak into one corner (of the earth)? He ought to have breathed it alike into many bodies, and have sent them out into all the world. Now the comic poet, to cause laughter in the theatre, wrote that Jupiter, after awakening, despatched Mercury to the Athenians and Lacedaemonians; but do not you think that you have made the Son of God more ridiculous in sending Him to the Jews? "Observe in such language as this the irreverent character of Celsus, who, unlike a philosopher, takes the writer of a comedy, whose business is to cause laughter, and compares our God, the Creator of all things, to the being who, as represented in the play, on awaking, despatches Mercury (on an errand)! We stated, indeed, in what precedes, that it was not as if awakening from a lengthened slumber that God sent Jesus to the human race, who has now, for good reasons, fulfilled the economy of His incarnation, but who has always conferred benefits upon the human race. For no noble deed has ever been performed amongst men, where the divine Word did not visit the souls of those who were capable, although for a little time, of admitting such operations of the divine Word. Moreover, the advent of Jesus apparently to one corner (of the earth) was founded on good reasons, since it was necessary that He who was the subject of prophecy should make His appearance among those who had become acquainted with the doctrine of one God, and who perused the writings of His prophets, and who had come to know the announcement of Christ, and that He should come to them at a time when the Word was about to be diffused from one corner over the whole world.

Chapter LXXIX. And therefore there was no need that there should everywhere exist many bodies, and many spirits like Jesus, in order that the whole world of men might be enlightened by the Word of God. For the one Word was enough, having arisen as the "Sun of righteousness," to send forth from Judea His coming rays into the soul of all who were willing to receive Him. But if any one desires to see many bodies filled with a divine Spirit, similar to the one Christ, ministering to the salvation of men everywhere, let him take note of those who teach the Gospel of Jesus in all lands in soundness of doctrine and uprightness of life, and who are themselves termed "christs" by the holy Scriptures, in the passage, "Touch not Mine anointed,396 and do not My prophets any harm."397 For as we have heard that Antichrist cometh, and yet have learned that there are many antichrists in the world, in the same way, knowing that Christ has come, we see that, owing to Him, there are many christs in the world, who, like Him, have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore God, the God of Christ, anointed them also with the "oil of gladness." But inasmuch as He loved righteousness and hated iniquity above those who were His partners,398 He also obtained the first-fruits of His anointing, and, if we must so term it, the entire unction of the oil of

gladness; while they who were His partners shared also in His unction, in proportion to their individual capacity. Therefore, since Christ is the Head of the Church, so that Christ and the Church form one body, the ointment descended from the head to the beard of Aaron,-the symbols of the perfect man,-and this ointment in its descent reached to the very skirt of his garment. This is my answer to the irreverent language of Celsus when he says, "He ought to have breathed (His Spirit) alike into many bodies, and have sent it forth into all the world." The comic poet, indeed, to cause laughter, has represented Jupiter asleep and awaking from slumber, and despatching Mercury to the Greeks; but the Word, knowing that the nature of God is unaffected by sleep, may teach us that God administers in due season, and as right reason demands, the affairs of the world. It is not, however, a matter of surprise that, owing to the greatness and incomprehensibility399 of the divine judgments, ignorant persons should make mistakes, and Celsus among them. There is therefore nothing ridiculous in the Son of God having been sent to the Jews, amongst whom the prophets had appeared, in order that, making a commencement among them in a bodily shape, He might arise with might and power upon a world of souls, which no longer desired to remain deserted by God.

Chapter LXXX.

After this, it seemed proper to Celsus to term the Chaldeans a most divinely-inspired nation from the very earliest times,400 from whom the delusive system of astrology401 has spread abroad among men. Nay, he ranks the Magi also in the same category, from whom the art of magic derived its name and has been transmitted to other nations, to the corruption and destruction of those who employ it. In the preceding part of this work, (we mentioned) that, in the opinion even of Celsus, the Egyptians also were guilty of error, because they had indeed solemn enclosures around what they considered their temples, while within them there was nothing save apes, or crocodiles, or goats, or asps, or some other animal; but on the present occasion it pleases him to speak of the Egyptian people too as most divinely inspired, and that, too, from the earliest times,-perhaps because they made war upon the Jews from an early date. The Persians, moreover, who marry their own mothers,402 and have intercourse with their own daughters, are, in the opinion of Celsus, an inspired race; nay, even. the Indians are so, some of whom, in the preceding, he mentioned as eaters of human flesh. To the Jews, however, especially those of ancient times, who employ none of these practices, he did not merely refuse the name of inspired, but declared that they would immediately perish. And this prediction he uttered respecting them, as being doubtless endued with prophetic power, not observing that the whole history of the Jews, and their ancient and venerable polity, were administered by God; and that it is by their fall that salvation has come to the Gentiles, and that "their fall is the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles,"403 until the fulness of the Gentiles come, that after that the whole of Israel, whom Celsus does not know, may be saved.

Chapter LXXXI.

I do not understand, however, how he should say of God, that although "knowing all things, He was not aware of this, that He was sending His Son amongst wicked men, who were both to be guilty of sin, and to inflict punishment upon Him." Certainly he appears, in the present instance, to have forgotten that all the sufferings which Jesus was to undergo were foreseen by the Spirit of God, and foretold by His prophets; from which it does not follow that "God did not know that He

was sending His Son amongst wicked and sinful men, who were also to inflict punishment upon Him." He immediately adds, however, that "our defence on this point is that all these things were predicted." But as our sixth book has now attained sufficient dimensions, we shall stop here, and begin, God willing, the argument of the seventh, in which we shall consider the reasons which he thinks furnish an answer to our statement, that everything regarding Jesus was foretold by the prophets; and as these are numerous, and require to be answered at length, we wished neither to cut the subject short, in consequence of the size of the present book, nor, in order to avoid doing so, to swell this sixth book beyond its proper proportions.

1: a0nata/sewj .

2: polu\ de\ to\ h#meron e0a\n . . . oi[oj te/ tij te/ tij ge/nhtai e0pistre/fein .

3: polla\ xai/rein fra/santej .

4: a0ndrapo/doij .

5: kai\ mh\ oi[oi/ te katakou/ein th=j e0n fra/sei lo/gwn kai\ ta/cei a0paggellome/nwn a0kolouqi/aj, m o/nwn e0fro/ntisan tw=n a0natrafe/entwn en lo/goij kai\ maqh/uasin .

6: e0nei=don .

7: [See Dr. Burton's Bampton Lectures On the Heresies of the Apostolic Age , pp. 198, 529. S.]

8: filolo/gwn .

9: 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5.

10: Such is the reading of the Septuagint version. The Masoretic text has: "The Lord gave a word; of them who published it there was a great host." [Cf. Ps. lxviii. 11. S.] 11: Cf. Rom. i. 18-23.

12: e0k pollh=j sunousi/aj ginome/nhj peri\ to\ pra=gma au0to\, kai\ tou= suzh=n .

13: Cf. Plato, Phaedo [lxvi. p. 118. S.]

14: kai\ ta\ a0o/rata to= Qeou=, kai\ ta\j i/de=aj fantasqe/ntej a0po\ th=j kti/sewj tou= ko/smou, kai\ tw=n ai0sqhtw=n, a0y' w[n a0nabai/nousin e0pi\ ta\ noou/mena: th\n te a0i>Vdion au0tou= du/naminn kai\ qeio/thta ou0k a0gennw=j i0do/ntej , etc.

15: Rom. i. 25.

16: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 27, 28, 29.

17: e0pithdei/oij .

18: kai\ ti/ni tw=n e0n h9mi=n . Boherellus understands o#moioj , which has been adopted in the translation.

19: Cf. Matt. v. 8.

20: Hos. x. 12.: fwti/sate e9autoi=j fw=j gnw/sewj (LXX.). The Masoretic text is, t(wE; rynI Mkel/ w@dynI 21: Cf. John i. 3, 4.

22: to/n)xlhqin/n u#&ir#&/)i/ Nohto#$n 23: Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 6.

24: Ps. xxxvii. 1 (attributed to David).

25: Ps. cxix. 105.

26: Ps. iv. 6 (Heb. "Lift up upon us," etc.) 27: Ps. xxxvi. 9.

28: Cf. Isa. lx. 1.

29: Cf. Isa. ix. 2.

30: Cf. Isa. ix. 2.

31: e0nqousia[n .

32: Cf. Matt. xxv. 4.

33: kefali/da bibli/ou .

34: ou0ai/ : cf. Ezek. ii. 9, 10.

35: Cf. Rev. x. 9.

36: 2 Cor. xii. 4.

37: Cf. Rev. x. 4.

38: polla/kij de\ h!dh o9 Ke/llsoj qrullh/saj w9j a0ciou/menon eu0qe/wj pisteu/ein, w0j kaino/n ti para\ ta\ pro/teron ei0rhme/na . Guietus thus amends the passage: pollaxkij de\ h!dh o9 Ke/lsoj a0cio/menoj eu0qe/wj pisteu/ein, w9j kaino/n ti para\ ta\ para\ ta\ pro/teron ei0rhme/na qrullh/saj , etc. Boherellus would change a0ciou/menon into a0ciou=men .

39: paidei/a a0nece/legktoj plana=tai : cf. Prov. x. 17 (Sept.).

40: gnw=sij a0sune/tou a0diece/tastoi lo/goi : cf. Ecclus. xxi. 18.

41: ou0 terateu/etai .

42: The night before Ariston brought Plato to Socrates as his pupil, the latter dreamed that a swan from the altar of Cupid alighted on his bosom. Cf. Pausanias in Atticis , p. 58.

43: "Alicubi forsan occurrit: me vero uspiam legisse non memini. Credo Platonem per tertium oculum suam poluma/qeian et scientiam, quâ ceteris anteibat, denotare voluisse." - Spencer.

44: Plato, Epist ., vi.

45: w[n e$n me\n o!noma: deu/teron de\ lo/goj: to\ de\ tri/ton ei!dwlon: to\ te/tarton de\ d0pisth/mh .

46: trano/teron fh/somen e0n th= yuxh= gino/menon meta\ to\n lo/gon tw=n trauma/twn tu/pon, tou=ton ei\nai to\n e0n e9ka/stw| Xristo\n, a0po Xristou= Lo/gou.

47: to\ mhde/n .

48: ei0kh= pisteu/onti .

49: 1 Cor. xv. 2.

50: [p. 41. S.] 51: tou= dhmiourgou= .

52: Cf. Col. iv. 6.

53: xqe\j kai\ prw/hn .

54: koino\n de\ pa/ntwn h@ kai\ pro/xeiron . For h! , Boherellus reads h\ .

55: oi9 ga\r o9moi/wj Kelsw= u9polabo/ntej teterateu=sqai . The word o\moi/wj formerly stood, in the text of Spencer and Ruaeus, before teterate=sqai , but is properly expunged, as arising from the preceding o9moi/wj . Boherellus remarks: "Forte aliud quid exciderit, verbi gratiâ, Forte aliud quid exciderit, verbi gratia, ta\ tou= Ihsou= ."

56: terateu/sasqai .

57: to\ ou0de/n .

58: Cf. Acts viii. 10 [and vol. i. p. 187, this series].

59: Cf. Acts v. 36, 37.

60: Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 19.

61: peplasme/non h9mi=n .

62: h\qoj ga\g a0nqrw/peion me\n ou0k ou0k e!xei gnw/maj, qei=on de\ e!xei .

63: Cf. Plato's Apolog ., v.

64: metri/wn o!ntwn .

65: Cf. Wisd. of Sol. ix. 6.

66: te/leioi .

67: Heb. v. 14.

68: Ps. xlix. 9, 10. (LXX.).

69: gnw=sij .

70: 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9. [See Gieseler's Church History , on "The Alexandrian Theology," vol. i. p. 212. S.]

71: tou\j mh\ ai0sxunome/nouj e0n tw= toi=j a0yu/xoij proslalei=n, kai\ peri\ me\n u0lei/aj to\ a0sqene\j e0pikaloume/nouj, peri\ de\ zwh=j to\ nekro\n a0ciou=ntaj, peri\ de\ e0pikouri/aj to\ a0porw/taton i9keteuontaj .

72: banau/swn .

73: tou\j e0sxa/touj .

74: go/htaj .

75: protropa/dhn .

76: tou\j xarieste/rouj .

77: paleu/omen . [See note supra , p. 482. S.] 78: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 26.

79: w0j perihxhqei\j taj peri\ tapeinofrosu/nhj .

80: mh\ e0pimelw=j au0th\n noh/saj .

81: eu0qei/a perai/nei kata\ fu/sin paraporeuo/menoj .

82: Plato, de s1.v4.a4.w5.b6.fLegibus , iv. p. 716.

83: Ps. cxxxi. 1, 2 (LXX.). The clause, "If I had not been humble," seems to belong to the following verse.

84: th= i0diwtei/a| .

85: th= i0diwtei/a| .

86: dia\ to\n i0diwtismo/n .

87: Cf. Phil. ii. 6, 8.

88: Cf. Matt. xi. 20.

89: Cf. Matt. xix. 24.

90: Cf. Plato, de Legibus , v. p. 473.

91: Cf. Matt. xiii. 54, Mark vi. 2, and John vii. 15.

92: Cf. Matt. vii. 14.

93: Cf. Ps. xviii. 11.

94: Cf. Ex. xx. 21.

95: Cf. Ex. xxiv. 2.

96: Cf. Ps. civ. 6.

97: Cf. Matt. xi. 27.

98: a0ge/nhton . Locus diligenter notandus, ubi Filius e creaturarum numero diserte eximitur, dum a0ge/nhtoj dicitur. At non dissimulandum in unico Cod. Anglicano secundo legi: to\n gennhto/n : cf. Origenianorum , lib. ii. Quaestio 2, num. 23. - Ruaeus.

99: [Bishop Bull, in the Defensio Fidei Nicenoe , book ii. cap. ix. 9, says, "In these words, which are clearer than any light, Origen proves the absolutely divine and uncreated nature of the Son." S.] 100: o! ti pot' a@n xwrh= gignw/skein . Boherellus proposes o#stij pot: a@n xwrh= , etc.

101: Cf. Plato, Epist ., ii., ad Dionys.

102: Cf. Isa. vi. 2.

103: Cf. Ezek. i. and x.

104: Ps. cxlviii. 4.

105: Cf. Plato in Phiedro , p. 247.

106: Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18.

107: Cf. John xiv. 3.

108: pro\j a!kroij toi=j ou0ranoi=j .

109: potamou\j tw=n qewrh/matwwn .

110: For o#son ge Boherellus proposes o@soi ge , which is adopted in the translation.

111: Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

112: Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

113: [Bishop Pearson, in his Exposition of the Creed , Art. IX., notes that "Origen for the most part speaks of the Church in the plural number," ai\ e0kklhsi/ai . S.] 114: [But see 2 Cor. xii. 2, and also Irenaeus, vol. i. p. 405.] 115: Cf. Plato in Timaeo , p. 42.

116: Cf. Gen. xxviii. 12, 13.

117: e0pesthrigme/non .

118: th=j te a0planou=j .

119: kli/mac i9i/puloj . Boherellus conjectures e9pta/puloj .

120: kerastou= nomi/smatoj .

121: th/n xalkoba/thn kai\ ster0r9a/n .

122: tlh/mona ga\r e!rgwn a9pa/ntwn, kai\ xrhmatisth/n, kai\ polu/kmnton ei\nai, to/n te si/dhron kai\ to\n 'Ermh=n .

123: th=j loiph=j u#lhj . For u#lhj , another reading is pu/lhj .

124: For w9j e0kei/noij a0rkei=sqai , Spencer introduced into his text, ou0d' e0kei/noij a0rkei=sqai , which has been adopted in the translation.

125: e0n oi[j polloi\ semnu/nontai .

126: a0po\ th=j sugklh/tou boulh=j .

127: Cf. Ezek. xlviii.

128: e0pi\ ta\ krei/ttona .

129: Cf. Rev. xxi.

130: qewrh/mata .

131: [Vol. i. p. 354, this series.]

132: "Utinam exstaret! Multum enim lucis procul dubio antiquissimorum Patrum libris, priscae ecclesiae temporibus, et quibusdam sacrae Scripturae locis, accederet." - Spencer.

133: kata\ to\ filomaqe\j h\mw=n .

134: Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 6, 7.

135: Cf. note in Spencer's edition.

136: pai/gnion .

137: Cf. Ps. civ. 24-26.

138: Cf. Mal. iii. 2, 3.

139: xwneuome/nwn .

140: pou= .

141: Cf. Zech. v. 7 142: [See Dean Plumptre's The Spirits in Prison , on "The Universalism of Origen," p. 137, et seqq. S.] 143: ma/thn e0kkei/mena .

144: a0llo/kota kai\ a0moibai/aj fwna/j .

145: a0rxontikw=n .

146: ou0k eu!gnwmon a0lla/ . . . pa/nu a0gnwmone/staton .

147: fu/rwn de\ ta\ pra/gmata .

148: sune/drion .

149: me/trioj ta\ h!qh .

150: a0rxhgou= tw=n kalw=n .

151: 'Ofia=noi : cf. Irenaeus, vol. i. pp. 354-358.

152: th\n eu0te/leian a0gaph/saj .

153: a0po\ th=j pantelou=j a0kthmosu/nhj .

154: "Euphraten hujus haeresis auctorem solus Origenes tradit." - Spencer; cf. note in Spencer's edition.

155: a0naisqh/tou .

156: Boherellus proposes fh=j for the textual reading fhsi/ .

157: kai\ toi=j profh/taij e0mpne/onta .

158: o#tan de\ ta\ e0nanti/a o\ do\j dida/skaloj 'Ihsou=j, kai\ o9 'Ioudai/wn Mwu>\sh=j, nomoqeth= .

159: yuxiko/n .

160: Cf. Spencer's note, as quoted in Benedictine edition.

161: "Nescio, an haeresium Scriptores hujus Thauthabaoth, Erataoth, Thaphabaoth, Onoeles, et Thartharaoth, usquam meminerint. Hujus generis vocabula innumera invenies apud Epiphan., Haer ., 31, quae est Valentinianorum, pp. 165-171." - Spencer.

162: fragmo\n kaki/aj .

163: pu/laj a0rxo/ntwn ai0w=ni dedeme/naj .

164: mono/tropon .

165: lh/qhn a0peri/skepron .

166: 'Ogdoa/doj . Cf. Tertullian, de Praescript. adv. Haereticos , cap. xxxiii. (vol. iii. p. 259), and other references in Benedictine ed.

167: Fai/nwn . "Ea, quae Saturni stella dicitur, Gai/nwn que a Graecis dicitur." - Cicero, de Nat. Deorum , book ii. c. 20.

168: sumpaqei=n .

169: nuktofah/j .

170: penta/di dunatwte/ra| .

171: mu/sthn .

172: xa/pin kruptome/nhn duna/mesin e0cousiw=n .

173: For dataluqi\n Boherellus conjectures kataylufqe/n , which has been adopted in the translation.

174: fantasi/aj .

175: a0patew/nwn .

176: ei0j ta\j a0rxontika\j morfa/j .

177: Guietus thinks that some word has been omitted here, as ci/foj , which seems very probable.

178: to\ th=j a0tele/stou teleth=j pe/raj .

179: a0por0r9oi/aj .

180: a0po\ cu/lou .

181: Eccles. i. 6. (literally rendered). [Modern science demonstrates this physical truth.] 182: kata\ th\n peplanhue/nhn e9autwn sofi/an .

183: yuxiko\n dhmiwurgo/n .

184: ou0k akgennw=j .

185: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26.

186: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 54; cf. Hos. xiii. 14.

187: ka/qodon stunh/n .

188: Cf. Ps. cxviii. 19, 20.

189: Cf. Ps. ix. 13, 14.

190: Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 22.

191: [See note supra , p. 582. S.]

192: Cf., however, Mark vi. 3. [Some mss., though not of much value, have the reading here (Mark vi. 3), "Is not this the carpenter's son, the son of Mary?" Origen seems to have so read the evangelist. See Alford, in loc . S.] 193: au0to/qen .

194: a!rxontaj .

195: a!lla te, kai\ du/o a!tta, mei=zon te kai\ mikro/teron ui9ou= kai\ patpo/j .

196: For a!llouj , the textual reading, Gelenius, with the approval of Boherellus, proposes kai\ a!llou sugkeime/nou , which has been followed in the translation.

197: e0pi\ toi=j au0toi=j u9pokeime/noij .

198: Cf. Herodot., iv. 59.

199: poi/a ga\r piqano/thj .

200: For the textual reading, ou!pw de\ ou0de\ peri\ twn loipw=n tau0to/n ti e0rei= , Boherellus conjectures ei!rhtai , which has been adopted in the translation.

201: For ai0sqhtw=n , Lommatzsch adopts the conjecture of Boherellus, approved by Ruaeus, e0sqh/twn .

202: dx/chj .

203: Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7.

204: Cf. Matt. xviii. 10.

205: qnhta/ . Instead of this reading, Guietus conjectures pthkta0 , which is approved of by Ruaeus.

206: 'Wghno/n , i.e., in Oceanum, Hesych.; 'Wgh/n, w0keano/j , Suid.

207: kai\ mh\ paramuqhsa/menoj .

208: Cf. Iliad , i. 590 (Pope's translation).

209: Cf. Iliad , xv. 18-24 (Pope's translation).

210: a0nalogi/aij tisi\ sune/dhse kai\ e0ko/smhsen o9 Qeo/j .

211: a0mh/twr tij kai\ a!xrantoj dai/mwn .

212: Cf. Gen. iii.

213: to\ qhlu/teron ge/noj .

214: Cf. Ex. xii. 23.

215: Cf. Lev. xvi. 8.

216: e0nanti/oi o!ntej toi=j a9po\ tou= klh/rou tou= Qeou=, e!rhmoi/ ei0si Qeou= .

217: [Judg. xix. 22. S.] 218: Cf. Job i. 11.

219: perista/sesi .

220: a0gri/w| e0le/fanti .

221: Cf. Job xl. 20.

222: Cf. Ezek. xxxii. 1-28.

223: Isa. xiv. 4 sqq.

224: pteror0r9uhsa/twn . Cf. supra , bk. iv.cap. xl. p. 516.

225: Cf. Prov. xxiii. 5. [See Neander's History of the Church , vol. ii. p. 299, with Rose's note. S.] 226: Cf. 2Tim. ii. 5.

227: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 30.

228: Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 15.

229: Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 19.

230: Cf. Dan. viii. 23.

231: Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

232: Cf. Matt. xxiv. 4, 5.

233: Cf. Prov. xxvii. 19.

234: a0kro/thtaj .

235: meta/ tinoj e0pikru/yewj . Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 9.

236: 2 Thess. ii. 1-12.

237: Cf. Dan. viii. 23-25 (LXX.).

238: Cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4.

239: Cf. Dan. ix. 27 (LXX.).

240: pai=da/ te au0tou= kai\ h0i/qeon .

241: parapoih/santaj .

242: [See Dr. Burton's learned discussion as to the Logos of Plato, and the connection of Plato's doctrines with the Gospel of the Son of God: Bampton Lectures , pp. 211-223, 537-547. See also

Fisher's Beginnings of Christianity , p. 147 (1877). S.] 243: Cf. Gen. ii. 24.

244: Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 17.

245: a9pacaplw=j .

246: ma/la eu0hqikh/ .

247: Cf. Gen. v. 1.

248: a0kataskeu/aston .

249: Cf. Gen. i. 26.

250: th\n e0k perissta/sewj genome/nhn .

251: Gen. iii. 24.

252: grafa/j .

253: a0pro/sloga .

254: sunqei=nai lh=ron baqu/n .

255: o#ti ti/j pote/ e0stin h9 fu/sij tou= nou=, kai\ tou= e0n toi=j profh/taij lo/gou .

256: peri\ nohtw=n kai\ ai0sqhtw=n .

257: ai9 fu/seij tw=n h9merw=n .

258: e0n katasta/sei e!sesqai h9me/raj .

259: Cf. Isa. lx. 19.

260: eu0ktikw=j .

261: w9j e0n a0llotri/oij toi=j th=de .

262: makra\n xaire/twsan .

263: periora=| .

264: Cf. bk. v. cap. liv.

265: The textual reading is, a0po/ tinwn eu0telw=j kai\ i0diwtikw=j , for which Ruaeus reads, a0po/ tinwn eu0telw=n kai\ i0diwtikw=n , which emendation has been adopted in the translation.

266: oi9onei\ qaumastikw=j .

267: a0klh/rwn .

268: skuba/lwn .

269: te/xnhn .

270: e0k parakolouqh/sewj gege/nhtai th=j pro\j ta\ prohgou/mena .

271: Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 10-14.

272: Cf. Gal. i. 4.

273: Cf. Eph. v. 16.

274: kataxrhstikw/teron .

275: Cf. Job ii. 10.

276: Cf. Isa. xlv. 7.

277: Cf. Mic. i. 12, 13. The rendering of the Heb. in the first clause of the thirteenth verse is different from that of the LXX.

278: par0r9hssi/an e!xein .

279: u#foj .

280: o0li/ga must be taken comparatively , on account of the polla/j that follows afterwards.

281: polla/j . See note 11.

282: ta\ e9likoeidh= ce0smata kai\ pri/smata .

283: ta\ parakei/mena .

284: po/nouj .

285: Cf. Mic. i. 12.

286: Cf. Ps. lxxxix. 32.

287: Cf. Isa. xlvii. 14, 15 (LXX.).

288: Cf. Isa. xlv. 7.

289: to\ kai\ e0pitugxa/nein e0n tw=| nouqetoume/nw| kai\ a0kou/ein to\n tou= dida/skontoj lo/gon .

290: w9sperei\ tw=n kaloume/nwn a0ntipeponqo/twn e0sti/n .

291: a0na/logon tw= kei/resqai a!nqrwpon, e0nergou=nta to\ pare/xein e9auto\n tw=| kei/ronti .

292: perqou=j dhmiourgw=n .

293: Cf. Gal. v. 8.

294: Cf. Isa. i. 19, 20.

295: Cf. Deut. x. 12, 13.

296: e0nequmh/qh , in all probability a corruption for e0qumw/qh , which Hoeschel places in the text, and Spencer in the margin of his ed.: Heb. Mheg%w@lw 297: e0nequmh/qhn . Cf. remark in note 2.

298: Cf. Gen. vi. 5-7.

299: Cf. Plato in Timoeo .

300: ko/smoj .

301: to\n peri/geion to/pon .

302: Cf. John i. 9.

303: Cf. John xvi. 33.

304: Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 18.

305: Cf. Rom. i. 20.

306: e0rhreisme/nhj .

307: th=de ferome/nou .

308: Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 9.

309: ton prosexw=j dhmiourgo/n .

310: au0tourgo/n .

311: sunagwga/j .

312: ta\ u9po\ mo/nhj fu/sewj dioikou/mena .

313: ta\ nhkta/ .

314: Cf. Gen. ii. 4.

315: [sunete/lesen , complevit . S.] 316: kate/pausen .

317: kate/pausen .

318: Cf. Gen. ii. 2, 3.

319: a0nepau/sato .

320: tw=n e0piballo/ntwn .

321: ou0 qe/mij .

322: xeirourgei=n .

323: Cf. Ps. xix. 1.

324: Cf. Ps. cii. 25.

325: Cf. Isa. i. 20.

326: e0pi\ tw=n guna/mewn .

327: Cf. Ex. xx. 18 (LXX.). The Masoretic text is different.

328: Cf. Ps. cii. 27.

329: Cf. Mal. iii. 6.

330: Lev. xi. 44.

331: Cf. Eph. v. 1 (mimhtai/).

332: The words as they stand in the text are probably corrupt: we have adopted in the translation the emendation of Guietus: e@ti kai nao/j e0sti tou= Qeou= to sw=ma tou= toiau/thn e@xontoj yuxh\n, kai\ e0n th= yuxh= dia\ to\ kat' ei0ko/na, to\n Qeo/n .

333: Deut. v. 31.

334: Cf. Gen. iii. 8.

335: ou0si/a .

336: presbei/a kai\ duna/mei .

337: Cf. Col. i. 15.

338: ["It is a remarkable fact, that it was Origen who discerned the heresy outside the Church on its first rise, and actually gave the alarm, sixty years before Arius's day. See Athanasius, De Decret. Nic ., §27; also the peri\ a0rxw=n (if Rufinus may be trusted), for Origen's denouncement of the still more characteristic Arianism of the h0n o$te ou0k h\n and the e0c ou0k o!nten ." - Newman's The Arians of the Fourth Century , p. 97. See also Hagenbach's History of Doctrines , vol. i. pp. 130-133. S.]

339: For au0tou= Boherellus conjectures au9tou= , and translates, " Propria ipse principia , quae sunt Epicuri, subruens ."

340: Rom. xi. 36.

341: ou0de\ logw=| e0fikto/j .

342: ei!te e0ndiaqe/tw| ei!te kai\ proforikw=| .

343: John i. 1.

344: ou0de\n tw=n e0n le/cesi kai\ shmainome/noij .

345: xeiragwgh=sai .

346: kola/zesqai .

347: Cf. Matt. iv. 16. and Isa. ix. 2.

348: John xiv. 6.

349: Cf. Isa. v. 20.

350: o0fqalmou/j .

351: o0fqalmou/j .

352: swmatikw=j .

353: [2 Cor. v. 16. S.] 354: Cf. John i. 14.

355: Cf. John i. 14.

356: ei0ko/ti stoxasmw=| .

357: dusqew/rhtoj .

358: su/mmetron .

359: For ou9twsi/ we have adopted the conjecture of Guietus, tou/tou .

360: w9j eu0qew/rhton .

361: Rom. viii. 14.

362: Cf. Heb. xii. 29.

363: Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 12.

364: pa=san ou0si/an .

365: pneu=ma . There is an allusion to the two meanings of pneu=ma , "wind" and "spirit."

366: 2 Cor. iii. 5, 6.

367: th\n ai0sqhthn e0kdoxh/n .

368: tupikw=j here evidently must have the above meaning.

369: Cf. John iv. 21, 24.

370: e0n tu/poij .

371: Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 17.

372: Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 14.

373: e9autw=| suna/ptei .

374: ou0x@ w9j sw=ma de\ perie/xon perie/xei, o#ti kai\ sw=ma/ e0sti to\ periexo/menon .

375: pa/nu a0pemfai=non .

376: ei0j tosou=ton mi/asma .

377: Cf. book iv. capp. xiv. and lxviii.

378: th= ai0sqh/sei th\n a0rxh\n .

379: to\ ai0sqhto\n sw=ma .

380: prossaxqh/sh de\ tw= legome/nw| .

381: da$n biasa/menoj o9 lo/gj eu#rh| .

382: tou= dhmiourgou= .

383: ortu/gwn .

384: lhrou=ntaj .

385: pragmatikw=j .

386: e0semnolo/gei .

387: semnw=n lo/gwn .

388: tosau/thn fluari/an .

389: kata/plhcin .

390: a0gene/j .

391: Cf. Isa. liii. 1-3 (LXX.). [See Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the Creed , Art. II., note. S.] 392: Cf. Ps. xlv. 3, 4 (LXX.).

393: [Luke ix. 31. S.] 394: probai=nein .

395: kai\ ei! tine/j ei0sin e=k lo/gwn thn ge/nesin laxo/ntej megalogwnwn .

396: tw=n xristw=n mou .

397: Cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 22 and Ps. cv. 15.

398: tou\j meto/xouj kri/seij .

399: dusdihgh/touj ta\j kri/seij .

400: e0c a0rxh=j .

401: geneqlialogi/a .

402: [On the manners of heathen nations, note this. See 1 Cor. v. 1.] 403: Cf. Rom. xi. 11, 12.

Against Celsus - Book 7

Book VII.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter III.

Chapter IV.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI.

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV.

Chapter XVI.

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XXI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX.

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter L.

Chapter LI.

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXII.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVII.

Chapter LXVIII.

Chapter LXIX.

Chapter LXX.

Book VII.

Chapter I. In the six former books we have endeavoured, reverend brother Ambrosius, according to our ability to meet the charges brought by Celsus against the Christians, and have as far as possible passed over nothing without first subjecting it to a full and close examination. And now, while we enter upon the seventh book, we call upon God through Jesus Christ, whom Celsus accuses, that He who is the truth of God would shed light into our hearts and scatter the darkness of error, in accordance with that saying of the prophet which we now offer as our prayer, "Destroy them by Thy truth."1 For it is evidently the words and reasonings opposed to the truth that God destroys by His truth; so that when these are destroyed, all who are delivered from deception may go on with the prophet to say, "I will freely sacrifice unto Thee,"2 and may offer to the Most High a reasonable and smokeless sacrifice.

Chapter II.

Celsus now sets himself to combat the views of those who say that the Jewish prophets foretold events which happened in the life of Christ Jesus. At the outset let us refer to a notion he has, that those who assume the existence of another God besides the God of the Jews have no ground on which to answer his objections; while we who recognise the same God rely for our defence on the prophecies which were delivered concerning Jesus Christ. His words are: "Let us see how they can raise a defence. To those who admit another God, no defence is possible; and they who

recognise the same God will always fall back upon the same reason `This and that must have happened.' And why? `Because it had been predicted long before.'" To this we answer, that the arguments recently raised by Celsus against Jesus and Christians were so utterly feeble, that they might easily be overthrown even by those who are impious enough to bring in another God. Indeed, were it not dangerous to give to the weak any excuse for embracing false notions, we could furnish the answer ourselves, and show Celsus how unfounded is his opinion, that those who admit another God are not in a position to meet his arguments. However, let us for the present confine ourselves to a defence of the prophets, in continuation of what we have said on the subject before.

Chapter III.

Celsus goes on to say of us: "They set no value on the oracles of the Pythian priestess, of the priests of Dodona, of Clarus, of Branchidae, of Jupiter Ammon, and of a multitude of others; although under their guidance we may say that colonies were sent forth, and the whole world peopled. But those sayings which were uttered or not uttered in Judea, after the manner of that country, as indeed they are still delivered among the people of Phoenicia and Palestine-these they look upon as marvellous sayings, and unchangeably true." In regard to the oracles here enumerated, we reply that it would be possible for us to gather from the writings of Aristotle and the Peripatetic school not a few things to overthrow the authority of the Pythian and the other oracles. From Epicurus also, and his followers, we could quote passages to show that even among the Greeks themselves there were some who utterly discredited the oracles which were recognised and admired throughout the whole of Greece. But let it be granted that the responses delivered by the Pythian and other oracles were not the utterances of false men who pretended to a divine inspiration; and let us see if, after all, we cannot convince any sincere inquirers that there is no necessity to attribute these oracular responses to any divinities, but that, on the other hand, they may be traced to wicked demons-to spirits which are at enmity with the human race, and which in this way wish to hinder the soul from rising upwards, from following the path of virtue, and from returning to God in sincere piety. It is said of the Pythian priestess, whose oracle seems to have been the most celebrated, that when she sat down at the mouth of the Castalian cave, the prophetic Spirit of Apollo entered her private parts; and when she was filled with it, she gave utterance to responses which are regarded with awe as divine truths. Judge by this whether that spirit does not show its profane and impure nature, by choosing to enter the soul of the prophetess not through the more becoming medium of the bodily pores which are both open and invisible, but by means of what no modest man would ever see or speak of. And this occurs not once or twice, which would be more permissible, but as often as she was believed to receive inspiration from Apollo. Moreover, it is not the part of a divine spirit to drive the prophetess into such a state of ecstasy and madness that she loses control of herself. For he who is under the influence of the Divine Spirit ought to be the first to receive the beneficial effects; and these ought not to be first enjoyed by the persons who consult the oracle about the concerns of natural or civil life, or for purposes of temporal gain or interest; and, moreover, that should be the time of clearest perception, when a person is in close intercourse with the Deity.

Chapter IV.

Accordingly, we can show from an examination of the sacred Scriptures, that the Jewish prophets, who were enlightened as far as was necessary for their prophetic work by the Spirit of God, were the first to enjoy the benefit of the inspiration; and by the contact-if I may so say-of the Holy Spirit they became clearer in mind, and their souls were filled with a brighter light. And the body no longer served as a hindrance to a virtuous life; for to that which we call "the lust of the flesh" it was deadened. For we are persuaded that the Divine Spirit "mortifies the deeds of the body," and destroys that enmity against God which the carnal passions serve to excite. If, then, the Pythian priestess is beside herself when she prophesies, what spirit must that be which fills her mind and clouds her judgment with darkness, unless it be of the same order with those demons which many Christians cast out of persons possessed with them? And this, we may observe, they do without the use of any curious arts of magic, or incantations, but merely by prayer and simple adjurations which the plainest person can use. Because for the most part it is unlettered persons who perform this work; thus making manifest the grace which is in the word of Christ, and the despicable weakness of demons, which, in order to be overcome and driven out of the bodies and souls of men, do not require the power and wisdom of those who are mighty in argument, and most learned in matters of faith.3

Chapter V.

Moreover, if it is believed not only among Christians and Jews, but also by many others among the Greeks and Barbarians, that the human soul lives and subsists after its separation from the body; and if reason supports the idea that pure souls which are not weighed down with sin as with a weight of lead ascend on high to the region of purer and more ethereal bodies, leaving here below their grosser bodies along with their impurities; whereas souls that are polluted and dragged down to the earth by their sins, so that they are unable even to breathe upwards, wander hither and thither, at some times about sepulchres, where they appear as the apparitions of shadowy spirits, at others among other objects on the ground;-if this is so, what are we to think of those spirits that are attached for entire ages, as I may say, to particular dwellings and places, whether by a sort of magical force or by their own natural wickedness? Are we not compelled by reason to set down as evil such spirits as employ the power of prophesying-a power in itself neither good nor bad -for the purpose of deceiving men, and thus turn them away from God, and from the purity of His service? It is moreover evident that this is their character, when we add that they delight in the blood of victims, and in the smoke odour of sacrifices, and that they feed their bodies on these, and that they take pleasure in such haunts as these, as though they sought in them the sustenance of their lives; in this resembling those depraved men who despise the purity of a life apart from the senses, and who have no inclination except for the pleasures of the body, and for that earthly and bodily life in which these pleasures are found. If the Delphian Apollo were a god, as the Greeks suppose, would he not rather have chosen as his prophet some wise man? or if such an one was not to be found, then one who was endeavouring to become wise How came he not to prefer a man to a woman for the utterance of his prophesies? And if he preferred the latter sex, as though he could only find pleasure in the breast of a woman, why did he not choose among women a virgin to interpret his will?

Chapter VI. But no; the Pythian, so much admired among the Greeks, judged no wise man, nay, no man at all, worthy of the divine possession, as they call it. And among women he did not choose a virgin, or one recommended by her wisdom, or by her attainments in philosophy; but he

selects a common woman. Perhaps the better class of men were too good to become the subjects of the inspiration. Besides, if he were a god, he should have employed his prophetic power as a bait, so to speak, with which he might draw men to a change of life, and to the practice of virtue. But history nowhere makes mention of anything of the kind. For if the oracle did call Socrates the wisest of all men, it takes from the value of that eulogy by what is said in regard to Euripides and Sophocles. The words are:- "Sophocles is wise, and Euripides is wiser, But wiser than all men is Socrates."4

As, then, he gives the designation "wise" to the tragic poets, it is not on account of his philosophy that he holds up Socrates to veneration, or because of his love of truth and virtue. It is poor praise of Socrates to say that he prefers him to men who for a paltry reward compete upon the stage, and who by their representations excite the spectators at one time to tears and grief, and at another to unseemly laughter (for such is the intention of the satyric drama). And perhaps it was not so much in regard to his philosophy that he called Socrates the wisest of all men, as on account of the victims which he sacrificed to him and the other demons. For it seems that the demons pay more regard in distributing their favours to the sacrifices which are offered them than to deeds of virtue. Accordingly, Homer, the best of the poets, who describes what usually took place, when, wishing to show us what most influenced the demons to grant an answer to the wishes of their votaries, introduces Chryses, who, for a few garlands and the 'thighs of bulls and goats, obtained an answer to his prayers for his daughter Chryseis, so that the Greeks were driven by a pestilence to restore her back to him. And I remember reading in the book of a certain Pythagorean, when writing on the hidden meanings in that poet, that the prayer of Chryses to Apollo, and the plague which Apollo afterwards sent upon the Greeks, are proofs that Homer knew of certain evil demons who delight in the smoke of sacrifices, and who, to reward those who offer them, grant in answer to their prayers the destruction of others. "He," that is, Jupiter, "who rules over wintry Dodona, where his prophets have ever unwashed feet, and sleep upon the ground,"5 has rejected the male sex, and, as Celsus observes, employs the women of Dodona for the prophetic office. Granting that there are oracles similar to these, as that at Clarus, another in Branchidae, another in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, or anywhere else; yet how shall it be proved that these are gods, and not demons?

Chapter VII. In regard to the prophets among the Jews, some of them were wise men before they became divinely inspired prophets, while others became wise by the illumination which their minds received when divinely inspired. They were selected by Divine Providence to receive the Divine Spirit, and to be the depositaries of His holy oracles, on the ground of their leading a life of almost unapproachable excellence, intrepid, noble, unmoved by danger or death. For reason teaches that such ought to be the character of the prophets of the Most High, in comparison with which the firmness of Antisthenes, Crates, and Diogenes will seem but as child's play. It was therefore for their firm adherence to truth, and their faithfulness in the reproof of the wicked, that "they were stoned; they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; they wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth, of whom the world was not worthy: "6 for they looked always to God and to His blessings, which, being invisible, and not to be perceived by the senses, are eternal. We have the history of the life of each of the prophets; but it will be enough at present to direct attention to the life of Moses, whose prophecies are contained in the law; to that

of Jeremiah, as it is given in the book which bears his name; to that of Isaiah, who with unexampled austerity walked naked and barefooted for the space of three years.7 Read and consider the severe life of those children, Daniel and his companions, how they abstained from flesh, and lived on water and pulse.8 Or if you will go back to more remote times, think of the life of Noah, who prophesied;9 and of Isaac, who gave his son a prophetic blessing; or of Jacob, who addressed each of his twelve sons, beginning with "Come, that I may tell you what shall befall you in the last days."10 These, and a multitude of others, prophesying on behalf of God, foretold events relating to Jesus Christ. We therefore for this reason set at nought the oracles of the Pythian priestess, or those delivered at Dodona, at Clarus, at Branchidae, at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, or by a multitude of other so-called prophets; whilst we regard with reverent awe the Jewish prophets: for we see that the noble, earnest, and devout lives of these men were worthy of the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, whose wonderful effects were widely different from the divination of demons.

Chapter VIII.

I do not know what led Celsus, when saying, "But what things were spoken or not spoken in the land of Judea, according to the custom of the country," to use the words "or not spoken," as though implying that he was incredulous, and that he suspected that those things which were written were never spoken. In fact, he is unacquainted with these times; and he does not know that those prophets who foretold the coming of Christ, predicted a multitude of other events many years beforehand. He adds, with the view of casting a slight upon the ancient prophets, that "they prophesied in the same way as we find them still doing among the inhabitants of Phoenicia and Palestine." But he does not tell us whether he refers to persons who are of different principles from those of the Jews and Christians, or to persons whose prophecies are of the same character as those of the Jewish prophets. However it be, his statement is false, taken in either way. For never have any of those who have not embraced our faith done any thing approaching to what was done by the ancient prophets; and in more recent times, since the coming of Christ, no prophets have arisen among the Jews, who have confessedly been abandoned by the Holy Spirit on account of their impiety towards God, and towards Him of whom their prophets spoke. Moreover, the Holy Spirit gave signs of His presence at the beginning of Christ's ministry, and after His ascension He gave still more; but since that time these signs have diminished, although there are still traces of His presence in a few who have had their souls purified by the Gospel, and their actions regulated by its influence. "For the holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding."11

Chapter IX. But as Celsus promises to give an account of the manner in which prophecies are delivered in Phoenicia and Palestine, speaking as though it were a matter with which he had a full and personal acquaintance, let us see what he has to say on the subject. First he lays it down that there arc several kinds of prophecies, but he does not specify what they arc; indeed, he could not do so, and the statement is a piece of pure ostentation. However, let us see what he considers the most perfect kind of prophecy among these nations. "There are many," he says, "who, although of no name, with the greatest facility and on the slightest occasion, whether within or without temples, assume the motions and gestures of inspired persons; while others do it in cities or among armies, for the purpose of attracting attention and exciting surprise. These are accustomed to say, each for himself, `I am God; I am the Son of God; or, I am the Divine Spirit; I have come because the world

is perishing, and you, O men, are perishing for your iniquities. But I wish to save you, and you shall see me returning again with heavenly power. Blessed is he who now does me homage. On all the rest I will send down eternal fire, both on cities and on countries. And those who know not the punishments which await. them shall repent and grieve in vain; while those who are faithful to me I will preserve eternally.'" Then he goes on to say: "To these promises are added strange, fanatical, and quite unintelligible words, of which no rational person can find the meaning: for so dark are they, as to have no meaning at all; but they give occasion to every fool or impostor to apply them to suit his own purposes."

Chapter X. But if he were dealing honestly in his accusations, he ought to have given the exact terms of the prophecies, whether those in which the speaker is introduced as claiming to be God Almighty, or those in which the Son of God speaks, or finally those under the name of the Holy Spirit. For thus he might have endeavoured to overthrow these assertions, and have shown that there was no divine inspiration in those words which urged men to forsake their sins, which condemned the past and foretold the future. For the prophecies were recorded and preserved by men living at the time, that those who came after might read and admire them as the oracles of God, and that they might profit not only by the warnings and admonitions, but also by the predictions, which, being shown by events to have proceeded from the Spirit of God, bind men to the practice of piety as set forth in the law and the prophets. The prophets have therefore, as God commanded them, declared with all plainness those things which it was desirable that the hearers should understand at once for the regulation of their conduct; while in regard to deeper and more mysterious subjects, which lay beyond the reach of the common understanding, they set them forth in the form of enigmas and allegories, or of what are called dark sayings, parables, or similitudes. And this plan they have followed, that those who are ready to shun no labour and spare no pains in their endeavours after truth and virtue might search into their meaning, and having found it, might apply it as reason requires. But Celsus, ever vigorous in his denunciations, as though he were angry at his inability to understand the language of the prophets, scoffs at them thus: "To these grand promises are added strange, fanatical, and quite unintelligible words, of which no rational person can find the meaning; for so dark are they as to have no meaning at all; but they give occasion to every fool or impostor to apply them so as to suit his own purposes." This statement of Celsus seems ingeniously designed to dissuade readers from attempting any inquiry or careful search into their meaning. And in this he is not unlike certain persons, who said to a man whom a prophet had visited to announce future events, "Wherefore came this mad fellow to thee? "12

Chapter XI.

I am convinced, indeed, that much better arguments could be adduced than any I have been able to bring forward, to show the falsehood of these allegations of Celsus, and to set forth the divine inspiration of the prophecies; but we have according to our ability, in our commentaries on Isaiah, Ezekiel, and some of the twelve minor prophets, explained literally and in detail what he calls "those fanatical and utterly unintelligible passages."13 And if God give us grace in the time that He appoints for us, to advance in the knowledge of His word, we shall continue our investigation into the parts which remain, or into such at least as we are able to make plain. And other persons of intelligence who wish to study Scripture may also find out its meaning for themselves; for although there are many places in which the meaning is not obvious, yet there are none where, as Celsus

affirms, "there is no sense at all." Neither is it true that "any fool or impostor can explain the passages so as to make them suit his own purposes." For it belongs only to those who are wise in the truth of Christ (and to all them it does belong) to unfold the connection and meaning of even the obscure parts of prophecy, "comparing spiritual things with spiritual," and interpreting each passage according to the usage of Scripture writers. And Celsus is not to be believed when he says that he has heard such men prophesy; for no prophets bearing any resemblance to the ancient prophets have appeared in the time of Celsus. If there had been any, those who heard and admired them would have followed the example of the ancients, and have recorded the prophecies in writing. And it seems quite clear that Celsus is speaking falsely, when he says that "those prophets whom he had heard, on being pressed by him, confessed their true motives, and acknowledged that the ambiguous words they used really meant nothing." He ought to have given the names of those whom he says he had heard, if he had any to give, so that those who were competent to judge might decide whether his allegations were true or false.

Chapter XII.

He thinks, besides, that those who support the cause of Christ by a reference to the writings of the prophets can give no proper answer in regard to statements in them which attribute to God that which is wicked, shameful, or impure; and assuming that no answer can be given, he proceeds to draw a whole train of inferences, none of which can be allowed. But he ought to know that those who wish to live according to the teaching of sacred Scripture understand the saying, "The knowledge of the unwise is as talk without sense,"14 and have learnt "to be ready always to give an answer to every one that asketh us a reason for the hope that is in us."15 And they are not satisfied with affirming that such and such things have been predicted; but they endeavour to remove any apparent inconsistencies, and to show that, so far from there being anything evil, shameful, or impure in these predictions, everything is worthy of being received by those who understand the sacred Scriptures. But Celsus ought to have adduced from the prophets examples of what he thought bad, or shameful, or impure, if he saw any such passages; for then his argument would have had much more force, and would have furthered his purpose much better. He gives no instances, however, but contents himself with loudly asserting the false charge that these things are to be found in Scripture. There is no reason, then, for us to defend ourselves against groundless charges, which are but empty sounds, or to take the trouble of showing that in the writings of the prophets there is nothing evil, shameful, impure, or abominable.

Chapter XIII. And there is no truth in the statement of Celsus, that "God does the most shameless deeds, or suffers the most shameless sufferings" or that "He favours the commission of evil; for whatever he may say, no such things have ever been foretold. He ought to have cited from the prophets the passages in which God is represented as favouring evil, or as doing and enduring the most shameless deeds, and not to have sought without foundation to prejudice the minds of his readers. The prophets, indeed, foretold what Christ should suffer, and set forth the reason why He should suffer. God therefore also knew what Christ would suffer; but where has he learnt that those things which the Christ of God should suffer were most base and dishonourable? He goes on to explain what those most shameful and degrading things were which Christ suffered, in these words: "For what better was it for God to eat the flesh of sheep, or to drink vinegar and gall, than to feed on filth? "But God, according to us, did not eat the flesh of sheep; and while it may seem that Jesus ate, He did so only as possessing a body. But in regard to the vinegar and gall mentioned in

the prophecy, "They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink,"16 we have already referred17 to this point; and as Celsus compels us to recur to it again, we would only say further, that those who resist the word of truth do ever offer to Christ the Son of God the gall of their own wickedness, and the vinegar of their evil inclinations; but though He tastes of it, yet He will not drink it.

Chapter XIV. In the next place, wishing to shake the faith of those who believe in Jesus on the ground of the prophecies which were delivered in regard to Him, Celsus says: "But pray, if the prophets foretold that the great God-not to put it more harshly-would become a slave, or become sick or die; would there be therefore any necessity that God should die, or suffer sickness, or become a slave, simply because such things had been foretold? Must he die in order to prove his divinity? But the prophets never would utter predictions so wicked and impious. We need not therefore inquire whether a thing has been predicted or not, but whether the thing is honourable in itself, and worthy of God. In that which is evil and base, although it seemed that all men in the world had foretold it in a fit of madness, we must not believe. How then can the pious mind admit that those things which are said to have happened to him, could have happened to one who is God? "From this it is plain that Celsus feels the argument from prophecy to be very effective for convincing those to whom Christ is preached; but he seems to endeavour to overthrow it by an opposite probability, namely," that the question is not whether the prophets uttered these predictions or not." But if he wished to reason justly and without evasion, he ought rather to have said, "We must show that these things were never predicted, or that those things which were predicted of Christ have never been fulfilled in him," and in that way he would have established the position which he holds. In that way it would have been made plain what those prophecies are which we apply to Jesus, and how Celsus could justify himself in asserting that that application was false. And we should thus have seen whether he fairly disproved all that we bring from the prophets in behalf of Jesus, or whether he himself is convicted of a shameless endeavour to resist the plainest truths by violent assertions.

Chapter XV.

After assuming that some things were foretold which are impossible in themselves, and inconsistent with the character of God, he says: "If these things were predicted of the Most High God, are we bound to believe them of God simply because they were predicted? "And thus he thinks he proves, that although the prophets may have foretold truly such things of the Son of God, yet it is impossible for us to believe in those prophecies declaring that He would do or suffer such things. To this our answer is that the supposition is absurd, for it combines two lines of reasoning which are opposed to each other, and therefore mutually destructive. This may be shown as follows. The one argument is: "If any true prophets of the Most High say that God will become a slave, or suffer sickness, or die, these things will come to God; for it is impossible that the prophets of the great God should utter lies." The other is: "If even true prophets of the Most High God say that these same things shall come to pass, seeing that these things foretold are by the nature of things impossible, the prophecies are not true, and therefore those things which have been foretold will not happen to God." When, then, we find two processes of reasoning in both of which the major premiss is the same, leading to two contradictory conclusions, we use the form of argument called "the theorem of two propositions,"18 to prove that the major premiss is false, which in the case before us is this, "that the prophets have foretold that the great God should

become a slave, suffer sickness, or die." We conclude, then, that the prophets never foretold such things; and the argument is formally expressed as follows: 1st, Of two things, if the first is true, the second is true; 2d, if the first is19 true, the second is not true, therefore the first is not true. The concrete example which the Stoics give to illustrate this form of argument is the following: 1st, If you know that you are dead, you are dead; 2d, if you know that you are dead, you are not dead. And the conclusion is-"you do not know that you are dead." These propositions are worked out as follows: If you know that you are dead, that which you know is certain; therefore you are dead. Again, if you know that you are dead, your death is an object of knowledge; but as the dead know nothing, your knowing this proves that you are not dead. Accordingly, by joining the two arguments together, you arrive at the conclusion-"you do not know that you are dead." Now the hypothesis of Celsus which we have given above is much of the same kind.

Chapter XVI. But besides, the prophecies which he introduces into his argument are very different from what the prophets actually foretold of Jesus Christ. For the prophecies do not foretell that God will be crucified, when they say of Him who should suffer, "We beheld Him, and He had no form or comeliness; but His form was dishonoured and marred more than the sons of men; He was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief."20 Observe, then, how distinctly they say that it was a man who should endure these human sufferings. And Jesus Himself, who knew perfectly that one who was to die must be a man, said to His accusers: "But now ye seek to kill Me, a man that hath spoken unto you the truth which I heard of God."21 And if in that man as He appeared among men there was something divine, namely the only-begotten Son of God, the first-born of all creation, one who said of Himself, "I am the truth," "I am the life," "I am the door," "I am the way," "I am the living bread which came down from heaven," of this Being and His nature we must judge and reason in a way quite different from that in which we judge of the man who was seen in Jesus Christ. Accordingly, you will find no Christian, however simple he may be, and however little versed in critical studies, who would say that He who died was "the truth," "the life," "the way," "the living bread which came down from heaven," "the resurrection; "for it was He who appeared to us in the form of the man Jesus, who taught us, saying, "I am the resurrection." There is no one amongst us, I say, so extravagant as to affirm "the Life died," "the Resurrection died." The supposition of Celsus would have some foundation if we were to say that it had been foretold by the prophets that death would befall God the Word, the Truth, the Life, the Resurrection, or any other name which is assumed by the Son of God.

Chapter XVII. In one point alone is Celsus correct in his statements on this subject. It is that in which he says: "The prophets would not foretell this, because it involves that which is wicked and impious,"-namely, that the great God should become a slave or suffer death. But that which is predicted by the prophets is worthy of God, that He who is the brightness and express image of the divine nature should come into the world with the holy human soul which was to animate the body of Jesus, to sow the seed of His word, which might bring all who received and cherished it into union with the Most High God, and which would lead to perfect blessedness all those who felt within them the power of God the Word, who was to be in the body and soul of a man. He was to be in it indeed, but not in such a way as to confine therein all the rays of His glory; and we are not to suppose that the light of Him who is God the Word is shed forth in no other way than in this. If, then, we consider Jesus in relation to the divinity that was in Him, the things which He did in this capacity present nothing to offend our ideas of God, nothing but what is holy; and if we consider

Him as man, distinguished beyond all other men by an intimate communion with the Eternal Word, with absolute Wisdom, He suffered as one who was wise and perfect, whatever it behoved Him to suffer who did all for the good of the human race, yea, even for the good of all intelligent beings. And there is nothing absurd in a man having died, and in His death being not only an example of death endured for the sake of piety, but also the first blow in the conflict which is to overthrow the power of that evil spirit the devil, who had obtained dominion over the whole world.22 For we have signs and pledges of the destruction of his empire, in those who through the coming of Christ are everywhere escaping from the power of demons, and who, after their deliverance from this bondage in which they were held, consecrate themselves to God, and earnestly devote themselves day by day to advancement in a life of piety.

Chapter XVIII.

Celsus adds: "Will they not besides make this reflection? If the prophets of the God of the Jews foretold that he who should come into the world would be the Son of this same God, how could he command them through Moses to gather wealth, to extend their dominion, to fill the earth, to put their enemies of every age to the sword, and to destroy them utterly, which indeed he himself did-as Moses says-threatening them, moreover, that if they did not obey his commands, he would treat them as his avowed enemies; whilst, on the other hand, his Son, the man of Nazareth, promulgated laws quite opposed to these, declaring that no one can come to the Father who loves power, or riches, or glory; that men ought not to be more careful in providing food than the ravens; that they were to be less concerned about their raiment than the lilies; that to him who has given them one blow, they should offer to receive another? Whether is it Moses or Jesus who teaches falsely? Did the Father, when he sent Jesus, forget the commands which he had given to Moses? Or did he change his mind, condemn his own laws, and send forth a messenger with counter instructions? "Celsus, with all his boasts of universal knowledge, has here fallen into the most vulgar of errors, in supposing that in the law and the prophets there is not a meaning deeper than that afforded by a literal rendering of the words. He does not see how manifestly incredible it is that worldly riches should be promised to those who lead upright lives, when it is a matter of common observation that the best of men have lived in extreme poverty. Indeed, the prophets themselves, who for the purity of their lives received the Divine Spirit, "wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented: they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."23 For, as the Psalmist, says, "many are the afflictions of the righteous."24 If Celsus had read the writings of Moses, he would, I daresay, have supposed that when it is said to him who kept the law, "Thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou thyself shalt not borrow,"25 the promise is made to the just man, that his temporal riches should be so abundant, that he would be able to lend not only to the Jews, not only to two or three nations, but "to many nations." What, then, must have been the wealth which the just man received according to the law for his righteousness, if he could lend to many nations? And must we not suppose also, in accordance with this interpretation, that the just man would never borrow anything? For it is written, "and thou shalt thyself borrow nothing." Did then that nation remain for so long a period attached to the religion which was taught by Moses, whilst, according to the supposition of Celsus, they saw themselves so grievously deceived by that lawgiver? For nowhere is it said of any one that he was so rich as to lend to many nations. It is not to be believed that they would have fought so zealously in defence of a law whose promises had proved glaringly false, if

they understood them in the sense which Celsus gives to them. And if any one should say that the sins which are recorded to have been committed by the people are a proof that they despised the law, doubtless from the feeling that they had been deceived by it, we may reply that we have only to read the history of the times in order to find it shown that the whole people, after having done that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, returned afterwards to their duty, and to the religion prescribed by the law.

Chapter XIX.

Now if these words in the law, "Thou shalt have dominion over many nations, and no one shall rule over thee," were simply a promise to them of dominion, and if they contain no deeper meaning than this, then it is certain that the people would have had still stronger grounds for despising the promises of the law. Celsus brings forward another passage, although he changes the terms of it, where it is said that the whole earth shall be filled with the Hebrew race; which indeed, according to the testimony of history, did actually happen after the coming of Christ, although rather as a result of God's anger, if I may so say, than of His blessing. As to the promise made to the Jews that they should slay their enemies, it may be answered that any one who examines carefully into the meaning of this passage will find himself unable to interpret it literally. It is sufficient at present to refer to the manner in which in the Psalms the just man is represented as saying, among other things, "Every morning will I destroy the wicked of the land; that I may cut off all workers of iniquity from the city of Jehovah."26 Judge, then, from the words and spirit of the speaker, whether it is conceivable that, after having in the preceding part of the Psalm, as any one may read for himself, uttered the noblest thoughts and purposes, he should in the sequel, according to the literal rendering of his words, say that in the morning, and at no other period of the day, he would destroy all sinners from the earth, and leave none of them alive, and that he would slay every one in Jerusalem who did iniquity. And there are many similar expressions to be found in the law, as this, for example: "We left not anything alive."27

Chapter XX.

Celsus adds, that it was foretold to the Jews, that if they did not obey the law, they would be treated in the same way as they treated their enemies; and then he quotes from the teaching of Christ some precepts which he considers contrary to those of the law, and uses that as an argument against us. But before proceeding to this point, we must speak of that which precedes. We hold, then, that the law has a twofold sense, -the one literal, the other spiritual,-as has been shown by some before us. Of the first or literal sense it is said, not by us, but by God, speaking in one of the prophets, that "the statutes are not good, and the judgments not good; "28 whereas, taken in a spiritual sense, the same prophet makes God say that "His statutes are good, and His judgments good." Yet evidently the prophet is not saying things which are contradictory of each other. Paul in like manner says, that "the letter killeth, and the spirit giveth life,"29 meaning by "the letter" the literal sense, and by "the spirit" the spiritual sense of Scripture. We may therefore find in Paul, as well as in the prophet, apparent contradictions. Indeed, if Ezekiel says in one place, "I gave them commandments which were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live," and in another, "I gave them good commandments and judgments, which if a man shall do, he shall live by them,"30 Paul in like manner, when he wishes to disparage the law taken literally, says, "If the ministration of death, written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the

children of Israel could not stedfastly behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance, which glory was to be done away; how shall not the ministration of the Spirit be rather glorious? "31 But when in another place he wishes to praise and recommend the law, he calls it "spiritual," and says, "We know that the law is spiritual; "and, "Wherefore the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good."32

Chapter XXI.

When, then, the letter of the law promises riches to the just, Celsus may follow the letter which killeth, and understand it of worldly riches, which blind men; but we say that it refers to those riches which enlighten the eyes, and which enrich a man "in all utterance and in all knowledge." And in this sense we "charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy; that they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate."33 For, as Solomon says, "riches" are the true good, which "are the ransom of the life of a man; "but the poverty which is the opposite of these riches is destructive, for by it "the poor cannot bear rebuke."34 And what has been said of riches applies to dominion, in regard to which it is said, "The just man shall chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight."35 Now if riches are to be taken in the sense we have just explained, consider if it is not according to God's promise that he who is rich in all utterance, in all knowledge, in all wisdom, in all good works, may not out of these treasures of utterance, of wisdom, and of knowledge, lend to many nations. It was thus that Paul lent to all the nations that he visited, "carrying the Gospel of Christ from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum."36 And as the divine knowledge was given to him by revelation, and his mind was illumined by the Divine Word, he himself therefore needed to borrow from no one, and required not the ministry to any man to teach him the word of truth. Thus, as it had been written, "Thou shalt have dominion over many nations, and they shall not have dominion over thee," he ruled over the Gentiles whom he brought under the teaching Of Jesus Christ; and he never "gave place by subjection to men, no, not for an hour,37 as being himself mightier than they. And thus also he "filled the earth."

Chapter XXII.

If I must now explain how the just man "slays his enemies," and prevails everywhere, it is to be observed that, when he says, "Every morning will I destroy the wicked of the land, that I may cut off all workers of iniquity from the city of Jehovah," by "the land" he means the flesh whose lusts are at enmity with God; and by "the city of Jehovah" he designates his own soul, in which was the temple of God, containing the true idea and conception of God, which makes it to be admired by all who look upon it. As soon, then, as the rays of the Sun of righteousness shine into his soul, feeling strengthened and invigorated by their influence, he sets himself to destroy all the lusts of the flesh, which are called "the wicked of the land," and drives out of that city of the Lord which is in his soul all thoughts which work iniquity, and all suggestions which are opposed to the truth. And in this way also the just give up to destruction all their enemies, which are their vices, so that they do not spare even the children, that is, the early beginnings and promptings of evil. In this sense also we understand the language of the Psalms 137: "O daughter of Babylon, who art to be destroyed; happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us: happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones."38 For "the little ones" of Babylon (which

signifies confusion) are those troublesome sinful thoughts which arise in the soul and he who subdues them by striking, as it were, their heads against the firm and solid strength of reason and truth, is the man who "dasheth the little ones against the stones; "and he is therefore truly blessed. God may therefore have commanded men to destroy all their vices utterly, even at their birth, without having enjoined anything contrary to the teaching of Christ; and He may Himself have destroyed before the eyes of those who were "Jews inwardly"39 all the offspring of evil as His enemies. And, in like manner, those who disobey the law and word of God may well be compared to His enemies led astray by sin; and they may well be said to suffer the same fate as they deserve who have proved traitors to the truth of God.

Chapter XXIII. From what has been said, it is clear then that Jesus, "the man of Nazareth," did not promulgate laws opposed to those just considered in regard to riches, when He said, "It is hard for the rich man to enter into the kingdom of God; "40 whether we take the word "rich" in its simplest sense, as referring to the man whose mind is distracted by his wealth, and, as it were, entangled with thorns, so that he brings forth no spiritual fruit; or whether it is the man who is rich in the sense of abounding in false notions, of whom it is written in the Proverbs, "Better is the poor man who is just, than the rich man who is false."41 Perhaps it is the following passages which have led Celsus to suppose that Jesus forbids ambition to His disciples: "Whoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all; "42 "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them,"43 and "they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors."44 But there is nothing here inconsistent with the promise, "Thou shalt rule over many nations, and they shall not rule over thee," especially after the explanation which we have given of these words. Celsus next throws in an expression in regard to wisdom, as though he thought that, according to the teaching of Christ, no wise man could come to the Father. But we would ask in what sense he speaks of a wise man. For if he means one who is wise in "the wisdom of this world," as it is called, "which is foolishness with God,"45 then we would agree with him in saying that access to the Father is denied to one who is wise in that sense. But if by wisdom any one means Christ, who is "the power and wisdom of God," far from such a wise man being refused access to the Father, we hold that he who is adorned by the Holy Spirit with that gift which is called "the word of wisdom," far excels all those who have not received the same grace.

Chapter XXIV. The pursuit of human glory, we maintain, is forbidden not only by the teaching of Jesus, but also by the Old Testament. Accordingly we find one of the prophets, when imprecating upon himself certain punishments for the commission of certain sins, includes among the punishments this one of earthly glory. He says, "O Lord my God, if I have done this; if there be iniquity in my hands; if I have rewarded evil unto him that was at peace with me; (yea, rather, I have delivered him that without cause is mine enemy;) let the enemy persecute my soul, and take it; yea, let him tread down my life upon the earth, and set my glory up an high."46 And these precepts of our Lord, "Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink. Behold the fowls of the air, or behold the ravens: for they sow not, neither do they reap; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. How much better are ye than they! And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field; "47 -these precepts, and those which follow, are not inconsistent with the promised blessings of the law, which teaches that the just "shall eat their bread to the full;48 nor with that saying of Solomon, "The righteous eateth to the satisfying of his soul, but the belly of the wicked shall want."49 For we must consider the food promised in the law as the food of the soul,

which is to satisfy not both parts of man's nature, but the soul only. And the words of the Gospel, although probably containing a deeper meaning, may yet be taken in their more simple and obvious sense. as teaching us not to be disturbed with anxieties about our food and clothing, but, while living in plainness, and desiring only what is needful, to put our trust in the providence of God.

Chapter XXV.

Celsus then extracts from the Gospel the precept, "To him who strikes thee once, thou shalt offer thyself to be struck again," although without giving any passage from the Old Testament which he considers opposed to it. On the one hand, we know that "it was said to them in old time, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; "50 and on the other, we have read, "I say unto you, Whoever shall smite thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also."51 But as there is reason to believe that Celsus produces the objections which he has heard from those who wish to make a difference between the God of the Gospel and the God of the law, we must say in reply, that this precept, "Whosoever shall strike thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other," is not unknown in the older Scriptures. For thus, in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, it is said, "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth: he sitteth alone, and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him. He giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him; he is filled full with reproach."52 There is no discrepancy, then, between the God of the Gospel and the God of the law, even when we take literally the precept regarding the blow on the face. So, then, we infer that neither "Jesus nor Moses has taught falsely." The Father in sending Jesus did not "forget the commands which He had given to Moses: "He did not "change His mind, condemn His own laws, and send by His messenger counter instructions."

Chapter XXVI.

However, if we must refer briefly to the difference between the constitution which was given to the Jews of old by Moses, and that which the Christians, under the direction of Christ's teaching, wish now to establish, we would observe that it must be impossible for the legislation of Moses, taken literally, to harmonize with the calling of the Gentiles, and with their subjection to the Roman government; and on the other hand, it would be impossible for the Jews to preserve their civil economy unchanged, supposing that they should embrace the Gospel. For Christians could not slay their enemies, or condemn to be burned or stoned, as Moses commands, those who had broken the law, and were therefore condemned as deserving of these punishments; since the Jews themselves, however desirous of carrying out their law, are not able to inflict these. punishments. But in the case of the ancient Jews, who had a land and a form of government of their own, to take from them the right of making war upon their enemies, of fighting for their country, of putting to death or otherwise punishing adulterers, murderers, or others who were guilty of similar crimes, would be to subject them to sudden and utter destruction whenever the enemy fell upon them; for their very laws would in that case restrain them, and prevent them from resisting the enemy. And that same providence which of old gave the law, and has now given the Gospel of Jesus Christ, not wishing the Jewish state to continue longer, has destroyed their city and their temple: it has abolished the worship which was offered to God in that temple by the sacrifice of victims, and other ceremonies which He had prescribed. And as it has destroyed these things, not wishing that they should longer continue, in like manner it has extended day by day the

Christian religion, so that it is now preached everywhere with boldness, and that in spite of the numerous obstacles which oppose the spread of Christ's teaching in the world. But since it was the purpose of God that the nations should receive the benefits of Christ's teaching, all the devices of men against Christians have been brought to sought; for the more that kings, and rulers, and peoples have persecuted them everywhere, the more have they increased in number and grown in strength.

Chapter XXVII.

After this Celsus relates at length opinions which he ascribes to us, but which we do not hold, regarding the Divine Being, to the effect that "he is corporeal in his nature, and possesses a body like a man." As he undertakes to refute opinions which are none of ours, it would be needless to give either the opinions themselves or their refutation. Indeed, if we did hold those views of God which he ascribes to us, and which he opposes, we would be bound to quote his words, to adduce our own arguments, and to refute his. But if he brings forward opinions which he has either heard from no one, or if it be assumed that he has heard them, it must have been from those who are very simple and ignorant of the meaning of Scripture, then we need not undertake so superfluous a task as that of refuting them. For the Scriptures plainly speak of God as of a being without body. Hence it is said, "No man hath seen God at any time; "53 and the First-born of all creation is called "the image of the invisible God,"54 which is the same as if it were said that He is incorporeal. However, we have already said something on the nature of God while examining into the meaning of the words, "God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

Chapter XXVIII.

After thus misrepresenting our views of the nature of God, Celsus goes on to ask of us "where we hope to go after death; "and he makes our answer to be, "to another land better than this." On this he comments as follows: "The divine men of a former age have spoken of a happy life reserved for the souls of the blessed. Some designated it `the isles of the blest, 'and others `the Elysian plain, 'so called because they were there to be delivered from their present evils. Thus Homer says: `But the gods shall send thee to the Elysian plain, on the borders of the earth, where they lead a most quiet life.'55 Plato also, who believed in the immortality of the soul, distinctly gives the name `land' to the place where it is sent. `The extent of it,'56 says he, `is immense, and we only occupy a small portion of it, from the Phasis to the Pillars of Hercules, where we dwell along the shores of the sea, as grasshoppers and frogs beside a marsh. But there are many other places inhabited in like manner by other men. For there are in different parts of the earth cavities, varying in form and in magnitude, into which run water, and clouds, and air. But that land which is pure lies in the pure region of heaven.'" Celsus therefore supposes that what we say of a land which is much better and more excellent than this, has been borrowed from certain ancient writers whom he styles "divine," and chiefly from Plato, who in his Phaedon discourses on the pure land lying in a pure heaven. But he does not see that Moses, who is much older than the Greek literature, introduces God as promising to those who lived according to His law the holy land, which is "a good land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey; "57 which promise is not to be understood to refer, as some suppose, to that part of the earth which we call Judea; for it, however good it may be, still forms part of the earth, which was originally cursed for the transgression of Adam. For these words, "Cursed shall the ground be for what thou hast done; with grief, that is, with labour, shalt thou eat

of the fruit of it all the days of thy life,"58 were spoken of the whole earth, the fruit of which every man who died in Adam eats with sorrow or labour all the days of his life. And as all the earth has been cursed, it brings forth thorns and briers all the days of the life of those who in Adam were driven out of paradise; and in the sweat of his face every man eats bread until he returns to the ground from which he was taken. For the full exposition of all that is contained in this passage much might be said; but we have confined ourselves to these few words at present, which are intended to remove the idea, that what is said of the good land promised by God to the righteous, refers to the land of Judea.

Chapter XXIX.

If, then, the whole earth has been cursed in the deeds of Adam and of those who died in him, it is plain that all parts of the earth share in the curse, and among others the land of Judea; so that the words, "a good land and a large, a land flowing with milk and honey, cannot apply to it, although we may say of it, that both Judea and Jerusalem were the shadow and figure of that pure land, goodly and large, in the pure region of heaven, in which is the heavenly Jerusalem. And it is in reference to this Jerusalem that the apostle spoke, as one who, "being risen with Christ, and seeking those things which are above," had found a truth which formed no part of the Jewish mythology. "Ye are come," says he, "unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels."59 And in order to be assured that our explanation of "the good and large land" of Moses is not contrary to the intention of the Divine Spirit, we have only to read in all the prophets what they say of those who, after having left Jerusalem, and wandered astray from it, should afterwards return and be settled in the place which is called the habitation and city of God, as in the words, "His dwelling is in the holy place; "60 and, "Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of His holiness, beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth."61 It is enough at present to quote the words of the Psalms 37, which speaks thus of the land of the righteous, "Those that wait upon the Lord they shall inherit the earth; "and a little after, "But the meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace; "and again, "Those who bless Him shall inherit the earth; "and, "The righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever."62 And consider whether it is not evident to intelligent readers that the following words from this same Psalm refer to the pure land in the pure heaven: "Wait on the Lord, and keep His way; and He shall exalt thee to inherit the land."

Chapter XXX.

It seems to me also that the fancy of Plato, that those stones which we call precious stones derive their lustre from a reflection, as it were, of the stones in that better land, is taken from the words of Isaiah in describing the city of God, "I will make thy battlements of jasper, thy stones shall be crystal, and thy borders of precious stones; "63 and, "I will lay thy foundations with sapphires." Those who hold in greatest reverence the teaching of Plato, explain this myth of his as an allegory. And the prophecies from which, as we conjecture, Plato has borrowed, will be explained by those who, leading a godly life like that of the prophets, devote all their time to the study of the sacred Scriptures, to those who are qualified to learn by purity of life, and their desire to advance in divine knowledge. For our part, our purpose has been simply to say that what we affirm of that sacred land has not been taken from Plato or any of the Greeks, but that they rather-living as they did not

only after Moses, who was the oldest, but even after most of the prophets-borrowed from them, and in so doing either misunderstood their obscure intimations on such subjects, or else endeavoured, in their allusions to the better land, to imitate those portions of Scripture which had fallen into their hands. Haggai expressly makes a distinction between the earth and the dry land, meaning by the latter the land in which we live. He says: "Yet once, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the dry land, and the sea."64

Chapter XXXI.

Referring to the passage in the Phaedon of Plato, Celsus says: "It is not easy for every one to understand the meaning of Plato's words, when he says that on account of our weakness and slowness we are unable to reach the highest region of the air; but that if our nature were capable of so sublime a contemplation, we would then be able to understand that that is the true heaven, and that the true light." As Celsus has deferred to another opportunity the explanation of Plato's idea, we also think that it does not fall within our purpose at present to enter into any full description of that holy and good land, and of the city of God which is in it; but reserve the consideration of it for our Commentary on the Prophets, having already in part, according to our power, treated of the city of God in our remarks on the Psalms 46 and Psalms 48. The writings of Moses and the prophets-the most ancient of all books-teach us that all things here on earth which are in common use among men, have other things corresponding to them in name which are alone real. Thus, for instance, there is the true light, and another heaven beyond the firmament, and a Sun of righteousness other than the sun we see. In a word, to distinguish those things from the objects of sense, which have no true reality, they say of God that "His works are truth; "65 thus making a distinction between the works of God and the works of God's hands, which latter are of an inferior sort. Accordingly, God in Isaiah complains of men, that "they regard not the works of the Lord, nor consider the operation of His hands."66 But enough on this point.

Chapter XXXII.

Celsus next assails the doctrine of the resurrection, which is a high and difficult doctrine, and one which more than others requires a high and advanced degree of wisdom to set forth how worthy it is of God; and how sublime a truth it is which teaches us that there is a seminal principle lodged in that which Scripture speaks of as the "tabernacle" of the soul, in which the righteous "do groan, being burdened, not for that they would be unclothed, but clothed upon."67 Celsus ridicules this doctrine because he does not understand it, and because he has learnt it from ignorant persons, who were unable to support it on any reasonable grounds. It will be profitable, therefore, that in addition to what we have said above, we should make this one remark. Our teaching on the subject of the resurrection is not, as Celsus imagines, derived from anything that we have heard on the doctrine of metempsychosis; but we know that the soul, which is immaterial and invisible in its nature, exists in no material place, without having a body suited to the nature of that place. Accordingly, it at one time puts off one body which was necessary before, but which is no longer adequate in its changed state, and it exchanges it for a second; and at another time it assumes another in addition to the former, which is needed as a better covering, suited to the purer ethereal regions of heaven. When it comes into the world at birth, it casts off the integuments which it needed in the womb; and before doing this, it puts on another body suited for its life upon earth. Then, again, as there is "a tabernacle" and "an earthly house" which is in some sort necessary for

this tabernacle, Scripture teaches us that "the earthly house of this tabernacle shall be dissolved," but that the tabernacle shall "be clothed upon with a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."68 The men of God say also that "the corruptible shall put on incorruption,"69 which is a different thing from "the incorruptible; "and "the mortal shall put on immortality," which is different from "the immortal." Indeed, what "wisdom" is to "the wise," and "justice" to "the just," and "peace" to "the peaceable," the same relation does "incorruption" hold to "the incorruptible," and "immortality" to "the immortal." Behold, then, to what a prospect Scripture encourages us to look, when it speaks to us of being clothed with incorruption and immortality, which are, as it were, vestments which will not suffer those who are covered with them to come to corruption or death. Thus far I have taken the liberty of referring to this subject, in answer to one who assails the doctrine of the resurrection without understanding it, and who, simply because he knew nothing about it, made it the object of contempt and ridicule.

Chapter XXXIII. As Celsus supposes that we uphold the doctrine of the resurrection in order that we may see and know God, he thus follows out his notions on the subject: "After they have been utterly refuted and vanquished, they still, as if regardless of all objections, come back again to the same question, `How then shall we see and know God? how shall we go to Him? '" Let any, however, who are disposed to hear us observe, that if we have need of a body for other purposes, as for occupying a material locality to which this body must be adapted, and if on that account the "tabernacle" is clothed in the way we have shown, we have no need of a body in order to know God. For that which sees God is not the eye of the body; it is the mind which is made in the image of the Creator,70 and which God has in His providence rendered capable of that knowledge. To see God belongs to the pure heart, out of which no longer proceed "evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies, the evil eye,"71 or any other evil thing. Wherefore it is said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."72 But as the strength of our will is not sufficient to procure the perfectly pure heart, and as we need that God should create it, he therefore who prays as he ought, offers this petition to God, "Create in me a clean heart, O God."73

Chapter XXXIV. And we do not ask the question, "How shall we go to God? "as though we thought that God existed in some place. God is of too excellent a nature for any place: He holds all things in His power, and is Himself not confined by anything whatever. The precept, therefore, "Thou shall walk after the Lord thy God,"74 does not command a bodily approach to God; neither does the prophet refer to physical nearness to God, when he says in his prayer, "My soul followeth hard after Thee."75 Celsus therefore misrepresents us, when he says that we expect to see God with our bodily eyes, to hear Him with our ears, and to touch Him sensibly with our hands. We know that the holy Scriptures make mention of eyes, of ears, and of hands, which have nothing but the name in common with the bodily organs; and what is more wonderful, they speak of a diviner sense, which is very different from the senses as commonly spoken of. For when the prophet says, "Open Thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law,"76 or, "the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes,"77 or, "Lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death,"78 no one is so foolish as to suppose that the eyes of the body behold the wonders of the divine law, or that the law of the Lord gives light to the bodily eyes, or that the sleep of death falls on the eyes of the body. When our Saviour says, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,"79 any one will understand that the ears spoken of are of a diviner kind. When it is said that

the word of the Lord was "in the hand" of Jeremiah or of some other prophet; or when the expression is used, "the law by the hand of Moses," or, "I sought the Lord with my hands, and was not deceived,80 -no one is so foolish as not to see that the word "hands" is taken figuratively, as when John says, "Our hands have handled the Word of life."81 And if you wish further to learn from the sacred writings that there is a diviner sense than the senses of the body, you have only to hear what Solomon says, "Thou shalt find a divine sense."82

Chapter XXXV.

Seeking God, then, in this way, we have no need to visit the oracles of Trophonius, of Amphiaraus, and of Mopsus, to which Celsus would send us, assuring us that we would there "see the gods in human form, appearing to us with all distinctness, and without illusion." For we know that these are demons, feeding on the blood, and smoke, and odour of victims, and shut up by their base desires in prisons, which the Greeks call temples of the gods, but which we know are only the dwellings of deceitful demons. To this Celsus maliciously adds, in regard to these gods which, according to him, are in human form, "they do not show themselves for once, or at intervals, like him who has deceived men, but they are ever open to intercourse with those who desire it." From this remark, it would seem that Celsus supposes that the appearance of Christ to His disciples after His resurrection was like that of a spectre flitting before their eyes; whereas these gods, as he calls them, in human shape always present themselves to those who desire it. But how is it possible that a phantom which, as he describes it, flew past to deceive the beholders, could produce such effects after it had passed away, and could so turn the hearts of men as to lead them to regulate their actions according to the will of God, as in view of being hereafter judged by Him? And how could a phantom drive away demons, and show other indisputable evidences of power, and that not in any one place, like these so-called gods in human form, but making its divine power felt through the whole world, in drawing and congregating together all who are found disposed to lead a good and noble life?

Chapter XXXVI.

After these remarks of Celsus, which we have endeavoured to answer as we could, he goes on to say, speaking of us: "Again they will ask, `How can we know God, unless by the perception of the senses? for how otherwise than through the senses are we able to gain any knowledge? '" To this he replies: "This is not the language of a man; it comes not from the soul, but from the flesh. Let them hearken to us, if such a spiritless and carnal race are able to do so: if, instead of exercising the senses, you look upwards with the soul; if, turning away the eye of the body, you open the eye of the mind thus and thus only will you be able to see God. And if you seek one to be your guide along this way, you must shun all deceivers and jugglers, who will introduce you to phantoms. Otherwise you will be acting the most ridiculous part, if, whilst you pronounce imprecations upon those others that are recognised as gods, treating them as idols, you yet do homage to a more wretched idol than any of these, which indeed is not even an idol or a phantom, but a dead man, and you seek a father like to him." The first remark which we have to make on this passage is in regard to his use of personification, by which he makes us defend in this way the doctrine of the resurrection. This figure of speech is properly employed when the character and sentiments of the person introduced are faithfully preserved; but it is an abuse of the figure when these do not agree with the character and opinions of the speaker. Thus we should justly condemn a man who put

into the mouths of barbarians, slaves, or uneducated'. people the language of philosophy; because we know that the philosophy belonged to the author, and not to such persons, who could not know anything of philosophy. And in like manner we should condemn a man for introducing persons who are represented as wise and well versed in divine knowledge, and should make them give expression to language which could only come out of the mouths of those who are ignorant or under the influence of vulgar passions. Hence Homer is admired, among other things, for preserving a consistency of character in his heroes, as in Nestor, Ulysses, Diomede, Agamemnon, Telemachus, Penelope, and the rest. Euripides, on the contrary, was assailed in the comedies of Aristophanes as a frivolous talker, often putting into the mouth of a barbarian woman, a wretched slave, the wise maxims which he had learned from Anaxagoras or some other philosophers.

Chapter XXXVII.

Now if this is a true account of what constitutes the right and the wrong use of personification, have we not grounds for holding Celsus up to ridicule for thus ascribing to Christians words which they never uttered? For if those whom he represents as speaking are the unlearned, how is it possible that such persons could distinguish between "sense" and "reason," between "objects of sense" and "objects of the reason? "To argue in this way, they would require to have studied under the Stoics, who deny all intellectual existences, and maintain that all that we apprehend is apprehended through the senses, and that all knowledge comes through the senses. But if, on the other hand, he puts these words into the mouth of philosophers who search carefully into the meaning of Christian doctrines, the statements in question do not agree with their character and principles. For no one who has learnt that God is invisible, and that certain of His works are invisible, that is to say, apprehended by the reason,83 can say, as if to justify his faith in a resurrection, "How can they know God, except by the perception of the senses? "or, "How otherwise than through the senses can they gain any knowledge? "For it is not in any secret writings, perused only by a few wise men, but in such as are most widely diffused and most commonly known among the people, that these words are written: "The invisible things of God from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made."84 From whence it is to be inferred, that though men who live upon the earth have to begin with the use of the senses upon sensible objects, in order to go on from them to a knowledge of the nature of things intellectual, yet their knowledge must not stop short with the objects of sense. And thus, while Christians would not say that it is impossible to have a knowledge of intellectual objects without the senses, but rather that the senses supply the first means of obtaining knowledge, they might well ask the question, "Who can gain any knowledge without the senses? "without deserving the abuse of Celsus, when he adds, "This is not the language of a man; it comes not from the soul, but from the flesh."

Chapter XXXVIII.

Since we hold that the great God is in essence simple, invisible, and incorporeal, Himself pure intelligence, or something transcending intelligence and existence, we can never say that God is apprehended by any other means than through the intelligence which is formed in His image, though now, in the words of Paul, "we see in a glass obscurely, but then face to face."85 And if we use the expression "face to face," let no one pervert its meaning; but let it be explained by this passage, "Beholding with open face the glory of the Lord, we are changed into the same image,

from glory to glory," which shows that we do not use the word in this connection to mean the visible face, but take it figuratively, in the same way as we have shown that the eyes, the ears, and the other parts of the body are employed. And it is certain that a man-I mean a soul using a body, otherwise called "the inner man," or simply "the soul"-would answer, not as Celsus makes us answer, but as the man of God himself teaches. It is certain also that a Christian will not make use of "the language of the flesh," having learnt as he has "to mortify the deeds of the body"86 by the spirit, and "to bear about in his body the dying of Jesus; "87 and "mortify your members which are on the earth,"88 and with a true knowledge of these words, "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh,"89 and again, "They that are in the flesh cannot please God,"90 he strives in every way to live no longer according to the flesh, but only according to the Spirit.

Chapter XXXIX.

Now let us hear what it is that he invites us to learn, that we may ascertain from him how we are to know God, although he thinks that his words are beyond the. capacity of all Christians. "Let them hear," says he, "if they are able to do so." We have then to consider what the philosopher wishes us to hear from him. But instead of instructing us as he ought, he abuses us; and while he should have shown his goodwill to those whom he addresses at the outset of his discourse, he stigmatizes as "a cowardly race" men who would rather die than abjure Christianity even by a word, and who are ready to suffer every form of torture, or any kind of death. He also applies to us that epithet "carnal" or "flesh-indulging," "although," as we are wont to say, "we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth we know Him no more,"91 and although we are so ready to lay down our lives for the cause of religion, that no philosopher could lay aside his robes more readily. He then addresses to us these words: "If, instead of exercising your senses, you look upwards with the soul; if, turning away the eye of the body, you open the eye of the mind, thus and thus only you will be able to see God." He is not aware that this reference to the two eyes, the eye of the body and the eye of the mind, which he has borrowed from the Greeks, was in use among our own writers; for Moses, in his account of the creation of the world, introduces man before his transgression as both seeing and not seeing: seeing, when it is said of the woman, "The woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise; "92 and again not seeing, as when he introduces the serpent saying to the woman, as if she and her husband had been blind, "God knows that on the day that ye eat thereof your eyes shall be opened; "93 and also when it is said, "They did eat, and the eyes of both of them were opened."94 The eyes of sense were then opened, which they had done well to keep shut, that they might not be distracted, and hindered from seeing with the eyes of the mind; and it was those eyes of the mind which in consequence of sin, as I imagine, were then closed, with which they had up to that time enjoyed the delight of beholding God and His paradise. This twofold kind of vision in us was familiar to our Saviour, who says," For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not, might see, and that they which see might be made blind,"95 -meaning, by the eyes that see not; the eyes of the mind, which are enlightened by His teaching; and the eyes which see are the eyes of sense, which His words do render blind, in order that the soul may look without distraction upon proper objects. All true Christians therefore have the eye of the mind sharpened, and the eye of sense closed; so that each one, according to the degree in which his better eye is quickened, and the eye of sense darkened, sees and knows the Supreme God, and His Son, who is the Word, Wisdom, and so forth.

Chapter XL.

Next to the remarks of Celsus on which we have already commented, come others which he addresses to all Christians, but which, if applicable to any, ought to be addressed to persons whose doctrines differ entirely from those taught by Jesus. For it is the Ophians who, as we have before shown,96 have utterly renounced Jesus, and perhaps some others of similar opinions who are "the impostors and jugglers, leading men away to idols and phantoms; "and it is they who with miserable pains learn off the names of the heavenly doorkeepers. These words are therefore quite inappropriate as addressed to Christians: "If you seek one to be your guide along this way, you must shun all deceivers and jugglers, who will introduce you to phantoms." And, as though quite unaware that these impostors entirely agree with him, and are not behind him in speaking ill of Jesus and His religion, he thus continues, confounding us with them: "otherwise you will be acting the most ridiculous part, if, whilst you pronounce imprecations upon those other recognised gods, treating them as idols, you yet do homage to a more wretched idol than any of these, which indeed is not even an idol or a phantom, but a dead man, and you seek a father like to himself." That he is ignorant of the wide difference between our opinions and those of the inventors of these fables, and that he imagines the charges which he makes against them applicable to us, is evident from the following passage: "For the sake of such a monstrous delusion, and in support of those wonderful advisers, and those wonderful words which you address to the lion, to the amphibious creature, to the creature in the form of an ass, and to others, for the sake of those divine doorkeepers whose names you commit to memory with such pains, in such a cause as this you suffer cruel tortures, and perish at the stake." Surely, then, he is unaware that none of those who regard beings in the form of an ass a lion, or an amphibious animal, as the doorkeepers or guides on the way to heaven, ever expose themselves to death in defence of that which they think the truth. That excess of zeal, if it may be so called, which leads us for the sake of religion to submit to every kind of death, and to perish at the stake, is ascribed by Celsus to those who endure no such sufferings; and he reproaches us who suffer crucifixion for our faith, with believing in fabulous creatures-in the lion, the amphibious animal, and other such monsters. If we reject all these fables, it is not out of deference to Celsus, for we have never at any time held any such fancies; but it is in accordance with the teaching of Jesus that we oppose all such notions, and will not allow to Michael, or to any others that have been referred to, a form and figure of that sort.

Chapter XLI. But let us consider who those persons are whose guidance Celsus would have us to follow, so that we may not be in want of guides who are recommended both by their antiquity and sanctity. He refers us to divinely inspired poets, as he calls them, to wise men and philosophers, without mentioning their names; so that, after promising to point out those who should guide us, he simply hands us over in a general way to divinely inspired poets, wise men, and philosophers. If he had specified their names in particular, we should have felt ourselves bound to show him that he wished to give us as guides men who were blinded to the truth, and who must therefore lead us into error; or that if not wholly blinded, yet they are in error in many matters of belief. But whether Orpheus, Parmenides, Empedocles, or even Homer himself, and Hesiod, are the persons whom he means by "inspired poets," let any one show how those who follow their guidance walk in a better way, or lead a more excellent life, than those who, being taught in the school of Jesus Christ, have rejected all images and statues, and even all Jewish superstition, that they may look upward through the Word of God to the one God, who is the Father of the Word. Who, then, are

those wise men and philosophers from whom Celsus would have us to learn so many divine truths, and for whom we are to give up Moses the servant of God, the prophets of the Creator of the world, who have spoken so many things by a truly divine inspiration, and even Him who has given light and taught the way of piety to the whole human race, so that no one can reproach Him if he remains without a share in the knowledge of His mysteries? Such, indeed, was the abounding love which He had for men, that He gave to the more learned a theology capable of raising the soul far above all earthly things; while with no less consideration He comes down to the weaker capacities of ignorant men, of simple women, of slaves, and, in short, of all those who from Jesus alone could have received that help for the better regulation of their lives which is supplied by his instructions in regard to the Divine Being, adapted to their wants and capacities.

Chapter XLII.

Celsus next refers us to Plato as to a more effective teacher of theological truth, and quotes the following passage from the Timaeus: "It is a hard matter to find out the Maker and Father of this universe; and after having found Him, it is impossible to make Him known to all." To which he himself adds this remark: "You perceive, then, how divine men seek after the way of truth, and how well Plato knew that it was impossible for all men to walk in it. But as wise men have found it for the express purpose of being able to convey to us some notion of Him who is the first, the unspeakable Being,-a notion, namely; which may represent Him to us through the medium of other objects,-they endeavour either by synthesis, which is the combining of various qualities, or by analysis, which is the separation and setting aside of some qualities, or finally by analogy;-in these ways, I say, they endeavour to set before us that which it is impossible to express in words. I should therefore be surprised if you could follow in that course, since you are so completely wedded to the flesh as to be incapable of seeing ought but what is impure." These words of Plato are noble and admirable; but see if Scripture does not give us an example of a regard for mankind still greater in God the Word, who was "in the beginning with God," and "who was made flesh," in order that He might reveal to all men truths which, according to Plato, it would be impossible to make known to all men, even after he had found them himself. Plato may say that "it is a hard thing to find out the Creator and Father of this universe; "by which language he implies that it is not wholly beyond the power of human nature to attain to such a knowledge as is either worthy of God, or if not, is far beyond that which is commonly attained (although if it were true that Plato or any other of the Greeks had found God. they would never have given homage and worship, or ascribed the name of God, to any other than to Him: they would have abandoned all others, and would not have associated with this great God objects which can have nothing in common with Him).97 For ourselves, we maintain that human nature is in no way able to seek after God, or to attain a clear knowledge of Him without the help of Him whom it seeks. He makes Himself known to those who, after doing all that their powers will allow, confess that they need help from Him, who discovers Himself to those whom He approves, in so far as it is possible for man and the soul still dwelling in the body to know God.

Chapter XLIII.

Observe that when Plato says, that "after having found out the Creator and Father of the universe, it is impossible to make Him known to all men," he does not speak of Him as unspeakable, and as incapable of being expressed in words. On the contrary, he implies that He may be spoken of, and

that there are a few to whom He may be made known. But Celsus, as if forgetting the language which he had just quoted from Plato, immediately gives God the name of "the unspeakable." He says: "since the wise men have found out this way, in order to be able to give us some idea of the First of Beings, who is unspeakable." For ourselves, we hold that not God alone is unspeakable, but other things also which are inferior to Him. Such are the things which Paul labours to express when he says, "I heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter,"98 where the word "heard" is used in the sense of "understood; "as in the passage, "He who hath ears to hear, let him hear." We also hold that it is a hard matter to see the Creator and Father of the universe; but it is possible to see Him in the way thus referred to, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God; "99 and not only so, but also in the sense of the words of Him "who is the image of the invisible God; "He who hath seen Me hath seen the Father who sent Me."100 No sensible person could suppose that these last words were spoken in reference to His bodily presence, which was open to the view of all; otherwise all those who said, "Crucify him, crucify him," and Pilate, who had power over the humanity of Jesus, were among those who saw God the Father, which is absurd. Moreover, that these words, "He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father who sent Me," are not to be taken in their grosser sense, is plain from the answer which He gave to Philip, "Have I been so long time with you, and yet dost thou not know Me, Philip? "after Philip had asked, "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." He, then, who perceives how these words, "The Word was made flesh," are to be understood of the only-begotten Son of God, the first-born of all creation, will also understand how, in seeing the image of the invisible God, we see "the Creator and Father of the universe."

Chapter XLIV.

Celsus supposes that we may arrive at a knowledge of God either by combining or separating certain things after the methods which mathematicians call synthesis and analysis, or again by analogy, which is employed by them also, and that in this way we may as it were gain admission to the chief good. But when the Word of God says, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him,"101 He declares that no one can know God but by the help of divine grace coming from above, with a certain divine inspiration. Indeed, it is reasonable to suppose that the knowledge of God is beyond the reach of human nature, and hence the many errors into which men have fallen in their views of God. It is, then, through the goodness and love of God to mankind, and by a marvellous exercise of divine grace to those whom He saw in His foreknowledge, and knew that they would walk worthy of Him who had made Himself known to them, and that they would never swerve from a faithful attachment to His service, although they were condemned to death or held up to ridicule by those who, in ignorance of what true religion is, give that name to what deserves to be called anything rather than religion. God doubtless saw the pride and arrogance of those who, with contempt for all others, boast of their knowledge of God, and of their profound acquaintance with divine things obtained from philosophy, but who still, not less even than the most ignorant, run after their images, and temples, and famous mysteries; and seeing this, He "has chosen the foolish things of this world"102 -the simplest of Christians, who lead, however, a life of greater moderation and purity than many philosophers-"to confound the wise," who are not ashamed to address inanimate things as gods or images of the gods. For what reasonable man can refrain from smiling when he sees that one who has learned from philosophy such profound and noble sentiments about God or the gods, turns straightway to images and

offers to them his prayers, or imagines that by gazing upon these material things he can ascend from the visible symbol to that which is spiritual and immaterial.103 But a Christian, even of the common people, is assured that every place forms part of the universe, and that the whole universe is God's temple. In whatever part of the world he is, he prays; but he rises above the universe, "shutting the eyes of sense, and raising upwards the eyes of the soul." And he stops not at the vault of heaven; but passing in thought beyond the heavens, under the guidance of the Spirit of God, and having thus as it were gone beyond the visible universe, he offers prayers to God. But he prays for no trivial blessings, for he has learnt from Jesus to seek for nothing small or mean, that is, sensible objects, but to ask only for what is great and truly divine; and these things God grants to us, to lead us to l that blessedness which is found only with Him through His Son, the Word, who is God.

Chapter XLV. But let us see further what the things are which he proposes to teach us, if indeed we can comprehend them, since he speaks of us as being "utterly wedded to the flesh; "although if we live well, and in accordance with the teaching of Jesus, we hear this said of us: "Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if the Spirit of God dwelleth in you."104 He says also that we look upon nothing that is pure, although our endeavour is to keep even our thoughts free from all defilement of sin, and although in prayer we say, "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me,"105 so that we may behold Him with that "pure heart" to which alone is granted the privilege of seeing Him. This, then, is what he proposes for our instruction: "Things are either intelligible, which we call substance-being; or visible, which we call becoming:106 with the former is truth; from the latter arises error. Truth is the object of knowledge; truth and error form opinion. Intelligible objects are known by the reason, visible objects by the eyes; the action of the reason is called intelligent perception, that of the eyes vision. As, then, among visible things the sun is neither the eye nor vision, but that which enables the eye to see, and renders vision possible, and in consequence of it visible things are seen, all sensible things exist and itself is rendered visible; so among things intelligible, that which is neither reason, nor intelligent perception, nor knowledge, is yet the cause which enables the reason to know, which renders intelligent perception possible; and in consequence of it knowledge arises, all things intelligible, truth itself and substance have their existence; and itself, which is above all these things, becomes in some ineffable way intelligible. These things are offered to the consideration of the intelligent; and if even you can understand any of them, it is well. And if you think that a Divine Spirit has descended from God to announce divine things to men, it is doubtless this same Spirit that reveals these truths, and it was under the same influence that men of old made known many important truths. But if you cannot comprehend these things, then keep silence; do not expose your own ignorance, and do not accuse of blindness those who see, or of lameness those who run, while you yourselves are utterly lamed and mutilated in mind, and lead a merely animal life-the life of the body, which is the dead part of our nature."

Chapter XLVI.

We are careful not to oppose fair arguments even if they proceed from those who are not of our faith; we strive not to be captious, or to seek to overthrow any sound reasonings. But here we have to reply to those who slander the character of persons wishing to do their best in the service of God, who accepts the faith which the meanest place in Him, as well as the more refined and intelligent piety of the learned; seeing that both alike address to the Creator of the world their

prayers and thanksgivings through the High Priest who has set before men the nature of pure religion. We say, then, that those who are stigmatized as "lamed and mutilated in spirit," as "living only for the sake of the body which is dead," are persons whose endeavour it is to say with sincerity: "For though we live107 in the flesh, we do not war according to the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not fleshly, but mighty through God." It is for those who throw out such vile accusations against men' who desire to be God's servants, to beware lest, by the calumnies which they cast upon others who strive to live well, they "lame" their own souls, and "mutilate" the inner man, by severing from it that justice and moderation of mind which the Creator has planted in the nature of all His rational creatures. As for those, however, who, along with other lessons given by the Divine Word, have learned and practised this, "when reviled to bless, when persecuted to endure, when defamed to entreat,"108 they may be said to be walking in spirit in the ways of uprightness, to be purifying and setting in order the whole soul. They distinguish-and to them the distinction is not one of words merely-between "substance," or that which is, and that which is "becoming; "between things apprehended by reason, and things apprehended by sense; and they connect truth with the one, and avoid the errors arising out of the other; looking, as they have been taught, not at the things "becoming" or phenomenal, which are seen, and therefore temporary, but at better things than these, whether we call them "substance," or "spiritual" things, as being apprehended by reason, or "invisible," because they lie out of the reach of the senses. The disciples of Jesus regard these phenomenal things only that they may use them as steps to ascend to the knowledge of the things of reason. For "the invisible things of God," that is, the objects of the reason, "from the creation of the world are clearly seen" by the reason, "being understood by the things that are made." And when they have risen from the created things of this world to the invisible things of God, they do not stay there; but after they have sufficiently exercised their minds upon these, and have understood their nature, they ascend to "the eternal power of God," in a word, to His divinity. For they know that God, in His love to men, has "manifested" His truth, and "that which is known of Him," not only to those who devote themselves to His service, but also to some who are far removed from the purity of worship and service which He requires; and that some of those who by the providence of God had attained a knowledge of them truths, were yet doing things unworthy of, that knowledge, and "holding the truth in unrighteousness," and who are unable to find any excuse before God after the knowledge of such great truths which He has given them.

Chapter XLVII. For Scripture testifies, in regard to those who have a knowledge of those things of which Celsus speaks, and who profess a philosophy founded on these principles, that they, "when they knew God, glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations; "and notwithstanding the bright light of knowledge with which God had enlightened them, "their foolish heart" was carried away, and became "darkened."109 Thus we may see how those who accounted themselves wise gave proofs of great folly, when, alter such grand arguments delivered in the schools on God and on things apprehended by the reason, they "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."110 As, then, they lived in a way unworthy of the knowledge which they had received from God, His providence leaving them to themselves, they were given "up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts to dishonour their own bodies,"111 in shamelessness and licentiousness, because they "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator."

Chapter XLVIII. But those who are despised for their ignorance, and set down as fools and abject slaves, no sooner commit themselves to God's guidance by accepting the teaching of Jesus, than, so far from defiling themselves by licentious indulgence or the gratification of shameless passion, they in many cases, like perfect priests, for whom such pleasures have no charm, keep themselves in act and in thought in a state of virgin purity. The Athenians have one hierophant, who, not having confidence in his power to restrain his passions within the limits he, prescribed for himself, determined to check them at their seat by the application of hemlock; and thus he was accounted pure, and fit for the celebration of religious worship among the Athenians. But among Christians may be found men who have no need of hemlock to fit them for the pure service of God, and for whom the Word in place of hemlock is able to drive all evil desires from their thoughts, so that they may present their prayers to the Divine Being. And attached to the other so-called gods are a select number of virgins, who are guarded by men, or it may be not guarded (for that is not the point in question at present), and who are supposed to live in purity for the honour of the god they serve. But among Christians, those who maintain a perpetual virginity do so for no human honours, for no fee or reward, from no motive of vainglory;112 but "as they choose to retain God in their knowledge,"113 they are preserved by God in a spirit well-pleasing to Him, and in the discharge of every duty, being filled with all righteousness and goodness.

Chapter XLIX.

What I have now said, then, is offered not for the purpose of cavilling with any right opinions or sound doctrines held even by Greeks, but with the desire of showing that the same things, and indeed much better and diviner things than these, have been said by those divine men, the prophets of God and the apostles of Jesus. These truths are fully investigated by all who wish to attain a perfect knowledge of Christianity, and who know that "the mouth of the righteous speaketh wisdom, and his tongue talketh of judgment; the law of his God is in his heart."114 But even in regard to those who, either from deficiency or knowledge or want of inclination, or from not having Jesus to lead them to a rational view of religion, have not gone into these deep questions, we find that they believe in the Most High God, and in His Only-begotten Son, the Word and God, and that they often exhibit in their character a high degree of gravity, of purity, and integrity; while those who call themselves wise have despised these virtues, and have wallowed in the filth of sodomy, in lawless lust, "men with men working that which is unseemly."115

Chapter L.

Celsus has not explained how error accompanies the "becoming," or product of generation; nor has he expressed himself with sufficient clearness to enable us to compare his ideas with ours, and to pass judgment on them. But the prophets, who have given some wise suggestions on the subject of things produced by generation, tell us that a sacrifice for sin was offered even for new-born infants, as not being free from sin.116 They say, "I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me; "117 also, "They are estranged from the womb; "which is followed by the singular expression, "They go astray as soon as they are born, speaking lies."118 Besides, our wise men have such a contempt for all sensible objects, that sometimes they speak of all material things as vanity: thus, "For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him that subjected the same in hope; "119 at other times as vanity of vanities, "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher, all is vanity."120 Who has given so severe an estimate of the life of the human

soul here on earth, as he who says: "Verily every man at his best estate is altogether vanity? "121 He does not hesitate at all as to the difference between the present life of the soul and that which it is to lead hereafter. He does not say, "Who knows if to die is not to live, and if to live is not death"122 But he boldly proclaims the truth, and says, "Our soul is bowed down to the dust; "123 and, "Thou hast brought me into the dust of death; "124 and similarly, "Who will deliver me from the body of this death? "125 also, "Who will change the body of our humiliation."126 It is a prophet also who says, "Thou hast brought us down in a place of affliction; "127 meaning by the "place of affliction" this earthly region, to which Adam, that is to say, man, came after he was driven out of paradise for sin. Observe also how well the different life of the soul here and hereafter has been recognised by him who says, "Now we see in a glass, obscurely, but then face to face; "128 and, "Whilst we are in our home in the body, we are away from our home in the Lord; "wherefore "we are well content to go from our home in the body, and to come to our home with the Lord."129

Chapter LI. But what need is there to quote any more passages against Celsus, in order to prove that his words contain nothing which was not said long before among themselves, since that has been sufficiently established by what we have said? It seems that what follows has some reference to this: "If you think that a Divine Spirit has descended from God to announce divine things to men, it is doubtless this same Spirit that reveals these truths; and it was under the same influence that men of old made known many important truths." But he does not know how great is the difference between those things and the clear and certain teaching of those who say to us, "Thine incorruptible spirit is in all things, wherefore God chasteneth them by little and little that offend; "130 and of those who, among their other instructions, teach us that words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost,"131 refer to a degree of spiritual influence higher than that in the passage, "Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."132 But it is a difficult matter, even after much careful consideration, to perceive the difference between those who have received a knowledge of the truth and a notion of God at different intervals and for short periods of time, and those who are more fully inspired by God, who have constant communion with Him, and are always led by His Spirit. Had Celsus set himself to understand this, he would not have reproached as with ignorance, or forbidden us to characterize as "blind" those who believe that religion shows itself in such products of man's mechanical art as images. For every one who sees with eyes of his soul serves the Divine Being in no other way than in that which leads him ever to have regard to the Creator of all, to address his prayers to Him alone, and to do all things as in the sight of God, who sees us altogether, even to our thoughts. Our earnest desire then is both to see for ourselves, and to be leaders of the blind, to bring them to the Word of God, that He may take away from their minds the blindness of ignorance. And if our actions are worthy of Him who taught His disciples, "Ye are the light of the world,"133 and of the Word, who says, "The light shineth in darkness,"134 then we shall be light to those who are in darkness we shall give wisdom to those who are without it, and we shall instruct the ignorant.

Chapter LII. And let not Celsus be angry if we describe as Fame and mutilated in soul those who run to the temples as to places having a real sacredness and who cannot see that no mere mechanical work of man can be truly sacred. Those whose piety is grounded on the teaching of Jesus also run until they come to the end of their course, when they can say in all truth and confidence: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness."135 And each of us runs "not as uncertain," and

he so fights with evil "not as one beating the air,"136 but as against those who are subject to "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience."137 Celsus may indeed say of us that we "live with the body which is a dead thing; "but we have learnt, "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye by the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live; "138 and, "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit."139 Would that we might convince him by our actions that he did us wrong, when he said that we "live with the body which is dead!"

Chapter LIII.

After these remarks of Celsus, which we have done our best to refute, he goes on to address us thus: "Seeing you are so eager for some novelty, how much better it would have been if you had chosen as the object of your zealous homage some one of those who died a glorious death, and whose divinity might have received the support of some myth to perpetuate his memory! Why, if you were not satisfied with Hercules or Aesculapius, and other heroes of antiquity, you had Orpheus, who was confessedly a divinely inspired man, who died a violent death. But perhaps some others have taken him up before you. You may then take Anaxarchus, who, when cast into a mortar, and beaten most barbarously, showed a noble contempt for his suffering, and said, `Beat, beat the shell of Anaxarchus, for himself you do not beat, '-a speech surely of a spirit truly divine. But others were before you in following his interpretation of the laws of nature. Might you not, then, take Epictetus, who, when his master was twisting his leg, said, smiling and. unmoved, `You will break my leg; 'and when it was broken, he added, `Did I not tell you that you would break it? 'What saying equal to these did your god utter under suffering? If you had said even of the Sibyl, whose authority some of you acknowledge, that she was a child of God, you would have said something more reasonable. But you have had the presumption to include in her writings many impious things,140 and set up as a god one who ended a most infamous life by a most miserable death. How much more suitable than he would have been Jonah in the whale's belly, or Daniel delivered from the wild beasts, or any of a still more portentous kind!"

Chapter LIV. But since he sends us to Hercules, let him repeat to us any of his sayings, and let him justify his shameful subjection to Omphale. Let him show that divine honours should be paid to one who, like a highway robber, carries off a farmer's ox by force, and afterwards devours it, amusing himself meanwhile with the curses of the owner; in memory of which even to this day sacrifices offered to the demon of Hercules are accompanied with curses. Again he proposes Aesculapius to us, as if to oblige us to repeat what we have said already; but we forbear. In regard to Orpheus, what does he admire in him to make him assert that, by common consent, he was regarded as a divinely inspired man, and lived a noble life? I am greatly deceived if it is not the desire which Celsus has to oppose us and put down Jesus that leads him to sound forth the praises of Orpheus; and whether, when he made himself acquainted with his impious fables about the gods, he did not cast them aside as deserving, even more than the poems of Homer, to be excluded from a well-ordered state. For, indeed, Orpheus says much Worse things than Homer of those whom they call gods. Noble, indeed, it was in Anaxarchus to say to Aristocreon, tyrant of Cyprus, "Beat on, beat the shell of Anaxarchus," but it is the one admirable incident in the life of Anaxarchus known to the Greeks; and although, on the strength of that, some like Celsus might deservedly honour the man for his courage, yet to look up to Anaxarchus as a god is not consistent with reason. He also directs us to Epictetus, whose firmness is justly admired, although

his saying when his leg was broken by his master is not to be compared with the marvellous acts and words of Jesus which Celsus refuses to believe; and these words were accompanied by such a divine power, that even to this day they convert not only some of the more ignorant and simple, but many also of the most enlightened of men.

Chapter LV.

When, to his enumeration of those to whom he would send us, he adds, "What saying equal to these did your god utter under sufferings? "we would reply, that the silence of Jesus under scourgings, and amidst all His sufferings, spoke more for His firmness and submission than all that was said by the Greeks when beset by calamity. Perhaps Celsus may believe what was recorded with all sincerity by trustworthy men, who, while giving a truthful account of all the wonders performed by Jesus, specify among these the silence which He preserved when subjected to scourgings; showing the same singular meekness Under the insults which were heaped upon Him, when they put upon Him the purple robe, and set the crown of thorns upon His head, and when they put in His hand a reed in place of a sceptre: no unworthy or angry word escaped Him against those who subjected Him to such outrages. Since, then, He received the scourgings with silent firmness, and bore with meekness all the insults of those who outraged Him, it cannot be said, as is said by some, that it was in cowardly weakness that He uttered the words: "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt."141 The prayer which seems to be contained in these words for the removal of what He calls "the cup" bears a sense which we have elsewhere examined and set forth at large. But taking it in its more obvious sense, consider if it be not a prayer offered to God with all piety. For no man naturally regards anything which may befall him as necessary and inevitable; though he may submit to what is not inevitable, if occasion requires. Besides, these words, "nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt," are not the language of one who yielded to necessity, but of one who was contented with what was befalling Him, and who submitted with reverence to the arrangements of Providence.

Chapter LVI.

Celsus then adds, for what reason I know not, that instead of calling Jesus the Son of God, we had better have given that honour to the Sibyl, in whose books he maintains we have interpolated many impious statements, though he does not mention what those interpolations are.142 He might have proved his assertion by producing some older copies which are free from the interpolations which he attributes to us; but he does not do so even to justify his statement that these passages are of an impious character. Moreover, he again speaks of the life of Jesus as "a most infamous life," as he has done before, not once or twice, but many times, although he does not stay to specify any of the actions of His life which he thinks most infamous. He seems to think that he may in this way make assertions without proving them, and rail against one of whom he knows nothing. Had he set himself to show what sort of infamy he found in the actions of Jesus, we should have repelled the several charges brought against Him. Jesus did indeed meet with a most sad death; but the same might be said of Socrates, and of Anaxarchus, whom he had just mentioned, and a multitude of others. If the death of Jesus was a miserable one, was not that of the others so too? And if their death was not miserable, can it be said that the death of Jesus was? You see from this, then, that the object of Celsus is to vilify the character of Jesus; and I can only suppose that he is driven to it by some spirit akin to those whose power has been broken and vanquished by Jesus,

and which now finds itself deprived of the smoke and blood on which it lived, whilst deceiving those who sought for God here upon earth in images, instead of looking up to the true God, the Governor of all things.

Chapter LVII.

After this, as though his object was to swell the size of his book, he advises us "to choose Jonah rather than Jesus as our God; "thus setting Jonah, who preached repentance to the single city of Nineveh, before Jesus, who has preached repentance to the whole world, and with much greater results. He would have us to regard as God a man who, by a strange miracle, passed three days and three nights in the whale's belly; and he is unwilling that He who submitted to death for the sake of men, He to whom God bore testimony through the prophets, and who has done great things in heaven and earth, should receive on that ground honour second only to that which is given to the Most High God. Moreover, Jonah was swallowed by the whale for refusing to preach as God had commanded him; while Jesus suffered death for men after He had given the instructions which God wished Him to give. Still further, he adds that Daniel rescued from the lions is more worthy of our adoration than Jesus, who subdued the fierceness of every opposing power, and gave to us "authority to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy."143 Finally, having no other names to offer us, he adds, "and others of a still more monstrous kind," thus casting a slight upon both Jonah and Daniel, for the spirit which is in Celsus cannot speak well of the righteous.

Chapter LVIII.

Let us now consider what follows. "They have also," says he, "a precept to this effect, that we ought not to avenge ourselves on one who injures us, or, as he expresses it, `Whosoever shall strike thee on the one cheek, turn to him the other also.' This is an ancient saying, which had been admirably expressed long before, and which they have only reported in a coarser way. For Plato introduces Socrates conversing with Crito as follows: `Must we never do injustice to any? '`Certainly not.' `And since we must never do injustice, must we not return injustice for an injustice that has been done to us, as most people think? '`It seems to me that we should not.' `But tell me, Crito, may we do evil to any one or not? '`Certainly not, O Socrates.' `Well, is it just, as is commonly said, for one who has suffered wrong to do wrong in return, or is it unjust? '`It is unjust. Yes; for to do harm to a man is the same as to do him injustice.' `You speak truly. We must then not do injustice in return for injustice, nor must we do evil to any one, whatever evil we may have suffered from him.' Thus Plato speaks; and he adds, `Consider, then, whether you are at one with me, and whether, starting from this principle, we may not come to the conclusion that it is never right to do injustice, even in return for an injustice which has been received; or whether, on the other hand, you differ from me, and do not admit the principle from which we started. That has always been my opinion, and is so still.'144 Such are the sentiments of Plato, and indeed they were held by divine men before his time. But let this suffice as one example of the way in which this and other truths have been borrowed and corrupted. Any one who wishes can easily by searching find more of them."

Chapter LIX. When Celsus here or elsewhere finds himself unable to dispute the truth of what we say, but avers that the same things were said by the Greeks, our answer is, that if the doctrine be sound, and the effect of it good, whether it was, made known to the Greeks by Plato or any of the

wise men of Greece, or whether it was delivered to the Jews by Moses or any of the prophets, or whether it was given to the Christians in the recorded teaching of Jesus Christ, or in the instructions of His apostles, that does not affect the value of the truth communicated. It is no objection to the principles of Jews or Christians, that the same things were also said by the Greeks, especially if it be proved that the writings of the Jews are older than those of the Greeks. And further, we are not to imagine that a truth adorned with the graces of Grecian speech is necessarily better than the same when expressed in the more humble and unpretending language used by Jews and Christians, although indeed the language of the Jews, in which the prophets wrote the books which have come down to us, has a grace of expression peculiar to the genius of the Hebrew tongue. And even if we were required to show that the same doctrines have been better expressed among the Jewish prophets or in Christian writings, however paradoxical it may seem, we are prepared to prove this by an illustration taken from different kinds of food, and from the different modes of preparing them. Suppose that a kind of food which is wholesome and nutritious has been prepared and seasoned in such a way as to be fit, not for the simple tastes of peasants and poor labourers, but for those only who are rich and dainty in their tastes. Suppose, again, that that same food is prepared not to suit the tastes of the more delicate, but for the peasants, the poor labourers, and the common people generally, in short, so that myriads of persons might eat of it. Now if, according to the supposition, the food prepared in the one way promotes the health of those only who are styled the better classes, while none of the others could taste it, whereas when prepared in the other way it promoted the health of great multitudes of men, which shall we esteem as most contributing to the public welfare,-those who prepare food for persons of mark, or those who prepare it for the multitudes?-taking for granted that in both cases the food is equally wholesome and nourishing; while it is evident that the welfare of mankind and the common good are promoted better by that physician who attends to the health of the many, than by one who confines his attention to a few.

Chapter LX.

Now, after understanding this illustration, we have to apply it to the qualities of spiritual food with which the rational part of man is nourished. See, then, if Plato and the wise men among the Greeks, in the beautiful things they say, are not like those physicians who confine their attentions to what are called the better classes of society, and despise the multitude; whereas the prophets among the Jews, and the disciples of Jesus, who despise mere elegances of style, and what is called in Scripture "the wisdom of men," "the wisdom according to the flesh," which delights in what is obscure, resemble those who study to provide the most wholesome food for the largest number of persons. For this purpose they adapt their language and style to the capacities of the common people, and avoid whatever would seem foreign to them, lest by the introduction of strange forms of expression they should produce a distaste for their teaching. Indeed, if the true use of spiritual food, to keep up the figure, is to produce in him who partakes of it the virtues of patience and gentleness, must that discourse not be better prepared when it produces patience and gentleness in multitudes, or makes them grow in these virtues, than that which confines its effects to a select few, supposing that it does really make them gentle and patient? If a Greek wished by wholesome instruction to benefit people who understood only Egyptian or Syriac, the first thing that he would do would be to learn their language; and he would rather pass for a Barbarian among the Greeks, by speaking as the Egyptians or Syrians, in order to be useful to

them, than always remain Greek, and be without the means of helping them. In the same way the divine nature, having the purpose of instructing not only those who are reputed to be learned in the literature of Greece, but also the rest of mankind, accommodated itself to the capacities of the simple multitudes whom it addressed. It seeks to win the attention of the more ignorant by the use of language which is familiar to them, so that they may easily be induced, after their first introduction, to strive after an acquaintance with the deeper truths which lie hidden in Scripture. For even the ordinary reader of Scripture may see that it contains many things which are too deep to be apprehended at first; but these are understood by such as devote themselves to a careful study of the divine word, and they become plain to them in proportion to the pains and zeal which they expend upon its investigation.

Chapter LXI. From these remarks it is evident, that when Jesus said "coarsely," as Celsus terms it, "To him who shall strike thee on the one cheek, turn the other also; and if any man be minded to sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also,"145 He expressed Himself in such a way as to make the precept have more practical effect than the words of Plato in the Crito; for the latter is so far from being intelligible to ordinary persons, that even those have a difficulty in understanding him, who have been brought up in the schools of learning, and have been initiated into the famous philosophy of Greece. It may also be observed, that the precept enjoining patience under injuries is in no way corrupted or degraded by the plain and simple language which our Lord employs, but that in this, as in other cases, it is a mere calumny against our religion which he utters when he says: "But let this suffice as one example of the way in which this and other truths have been borrowed and corrupted. Any one who wishes can easily by searching find more of them."

Chapter LXII.

Let us now see what follows. "Let us pass on," says he, "to another point. They cannot tolerate temples, altars, or images.146 In this they are like the Scythians, the nomadic tribes of Libya, the Seres who worship no god, and some other of the most barbarous and impious nations in the world. That the Persians hold the same notions is shown by Herodotus in these words: `I know that among the Persians it is considered unlawful to erect images, altars, or temples; but they charge those with folly who do so, because, as I conjecture, they do not, like the Greeks, suppose the gods to be of the nature of men.'147 Heraclitus also says in one place: `Persons who address prayers to these images act like those who speak to the walls, without knowing who the gods or the heroes are.' And what wiser lesson have they to teach us than Heraclitus? He certainly plainly enough implies that it is a foolish thing for a man to offer prayers to images, whilst he knows not who the gods and heroes are. This is the opinion of Heraclitus; but as for them, they go further, and despise without exception all images. If they merely mean that the stone, wood, brass, or gold which has been wrought by this or that workman cannot be a god, they are ridiculous with their wisdom. For who, unless he be utterly childish in his simplicity, can take these for gods, and not for offerings consecrated to the service of the gods, or images representing them? But if we are not to regard these as representing the Divine Being, seeing that God has a different form, as the Persians concur with them in saying, then let them take care that they do not contradict themselves; for they say that God made man His own image, and that He gave him a form like to Himself. However, they will admit that these images, whether they are like or not, are made and dedicated to the honour of certain beings. But they will hold that the beings to whom they are

dedicated are not gods, but demons, and that a worshipper of God ought not to worship demons."

Chapter LXIII. To this our answer is, that if the Scythians, the nomadic tribes of Libya, the Seres, who according to Celsus have no god, if those other most barbarous and impious nations in the world, and if the Persians even cannot bear the sight of temples, altars, and images, it does not follow because we cannot suffer them any more than they, that the grounds on which we object to them are the same as theirs. We must inquire into the principles on which the objection to temples and images is rounded, in order that we may approve of those who object on sound principles, and condemn those whose principles are false. For one and the same thing may be done for different reasons. For example, the philosophers who follow Zeno of Citium abstain from committing adultery, the followers of Epicurus do so too, as well as others again who do so on no philosophical principles; but observe what different reasons determine the conduct of these different classes. The first consider the interests of society, and hold it to be forbidden by nature that a man who is a reasonable being should corrupt a woman whom the laws have already given to another, and should thus break up the household of another man. The Epicureans do not reason in this way; but if they abstain from adultery, it is because, regarding pleasure as the chief end of man, they perceive that one who gives himself up to, adultery, encounters for the sake of this one pleasure a multitude of obstacles to pleasure, such as imprisonment, exile, and death itself. They often, indeed, run considerable risk at the outset, while watching for the departure from the house of the master and those in his interest. So that, supposing it possible for a man to commit adultery, and escape the knowledge of the husband, of his servants, and of others whose esteem he would forfeit, then the Epicurean would yield to the commission of the crime for the sake of pleasure. The man of no philosophical system, again, who abstains from adultery when the opportunity comes to him, does so generally from dread of the law and its penalties, and not for the sake of enjoying a greater number of other pleasures. You see, then, that an act which passes for being one and the same-namely, abstinence from adultery-is not the same, but differs in different men according to the motives which actuate it: one man refraining for sound reasons, another for such bad and impious ones as those of the Epicurean, and the common person of whom we have spoken.

Chapter LXIV.

As, then, this act of self-restraint, which in appearance is one and the same, is found in fact to be different in different persons, according to the principles and motives which lead to it; so in the same way with those who cannot allow in the worship of the Divine Being altars, or temples, or images. The Scythians, the Nomadic Libyans, the godless Seres, and the Persians, agree in this with the Christians and Jews, but they are actuated by very different principles. For none of these former abhor altars and images on the ground that they arc afraid of degrading the worship of God, and reducing it to the worship of material things wrought by the hands of men.148 Neither do they object to them from a belief that the demons choose certain forms and places, whether because they are detained there by virtue of certain charms, or because for some other possible reason they have selected these haunts, where they may pursue their criminal pleasures, in partaking of the smoke of sacrificial victims. But Christians and Jews have regard to this command, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve Him alone; "149 and this other, "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me: thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water

under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; "150 and again, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."151 It is in consideration of these and many other such commands, that they not only avoid temples, altars, and images, but are ready to suffer death when it is necessary, rather than debase by any such impiety the conception which they have of the Most High God.

Chapter LXV. In regard to the Persians, we have already said that though they do not build temples, yet they worship the sun and the other works of God. This is forbidden to us, for we have been taught not to worship the creature instead of the Creator, but to know that "the creation shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God; "and "the earnest expectation of the creation is waiting for the revelation of the sons of God; "and "the creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by; reason of him who made it subject:, in hope."152 We believe, therefore, that things "under the bondage of corruption," and "subject to vanity," which remain in this condition "in hope" of a better state, ought not in our worship to hold the place of God, the all-sufficient, and of His Son, the First-born of all creation. Let this suffice, in addition to what we have already said of the Persians, who abhor altars and images, but who serve the creature instead of the Creator. As to the passage quoted by Celsus from Heraclitus, the purport of which he represents as being, "that it is childish folly for one to offer prayers to images, whilst he knows not who the gods and heroes are," we may reply that it is easy to know that God and the Only-begotten Son of God, and those whom God has honoured with the title of God, and who partake of His divine nature, are very different from all the gods of the nations which are demons; but it is not possible at the same time to know God and to address prayers to images.153

Chapter LXVI. And the charge of folly applies not only to those who offer prayers to images, but also to such as pretend to do so in compliance with the example of the multitude: and to this class belong the Peripatetic philosophers and the followers of Epicurus and Democritus. For there is no falsehood or pretence in the soul which is possessed with true piety towards God. Another reason also why we abstain from doing honour to images, is that we may give no support to the notion that the images are gods. It is on this ground that we condemn Celsus, and all others who, while admitting that they are not gods, yet, with the reputation of being wise men, render to them what passes for homage. In this way they lead into sin the multitude who follow their example, and who worship these images not simply out of deference to custom, but from a belief into which they have fallen that they are true gods, and that those are not to be listened to who hold that the objects of their worship are not true gods. Celsus, indeed, says that "they do not take them for gods, but only as offerings dedicated to the gods." But he does not prove that they are not rather dedicated to men than, as he says, to the honour of the gods themselves; for it is clear that they are the offerings of men who were in error in their views of the Divine Being. Moreover, we do not imagine that these images are representations of God, for they cannot represent a being who is invisible and incorporeal.154 But as Celsus supposes that we fall into a contradiction, whilst on the one hand we say that God has not a human form, and on the other we profess to believe that God made man the image of Himself, and created man the image of God; our answer is the same as has been given already, that we hold the resemblance to God to be preserved in the reasonable soul, which is formed to virtue, although Celsus, who does not see the difference between "being the image of God," and "being created after the image of God," pretends that we said, "God made man His own image, and gave him a form like to His own." But this also has been examined

before.

Chapter LXVII. His next remark upon the Christians is: "They will admit that these images, whether they are like or not, are made and dedicated to the honour of certain beings; but they will hold that the beings to whom they are dedicated are not gods, but demons, and that a worshipper of God ought not to worship demons." If he had been acquainted with the nature of demons, and with their several operations, whether led on to them by the conjurations of those who are skilled in the art, or urged on by their own inclination to act according to their power and inclination; if, I say, he had thoroughly understood this subject, which is both wide in extent and difficult for human comprehension, he would not have condemned us for saying that those who worship the Supreme Being should not serve demons. For ourselves, so far are we from wishing to serve demons, that by the use of prayers and other means which we learn from Scripture, we drive them out of the souls of men, out of places where they have established themselves, and even sometimes from the bodies of animals; for even these creatures often suffer from injuries inflicted upon them by demons.

Chapter LXVIII.

After all that we have already said concerning Jesus, it would be a useless repetition for us to answer these words of Celsus: "It is easy to convict them of worshipping not a god, not even demons, but a dead person." Leaving, then, this objection for the reason assigned, let us pass on to what follows: "In the first place, I would ask why we are not to serve demons? Is it not true that all things are ordered according to God's will, and that His providence governs all things? Is not everything which happens in the universe, whether it be the work of God, of angels, of other demons, or of heroes, regulated by the law of the Most High God? Have these not had assigned them various departments of which they were severally deemed worthy? it not just, therefore, that he who worships God should serve those also to whom God has assigned such power? Yet it is impossible, he says, for a man to serve many masters." Observe here again how he settles at once a number of questions which require considerable research, and a profound acquaintance with what is most mysterious in the government of the universe. For we must inquire into the meaning of the statement, that "all things are ordered according to God's will," and ascertain whether sins are or are not included among the things which God orders. For if God's government extends to sins not only in men, but also in demons and in any other spiritual beings who are capable of sin, it is for those who speak in this manner to see how inconvenient is the expression that "all things are ordered by the will of God." For it follows from it that all sins and all their consequences are ordered by the will of God, which is a different thing from saying that they come to pass with God's permission. For if we take the word "ordered" in its proper signification, and say that "all the results of sin were ordered," then it is evident that all things are ordered according to God's will, and that all, therefore, who do evil do not offend against His government. And the same distinction holds in regard to "providence." When we say that "the providence of God regulates all things," we utter a great truth if we attribute to that providence nothing but what is just and right. But if we ascribe to the providence of God all things whatsoever, however unjust they rusty be, then it is no longer true that the providence of God regulates all things, unless we refer directly to God's providence things which flow as results from His arrangements. Celsus maintains also, that "whatever happens in the universe, whether it be the work of God, of angels, of other demons, or of heroes, is regulated by the law of the Most High God." But this also is incorrect; for we cannot

say that transgressors follow the law of God when they transgress; and Scripture declares that it is not only wicked men who are transgressors, but also wicked demons and wicked angels.

Chapter LXIX. And it is not we alone who speak of wicked demons, but almost all who acknowledge the existence of demons. Thus, then, it is not true that all observe the law of the Most High; for all who fall away from the divine law, whether through heedlessness, or through depravity and vice, or through ignorance of what is right, all such do not keep the law of God, but, to use a new phrase which we find in Scripture, "the law of sin. I say, then, that in the opinion of most of those who believe in the existence of demons, some of them are wicked; and these, instead of keeping the law of God, offend against it. But, according to our belief, it is true of all demons, that they were not demons originally, but they became so in departing from the true way; so that the name "demons" is given to those beings who have fallen away from God. Accordingly, those who worship God must not serve demons. We may also learn the true nature of demons if we consider the practice of those who call upon them by charms to prevent certain things, or for many other purposes. For this is the method they adopt, in order by means of incantations and magical arts to invoke the demons, and induce them to further their wishes. Wherefore, the worship of all demons would be inconsistent in us who worship the Supreme God; and the service of demons is the service of so-called gods, for "all the gods of the heathen are demons."155 The same thing also appears from the fact that the dedication of the most famous of the so-called sacred places, whether temples or statues, was accompanied by curious magical incantations, which were performed by those who zealously served the demons with magical arts. Hence we are determined to avoid the worship of demons even as we would avoid death; and we hold that the worship, which is supposed among the Greeks to be rendered to gods at the altars, and images, and temples, is in reality offered to demons.

Chapter LXX. His next remark was, "Have not these inferior powers had assigned to them by God different departments, according as each was deemed worthy? "But this is a question which requires a very profound knowledge. For we must determine whether the Word of God, who governs all things, has appointed wicked demons for certain employments, in the same way as in states executioners are appointed, and other officers with creel but needful duties to discharge; or whether as among robbers, who infest desert places, it is customary for them to choose out of their number one who may be their leader,-so the demons, who are scattered as it were in troops in different parts of the earth, have chosen for themselves a chief under whose command they may plunder and pillage the souls of men. To explain this fully, and to justify the conduct of the Christians in refusing homage to any object except the Most High God, and the First-born of all creation, who is His Word and God, we must quote this from Scripture, "All that ever came before Me are thieves and robbers: but the sheep did not hear them; "and again, "The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy; "156 and other similar passages, as, "Behold, I have given you authority to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power. of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you; "157 and again, "Thou shall tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the dragon shall thou trample under feet."158 But of these things Celsus knew nothing, or he would not have made use of language like this: "Is not everything which happens in the universe, whether it be the work of God, of angels, of other demons, or of heroes, regulated by the law of the Most High God? Have these not had assigned to them various departments of which they were severally deemed worthy? Is it not just, therefore, that he who serves God should serve

those also to whom God has assigned such power? "To which he adds, "It is impossible, they say, for a man to serve many masters." This last point we must postpone to the next book; for this, which is the seventh book which we have written in answer to the treatise of Celsus, is already of sufficient length.

1: Ps. liv. 5.

2: Ps. liv. 6.

3: [See Dr. Lee on "the immemorial doctrine of the Church of God" as to the Divine influence upon the intellectual faculties of the prophets: Inspiration of Holy Scripture: its Nature and Proof , pp. 78, 79. S.] 4: Suidas in Sofo/j .

5: Homer, Iliad , xvi. 234, etc.

6: Heb. xi. 37, 38.

7: [Isa. xx. 3. S.] 8: [Dan. i. 16. S.] 9: [Gen. ix. 25-27. S.] 10: [Gen. xlix. 1. S.] 11: Wisd. of Sol. i. 5.

12: 2 Kings ix. 11.

13: [See note supra , p. 612. S.] 14: Ecclus. xxi. 18.

15: 1 Pet. iii. 15.

16: Ps. lxix. 21.

17: Book ii. cap. xxxvii.

18: dia\ du/o tropikw=n qewrh/ma .

19: We follow Bouhèreau and Valesius, who expunge the negative particle in this clause.

20: Isa. liii. 2, 3.

21: John viii. 40.

22: [John xii. 31 and xvi. 11.] 23: Heb. xi. 37, 38.

24: Ps. xxiv. 19.

25: Deut. xxviii. 12.

26: Ps. ci. 8.

27: Deut. ii. 34.

28: Ezek. xx. 25.

29: 2 Cor. iii. 6.

30: [Ezek. xx. 21, 25. S.] 31: 2 Cor. iii. 7, 8.

32: Rom. vii. 12, 14.

33: 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18.

34: Prov. xiii. 8.

35: Deut. xxxii. 30.

36: Rom. xv. 19.

37: Gal. ii. 5.

38: Ps. cxxxvii. 8, 9. [An instance of Origen's characteristic spiritualizing.] 39: Rom. ii. 29.

40: Matt. xix. 23.

41: Prov. xxviii. 6.

42: Mark x. 44.

43: Matt. xx. 25.

44: Luke xxii. 25.

45: 1 Cor. iii. 19.

46: Ps. vii. 3-5. Origen follows the reading ei0j xou=n (LXX.) instead of ei0j xnou=n , "make my glory abide in the dust ."

47: Matt. vi. 25-28.

48: Lev. xxvi. 5.

49: Prov. xiii. 25.

50: Ex. xxi. 24.

51: Matt. v. 39.

52: Lam. iii. 27, 28, 30.

53: John i. 18.

54: Col. i. 15.

55: Odyss ., iv. 563.

56: Phoedo , lviii. p. 109.

57: Ex. iii. 8.

58: Gen. iii. 17.

59: Heb. xii. 22.

60: Ps. lxxvi. 2; English version, "In Salem is His tabernacle."

61: Ps. xlviii. 1, 2.

62: Ps. xxxvii. 9, 11, 22, 29, 34.

63: Isa. liv. 12, 11.

64: Hagg. ii. 6.

65: Dan. iv. 37.

66: Isa. v. 12.

67: 2 Cor. v. 1, 4.

68: 2 Cor. v. 1.

69: 1 Cor. xv. 53.

70: Bouhèreau follows the reading, "the mind which sees what is made in the image of the Creator."

71: Matt. xv. 19 and vi. 23.

72: Matt. v. 8.

73: Ps. li. 10.

74: Deut. xiii. 4.

75: Ps. lxiii. 8.

76: Ps. cxix. 18.

77: Ps. xix. 8.

78: Ps. xiii. 3.

79: Matt. xiii. 9.

80: Ps. lxxvii. 2, according to the LXX.

81: 1 John i. 1.

82: Prov. ii. 5, Eng. Vers. and LXX., "Thou shalt find the knowledge of God."

83: nohta/ , falling under the province of nou=j , the reason. For convenience, we translate it elsewhere "intellectual."

84: Rom. i. 20.

85: 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

86: Rom. viii. 13.

87: 2 Cor. iv. 10.

88: Col. iii. 5.

89: Gen. vi. 3.

90: Rom. viii. 8.

91: 2 Cor. v. 16.

92: Gen. iii. 6.

93: Gen. iii. 5.

94: Gen. iii. 7.

95: John ix. 39.

96: See book vi. cap. xxx., etc.

97: [See note supra , p. 573. S.] 98: 2 Cor. xii. 4.

99: Matt. v. 8.

100: John xiv. 9.

101: Matt. xi. 27.

102: 1 Cor. i. 27.

103: [Vol. ii. p. 186, this series.] 104: Rom. viii. 9.

105: Ps. li. 10.

106: ge/nesij . For the distinction between ou0si/a and ge/nesij , see Plato's Sophista , p. 246.

107: 2 Cor. x. 3, 4. The received text has "walk" instead of "live."

108: 1 Cor. iv. 12, 13.

109: Rom. i. 21.

110: Rom. i. 23.

111: Rom. i. 24, 25.

112: [See Robertson's History of the Church , vol. i. p. 145. S.] 113: Rom. i. 28.

114: Ps. xxxvii. 30, 31.

115: Rom. i. 27.

116: [The noteworthy testimony of the Alexandrian school to the doctrine of birth-sin.

117: Ps. li. 5.

118: Ps. lviii. 3.

119: Rom. viii. 20.

120: Eccles. i. 2.

121: Ps. xxxix. 5.

122: Euripides. [See De la Rue's note ad loc . in his edition of Origen's Works . S.] 123: Ps. xliv. 25.

124: Ps. xxii. 15.

125: Rom. vii. 24.

126: Phil. iii. 21.

127: Ps. xliii. 20 (LXX.).

128: 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

129: 2 Cor. v. 6, 8.

130: Wisd. xii. 1, 2.

131: John xx. 22.

132: Acts i. 5.

133: Matt. v. 14.

134: John i. 5.

135: 2 Tim. iv. 7.

136: 1 Cor. ix. 26.

137: Eph. ii. 2.

138: Rom. viii. 13.

139: Gal. v. 25.

140: [See vol. i. p. 169, note 9, and cap. lvi. infra .] 141: Matt. xxvi. 39.

142: [Vol. i. pp. 280, 288, 289; vol. ii. pp. 192, 194, 346, and 622.] 143: Luke x. 19.

144: Plato's Crito , p. 49.

145: Matt. v. 39, 40.

146: [The temples here meant are such as enshrined images.] 147: Herod., i. 131.

148: [Note this wholesome fear of early Christians.] 149: Deut. vi. 13.

150: Ex. xx. 3, 4.

151: Matt. iv. 10.

152: Rom. viii. 19-21.

153: [Let this be noted; and see book viii. 20, infra .] 154: [Vol. ii. p. 186, note 1.] 155: Ps. xcv. 5 (LXX.); xcvi. 5 (Heb.) 156: John x. 8-10.

157: Luke x. 19.

158: Ps. xci. 13.

Against Celsus - Book 8

Book VIII.

Chapter I.

Chapter II.

Chapter III.

Chapter IV.

Chapter V.

Chapter VI.

Chapter VII.

Chapter VIII.

Chapter IX.

Chapter X.

Chapter XI.

Chapter XII.

Chapter XIII.

Chapter XIV.

Chapter XV.

Chapter XVI

Chapter XVII.

Chapter XVIII.

Chapter XIX.

Chapter XX.

Chapter XXI.

Chapter XXII.

Chapter XXIII.

Chapter XXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXVI.

Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVIII.

Chapter XXIX.

Chapter XXX.

Chapter XXXI.

Chapter XXXII.

Chapter XXXIII.

Chapter XXXIV.

Chapter XXV.

Chapter XXXVI.

Chapter XXXVII.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Chapter XXXIX,

Chapter XL.

Chapter XLI.

Chapter XLII.

Chapter XLIII.

Chapter XLIV.

Chapter XLV.

Chapter XLVI.

Chapter XLVII.

Chapter XLVIII.

Chapter XLIX.

Chapter L.

Chapter LI

Chapter LII.

Chapter LIII.

Chapter LIV.

Chapter LV.

Chapter LVI.

Chapter LVII.

Chapter LVIII.

Chapter LIX.

Chapter LX.

Chapter LXI.

Chapter LXII.

Chapter LXIII.

Chapter LXIV.

Chapter LXV.

Chapter LXVI.

Chapter LXVII.

Chapter LXVIII.

Chapter LXIX.

Chapter LXX.

Chapter LXXI.

Chapter LXXII.

Chapter LXXIII.

Chapter LXXIV.

Chapter LXXV.

Chapter LXXVI.

Book VIII.

Chapter I.

Having completed seven books, I now propose to begin the eighth. And may God and His Only-begotten Son the Word be with us, to enable us effectively to refute the falsehoods which Celsus has published under the delusive title of A True Discourse, and at the same time to unfold the truths of Christianity with such fulness as our purpose requires. And as Paul said, "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us,"1 so would we in the same spirit and language earnestly desire to be ambassadors for Christ to men, even as the Word of God beseeches them to the love of Himself, seeking to win over to righteousness truth, and the other virtues, those who, until they receive the doctrines of Jesus Christ, live in darkness about God and

in ignorance of their Creator. Again, then, I would say, may God bestow upon us His pure and true Word, even "the Lord strong and mighty in battle"2 against sin. We must now proceed to state the next objection of Celsus, and afterwards to answer it.

Chapter II. In a passage previously quoted Celsus asks us why we do not worship demons, and to his remarks on demons we gave such an answer as seemed to us in accordance with the divine word. After having put this question for the purpose of leading us to the worship of demons, he represents us as answering that it is impossible to serve many masters. "This," he goes on to say, "is the language of sedition, and is only used by those who separate themselves and stand aloof from all human society. Those who speak in this way ascribe," as he supposes, "their own feelings and passions to God. It does hold true among men, that he who is in the service of one master cannot well serve another, because the service which he renders to the one interferes with that which he owes to the other; and no one, therefore, who has already engaged himself to the service of one, must accept that of another. And, in like manner, it is impossible to serve at the same time heroes or demons of different natures. But in regard to God, who is subject to no suffering or loss, it is," he thinks, "absurd to be on our guard against serving more gods, as though we had to do with demi-gods, or other spirits of that sort." He says also, "He who serves many gods does that which is pleasing to the Most High, because he honours that which belongs to Him." And he adds, "It is indeed wrong to give honour to any to whom God has not given honour." "Wherefore," he says, "in honouring and worshipping all belonging to God, we will not displease Him to whom they all belong."

Chapter III.

Before proceeding to the next point, it may be well for us to see whether we do not accept with approval the saying, "No man can serve two masters," with the addition, "for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other," and further, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon."3 The defence of this passage will lead us to a deeper and more searching inquiry into the meaning and application of the words "gods" and "lords." Divine Scripture teaches us that there is "a great Lord above all gods."4 And by this name "gods" we are not to understand the objects of heathen worship (for we know that "all the gods of the heathen are demons"5), but the gods mentioned by the prophets as forming an assembly, whom God "judges," and to each of whom He assigns his proper work. For "God standeth in the assembly of the gods: He judgeth among the gods."6 For "God is Lord of gods," who by His Son "hath called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof."7 We are also commanded to "give thanks to the God of gods."8 Moreover, we are taught that "God is not the God of the dead, but of the living."9 Nor are these the only passages to this effect; but there are very many others.

Chapter IV. The sacred Scriptures teach us to think, in like manner, of the Lord of lords. For they say in one place, "Give thanks to the God of gods, for His mercy endureth for ever. Give thanks to the Lord of lords, for His mercy endureth for ever; "and in another, "God is King of kings, and Lord of lords." For Scripture distinguishes between those gods which are such only in name and those which are truly gods, whether they are called by that name or not; and the same is true in regard to the use of the word "lords." To this effect Paul says, "For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there are gods many, and lords many."10 But as the God of gods calls whom He pleases through Jesus to his inheritance, "from the east and from the west," and

the Christ of God thus shows His superiority to all rulers by entering into their several provinces, and summoning men out of them to be subject to Himself, Paul therefore, with this in view, goes on to say, "But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him; "adding, as if with a deep sense of the marvellous and mysterious nature of the doctrine, "Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge." When he says, "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things," by "us" he means himself and all those who have risen up to the supreme God of gods and to the supreme Lord of lords. Now he has risen to the supreme God who gives Him an entire and undivided worship through His Son-the word and wisdom of God made manifest in Jesus. For it is the Son alone who leads to God those who are striving, by the purity of their thoughts, words, and deeds, to come near to God the Creator of the universe. I think, therefore, that the prince of this world, who "transforms himself into an angel of light,"11 was referring to this and such like statements in the words, "Him follows a host of gods and demons, arranged in eleven bands."12 Speaking of himself and the philosophers, he says, "We are of the party of Jupiter; others belong to other demons."

Chapter V.

Whilst there are thus many gods and lords, whereof some are such in reality, and others are such only in name, we strive to rise not only above those whom the nations of the earth worship as gods, but also beyond those spoken of as gods in Scripture, of whom they are wholly ignorant who are strangers to the covenants of God given by Moses and by our Saviour Jesus, and who have no part in the promises which He has made to us through them. That man rises above all demon-worship who does nothing that is pleasing to demons; and he rises to a blessedness beyond that of those whom Paul calls "gods," if he is enabled, like them, or in any way he may, "to look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are unseen." And he who considers that" the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God, not willingly, but by reason of him who subjected the same in hope," whilst he praises the creature, and sees how "it shall be freed altogether from the bondage of corruption, and restored to the glorious liberty of the children of God,"13 -such a one cannot be induced to combine with the service of God the service of any other, or to serve two masters. There is therefore nothing seditious or factious in the language of those who hold these views, and who refuse to serve more masters than one. To them Jesus Christ is an all-sufficient Lord, who Himself instructs them, in order that when fully instructed He may form them into a kingdom worthy of God, and present them to God the Father. But indeed they do in a sense separate themselves and stand aloof from those who are aliens from the commonwealth of God and strangers to His covenants, in order that they may live as citizens of heaven, "coming to the living God, and to the city of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven."14

Chapter VI. But when we refuse to serve any other than God through His word and wisdom, we do so, not as though we would thereby be doing any harm or injury to God, in the same way as injury would be done to a man by his servant entering into the service of another, but we fear that we ourselves should suffer harm by depriving ourselves of our portion in God, through which we live in the participation of the divine blessedness, and are imbued with that excellent spirit of adoption which in the sons of the heavenly Father cries, not with words, but with deep effect in the inmost

heart, "Abba, Father." The Lacedaemonian ambassadors, when brought before the king of Persia, refused to prostrate themselves before him, when the attendants endeavoured to compel them to do so, out of respect for that which alone had authority and lordship over them, namely, the law of Lycurgus.15 But they who have a much greater and diviner embassy in "being ambassadors for Christ" should not worship any ruler among Persians, or Greeks or Egyptians, or of any nation whatever, even although their officers and ministers, demons and angels of the devil, should seek to compel them to do so, and should urge them to set at nought a law which is mightier than all the laws upon earth. For the Lord of those who are "ambassadors for Christ" is Christ Himself, whose ambassadors they are, and who is "the Word, who was in the beginning, was with God, and was God."16

Chapter VII. But when Celsus speaks of heroes and demons, he starts a deeper question than he is aware of. For after the statement which he made in regard to service among men, that" the first master is injured when any of his servants wishes at the same time to serve another," he adds, that "the same holds true of heroes, and other demons of that kind." Now we must inquire of him what nature he thinks those heroes and demons possess of whom he affirms that he who serves one hero may not serve another, and he who serves one demon may not serve another, as though the former hero or demon would be injured in the same way as men are injured when they who serve them first afterwards give themselves to the service of others. Let him also state what loss he supposes those heroes or demons will suffer. For he will be driven either to plunge into endless absurdities, and first repeat, then retract his previous statements; or else to abandon his frivolous conjectures, and confess that he understands nothing of the nature of heroes and demons. And in regard to his statement, that men suffer injury when the servant of one man enters the service of a second master, the question arises: "What is the nature of the injury which is done to the former master by a servant who, while serving him, wishes at the same time to serve another? "

Chapter VIII. For if he answers, as one who is unlearned and ignorant of philosophy, that the injury sustained is one which regards things that are outside of us, it will be plainly manifest that he knows nothing of that famous saying of Socrates, "Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot injure me; for it is impossible that the better should ever be injured by the worse." But if by injury he means a wicked impulse or an evil habit, it is plain that no injury of this kind would befall the wise, by one man serving two wise men in different places. If this sense does not suit his purpose, it is evident that his endeavours are vain to weaken the authority of the passage, "No man can serve two masters; "for these words can be perfectly true only when they refer to the service which we render to the Most High through His Son, who leadeth us to God. And we will not serve God as though He stood in need of our service, or as though He would be made unhappy if we ceased to serve Him; but we do it because we are ourselves benefited by the service of God, and because we are freed from griefs and troubles by serving the Most High God through His only-begotten Son, the Word and Wisdom.

Chapter IX. And observe the recklessness of that expression, "For if thou worship any other of the things in the universe," as though he would have us believe that we are led by our service of God to the worship of any other things which belong to God, without any injury to ourselves. But, as if feeling his error, he corrects the words, "If thou worship any other of the things in the universe," by adding, "We may honour none, however, except those to whom that right has been given by God." And we would put to Celsus this question in regard to those who are honoured as gods, as

demons, or as heroes: "Now, sir, can you prove that the right to be honoured has been given to these by God, and that it has not arisen from the ignorance and folly of men who in their wanderings have fallen away from Him to whom alone worship and service are properly due? You said a little ago, O Celsus, that Antinous, the favourite of Adrian, is honoured; but surely you will not say that the right to be worshipped as a god was given to him by the God of the universe? And so of the others, we ask proof that the right to be worshipped was given to them by the Most High God." But if the same question is put to us in regard to the worship of Jesus, we will show that the right to be honoured was given to Him by God, "that all may honour the Son, even as they honour the Father."17 For all the prophecies which preceded His birth were preparations for His worship. And the wonders which He wrought-through no magical art, as Celsus supposes, but by a divine power, which was foretold by the prophets-have served as a testimony from God in behalf of the worship of Christ. He who honours the Son, who is the Word and Reason, acts in nowise contrary to reason, and gains for himself great good; he who honours Him, who is the Truth, becomes better by honouring truth: and this we may say of honouring wisdom, righteousness, and all the other names by which the sacred Scriptures are wont to designate the Son of God.

Chapter X. But that the honour which we pay to the Son of God, as well as that which we render to God the Father, consists of an upright course of life, is plainly taught us by the passage, "Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God? "18 and also, "Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace? "19 For if he who transgresses the law dishonours God by his transgression, and he who treads under foot the word treads under foot the Son of God, it is evident that he who keeps the law honours God, and that the worshipper of God is he whose life is regulated by the principles and precepts of the divine word. Had Celsus known who they are who are God's people, and that they alone are wise,-and who they are who are strangers to God, and that these are all the wicked who have no desire to give themselves to virtue, he would have considered before he gave expression to the words, "How can he who honours any of those whom God acknowledges as His own be displeasing to God, to whom they all belong? "

Chapter XI.

He adds, "And indeed he who, when speaking of God, asserts that there is only one who may be called Lord, speaks impiously, for he divides the kingdom of God, and raises a sedition therein, implying that there are separate factions in the divine kingdom, and that there exists one who is His enemy." He might speak after this fashion, if he could prove by conclusive arguments that those who are worshipped as gods by the heathens are truly gods, and not merely evil spirits, which are supposed to haunt statues and temples and altars. But we desire not only to understand the nature of that divine kingdom of which we are continually speaking and writing, but also ourselves to be of those who are under the rule of God alone, so that the kingdom of God may be ours. Celsus, however, who teaches us to worship many gods, ought in consistency not to speak of "the kingdom of God," but of "the kingdom of the gods." There are therefore no factions in the kingdom of God, nor is there any god who is an adversary to Him, although there are some who, like the Giants and Titans, in their wickedness wish to contend with God in company with Celsus, and those who declare war against Him who has by innumerable proofs established the claims of

Jesus, and against Him who, as the Word, did, for the salvation of our race, show Himself before all the world in such a form as each was able to receive Him.

Chapter XII. In what follows. some may imagine that he says something plausible against us. "If," says he, "these people worshipped one God alone, and no other, they would perhaps have some valid argument against the worship of others. But they pay excessive reverence to one who has but lately appeared among men, and they think it no offence against God if they worship also His servant." To this we reply, that if Celsus had known that saying," I and My Father are one,"20 and the words used in prayer by the Son of God, "As Thou and I are one,21 he would not have supposed that we worship any other besides Him who is the Supreme God. "For," says He, "My Father is in Me, and I in Him."22 And if any should from these words be afraid of our going over to the side of those who deny that the Father and the Son are two persons, let him weigh that passage, "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul,"23 that he may understand the meaning of the saying, "I and My Father are one." We worship one God, the Father and the Son, therefore, as we have explained; and our argument against the worship of other gods still continues valid. And we do not "reverence beyond measure one who has but lately appeared," as though He did not exist before;24 for we believe Himself when He says, "Before Abraham was, I am."25 Again He says, "I am the truth; "26 and surely none of us is so simple as to suppose that truth did not exist before the time when Christ appeared.27 We worship, therefore, the Father of truth, and the Son, who is the truth; and these, while they are two, considered as persons or subsistences, are one in unity of thought, in harmony and in identity of will. So entirely are they one, that he who has seen the Son, "who is the brightness of God's glory, and the express image of His person,"28 has seen in Him who is the image, of God, God Himself.

Chapter XIII.

He further supposes, that "because we join along with the worship of God the worship of His Son, it follows that, in our view, not only God, but also the servants of God, are to be worshipped." If he had meant this to apply to those who are truly the servants of God, after His only-begotten Son,-to Gabriel and Michael, and the other angels and archangels, and if he had said of these that they ought to be worshipped,-if also he had clearly defined the meaning of the word "worship," and the duties of the worshippers,-we might perhaps have brought forward such thoughts as have occurred to us on so important a subject. But as he reckons among the servants of God the demons which are worshipped by the heathen, he cannot induce us, on the plea of consistency, to worship such as are declared by the word to be servants of the evil one, the prince of this world, who leads astray from God as many as he can. We decline, therefore, altogether to worship and serve those whom other men worship, for the reason that they are not servants of God. For if we had been taught to regard them as servants of the Most High, we would not have called them demons. Accordingly, we worship with all our power the one God, and His only Son, the Word and the Image of God, by prayers and supplications; and we offer our petitions to the God of the universe through His only-begotten Son. To the Son we first present them, and beseech Him, as "the propitiation for our sins,"29 and our High Priest, to offer our desires, and sacrifices, and prayers, to the Most High. Our faith, therefore, is directed to God through His Son, who strengthens it in us; anti Celsus can never show that the Son of God is the cause of any sedition or disloyalty in the kingdom of God. We honour the Father when we admire His Son, the Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, and all that He who is the Son of so great a Father is said

in Scripture to be. So much on this point.

Chapter XIV.

Again Celsus proceeds: "If you should tell them that Jesus is not the Son of God, but that, God is the Father of all, and that He alone: ought to be truly worshipped, they would not consent to discontinue their worship of him who is their leader in the sedition. And they call him Son of God, not out of any extreme reverence for God, but from an extreme desire to extol Jesus Christ." We, however, have learned who the Son of God is, and know that He is "the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person," and "the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty; "moreover, "the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness."30 We know, therefore, that He is the Son of God, and that God is His father. And there is nothing extravagant or unbecoming the character of God in the doctrine that He should have begotten such an only Son; and no one will persuade us that such a one is not a Son of the unbegotten God and Father. If Celsus has heard something of certain persons holding that the Son of God is not the Son of the Creator of the universe, that is a matter which lies between him and the supporters of such an opinion. Jesus is, then, not the leader of any seditious movement, but the promoter of peace. For He said to His disciples, "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; "and as He knew that it would be men of the world, and not men of God, who would wage war against us, he added, "Not as the world giveth peace, do I give peace unto you."31 And even although we are oppressed in the world, we have confidence in Him who said, "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world." And it is He whom we call Son of God-Son of that God, namely, whom, to quote the words of Celsus, "we most highly reverence; "and He is the Son who has been most highly exalted by the Father. Grant that there may be some individuals among the multitudes of believers who are not in entire agreement with us, and who incautiously assert that the Saviour is the Most High God; however, we do not hold with them, but rather believe Him when He says, "The Father who sent Me is greater than I."32 We would not therefore make Him whom we call Father inferior-as Celsus accuses us of doing-to the Son of God.

Chapter XV.

Celsus goes on to say: "That I may give a true representation of their faith, I will use their own words, as given in what is called A Heavenly Dialogue: 'If the Son is mightier than God, and the Son of man is Lord over Him, who else than the Son can be Lord over that God who is the ruler over all things? How comes it, that while so many go about the well, no one goes down into it? Why art thou afraid when thou hast gone so far on the way? Answer: Thou art mistaken, for I lack neither courage nor weapons.' Is it not evident, then, that their views are precisely such as I have described them to be? They suppose that another God, who is above the heavens, is the Father of him whom with one accord they honour, that they may honour this Son of man alone, whom they exalt under the form and name of the great God, and whom they assert to be stronger than God, who rules the world, and that he rules over Him. And hence that maxim of theirs, `It is impossible to serve two masters, 'is maintained for the purpose of keeping up the party who are on the side of this Lord." Here, again, Celsus quotes opinions from some most obscure sect of heretics, and ascribes them to all Christians. I call it "a most obscure sect; "for although we have often contended with heretics, yet we are unable to discover from what set of opinions he has taken this

passage, if indeed he has quoted it from any author, and has not rather concocted it himself, or added it as an inference of his own. For we who say that the visible world is under the government to Him who created all things, do thereby declare that the Son is not mightier than the Father, but inferior to Him. And this belief we ground on the saying of Jesus Himself, "The Father who sent Me is greater than I." And none of us is so insane as to affirm that the Son of man is Lord over God. But when we regard the Saviour as God the Word, and Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Truth, we certainly do say that He has dominion over all things which have been subjected to Him in this capacity, but not that His dominion extends over the God and Father who is Ruler over all.33 Besides, as the Word rules over none against their will, there are still wicked beings-not only men, but also angels, and all demons-over whom we say that in a sense He does not rule, since they do not yield Him a willing obedience; but, in another sense of the word, He rules even over them, in the same way as we say that man rules over the irrational animals,-not by persuasion, but as one who tames and subdues lions and beasts of burden. Nevertheless, he leaves no means untried to persuade even those who are still disobedient to submit to His authority. So far as we are concerned, therefore, we deny the truth of that which Celsus quotes as one of our sayings, "Who else than He can be Lord over Him who is God over all? "

Chapter XVI The remaining part of the extract given by Celsus seems to have been taken from some other form of heresy, and the whole jumbled together in strange confusion: "How is it, that while so many go about the well, no one goes down into it? Why dost thou shrink with fear when thou hast gone so far on the way? Answer: Thou art mistaken, for I lack neither courage nor weapons." We who belong to the Church which takes its name from Christ, assert that none of these statements are true. For he seems to have made them simply that they might harmonize with what he had said before; but they have no reference to us. For it is a principle with us, not to worship any god whom we merely "suppose" to exist, but Him alone who is the Creator of this universe, and of all things besides which are unseen by the eye of sense. These remarks of Celsus may apply to those who go on another road and tread other paths from us,-men who deny the Creator, and make to themselves another god under a new form, having nothing but the name of God, whom they esteem higher than the Creator; and with these may be joined any that there may be who say that the Son is greater than the God who rules all things. In reference to the precept that we ought not to serve two masters, we have already shown what appears to us the principle contained in it, when we proved that no sedition or disloyalty could be charged against the followers of Jesus their Lord, who confess that they reject every other lord, and serve Him alone who is the Son and Word of God.

Chapter XVII.

Celsus then proceeds to say that "we shrink from raising altars, statues, and temples; and this," he thinks, "has been agreed upon among us as the badge or distinctive mark of a secret and forbidden society." He does not perceive that we regard the spirit of every good man as an altar from which arises an incense which is truly and spiritually sweet-smelling, namely, the prayers ascending from a pure conscience. Therefore it is said by John in the Revelation, "The odours are the prayers of saints; "34 and by the Psalmist, "Let my prayer come up before Thee as incense."35 And the statues and gifts which are fit offerings to God are the work of no common mechanics, but are wrought and fashioned in us by the Word of God, to wit, the virtues in which we imitate "the First-born of all creation," who has set us an example of justice, of temperance, of courage, of

wisdom, of piety, and of the other virtues. In all those, then, who plant and cultivate within their souls, according to the divine word, temperance, justice, wisdom, piety, and other virtues, these excellences are their statues they raise, in which we are persuaded that it is becoming for us to honour the model and prototype of all statues: "the image of the invisible God," God the Only-begotten. And again, they who "put off the old man with his deeds, and put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that hath created him," in taking upon them the image of Him who hath created them, do raise within themselves a statue like to what the Most High God Himself desires. And as among statuaries there are some who are marvellously perfect in their art, as for example Pheidias and Polycleitus, and among painters, Zeuxis and Apelles, whilst others make inferior statues, and others, again, are inferior to the second-rate artists,-so that, taking all together, there is a wide difference in the execution of statues and pictures,-in the same way there are some who form images of the Most High in a better manner and with a more perfect skill; so that there is no comparison even between the Olympian Jupiter of Pheidias and the man who has been fashioned according to the image of God the Creator. But by far the most excellent of all these throughout the whole creation is that image in our Saviour who said, "My Father is in Me."

Chapter XVIII. And every one who imitates Him according to his ability, does by this very endeavour raise a statue according to the image of the Creator for in the contemplation of God with a pure heart they become imitators of Him. And, in general, we see that all Christians strive to raise altars and statues as we have described them and these not of a lifeless and senseless kind and not to receive greedy spirits intent upon lifeless things, but to be filled with the Spirit of God who dwells in the images of virtue of which we have spoken, and takes His abode in the soul which is conformed to the image of the Creator. Thus the Spirit of Christ dwells in those who bear, so to say, a resemblance in form and feature to Himself. And the Word of God, wishing to set this clearly before us, represents God as promising to the righteous, "I will dwell in them, and walk among them; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people."36 And the Saviour says, "If any man hear My words, and do them, I and My Father will come to him, and make Our abode with him."37 Let any one, therefore, who chooses compare the altars which I have described with those spoken of by Celsus, and the images in the souls of those who worship the Most High God with the statues of Pheidias, Polycleitus, and such like, and he will clearly perceive, that while the latter are lifeless things, and subject to the ravages of time, the former abide in the immortal spirit as long as the reasonable soul wishes to preserve them.

Chapter XIX. And if, further, temples are to be compared with temples, that we may prove to those who accept the opinions of Celsus that we do not object to the erection of temples suited to the images and altars of which we have spoken, but that we do refuse to build lifeless temples to the Giver of all life, let any one who chooses learn how we are taught, that our bodies are the temple of God, and that if any one by lust or sin defiles the temple of God, he will himself be destroyed, as acting impiously towards the true temple. Of all the temples spoken of in this sense, the best and most excellent was the pure and holy body of our Saviour Jesus Christ. When He knew that wicked men might aim at the destruction of the temple of God in Him, but that their purposes of destruction would not prevail against the divine power which had built that temple, He says to them, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it again.... This He said of the temple of His body."38 And in other parts of holy Scripture where it speaks of the mystery of the resurrection

to those whose ears are divinely opened, it says that the temple which has been destroyed shall be built up again of living and most precious stones, thereby giving us to understand that each of those who are led by the word of God to strive together in the duties of piety, will be a precious stone in the one great temple of God. Accordingly, Peter says, "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ; "39 and Paul also says, "Being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ our Lord being the chief cornerstone."40 And there is a similar hidden allusion in this passage in Isaiah, which is addressed to Jerusalem: "Behold, I will lay thy stones with carbuncles, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. And I will make thy battlements of jasper, and thy gates of crystal, and all thy borders of pleasant stones. And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord; and great shall be the peace of thy children. In righteousness shall thou be established."41

Chapter XX.

There are, then, among the righteous some who are carbuncles, others sapphires, others jaspers, and others crystals, and thus there is among the righteous every kind of choice and precious stone. As to the spiritual meaning of the different stones,-what is their nature, and to what kind of soul the name of each precious stone especially applies,-we cannot at present stay, to examine. We have only felt it necessary to show thus briefly what we understand by temples, and what the one Temple of God built of precious stones truly means. For as if in some cities a dispute should arise as to which had the finest temples, those who thought their own were the best would do their utmost to show the excellence of their own temples and the inferiority of the others,-in like manner, when they reproach us for not deeming it necessary to worship the Divine Being by raising lifeless temples, we set before them our temples, and show to such at least as are not blind and senseless, like their senseless gods, that there is no comparison between our statues and the statues of the heathen, nor between our altars, with what we may call the incense ascending from them, and the heathen altars, with the fat and blood of the victims; nor, finally, between the temples of senseless gods, admired by senseless men, who have no divine faculty for perceiving God, and the temples, statues, and altars which are worthy of God. It is not therefore true that we object to building altars, statues, and temples, because we have agreed to make this the badge of a secret and forbidden society; but we do so, because we have learnt from Jesus Christ the true way of serving God, and we shrink from whatever, under a pretence of piety, leads to utter impiety those who abandon the way marked out for us by Jesus Christ. For it is He who alone is the way of piety, as He truly said, "I am the way, the truth, the life."

Chapter XXI.

Let us see what Celsus further says of God, and how he urges us to the use of those things which are properly called idol offerings, or, still better, offerings to demons, although, in his ignorance of what true sanctity is, and what sacrifices are well-pleasing to God, he call them "holy sacrifices." His words are, "God is the God of all alike; He is good, He stands in need of nothing, and He is without jealousy. What, then, is there to hinder those who are most devoted to His service from taking part in public feasts. I cannot see the connection which he fancies between God's being good, and independent, and free from jealousy, and His devoted servants taking part in public feasts. I confess, indeed, that from the fact that God is good, and without want of anything, and free from jealousy, it would follow as a consequence that we might take part in public feasts, if it

were proved that the public feasts had nothing wrong in them, and were grounded upon true views of the character of God, so that they resulted naturally from a devout service of God. If, however, the so-called public festivals can in no way be shown to accord with the service of God, but may on the contrary be proved to have been devised by men when occasion offered to commemorate some human events, or to set forth certain qualities of water or earth, or the fruits of the earth,-in that case, it is clear that those who wish to offer an enlightened worship to the Divine Being will act according to sound reason, and not take part in the public feasts. For "to keep a feast," as one of the wise men of Greece has well said, "is nothing else than to do one's duty; "42 and that man truly celebrates a feast who does his duty and prays always, offering up continually bloodless sacrifices in prayer to God. That therefore seems to me a most noble saying of Paul, "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain."43

Chapter XXII.

If it be objected to us on this subject that we ourselves are accustomed to observe certain days, as for example the Lord's day, the Preparation, the Passover, or Pentecost, I have to answer, that to the perfect Christian, who is ever in his thoughts, words, and deeds serving his natural Lord, God the Word, all his days are the Lord's, and he is always keeping the Lord's day. He also who is unceasingly preparing himself for the true life, and abstaining from the pleasures of this life which lead astray so many,-who is not indulging the lust of the flesh, but "keeping under his body, and bringing it into subjection,"-such a one is always keeping Preparation-day. Again, he who considers that "Christ our Passover was sacrificed for us," and that it is his duty to keep the feast by eating of the flesh of the Word, never ceases to keep the paschal feast; for the pascha means a "passover," and he is ever striving in all his thoughts, words, and deeds, to pass over from the things of this life to God, and is hastening towards the city of God. And, finally, he who can truly say, "We are risen with Christ," and "He hath exalted us, and made us to sit with Him in heavenly places in Christ," is always living in the season of Pentecost; and most of all, when going up to the upper chamber, like the apostles of Jesus, he gives himself to supplication and prayer, that he may become worthy of receiving "the mighty wind rushing from heaven," which is powerful to destroy sin and its fruits among men, and worthy of having some share of the tongue of fire which God sends.

Chapter XXIII. But the majority of those who are accounted believers are not of this advanced class; but from being either unable or unwilling to keep every day in this manner, they require some sensible memorials to prevent spiritual things from passing altogether away from their minds. It is to this practice of setting apart some days distinct from others, that Paul seems to me to refer in the expression, "part of the feast; "44 and by these words he indicates that a life in accordance with the divine word consists not "in a part of the feast," but in one entire and never ceasing festival.45 Again, compare the festivals, observed among us as these have been described above, with the public feasts of Celsus and the heathen, and say if the former are not much more sacred observances than those feasts in which the lust of the flesh runs riot, and leads to drunkenness and debauchery. It would be too long for us at present to show why we are required by the law of God to keep its festivals by eating "the bread of affliction,"46 or "unleavened with bitter herbs,"47 or why it says, "Humble your souls,"48 and such like. For it is impossible for man, who is a compound being, in which "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh,"49 to keep the feast with his whole nature; for either he keeps the feast with his spirit

and afflicts the body, which through the lust of the flesh is unfit to keep it along with the spirit, or else he keeps it with the body, and the spirit is unable to share in it. But we have for the present said enough on the subject of feasts.

Chapter XXIV.

Let us now see on what grounds Celsus urges us to make use of the idol offerings and the public sacrifices in the public feasts. His words are, "If these idols are nothing, what harm will there be in taking part in the feast? On the other hand, if they are demons, it is certain that they too are God's creatures, and that we must believe in them, sacrifice to them according to the laws, and pray to them that they may be propitious." In reference to this statement, it would be profitable for us to take up and clearly explain the whole passage of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, in which Paul treats of offerings to idols.50 The apostle draws from the fact that "an idol is nothing in the world," the consequence that it is injurious to use things offered to idols; and he shows to those who have ears to hear on such subjects, that he who partakes of things offered to idols is worse than a murderer, for he destroys his own brethren, for whom Christ died. And further, he maintains that the sacrifices are made to demons; and from that he proceeds to show that those who join the table of demons become associated with the demons; and he concludes that a man cannot both be a partaker of the table of the Lord and of the table of demons. But since it would require a whole treatise to set forth fully all that is contained on this subject in the Epistle to the Corinthians, we shall content ourselves with this brief statement of the argument; for it will be evident to any one who carefully considers what has been said, that even if idols are nothing, nevertheless it is an awful thing to join in idol festivals. And even supposing that there are such beings as demons to whom the sacrifices are offered, it it has been clearly shown that we are forbidden to take part in these festivals, when we know the difference between the table of the Lord and the table of demons. And knowing this, we endeavour as much as we can to be always partakers of the Lord's table, and beware to the utmost of joining at any time the table of demons.

Chapter XXV.

Celsus says that "the demons belong to God, and are therefore to be believed, to be sacrificed to according to laws, and to be prayed to that they may be propitious." Those who are disposed to learn, must know that the word of God nowhere says of evil things that they belong to God, for it judges them unworthy of such a Lord. Accordingly, it is not all men who bear the name of "men of God," but only those who are worthy of God,-such as Moses and Elias, and any others who are so called, or such as resemble those who are so called in Scripture. In the same way, all angels are not said to be angels of God, but only those that are blessed: those that have fallen away into sin are called "angels of the devil," just as bad men are called "men of sin," "sons of perdition," or "sons of iniquity." Since, then, among men some are good and others bad, and the former are said to be God's and the latter the devil's, so among angels some are angels of God, and others angels of the devil. But among demons there is no such distinction, for all are said to be wicked. We do not therefore hesitate to say that Celsus is false when he says, "If they are demons, it is evident that they must also belong to God." He must either show that this distinction of good and bad among angels and men has no foundation, or else that a similar distinction may be shown to hold among demons. If that is impossible, it is plain that demons do not belong to God; for their prince is not God, but, as holy Scripture says, "Beelzebub."

Chapter XXVI. And we are not to believe in demons, although Celsus urges us to do so; but if we are to obey God, we must die, or endure anything, sooner than obey demons. In the same way, we are not to propitiate demons; for it is impossible to propitiate beings that are wicked and that seek the injury of men. Besides, what are the laws in accordance with which Celsus would have us propitiate the demons? For if he means laws enacted in states, he must show that they are in agreement with the divine laws. But if that cannot be done, as the laws of many states are quite inconsistent with each other, these laws, therefore, must of necessity either be no laws at all in the proper sense of the word, or else the enactments of wicked men; and these we must not obey, for "we must obey God rather than men." Away, then, with this counsel, which Celsus gives us, to offer prayer to demons: it is not to be listened to for a moment; for our duty is to pray to the Most High God alone, and to the Only-begotten, the First-born of the whole creation, and to ask Him as our High Priest to present the prayers which ascend to Him from us, to His God and our God, to His Father and the Father of those who direct their lives according to His word.51 And as we would have no desire to enjoy the favour of those men who wish us to follow their wicked lives, and who give us their favour only on condition that we choose nothing opposed to their wishes, because their favour would make us enemies of God, who cannot be pleased with those who have such men for their friends,-in the same way those who are acquainted with the nature, the purposes, and the wickedness of demons, can never wish to obtain their favour.

Chapter XXVII. And Christians have nothing to fear, even if demons should not be well-disposed to them; for they are protected by the Supreme God, who is well pleased with their piety, and who sets His divine angels to watch over those who are worthy of such guardianship, so that they can suffer nothing from demons. He who by his piety possesses the favour of the Most High, who has accepted the guidance of Jesus, the "Angel of the great counsel,"52 being well contented with the favour of God through Christ Jesus, may say with confidence that he has nothing to suffer from the whole host of demons. "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear."53 So much, then, in reply to those statements of Celsus: "If they are demons, they too evidently belong to God, and they are to be believed, to be sacrificed to according to the laws, and prayers are to be offered to them that they may be propitious."

Chapter XXVIII.

We shall now proceed to the next statement of Celsus, and examine it with care: "If in obedience to the traditions of their fathers they abstain from such victims, they must also abstain from all animal food, in accordance with the opinions of Pythagoras, who thus showed his respect for the soul and its bodily organs. But if, as they say, they abstain that they may not eat along with demons, I admire their wisdom, in having at length discovered, that whenever they eat they eat with demons, although they only refuse to do so when they are looking upon a slain victim; for when they eat bread, or drink wine, or taste fruits, do they not receive these things, as well as the water they drink and the air they breathe, from certain demons, to whom have been assigned these different provinces of nature? "Here I would observe that I cannot see how those whom he speaks of as abstaining from certain victims, in accordance with the traditions of their fathers, are consequently bound to abstain from the flesh of all animals. We do not indeed deny that the divine word does seem to command something similar to this, when to raise us to a higher and purer life it says, "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother

stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak; "54 and again, "Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died; "55 and again, "If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."56

Chapter XXIX. But it is to be observed that the Jews, who claim for themselves a correct understanding of the law of Moses, carefully restrict their food to such things as are accounted clean, and abstain from those that are unclean. They also do not use in their food the blood of an animal nor the flesh of an animal torn by wild beasts, and some other things which it would take too long for us at present to detail. But Jesus, wishing to lead all men by His teaching to the pure worship and service of God, and anxious not to throw any hindrance in the way of many who might be benefited by Christianity, through the imposition of a burdensome code of rules in regard to food, has laid it down, that "not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the mouth; for whatsoever entereth in at the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught. But those things which proceed out of the mouth are evil thoughts when spoken, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies."57 Paul also says, "Meat commendeth us not to God: for neither, if we eat, are we the better; neither, if we eat not, are we the worse."58 Wherefore, as there is some obscurity about this matter, without some explanation is given, it seemed good to the apostles of Jesus and the elders assembled together at Antioch,59 and also, as they themselves say, to the Holy Spirit, to write a letter to the Gentile believers, forbidding them to partake of those things from which alone they say it is necessary to abstain, namely, "things offered to idols, things strangled, and blood."60

Chapter XXX. For that which is offered to idols is sacrificed to demons, and a man of God must not join the table of demons. As to things strangled, we are forbidden by Scripture to partake of them, because the blood is still in them; and blood, especially the odour arising from blood, is said to be the food of demons. Perhaps, then, if we were to eat of strangled animals, we might have such spirits feeding along with us. And the reason which forbids the use of strangled animals for food is also applicable to the use of blood. And it may not be amiss, as bearing on this point, to recall a beautiful saying in the writings of Sextus,61 which is known to most Christians: "The eating of animals," says he, "is a matter of indifference; but to abstain from them is more agreeable to reason." It is not, therefore, simply an account of some traditions of our fathers that we refrain from eating victims offered to those called gods or heroes or demons, but for other reasons, some of which I have here mentioned. it is not to be supposed, however, that we are to abstain from the flesh of animals in the same way as we are bound to abstain from all race and wickedness: we are indeed to abstain not only from the flesh of animals, but from all other kinds of food, if we cannot partake of them without incurring evil, and the consequences of evil. For we are to avoid eating for gluttony, or for the mere gratification of the appetite, without regard to the health and sustenance of the body. We do not believe that souls pass from one body to another, and that they may descend so low as to enter the bodies of the brutes. If we abstain at times from eating the flesh of animals, it is evidently, therefore, not for the same reason as Pythagoras; for it is the reasonable soul alone that we honour, and we commit its bodily organs with due honours to the grave. For it is not right that the dwelling-place of the rational soul should be cast aside anywhere without honour, like the carcases of brute beasts; and so much the more when we believe that the respect paid to the body redounds to the honour of the person who received from God a soul which has nobly employed the organs of the body in which it resided. In regard to the question, "How are the dead

raised up, and with what body do they come? "62 we have already answered it briefly, as our purpose required.

Chapter XXXI.

Celsus afterwards states what is adduced by Jews and Christians alike in defence of abstinence from idol sacrifices, namely, that it is wrong for those who have dedicated themselves to the Most High God to eat with demons. What he brings forward against this view, we have already seen. In our opinion, a man can only be said to eat and drink with demons when he eats the flesh of what are called sacred victims, and when he drinks the wine poured out to the honour of the demons. But Celsus thinks that we cannot eat bread or drink wine in any way whatever, or taste fruits, or even take a draught of water, without eating and drinking with demons. He adds also, that the air which we breathe is received from demons, and that not an animal can breathe without receiving the air from the demons who are set over the air. If any one wishes to defend this statement of Celsus, let him show that it is not the divine angels of god, but demons, the whole race of whom are bad, that have been appointed to communicate all those blessings which have been mentioned. We indeed also maintain with regard not only to the fruits of the earth, but to every flowing stream and every breath of air that the ground brings forth those things which are said to grow up naturally,-that the water springs in fountains, and refreshes the earth with running streams,-that the air is kept pure, and supports the life of those who breathe it, only in consequence of the agency and control of certain beings whom we may call invisible husbandmen and guardians; but we deny that those invisible agents are demons. And if we might speak boldly, we would say that if demons have any share at all in these things, to them belong famine, blasting of the vine and fruit trees, pestilence among men and beasts: all these are the proper occupations of demons, who in the capacity of public executioners receive power at certain times to carry out the divine judgments, for the restoration of those who have plunged headlong into wickedness, or for the trial and discipline of the souls of the wise. For those who through all their afflictions preserve their piety pure and unimpaired, show their true character to all spectators, whether visible or invisible, who behold them; while those who are otherwise minded, yet conceal their wickedness, when they have their true character exposed by misfortunes, become manifest to themselves as well as to those whom we may also call spectators.

Chapter XXXII. The Psalmist bears witness that divine justice employs certain evil angels to inflict calamities upon men: "He cast upon them the fierceness of His anger, wrath, and indignation, and trouble, sent by evil angels."63 Whether demons ever go beyond this when they are suffered to do what they are ever ready, though through the restraint put upon them they are not always able to do, is a question to be solved by that man who can conceive, in so far as human nature will allow, how it accords with the divine justice, that such multitudes of human souls are separated from the body while walking in the paths which lead to certain death. "For the judgments of God are so great," that a soul which is still clothed with a mortal body cannot comprehend them; "and they cannot be expressed: therefore by unnurtured souls"64 they are not in any measure to be understood. And hence, too, rash spirits, by their ignorance in these matters, and by recklessly setting themselves against the Divine Being, multiply impious objections against providence. It is not from demons, then, that men receive any of those things which meet the necessities of life, and least of all ourselves, who have been taught to make a proper use of these things. And they who partake of corn and wine, and the fruits of trees, of water and of air, do not feed with demons,

but rather do they feast with divine angels, who are appointed for this purpose, and who are as it were invited to the table of the pious man, who hearkens to the precept of the word, which says, "Whether ye eat or drink, or whatever y.e do, do all to the glory of God."65 And again, in another place it is written, "Do all things in the name of God."66 When, therefore, we eat and drink and breathe to the glory of God, and act in all things according to what is right, we feast with no demons, but with divine angels: "For every creature is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer."67 But it could not be good, and it could not be sanctified, if these things were, as Celsus supposes, entrusted to the charge of demons.

Chapter XXXIII. From this it is evident that we have already met the next statement of Celsus, which is as follows: "We must either not live, and indeed not come into this life at all, or we must do so on condition that we give thanks and first-fruits and prayers to demons, who have been set over the things of this world: and that we must do as long as we live, that they may prove good and kind." We must surely live, and we must live according to the word of God, as far as we are enabled to do so. And we are thus enabled to live, when, "whether we eat or drink, we do all to the glory of God; "and we are not to refuse to enjoy those things which have been created for our use, but must receive them with thanksgiving to the Creator. And it is under these conditions, and not such as have been imagined by Celsus, that we have been brought into life by God; and we are not placed under demons, but we are under the government of the Most High God, through Him who hath brought us to God-Jesus Christ. It is not according to the law of God that any demon has had a share in worldly affairs, but it was by their own lawlessness that they perhaps sought out for themselves places destitute of the knowledge of God and of the divine life, or places where there are many enemies of God. Perhaps also, as being fit to rule over and punish them, they have been set by the Word, who governs all things, to rule over those who subjected themselves to evil and not to God. For this reason, then, let Celsus, as one who knows not God, give thank-offerings to demons. But we give thanks to the Creator of all, and, along with thanksgiving and prayer for the blessings we have received, we also eat the bread presented to us; and this bread becomes by prayer a sacred body, which sanctifies those who sincerely partake of it.

Chapter XXXIV.

Celsus would also have us to offer first-fruits to demons. But we would offer them to Him who said, "Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth."68 And to Him to whom we offer first-fruits we also send up our prayers, "having a great high priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God," and "we hold fast this profession"69 as long as we live; for we find God and His only-begotten Son, manifested to us in Jesus; to be gracious and kind to us. And if we would wish to have besides a great number of beings who shall ever prove friendly to us, we are taught that "thousand thousands stood before Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand ministered unto Him."70 And these, regarding all as their relations and friends who imitate their piety towards God, and in prayer call upon Him with sincerity, work along with them for their salvation, appear unto them, deem it their office and duty to attend to them, and as if by common agreement they visit with all manner of kindness and deliverance those who pray to God, to whom they themselves also pray: "For they are all ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for those who shall be heirs of salvation."71 Let the learned Greeks say that the human soul at its birth is placed under the charge of demons: Jesus

has taught us not to despise even the little ones in His Church, saying, "Their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven."72 And the prophet says, "The angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear Him, and delivereth them."73 We do not, then, deny that there are many demons upon earth, but we maintain that they exist and exercise power among the wicked, as a punishment of their wickedness. But they have no power over those who "have put on the whole armour of God," who have received strength to "withstand the wiles of the devil,"74 and who are ever engaged in contests with them, knowing that "we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."75

Chapter XXV.

Now let us consider another saying of Celsus, which is as follows: "The satrap of a Persian or Roman monarch, or ruler or general or governor, yea, even those who fill lower offices of trust or service in the state, would be able to do great injury to those who despised them; and will the satraps and ministers of earth and air be insulted with impunity? "Observe now how he introduces servants of the Most High-rulers, generals, governors, and those filling lower offices of trust and service-as, after the manner of men, inflicting injury upon those who insult them. For he does not consider that a wise man would not wish to do harm to any, but would strive to the utmost of his power to change and amend them; unless, indeed, it be that those whom Celsus makes servants and rulers appointed by the Most High are behind Lycurgus, the lawgiver of the Lacedaemonians, or Zeno of Citium. For when Lycurgus had had his eye put out by a man, he got the offender into his power; but instead of taking revenge upon him, he ceased not to use all his arts of persuasion until he induced him to become a philosopher. And Zeno, on the occasion of some one saying, "Let me perish rather than not have my revenge on thee," answered him, "But rather let me perish if I do not make a friend of thee." And I am not yet speaking of those whose characters have been formed by the teaching of Jesus, and who have heard the words, "Love your enemies, and pray for them which despitefully use you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."76 And in the prophetical writings the righteous man says, "O Lord my God, if I have done this; if there be iniquity in my hands; if I have returned evil to those who have done evil to me, let me fall helpless under mine enemies: let my enemy persecute my soul, and take it; yea, let him tread down my life upon the earth."77

Chapter XXXVI. But the angels, who are the true rulers and generals and ministers of God, do not, as Celsus supposes, "injure those who offend them; "and if certain demons, whom Celsus had in mind, do inflict evils, they show that they are wicked, and that they have received no office of the kind from God. And they even do injury to those who are under them, and who have acknowledged them as their masters; and accordingly, as it would seem that those who break through the regulations which prevail in any country in regard to matters of food, suffer for it if they are under the demons of that place, while those who are not under them, and have not submitted to their power, are free from all harm, and bid defiance to such spirits; although if, in ignorance of certain things, they have come under the power of other demons, they may suffer punishment from them. But the Christian-the true Christian, I mean-who has submitted to God alone and His Word, will suffer nothing from demons, for He is mightier than demons. And the Christian will suffer nothing, for "the angel of the Lord will encamp about them that fear Him, and will deliver them,"78

and his "angel," who "always beholds the face of his Father in heaven,"79 offers up his prayers through the one High Priest to the God of all, and also joins his own prayers with those of the man who is committed to his keeping. Let not, then, Celsus try to scare us with threats of mischief from demons, for we despise them. And the demons, when despised, can do no harm to those who are under the protection of Him who can alone help all who deserve His aid; and He does no less than set His own angels over His devout servants, so that none of the hostile angels, nor even he who is called "the prince of this world,"80 can effect anything against those who have given themselves to God.

Chapter XXXVII. In the next place, Celsus forgets that he is addressing Christians, who pray to God alone through Jesus; and mixing up other notions with theirs, he absurdly attributes them all to Christians. "If," says he, "they who are addressed are called upon by barbarous names, they will have power, but no longer will they have any if they are addressed in Greek or Latin." Let him, then, state plainly whom we call upon for help by barbarous names. Any one will be convinced that this is a false charge which Celsus brings against us, when he considers that Christians in prayer do not even use the precise names which divine Scripture applies to God; but the Greeks use Greek names, the Romans Latin names, and every one prays and sings praises to God as he best can, in his mother tongue. For the Lord of all the languages of the earth hears those who pray to Him in each different tongue, hearing, if I may so say, but one voice, expressing itself in different dialects.81 For the Most High is not as one of those who select one language, Barbarian or Greek, knowing nothing of any other, and caring nothing for those who speak in other tongues.

Chapter XXXVIII.

He next represents Christians as saying what he never heard from any Christian; or if he did, it must have been from one of the most ignorant and lawless of the people. "Behold," they are made to say, "I go up to a statue of Jupiter or Apollo, or some other god: I revile it, and beat it, yet it takes no vengeance on me." He is not aware that among the prohibitions of the divine law is this, "Thou shalt not revile the gods,"82 and this is intended to prevent the formation of the habit of reviling any one whatever; for we have been taught, "Bless, and curse not,"83 and it is said that "revilers shall not inherit the kingdom of God."84 And who amongst us is so foolish as to speak in the way Celsus describes, and to fail to see that such contemptuous language can be of no avail for removing prevailing notions about the gods? For it is matter of observation that there are men who utterly deny the existence of a God or of an overruling providence, and who by their impious and destructive teaching have founded sects among those who are called philosophers, and yet neither they themselves, nor those who have embraced their opinions, have suffered any of those things which mankind generally account evils: they are both strong in body and rich in possessions. And yet if we ask what loss they have sustained, we shall find that they have suffered the most certain injury. For what greater injury can befall a man than that he should be unable amidst the order of the world to see Him who has made it? and what sorer affliction can come to any one than that blindness of mind which prevents him from seeing the Creator and Father of every soul?

Chapter XXXIX,

After putting such words into our mouth, and maliciously charging Christians with sentiments which they never held, he then proceeds to give to this supposed expression of Christian feeling

an answer, which is indeed more a mockery than an answer, when he says, "Do you not see, good sir, that even your own demon is not only reviled, but banished from every land and sea, and you yourself, who are as it were an image dedicated to him, are bound and led to punishment, and fastened to the stake, whilst your demon-or, as you call him, `the Son of God'-takes no vengeance on the evil-doer? "This answer would be admissible if we employed such language as he ascribes to us; although even then he would have no right to call the Son of God a demon. For as we hold that all demons are evil, He who turns so many men to God is in our view no demon, but God the Word, and the Son of God. And I know not how Celsus has so far forgotten himself as to call Jesus Christ a demon, when he nowhere alludes to the existence of any evil demons. And finally, as to the punishments threatened against the ungodly, these will come upon them after they have refused all remedies, and have been, as we may say, visited with an incurable malady of sinfulness.

Chapter XL.

Such is our doctrine of punishment; and the inculcation of this doctrine turns many from their sins. But let us see, on the other hand, what is the response given on this subject by the priest of Jupiter or Apollo of whom Celsus speaks. It is this: "The mills of the gods grind slowly."85 Another describes punishment as reaching "to children's children, and to those who came after them."86 How much better are those words of Scripture: "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children for the fathers. Every man shall be put to death for his own sin."87 And again, "Every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge."88 And, "The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son: the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."89 If any shall say that the response, "To children's children, and to those who come after them," corresponds with that passage, "Who visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me,"90 let him learn from Ezekiel that this language is not to be taken literally; for he reproves those who say, "Our fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge,"91 and then he adds, "As I live, saith the Lord, every one shall die for his own sin." As to the proper meaning of the figurative language about sins being visited unto the third and fourth generation, we cannot at present stay to explain.

Chapter XLI.

He then goes on to rail against us after the manner of old wives. "You," says he, "mock and revile the statues of our gods; but if you had reviled Bacchus or Hercules in person, you would not perhaps have done so with impunity. But those who crucified your God when present among men, suffered nothing for it, either at the time or during the whole of their lives. And what new thing has there happened since then to make us believe that he was not an impostor, but the Son of God? And forsooth, he who sent his Son with certain instructions for mankind, allowed him to be thus cruelly treated, and his instructions to perish with him, without ever during all this long time showing the slightest concern. What father was ever so inhuman? Perhaps, indeed, you may say that he suffered so much, because it was his wish to bear what came to him. But it is open to those whom you maliciously revile, to adopt the same language, and say that they wish to be reviled, and therefore they bear it with patience; for it is best to deal equally with both sides,-although these (gods) severely punish the scorner, so that he must either flee and hide himself, or be taken

and perish." Now to these statements I would answer that we revile no one, for we believe that "revilers will not inherit the kingdom of God."92 And we read, "Bless them that curse you; bless, and curse not; "also, "Being reviled, we bless." And even although the abuse which we pour upon another may seem to have some excuse in the wrong which we have received from him, yet such abuse is not allowed by the word of God. And how much more ought we to abstain from reviling others, when we consider what a great folly it is! And it is equally foolish to apply abusive language to stone or gold or silver, turned into what is supposed to be the form of God by those who have no knowledge of God. Accordingly, we throw ridicule not upon lifeless images, but upon those only who worship them. Moreover, if certain demons reside in certain images, and one of them passes for Bacchus, another for Hercules, we do not vilify them: for, on the one hand, it would be useless; and, on the other, it does not become one who is meek, and peaceful, and gentle in spirit, and who has learnt that no one among men or demons is to be reviled, however wicked he may be.

Chapter XLII.

There is an inconsistency into which, strangely enough, Celsus has fallen unawares. Those demons or gods whom he extolled a little before, he now shows to be in fact the vilest of creatures, punishing more for their own revenge than for the improvement of those who revile them. His words are, "If you had reviled Bacchus or Hercules when present in person, you would not have escaped with impunity." How any one can hear without being present in person, I leave any one who will to explain; as also those other questions, "Why he is sometimes present, and sometimes absent? "and, "What is the business which takes demons away from place to place? "Again, when he says, "Those who crucified your God himself, suffered no harm for doing so," he supposes that it is the body of Jesus extended on the cross and slain, and not His divine nature, that we call God; and that it was as God that Jesus was crucified and slain. As we have already dwelt at length on the sufferings which Jesus suffered as a man, we shall. purposely say no more here, that we may not repeat what we have said already. But when he goes on to say that "those who inflicted death upon Jesus suffered nothing afterwards through so long a time," we must inform him, as well as all who are disposed to learn the truth, that the city in which the Jewish people called for the crucifixion of Jesus with shouts of" Crucify him, crucify him,"93 preferring to have the robber set free, who had been cast into prison for sedition and murder and Jesus, who had been delivered through envy, to be crucified,-that this city not long afterwards was attacked, and, after a long siege, was utterly overthrown and laid waste; for God judged the inhabitants of that place unworthy of living together the life of citizens. And yet, though it may seem an incredible thing to say, God spared this people in delivering them to their enemies; for He saw that they were incurably averse to any amendment, and were daily sinking deeper and deeper into evil. And all this befell them, because the blood of Jesus was shed at their instigation and on their land; and the land was no longer able to bear those who were guilty of so fearful a crime against Jesus.

Chapter XLIII.

Some new thing, then, has come to pass since the time that Jesus suffered,-that, I mean, which has happened to the city, to the whole nation, and in the sudden and general rise of a Christian community. And that, too, is a new thing, that those who were strangers to the covenants of God, with no part in His promises, and far from the truth, have by a divine power been enabled to embrace the truth. These things were not the work of an impostor, but were the work of God, who

sent His Word, Jesus Christ, to make known His purposes.94 The sufferings and death which Jesus endured with such fortitude and meekness, show the cruelty and injustice of those who inflicted them, but they did not destroy the announcement of the purposes of God; indeed, if we may so say, they served rather to make them known. For Jesus Himself taught us this when He said, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth by itself alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."95 Jesus, then, who is this grain of wheat, died, and brought forth much fruit. And the Father is ever looking forward for the results of the death of the grain of wheat, both those which are arising now, and those which shall arise hereafter. The Father of Jesus is therefore a tender and loving Father, though "He spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up" as His lamb "for us all,"96 that so "the Lamb of God," by dying for all men, might "take away the sin of the world." It was not by compulsion, therefore, but willingly, that He bore the reproaches of those who reviled Him. Then Celsus, returning to those who apply abusive language to images, says: "Of those whom you load with insults, you may in like manner say that they voluntarily submit to such treatment, and therefore they bear insults with patience; for it is best to deal equally with both sides. Yet these severely punish the scorner, so that he must either flee and hide himself, or be taken and perish." It is not, then, because Christians cast insults upon demons that they incur their revenge, but because they drive them away out of the images, and from the bodies and souls of men. And here, although Celsus perceives it not, he has on this subject spoken something like the truth; for it is true that the souls of those who condemn Christians, and betray them, and rejoice in persecuting them, are filled with wicked demons.

Chapter XLIV. But when the souls of those who die for the Christian faith depart from the body with great glory, they destroy the power of the demons, and frustrate their designs against men. Wherefore I imagine, that as the demons have learnt from experience that they are defeated and overpowered by the martyrs for the truth, they are afraid to have recourse again to violence. And thus, until they forget the defeats they have sustained, it is probable that the world will be at peace with the. Christians. But when they recover their power, and, with eyes blinded by sin, wish again to take their revenge on Christians, and persecute them, then again they will be defeated, and then again the souls of the godly, who lay down their lives for the cause of godliness, shall utterly destroy the army of the wicked one. And as the demons perceive that those who meet death victoriously for the sake of religion destroy their authority, while those who give way under their sufferings, and deny the faith, come under their power, I imagine that at times they feel a deep interest in Christians when on their trial, and keenly strive to gain them over to their side, feeling as they do that their confession is torture to them, and their denial is a relief and encouragement to them. And traces of the same feeling may be seen in the demeanour of the judges; for they are greatly distressed at seeing those who bear outrage and torture with patience, but are greatly elated when a Christian gives way under it. Yet it is from no feeling of humanity that this arises. They see well, that, while "the tongues" of those who are overpowered by the tortures "may take the oath, the mind has not sworn.",97 And this may serve as an answer to the remark of Celsus: "But they severely punish one who reviles them, so that he must either flee and hide himself, or be taken and perish." If a Christian ever flees away, it is not from fear, but in obedience to the command of his Master, that so he may preserve himself, and employ his strength for the benefit of others.

Chapter XLV.

Let us see what Celsus next goes on to say. It is as follows: "What need is there to collect all the oracular responses, which have been delivered with a divine voice by priests and priestesses, as wall as by others, whether men or women, who were under a divine influence?-all the wonderful things that have been heard issuing from the inner sanctuary?-all the revelations that have been made to those who consulted the sacrificial victims?-and all the knowledge that has been conveyed to men by other signs and prodigies? To some the gods have appeared in visible forms. The world is full of such instances. How many cities have been built in obedience to commands received from oracles; how often, in the same way, delivered from disease and famine! Or again, how many cities, from disregard or forgetfulness of these oracles, have perished miserably! How many colonies have been established and made to flourish by following their orders! How many princes and private persons have, from this cause, had prosperity or adversity! How many who mourned over their childlessness, have obtained the blessing they asked for! How many have turned away from themselves. the anger of demons! How many who were maimed in their limbs, have had them restored! And again, how many have met with summary punishment for showing want of reverence to the temples-some being instantly seized with madness, others openly confessing their crimes, others having put an end to their lives, and others having become the victims of incurable maladies! Yea, some have been slain by a terrible voice issuing from the inner sanctuary." I know not how it comes that Celsus brings forward these as undoubted facts, whilst at the same time he treats as mere fables the wonders which are recorded and handed down to us as having happened among the Jews, or as having been performed by Jesus and His disciples. For why may not our accounts be true, and those of Celsus fables and fictions? At least, these latter were not believed by the followers of Democritus, Epicurus, and Aristotle, although perhaps these Grecian sects would have been convinced by the evidence in support of our miracles, if Moses or any of the prophets who wrought these wonders, or Jesus Christ Himself, had come in their way.

Chapter XLVI.

It is related of the priestess of Apollo, that she at times allowed herself to be influenced in her answers by bribes; but our prophets were admired for their plain truthfulness, not only by their contemporaries, but also by those who lived in later times. For through the commands pronounced by the prophets cities were founded, men were cured, and plagues were stayed. Indeed, the whole Jewish race went out as a colony from Egypt to Palestine, in accordance with the divine oracles. They also, when they followed the commands of God, were prosperous; when they departed from them, they suffered reverses. What need is there to quote all the princes and private persons in Scripture history who fared well or ill according as they obeyed or despised the words of the prophets? If we refer to those who were unhappy because they were childless, but who, after offering prayers to the Creator of all, became fathers and mothers, let any one read the accounts of Abraham and Sarah, to whom at an advanced age was born Isaac, the father of the whole Jewish nation: and there are other instances of the same thing. Let him also read the account of Hezekiah, who not only recovered from his sickness, according to the prediction of Isaiah, but was also bold enough to say, "Afterwards I shall beget children, who shall declare Thy righteousness."98 And in the fourth book of Kings we read that the prophet Elisha made known to a woman who had received him hospitably, that by the grace of God she should have a son; and through the prayers of Elisha she became a mother.99 The maimed were cured by Jesus in great

numbers. And the books of the Maccabees relate what punishments were inflicted upon those who dared to profane the Jewish service in the temple at Jerusalem.

Chapter XLVII. But the Greeks Will say that these accounts are fabulous, although two whole nations are witnesses to their truth. But why may we not consider the accounts of fife Greeks as fabulous rather than those? Perhaps some one, however, wishing not to appear blindly to accept his own statements and reject those of others, would conclude, after a close examination of the matter, that the wonders mentioned by the Greeks were performed by certain demons; those among the Jews by prophets or by angels, or by God through the means of angels; and those recorded by Christians by Jesus Himself, or by His power working in His apostles. Let us, then, compare all these accounts together; let us examine into the aim and purpose of those who performed them; and let us inquire what effect was produced upon the persons on whose account these acts of kindness were performed, whether beneficial or hurtful, or neither the one nor the other. The ancient Jewish people, before they sinned against God, and were for their great wickedness cast off by Him, must evidently have been a people of great wisdom.100 But Christians, who have in so wonderful a manner formed themselves into a community, appear at first to have been more induced by miracles than by exhortations to forsake the institutions of their fathers, and to adopt others which were quite strange to them. And indeed, if we were to reason from what is probable as to the first formation of the Christian society, we should say that it is incredible that the apostles of Jesus Christ, who were unlettered men of humble life, could have been emboldened to preach Christian truth to men by anything else than the power which was conferred upon them, and the grace which accompanied their words and rendered them effective; and those who heard them would not have renounced the old-established usages of their fathers, and been induced to adopt notions so different from those in which they had been brought up, unless they had been moved by some extraordinary power, and by the force of miraculous events.

Chapter XLVIII. In the next place, Celsus, after referring to the enthusiasm with which men will contend unto death rather than abjure Christianity, adds strangely enough some remarks, in which he wishes to show that our doctrines are similar to those delivered by the priests at the celebration of the heathen mysteries. He says, "Just as you, good sir, believe in eternal punishments, so also do the priests who interpret and initiate into the sacred mysteries. The same punishments with which you threaten others, they threaten you. Now it is worthy of examination, which of the two is more firmly established as true; for both parties contend with equal assurance that the truth is on their side. But if we require proofs, the priests of the heathen gods produce many that are clear and convincing, partly from wonders performed by demons, and partly from the answers given by oracles, and various other modes of divination." He would, then, have us believe that we and the interpreters of the mysteries equally teach the doctrine of eternal punishment, and that it is a matter for inquiry on which side of the two the truth lies. Now I should say that the truth lies with those who are able to induce their hearers to live as men who are convinced of the truth of what they have heard. But Jews and Christians have been thus affected by the doctrines they hold about what we speak of as the world to come, and the rewards of the righteous, and the punishments of the wicked. Let Celsus then, or any one who will, show us who have been moved in this way in regard to eternal punishments by the teaching of heathen priests and mystagogues. For surely the purpose of him who brought to light this doctrine was not only to reason upon the subject of punishments, and to strike men with terror of them, but to induce those who heard the

truth to strive with all their might against those sins which are the causes of punishment. And those who study the prophecies with care, and are not content with a cursory perusal of the predictions contained in them, will find them such as to convince the intelligent and sincere reader that the Spirit of God was in those men, and that with their writings there is nothing in all the works of demons, responses of oracles, or sayings of soothsayers, for one moment to be compared.

Chapter XLIX.

Let us see in what terms Celsus next addresses us: "Besides, is it not most absurd and inconsistent in you, on the one hand, to make so much of the body as you do-to expect that the same body will rise again, as though it were the best and most precious part of us; and yet, on the other, to expose it to such tortures as though it were worthless? But men who hold such notions, and are so attached to the body, are not worthy of being reasoned with; for in this and in other respects they show themselves to be gross, impure, and bent upon revolting without any reason from the common belief. But I shall direct my discourse to those who hope for the enjoyment of eternal life with God by means of the soul or mind, whether they choose to call it a spiritual substance, an intelligent spirit, holy and blessed, or a living soul, or the heavenly and indestructible offspring of a divine and incorporeal nature, or by whatever name they designate the spiritual nature of man. And they are rightly persuaded that those who live well shall be blessed, and the unrighteous shall all suffer everlasting punishments. And from this doctrine neither they nor any other should ever swerve." Now, as he has often already reproached us for our opinions on the resurrection, and as we have on these occasions defended our opinions in what seemed to us a reasonable way, we do not intend, at each repetition of the one objection, to go into a repetition of our defence. Celsus makes an unfounded charge against us when he ascribes to us the opinion that "there is nothing in our complex nature better or more precious than the body; "for we hold that far beyond all bodies is the soul, and especially the reasonable soul; for it is the soul, and not the body, which bears the likeness of the Creator. For, according to us, God is not corporeal, unless we fall into the absurd errors of the followers of Zeno and Chrysippus.

Chapter L. But since he reproaches us with too great an anxiety about the body, let him know that when that feeling is a wrong one we do not share in it, and when it is indifferent we only long for that which God has promised to the righteous. But Celsus considers that we are inconsistent with ourselves when we count the body worthy of honour from God, and therefore hope for its resurrection, and yet at the same time expose it to tortures as though it were not worthy of honour. But surely it is not without honour for the body to suffer for the sake of godliness, and to choose afflictions on account of virtue: the dishonourable thing would be for it to waste its powers in vicious indulgence. For the divine word says: "What is an honourable seed? The seed of man. What is a dishonourable seed? The seed of man."101 Moreover, Celsus thinks that he ought not to reason with those who hope for the good of the body, as they are unreasonably intent upon an object which can never satisfy their expectations. He also calls them gross and impure men, bent upon creating needless dissensions. But surely he ought, as one of superior humanity, to assist even the rude and depraved. For society does not exclude from its pale the coarse and uncultivated, as it does the irrational animals, but our Creator made us on the same common level with all mankind. It is not an undignified thing, therefore, to reason even with the coarse and unrefined, and to try to bring them as far as possible to a higher state of refinement-to bring the impure to the highest practicable degree of purity-to bring the unreasoning multitude to reason,

and the diseased in mind to spiritual health.

Chapter LI In the next place, he expresses his approval of those who "hope that eternal life shall be enjoyed with God by the soul or mind, or, as it is variously called, the spiritual nature, the reasonable soul, intelligent, holy, and blessed; "and he allows the soundness of the doctrine, "that those who had a good life shall be happy, and the unrighteous shall suffer eternal punishments." And yet I wonder at what follows, more than at anything that Celsus has ever said; for he adds, "And from this doctrine let not them or any one ever swerve." For certainly in writing against Christians, the very essence of whose faith is God, and the promises made by Christ to the righteous, and His warnings of punishment awaiting the wicked, he must see that, if a Christian were brought to renounce Christianity by his arguments against it, it is beyond doubt that, along with his Christian faith, he would cast off the very doctrine from which he says that no Christian and no man should ever swerve. But I think Celsus has been far surpassed in consideration for his fellow-men by Chrysippus in his treatise, On the Subjugation of the Passions. For when he sought to apply remedies to the affections and passions which oppress and distract the human spirit, after employing such arguments as seemed to himself to be strong, he did not shrink from using in the second and third place others which he did not himself approve of. "For," says he, "if it were held by any one that there are three kinds of good, we must seek to regulate the passions in accordance with that supposition; and we must not too curiously inquire into the opinions held by a person at the time that he is under the influence of passion, lest, if we delay too long for the purpose of overthrowing the opinions by which the mind is possessed, the opportunity for curing the passion may pass away." And he adds, "Thus, supposing that pleasure were the highest good, or that he was of that opinion whose mind was under the dominion of passion, we should not the less give him help, and show that, even on the principle that pleasure is the highest and final good of man, all passion is disallowed." And Celsus, in like manner, after having embraced the doctrine, "that the righteous shall be blessed, and the wicked shall suffer eternal punishments," should have followed out his subject; and, after having advanced what seemed to him the chief argument, he should have proceeded to prove and enforce by further reasons the truth that the unjust shall surely suffer eternal punishment, and those who lead a good life shall be blessed.

Chapter LII. For we who have been persuaded by many, yea by innumerable, arguments to lead a Christian life, are especially anxious to bring all men as far as possible to receive the whole system of Christian truth; but when we meet with persons who are prejudiced by the calumnies thrown out against Christians, and who, from a notion that Christians are an impious people, will not listen to any who offer to instruct them in the principles of the divine word, then, on the common principles of humanity, we endeavour to the best of our ability to convince them of the doctrine of the punishment of the wicked, and to induce even those who are unwilling to become Christians to accept that truth. And we are thus anxious to persuade them of the rewards of right living, when we see that many things which we teach about a healthy moral life are also taught by the enemies of our faith. For you will find that they have not entirely lost the common notions of right and wrong, of good and evil. Let all men, therefore, when they look upon the universe, observe the constant revolution of the unerring stars, the converse motion of the planets, the constitution of the atmosphere, and its adaptation to the necessities of the animals, and especially of man, with all the innumerable contrivances for the well-being of mankind; and then, after thus considering the order of the universe, let them beware of doing ought which is displeasing to the

Creator of this universe, of the soul and its intelligent principle; and let them rest assured that punishment shall be inflicted on the wicked, and rewards shall be bestowed upon the righteous, by Him who deals with every one as he deserves, and who will proportion His rewards to the good that each has done, and to the account of himself that he is able to give.102 And let all men know that the good shall be advanced to a higher state, and that the wicked shall be delivered over to sufferings and torments, in punishment of their licentiousness and depravity, their cowardice, timidity, and all their follies.

Chapter LIII.

Having said so much on this subject, let us proceed to another statement of Celsus: "Since men are born united to a body, whether to suit the order of the universe, or that they may in that way suffer the punishment of sin; or because the soul is oppressed by certain passions until it is purged from these at the appointed period of time,-for, according to Empedocles, all mankind must be banished from the abodes of the blessed for 30, 000 periods of time,-we must therefore believe that they are entrusted to certain beings as keepers of this prison-house." You will observe that Celsus, in these remarks, speaks of such weighty matters in the language of doubtful human conjecture. He adds also various opinions as to the origin of man, and shows considerable reluctance to set down any of these opinions as false. When he had once come to the conclusion neither indiscriminately to accept nor recklessly to reject the opinions held by the ancients, would it not have been in accordance with that same rule of judging, if, when he found himself not disposed to believe the doctrines taught by the Jewish prophets and by Jesus, at any rate to have held them as matters open to inquiry? And should he not have considered whether it is very probable that a people who faithfully served the Most High God, and who ofttimes encountered numberless dangers, and even death, rather than sacrifice the honour of God, and what they believed to be the revelations of His will, should have been wholly overlooked by God? Should it not rather be thought probable that people who despised the efforts of human art to represent the Divine Being, but strove rather to rise in thought to the knowledge of the Most High, should have been favoured with some revelation from Himself? Besides, he ought to have considered that the common Father and Creator of all, who sees and hears all things, and who duly esteems the intention of every man who seeks Him and desires to serve Him, will grant unto these also some of the benefits of His rule, and will give them an enlargement of that knowledge of Himself which He has once bestowed upon them. If this had been remembered by Celsus and the others who hate Moses and the Jewish prophets, and Jesus, and His faithful disciples, who endured so much for the sake of His word, they would not thus have reviled Moses, and the prophets, and Jesus, and His apostles; and they would not have singled out for their contempt the Jews beyond all the nations of the earth, and said they were worse even than the Egyptians,-a people who, either from superstition or some other form of delusion, went as far as they could in degrading the Divine Being to the level of brute beasts. And we invite inquiry, not as though we wished to lead any to doubt regarding the truths of Christianity, but in order to show that it would be better for those who in every way revile the doctrines of Christianity, at any rate to suspend their judgment, and not so rashly to state about Jesus and His apostles such things as they do not know, and as they cannot prove, either by what the Stoics call" apprehensive perception,"103 or by any other methods used by different sects of philosophers as criteria of truth.

Chapter LIV. When Celsus adds, "We must therefore believe that men are entrusted to certain beings who are the keepers of this prison-house," our answer is, that the souls of those who are called by Jeremiah "prisoners of the earth,"104 when eager in the pursuit of virtue, are even in this life delivered from the bondage of evil; for Jesus declared this, as was foretold long before His advent by the prophet Isaiah, when he said that "the prisoners would go forth, and they that were in darkness would show themselves."105 And Jesus Himself, as Isaiah also foretold of Him, arose as "a light to them that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death,"106 so that we may therefore say, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast their cords from us."107 If Celsus, and those who like him are opposed to us, had been able to sound the depths of the Gospel narratives, they would not have counselled us to put our confidence in those beings whom they call "the keepers of the prison-house." It is written in the Gospel that a woman was bowed together, and could in no wise lift up herself. And when Jesus beheld her, and perceived from what cause she was bowed together, he said, "Ought not this daughter of Abraham, whom Satan has bound, lo, these eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the Sabbath day? "108 And how many others are still bowed down and bound by Satan, who hinders them from looking up at all, and who would have us to look down also! And no one can raise them up, except the Word, that came by Jesus Christ, and that aforetime inspired the prophets: And Jesus came to release those who were under the dominion of the devil; and, speaking of him, He said with that depth of meaning which characterized His words, "Now is the prince of this world judged." We are, then, indulging in no baseless calumnies against demons, but are condemning their agency upon earth as destructive to mankind, and show that, under cover of oracles and bodily cures, and such other means, they are seeking to separate from God the soul which has descended to this "body of humiliation; "and those who feel this humiliation exclaim, "0 wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? "109 It is not in vain, therefore, that we expose our bodies to be beaten and tortured; for surely it is not in vain for a man to submit to such sufferings, if by that means he may avoid bestowing the name of gods on those earthly spirits that unite with their worshippers to bring him to destruction. Indeed, we think it both reasonable in itself and well-pleasing to God, to suffer pain for the sake of virtue, to undergo torture for the sake of piety, and even to suffer death for the sake of holiness; for "precious in the sight of God is the death of His saints; "110 and we maintain that to overcome the love of life is to enjoy a great good. But when Celsus compares us to notorious criminals, who justly suffer punishment for their crimes, and does not shrink from placing so laudable a purpose as that which we set before us upon the same level with the obstinacy of criminals, he makes himself the brother and companion of those who accounted Jesus among criminals, fulfilling the Scripture, which saith, "He was numbered with transgressors."111

Chapter LV.

Celsus goes on to say: "They must make their choice between two alternatives. If they refuse to render due service to the gods, and to respect those who are set over this service, let them not come to manhood, or marry wives, or have children, or indeed take any share in the affairs of life; but let them depart hence with all speed, and leave no posterity behind them, that such a race may become extinct from the face of the earth. Or, on the other hand, if they will take wives, and bring up children, and taste of the fruits of the earth, and partake of all the blessings of life, and bear its appointed sorrows (for nature herself hath allotted sorrows to all men; for sorrows must exist, and earth is the only place for them), then must they discharge the duties of life until they are released

from its bonds, and render due honour to those beings who control the affairs of this life, if they would not show themselves ungrateful to them. For it would be unjust in them, after receiving the good things which they dispense, to pay them no tribute in return." To this we reply, that there appears to us to be no good reason for our leaving this world, except when piety and virtue require it; as when, for example, those who are set as judges, and think that they have power over our lives, place before us the alternative either to live in violation of the commands of Jesus, or to die if we continue obedient to them. But God has allowed us to marry, because all are not fit for the higher, that is, the perfectly pure life; and God would have us to bring up all our children, and not to destroy any of the offspring given us by His providence. And this does not conflict with our purpose not to obey the demons that are on the earth; for, "being armed with the whole armour of God, we stand"112 as athletes of piety against the race of demons that plot against us.

Chapter LVI.

Although, therefore, Celsus would, in his own words, "drive us with all haste out of life," so that "such a race may become extinct from the earth; "yet we, along with those who worship the Creator, will live according to the laws of God, never consenting to obey the laws of sin. We will marry if we wish, and bring up the children given to us in marriage; and if need be, we will not only partake of the blessings of life, but bear its appointed sorrows as a trial to our souls. For in this way is divine Scripture accustomed to speak of human afflictions, by which, as gold is tried in the fire, so the spirit of man is tried, and is found to be worthy either of condemnation or of praise. For those things which Celsus calls evils we are therefore prepared, and are ready to say, "Try me, O Lord, and prove me; purge my reins and my heart."113 For "no one will be crowned," unless here upon earth, with this body of humiliation, "he strive lawfully."114 Further, we do not pay honours supposed to be due to those whom Celsus speaks of as being set over the affairs of the world. For we worship the Lord our God, and Him only do we serve, and desire to be followers of Christ, who, when the devil said to Him, "All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me," answered him by the words, "Thou shall worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shall thou serve."115 Wherefore we do not render the honour supposed to be due to those who. according to Celsus, are set over the affairs of this world; for "no man can serve two masters," and we "cannot serve God and mammon," whether this name be applied to one or more. Moreover, if any one "by transgressing the law dishonours the lawgiver," it seems clear to us that if the two laws, the law of God and the law of mammon, are completely opposed to each other, it is better for us by transgressing the law of mammon to dishonour mammon, that we may honour God by keeping His law, than by transgressing the law of God to dishonour God, that by obeying the law of mammon we may honour mammon.

Chapter LVII.

Celsus supposes that men "discharge the duties of life until they are loosened from its bonds," when, in accordance with commonly received customs, they offer sacrifices to each of the gods recognised in the state; and he fails to perceive the true duty which is fulfilled by an earnest piety. For we say that he truly discharges the duties of life who is ever mindful who is his Creator, and what things are agreeable to Him, and who acts in all things so that he may please God. Again, Celsus wishes us to be thankful to these demons, imagining that we owe them thank-offerings. But we, while recognising the duty of thankfulness, maintain that we show no ingratitude by refusing to

give thanks to beings who do us no good, but who rather set themselves against us when we neither sacrifice to them nor worship them. We are much more concerned lest we should be ungrateful to God, who has loaded us with His benefits, whose workmanship we are, who cares for us in whatever condition we may be, and who has given us hopes of things beyond this present life. And we have a symbol of gratitude to God in the bread which we call the Eucharist. Besides, as we have shown before, the demons have not the control of those things which have been created for our use; we commit no wrong, therefore, when we partake of created things, and yet refuse to offer sacrifices to beings who have no concern with them. Moreover, as we know that it is not demons, but angels, who have been set over the fruits of the earth, and over the birth of animals, it is the latter that we praise and bless, as having been appointed by God over the things needful for our race; yet even to them we will not give the honour which is due to God. For this would not be pleasing to God, nor would it be any pleasure to the angels themselves to whom these things have been committed. Indeed, they are much more pleased if we refrain from offering sacrifices to them than if we offer them; for they have no desire for the sacrificial odours which rise from the earth.

Chapter LVIII.

Celsus goes on to say: "Let any one inquire of the Egyptians, and he will find that everything, even to the most insignificant, is committed to the care of a certain demon. The body of man is divided into thirty-six parts, and as many demons of the air are appointed to the care of it, each having charge of a different part, although others make the number much larger. All these demons have in the language of that country distinct names; as Chnoumen, Chnachoumen, Cnat, Sicat, Biou, Erou, Erebiou, Ramanor, Reianoor, and other such Egyptian names. Moreover, they call upon them, and are cured of diseases of particular parts of the body. What, then, is there to prevent a man from giving honour to these or to others, if he would rather be in health than be sick, rather have prosperity than adversity, and be freed as much as possible from all plagues and troubles? "In this way, Celsus seeks to degrade our souls to the worship of demons, under the assumption that they have possession of our bodies, and that each one has power over a separate member. And he wishes us on this ground to put confidence in these demons of which he speaks, and to serve them, in order that we may be in health rather than be sick, have prosperity rather than adversity, and may as far as possible escape all plagues and troubles. The honour of the Most High God, which cannot be divided or shared with another, is so lightly esteemed by him, that he cannot believe in the ability of God, if called upon and highly honoured, to give to those who serve Him a power by which they may be defended from the assaults directed by demons against the righteous. For he has never beheld the efficacy of those words, "in the name of Jesus," when uttered by the truly faithful, to deliver not a few from demons and demoniacal possessions and other plagues.

Chapter LIX.

Probably those who embrace the views of Celsus will smile at us when we say, "At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, of things on earth, and of things under the earth, and every tongue" is brought to "confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."116 But although they may ridicule such a statement, yet they will receive much more convincing arguments in support of it than Celsus brings in behalf of Chnoumen, Chnachoumen,

Cnat, Sicat, and the rest of the Egyptian catalogue, whom he mentions as being called upon, and as healing the diseases of different pans of the human body. And observe how, while seeking to turn us away from our faith in the God of all through Jesus Christ, he exhorts us for the welfare of our bodies to faith in six-and-thirty barbarous demons, whom the Egyptian magi alone call upon in some unknown way, and promise us in return great benefits. According to Celsus, then, it would be better for us now to give ourselves up to magic and sorcery than to embrace Christianity, and to put our faith in an innumerable multitude of demons than in the almighty, living, self-revealing God, who has manifested Himself by Him who by His great power has spread the true principles of holiness among all men throughout the world; yea, I may add without exaggeration, He has given this knowledge to all beings everywhere possessed of reason, and needing deliverance from the plague and corruption of sin.

Chapter LX.

Celsus, however, suspecting that the tendency of such teaching as he here gives is to lead to magic, and dreading that harm may arise from these statements, adds: "Care, however, must be taken lest any one, by familiarizing his mind with these matters, should become too much engrossed with them, and lest, through an excessive regard for the body, he should have his mind turned away from higher things, and allow them to pass into oblivion. For perhaps we ought not to despise the opinion of those wise men who say that most of the earth-demons are taken up with carnal indulgence, blood, odours, sweet sounds, and other such sensual things; and therefore they are unable to do more than heal the body, or foretell the fortunes of men and cities, and do other such things as relate to this mortal life." If there is, then, such a dangerous tendency in this direction, as even the enemy of the truth of God confesses, how much better is it to avoid all danger of giving ourselves too much up to the power of such demons, and of becoming turned aside from higher things, and suffering them to pass into oblivion through an excessive attention to the body; by entrusting ourselves to the Supreme God through Jesus Christ, who has given us such instruction, and asking of Him all help, and the guardianship of holy and good angels, to defend us from the earth-spirits intent on lust, and blood, and sacrificial odours,117 and strange sounds, and other sensual things! For even, by the confession of Celsus, they can do nothing more than cure the body. But, indeed, I would say that it is not clear that these demons, however much they are reverenced, can even cure the body. But in seeking recovery from disease, a man must either follow the inure ordinary and simple method, and have recourse to medical art; or if he would go beyond the common methods adopted by men, he must rise to the higher and better way of seeking the blessing of Him who is God over all, through piety and prayers.

Chapter LXI. For consider with yourself which disposition of mind will be more acceptable to the Most High, whose power is supreme and universal, and who directs all for the welfare of mankind in body, and in mind, and in outward things,-whether that of the man who gives himself up to God in all things, or that of the man who is curiously inquisitive about the names of demons, their powers and agency, the incantations, the herbs proper to them, and the stones with the inscriptions graven on them, corresponding symbolically or otherwise to their traditional shapes? It is plain even to the least intelligent, that the disposition of the man who is simpleminded and not given to curious inquiries, but in all things devoted to the divine will, will be most pleasing to God, and to all those who are like God; but that of the man who, for the sake of bodily health, of bodily enjoyment, and outward prosperity, busies himself about the names of demons, and inquires by

what incantations he shall appease them, will be condemned by God as bad and impious, and more agreeable to the nature of demons than of men, and will be given over to be torn and otherwise tormented by demons. For it is probable that they, as being wicked creatures, and, as Celsus confesses, addicted to blood, sacrificial odours, sweet sounds, and such like, will not keep their most solemn promises to those who supply them with these things. For if others invoke their aid against the persons who have already called upon them, and purchase their favour with a larger supply of blood, and odours, and such offerings as they require, they will take part against those who yesterday sacrificed and presented pleasant offerings to them.

Chapter LXII. In a former passage, Celsus had spoken at length on the subject of oracles, and had referred us to their answers as being the voice of the gods; but now he makes amends, and confesses that "those who foretell the fortunes of men and cities, and concern themselves about mortal affairs, are earth-spirits, who are given up to fleshly lust, blood, odours, sweet sounds, and other such things, and who are unable to rise above these sensual objects." Perhaps, when we opposed the theological teaching of Celsus in regard to oracles, and the honour done to those called gods, some one might suspect us of impiety when we alleged that these were stratagems of demoniacal powers, to draw men away to carnal indulgence. But any who entertained this suspicion against us, may now believe that the statements put forth by Christians were well-founded, when they see the above passage from the writings of one who is a professed adversary of Christianity, but who now at length writes as one who has been overcome by the spirit of truth. Although, therefore, Celsus says that "we must offer sacrifices to them, in so far as they are profitable to us, for to offer them indiscriminately is not allowed by reason," yet we are not to offer sacrifices to demons addicted to blood and odours; nor is the Divine Being to be profaned in our minds, by being brought down to the level of wicked demons. If Celsus had carefully weighed the meaning of the word "profitable," and had considered that the tritest profit lies in virtue and in virtuous action, he would not have applied the phrase "as far as it is profitable" to the service of such demons, as he has acknowledged them to be. If, then, health of body and success in life were to come to us on condition of our serving such demons, we should prefer sickness and misfortune accompanied with the consciousness of our being truly devoted to the will of God. For this is preferable to being mortally diseased in mind, and wretched through being separate and outcasts from God, though healthy in body and abounding in earthly prosperity. And we would rather go for help to one who seeks nothing whatever but the well-being of men and of all rational creatures, than to those who delight in blood and sacrificial odours.

Chapter LXIII.

After having said so much of the demons, and of their fondness for blood and the odour of sacrifices, Celsus adds, as though wishing to retract the charge he had made: "The more just opinion is, that demons desire nothing and need nothing, but that they take pleasure in those who discharge towards them offices of piety." If Celsus believed this to be true, he should have said so, instead of making his previous statements. But, indeed, human nature is never utterly forsaken by God and His only-begotten Son, the Truth. Wherefore even Celsus spoke the truth when he made the demons take pleasure in the blood and smoke of victims; although, by the force of his own evil nature, he falls back into his errors, and compares demons with men who rigorously discharge every duty, even to those who show no gratitude; while to those who are grateful they abound in acts of kindness. Here Celsus appears to me to get into confusion. At one time his judgment is

darkened by the influence of demons, and at another he recovers from their deluding power, and gets some glimpses of the truth. For again he adds: "We must never in any way lose our hold of God, whether by day or by night, whether in public or in secret, whether in word or in deed, but in whatever we do, or abstain from doing." That is, as I understand it, whatever we do in public, in all our actions, in all our words, "let the soul be constantly fixed upon God." And yet again, as though, after struggling in argument against the insane inspirations of demons, he were completely overcome by them, he adds: "If this is the case, what harm is there in gaining the favour of the rulers of the earth, whether of a nature different from ours, or human princes and kings? For these have gained their dignity through the instrumentality of demons." In a former part, Celsus did his utmost to debase our souls to the worship of demons; and now he wishes us to seek the favour of kings and princes, of whom, as the world and all history are full of them. I do not consider it necessary to quote examples.

Chapter LXIV.

There is therefore One whose favour we should seek, and to whom we ought to pray that He would be gracious to us-the Most High God, whose favour is gained by piety and the practice of every virtue. And if he would have us to seek the favour of others after the Most High God, let him consider that, as the motion of the shadow follows that of the body which casts it, so in like manner it follows, that when we have the favour of God, we have also the good-will of all angels and spirits who are friends of God. For they know who are worthy of the divine approval, and they are not only well disposed to them, but they co-operate with them in their endeavours to please God: they seek His favour on their behalf; with their prayers they join their own prayers and intercessions for them. We may indeed boldly say, that men who aspire after better things have, when they pray to God, tens of thousands of sacred powers upon their side. These, even when not asked, pray with them, they bring succour to our mortal race, and if I may so say, take up arms alongside of it: for they see demons warring and fighting most keenly against the salvation of those who devote themselves to God, and despise the hostility of demons; they see them savage in their hatred of the man who refuses to serve them with the blood and fumes of sacrifices, but rather strives in every way, by word and deed, to be in peace and union with the Most High through Jesus, who put to flight multitudes of demons when He went about "heating," and delivering "all who were oppressed by the devil."118

Chapter LXV.

Moreover, we are to despise ingratiating ourselves with kings or any other men, not only if their favour is to be won by murders, licentiousness, or deeds of cruelty, but even if it involves impiety towards God, or any servile expressions of flattery and obsequiousness, which things are unworthy of brave and high-principled men, who aim at joining with their other virtues that highest of virtues, patience and fortitude. But whilst we do nothing which is contrary to the law and word of God, we are not so mad as to 'stir up against us the wrath of kings and princes, which will bring upon us sufferings and tortures, or even death. For we read: "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."119 These words we have in our exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, to the best of our ability, explained at length, and with various applications; but for the present we have taken them in their more obvious and

generally received acceptation, to meet the saying of Celsus, that "it is not without the power of demons that kings have been raised to their regal dignity." Here much might be said on the constitution of kings and rulers, for the subject is a wide one, embracing such rulers as reign cruelly and tyrannically, and such as make the kingly office the means of indulging in luxury and sinful pleasures. We shall therefore, for the present, passover the full consideration of this subject. We will, however, never swear by "the fortune of the king," nor by ought else that is considered equivalent to God. For if the word "fortune" is nothing but an expression for the uncertain course of events, as some say, although they seem not to be agreed, we do not swear by that as God which has no existence, as though it did really exist and was able to do something, lest we should bind ourselves by an oath to things which have no existence. If, on the other hand (as is thought by others, who say that to swear by the fortune of the king of the Romans is to swear by his demon), what is called the fortune of the king is in the power of demons, then in that case we must die sooner than swear by a wicked and treacherous demon, that ofttimes sins along with the man of whom it gains possession, and sins even more than he.

Chapter LXVI.

Then Celsus, following the example of those who are under the influence of demons-at one time recovering, at another relapsing, as though he were again becoming sensible-says: "If, however, any worshipper of God should be ordered to do anything impious, or to say anything base, such a command should in no wise be regarded; but we must encounter all kinds of torment, or submit to any kind of death, rather than say or even think anything unworthy of God." Again, however, from ignorance of our principles, and in entire confusion of thought, he says: "But if any one commands you to celebrate the sun, or to sing a joyful triumphal song in praise of Minerva, you will by celebrating their praises seem to render the higher praise to God; for piety, in extending to all things, becomes more perfect." To this our answer is, that we do not wait for any command to celebrate the praises of the sun; for we have been taught to speak well not only of those creatures that are obedient to the will of God, but even of our enemies. We therefore praise the sun as the glorious workmanship of God, which obeys His laws and hearkens to the call, "Praise the Lord, sun and moon,"120 and with all your powers show forth the praises of the Father and Creator of all. Minerva, however, whom Celsus classes with the sun, is the subject of various Grecian myths, whether these contain any hidden meaning or not. They say that Minerva sprang fully armed from the brain of Jupiter; that when she was pursued by Vulcan, she fled from him to preserve her honour; and that from the seed which fell to the ground in the heat of Vulcan's passion, there grew a child whom Minerva brought up and called Erichthonius, "That owed his nurture to the blue-eyed maid, But from the teeming furrow took his birth, The mighty offspring of the foodful earth."121

It is therefore evident, that if we admit Minerva the daughter of Jupiter, we must also admit many fables and fictions which can be allowed by no one who discards fables and seeks after truth.

Chapter LXVII. And to regard these myths in a figurative sense, and consider Minerva as representing prudence, let any one show what were the actual facts of her history, upon which this allegory is based. For, supposing honour was given to Minerva as having been a woman of ancient times, by those who instituted mysteries and ceremonies for their followers, and who wished her name to be celebrated as that of a goddess, much more are we forbidden to pay divine honours to Minerva, if we are not permitted to worship so glorious an object as the sun, although

we may celebrate its glory. Celsus, indeed, says that "we seem to do the greater honour to the great God when we sing hymns in honour of the sun and Minerva; "but we know it to be the opposite of that. For we sing hymns to the Most High alone, and His Only-begotten, who is the Word and God; and we praise God and His Only-begotten, as do also the sun, the moon, the stars, and all the host of heaven.122 For these all form a divine chorus, and unite with the just among men in celebrating the praises of the Most High God and His Only-begotten. We have already said that we must not swear by a human king, or by what is called "the fortune of the king." It is therefore unnecessary for us again to refute these statements: "If you are commanded to swear by a human king, there is nothing wrong in that. For to him has been given whatever there is upon earth; and whatever you receive in this life, you receive from him." We deny, however, that all things which are on the earth have been given to the king, or that whatever we receive in this life we receive from him. For whatever we receive rightly and honourably we receive from God, and by His providence, as ripe fruits, and "corn which strengtheneth man's heart, and the pleasant vine, and wine which rejoiceth the heart of man."123 And moreover, the fruit of the olive-tree, to make his face to shine, we have from the providence of God.

Chapter LXVIII.

Celsus goes on to say: "We must not disobey the ancient writer, who said long ago, `Let one be king, whom the son of crafty Saturn appointed; '"124 and adds: "If you set aside this maxim, you will deservedly suffer for it at the hands of the king. For if all were to do the same as you, there would be nothing to prevent his being left in utter solitude and desertion, and the affairs of the earth would fall into the hands of the wildest and most lawless barbarians; and then there would no longer remain among men any of the glory of your religion or of the true wisdom." If, then, "there shall be one lord, one king," he must be, not the man "whom the son of crafty Saturn appointed," but the man to whom He gave the power, who "removeth kings and setteth up kings,"125 and who "raiseth up the useful man in time of need upon earth."126 For kings are not appointed by that son of Saturn, who, according to Grecian fable, hurled his father from his throne, and sent him down to Tartarus (whatever interpretation may be given to this allegory), but by God, who governs all things, and who wisely arranges whatever belongs to the appointment of kings. We therefore do set aside the maxim contained in the line,

"Whom the son of crafty Saturn appointed; "

for we know that no god or father of a god ever devises anything crooked or crafty. But we are far from setting aside the notion of a providence, and of things happening directly or indirectly through the agency of providence. And the king will not "inflict deserved punishment" upon us, if we say that not the son of crafty Saturn gave him his kingdom, but He who "removeth and setteth up kings." And would that all were to follow my example in rejecting the maxim of Homer, maintaining the divine origin of the kingdom, and observing the precept to honour the king! In these circumstances the king will not "be left in utter solitude and desertion," neither will "the affairs of the world fall into the hands of the most impious and wild barbarians." For if, in the words of Celsus," they do as I do," then it is evident that even the barbarians, when they yield obedience to the word of God, will become most obedient to the law, and most humane; and every form of worship will be destroyed except the religion of Christ, which will alone prevail. And indeed it will one day triumph, as its principles take possession of the minds of men more and more every day.

Chapter LXIX.

Celsus, then, as if not observing that he was saying anything inconsistent with the words he had just used, "if all were to do the same as you," adds: "You surely do not say that if the Romans were, in compliance with your wish, to neglect their customary duties to gods and men, and were to worship the Most High, or whatever you please to call him, that he will come down and fight for them, so that they shall need no other help than his. For this same God, as yourselves say, promised of old this and much more to those who served him, and see in what way he has helped them and you! They, in place of being masters of the whole world, are left with not so much as a patch of ground or a home; and as for you, if any of you transgresses even in secret, he is sought out and punished with death." As the question started is, "What would happen if the Romans were persuaded to adopt the principles of the Christians, to despise the duties paid to the recognised gods and to men, and to worship the Most High? "this is my answer to the question. We say that "if two" of us "shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of the Father" of the just, "which is in heaven; "127 for God rejoices in the agreement of rational beings, and turns away from discord. And what are we to expect, if not only a very few agree, as at present, but the whole of the empire of Rome? For they will pray to the Word, who of old said to the Hebrews, when they were pursued by the Egyptians, "The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace; "128 and if they all unite in prayer with one accord, they will be able to put to flight far more enemies than those who were discomfited by the prayer of Moses when he cried to the Lord, and of those who prayed with him. Now, if what God promised to those who keep His law has not come to pass, the reason of its nonfulfilment is not to be ascribed to the unfaithfulness of God. But He had made the fulfilment of His promises to depend on certain conditions,-namely, that they should observe and live according to His law; and if the Jews bare not a plot of ground nor a habitation left to them, although they had received these conditional promises, the entire blame is to be laid upon their crimes, and especially upon their guilt in the treatment of Jesus.

Chapter LXX. But if all the Romans, according to the supposition of Celsus, embrace the Christian faith, they will, when they pray, overcome their enemies; or rather, they will not war at all, being guarded by that divine power which promised to save five entire cities for the sake of fifty just persons. For men of God are assuredly the salt of the earth: they preserve the order of the world;129 and society is held together as long as the salt is uncorrupted: for "if the salt have lost its savour, it is neither fit for the land nor for the dunghill; but it shall be cast out, and trodden under foot of men. He that hath ears, let him hear"130 the meaning of these words, When God gives to the tempter permission to persecute us, then we suffer persecution; and when God wishes us to be free from suffering, even in the midst of a world that hates us, we enjoy a wonderful peace, trusting in the protection of Him who said, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."131 And truly He has overcome the world. Wherefore the world prevails only so long as it is the pleasure of Him who received from the Father power to overcome the world; and from His victory we take courage. Should He even wish us again to contend and struggle for our religion, let the enemy come against us, and we will say to them, "I can do all things, through Christ Jesus our Lord, which strengtheneth me."132 For of "two sparrows which are sold for a farthing," as the Scripture says, "not one of them falls on the ground without our Father in heaven."133 And so completely does the Divine Providence embrace all things, that not even the hairs of our head fail to be numbered by Him.

Chapter LXXI.

Celsus again, as is usual with him, gets confused, and attributes to us things which none of us have ever written. His words are: "Surely it is intolerable for you to say, that if our present rulers, on embracing your opinions, are taken by the enemy, you will still be able to persuade those who rule after them; and after these have been taken you will persuade their successors and so on, until at length, when all who have yielded to your persuasion have been taken some prudent ruler shall arise, with a foresight of what is impending, and he will destroy you all utterly before he himself perishes." There is no need of any answer to these allegations: for none of us says of our present rulers, that if they embrace our opinions, and are taken by the enemy, we shall be able to persuade their successors; and when these are taken, those who come after them, and so on in succession. But on what does he ground the assertion, that when a succession of those who have yielded to our persuasion have been taken because they did not drive back the enemy, some prudent ruler shall arise, with a foresight of what is impending, who shall utterly destroy us? But here he seems to me to delight in inventing and uttering the wildest nonsense.

Chapter LXXII.

Afterwards he says: "If it were possible," implying at the

same time that he thought it most desirable, "that all the

inhabitants of Asia, Europe, and Libya, Greeks and Barbarians, all

to the uttermost ends of the earth, were to come under one law; "but

judging this quite impossible, he adds, "Any one who thinks this

possible, knows nothing." It would require careful consideration and

lengthened argument to prove that it is not only possible, but that

it will surely come to pass, that all who are endowed with reason

shall come under one law. However, if we must refer to this subject,

it will be with great brevity. The Stoics, indeed, hold that, when

the strongest of the elements prevails, all things shall be turned

into fire. But our belief is, that the Word shall prevail over the

entire rational creation, and change every soul into His own

perfection; in which state every one, by the mere exercise of his

power, will choose what he desires, and obtain what he chooses. For

although, in the diseases and wounds of the body, there are some

which no medical skill can cure, yet we hold that in the mind there

is no evil so strong that it may not be overcome by the Supreme Word

and God. For stronger than all the evils in the soul is the Word, and the healing power that dwells in Him; and this healing He applies, according to the will of God, to every man. The consummation of all things is the destruction of evil, although as to the question whether it shall be so destroyed that it can never anywhere arise again, it is beyond our present purpose to say. Many things are said
obscurely in the prophecies on the total destruction of evil, and the restoration to righteousness of every soul; but it will be enough for our present purpose to quote the following passage from Zephaniah: "Prepare and rise early; all the gleanings of their vineyards are destroyed. Therefore wait ye upon Me, saith the Lord, on the day that I rise up for a testimony; for My determination is to gather the nations, that I may assemble the kings, to pour upon them Mine indignation, even all My fierce anger: for all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of My jealousy. For then will I turn to the people a pure language, that they may all call upon the name of the Lord, to serve Him with one consent. From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia My suppliants, even the daughter of My dispersed, shall bring My offering. In that day shalt thou not be ashamed for all thy doings, wherein thou hast transgressed against Me: for then I will take away out of the midst of thee them that rejoice in thy pride; and thou shalt no more be haughty because of My holy mountain. I will also leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of the Lord. The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies; neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth: for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid."134 I leave it to
those who are able, after a careful study of the whole subject, to

unfold the meaning of this prophecy, and especially to inquire into the signification of the words, "When the whole earth is destroyed, there will be turned upon the peoples a language according to their race,"135 as things were before the confusion of tongues. Let them also carefully consider the promise, that all shall call upon the name of the Lord, and serve Him with one consent; also that all contemptuous reproach shall be taken away, and there shall be no longer any injustice, or vain speech, or a deceitful tongue. And thus much it seemed needful for me to say briefly, and without entering into elaborate details, in answer to the remark of Celsus, that he considered any agreement between the inhabitants of Asia, Europe, and Libya, as well Greeks as Barbarians, was impossible. And perhaps such a result would indeed be impossible to those who are still in the body, but not to those who are released from it.

Chapter LXXIII. In the next place, Celsus urges us "to help the king with all our might, and to labour with him in the maintenance of justice, to fight for him; and if he requires it, to fight under him, or lead an army along with him." To this our answer is, that we do, when occasion requires, give help to kings, and that, so to say, a divine help, "putting on the whole armour of God."136 And this we do in obedience to the injunction of the apostle, "I exhort, therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; "137 and the more any one excels in piety, the more effective help does he render to kings, even more than is given by soldiers, who go forth to fight and slay as many of the enemy as they can. And to those enemies of our faith who require us to bear arms for the commonwealth, and to slay men, we can reply: "Do not those who are priests at certain shrines, and those who attend on certain gods, as you account them, keep their hands free from blood, that they may with hands unstained and free from human blood offer the appointed sacrifices to your gods; and even when war is upon you, you never enlist the priests in the army. If that, then, is a laudable custom, how much more so, that while others are engaged in battle, these too should engage as the priests and ministers of God, keeping their hands pure, and wrestling in prayers to God on behalf of those who are fighting in a righteous cause, and for the king who reigns righteously, that whatever is opposed to those who act righteously may be destroyed!" And as we by our prayers vanquish all demons who stir up war, and lead to the violation of oaths, and disturb the peace, we in this way are much more helpful to the kings than those who go into the field to fight for them. And we do take our part in public affairs, when along with righteous prayers we join self-denying exercises and meditations, which teach us to despise pleasures, and not to be led

away by them. And none fight better for the king than we do. We do not indeed fight under him, although he require it; but we fight on his behalf, forming a special army-an army of piety-by offering our prayers to God.

Chapter LXXIV. And if Celsus would have us to lead armies in defence of our country, let him know that we do this too, and that not for the purpose of being seen by men, or of vainglory. For "in secret," and in our own hearts, there are prayers which ascend as from priests in behalf of our fellow-citizens. And Christians are benefactors of their country more than others. For they train up citizens, and inculcate piety to the Supreme Being; and they promote those whose lives in the smallest cities have been good and worthy, to a divine and heavenly city, to whom it may be said, "Thou hast been faithful in the smallest city, come into a great one,"138 where "God standeth in the assembly of the gods, and judgeth the gods in the midst; "and He reckons thee among them, if thou no more "die as a man, or fall as one of the princes."139

Chapter LXXV.

Celsus also urges us to "take office in the government

of the country, if that is required for the maintenance of the

laws and the support of religion." But we recognise in each

state the existence of another national organization founded

by the Word of God, and we exhort those who are mighty in word

and of blameless life to rule over Churches. Those who are

ambitious of ruling we reject; but we constrain those who,

through excess of modesty, are not easily induced to take a

public charge in the Church of God. And those who rule over us

well are under the constraining influence of the great King,

whom we believe to be the Son of God, God the Word. And if

those who govern in the Church, and are called rulers of the

divine nation-that is, the Church-rule well, they rule in

accordance with the divine commands, and never suffer

themselves to be led astray by worldly

policy. And it is not for the purpose of escaping public

duties that Christians decline public offices, but that they

may reserve themselves for a diviner and more necessary

service in the Church of God-for the salvation of men. And

this service is at once necessary and right. They take charge

of all-of those that are within, that they may day by day lead better lives, and of those that are without, that they may come to abound in holy words and in deeds of piety; and that, while thus worshipping God truly, and training up as many as they can in the same way, they may be filled with the word of God and the law of God, and thus be united with the Supreme God through His Son the Word, Wisdom, Truth, and Righteousness, who unites to God all who are resolved to conform their lives in all things to the law of God.

Chapter LXXVI.

You have here, reverend Ambrosius, the conclusion of what we have been enabled to accomplish by the power given to us in obedience to your command. In eight books we have embraced all that we considered it proper to say in reply to that book of Celsus which he entitles A True Discourse. And now it remains for the readers of his discourse and of my reply to judge which of the two breathes most of the Spirit of the true God, of piety towards Him, and of that truth which leads men by sound doctrines to the noblest life. You must know, however, that Celsus had promised another treatise as a sequel to this one, in which he engaged to supply practical rules of living to those who felt disposed to embrace his opinions. If, then, he has not fulfilled his promise of writing a second book, we may well be contented with these eight books which we have written in answer to his discourse. But if he has begun and finished that second book, pray obtain it and send it to us, that we may answer it as the Father of truth may give us ability, and either overthrow the false teaching that may be

in it, or, laying aside all jealousy, we may testify our

approval of whatever truth it may contain.Glory Be to Thee,

Our God; Glory Be to Thee.

1: 2 Cor. v. 20.

2: Ps. xxiv. 8.

3: Matt. vi. 24.

4: Ps. xcvii. 9.

5: Ps. xcvi. 5.

6: Ps. lxxxii. 1.

7: Ps. l. 1.

8: Ps. cxxxvi. 2.

9: Matt. xxii. 32.

10: 1 Cor. viii. 5, etc.

11: 2 Cor. xi. 14.

12: Plato, Phaedrus , p. 246.

13: Rom. viii. 19, 20.

14: Heb. xii. 22, 23.

15: Herod., vii. 136.

16: John i. 1.

17: John v. 23.

18: Rom. ii. 23.

19: Heb. x. 29.

20: John x. 30.

21: John xvii. 22.

22: John xiv. 11, and xvii. 21.

23: Acts iv. 32.

24: [See note infra , cap. xxvi. S.] 25: John viii. 58.

26: John xiv. 6.

27: [!h9 th=j a0lhqei/aj ou0si/a : see Neander's History of the Church , vol. ii. pp. 282, 283; also note supra , book vi. cap. lxiv. p. 603. S.]

28: Heb. i. 3.

29: 1 John ii. 2.

30: Wisd. vii. 25, 26.

31: John xiv. 27.

32: John xiv. 28.

33: [See note, book ii. cap. ix. p. 433. S.]

34: Rev. v. 8.

35: Ps. cxli. 2.

36: 2 Cor. vi. 16.

37: John xiv. 23.

38: John ii. 19, 21.

39: 1 Pet. ii. 5.

40: Eph. ii. 20.

41: Isa. liv. 11-14.

42: Thucyd., book i. sect. lxx.

43: Gal. iv. 10, 11.

44: Col. ii. 16. The whole passage in the English version is, "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday " (e0n me/rei e\orth=j). Origen's interpretation is not followed by any modern expositors. It is adopted by Chrysostom and Theodoret.

45: [Dr. Hessey notes this as "a curious comment" of Origen's on St. Paul's language: Bampton Lectures, On Sunday: its Origin, History, and Present Obligation , pp. 48, 286-289, 4th ed. S.] 46: Deut. xvi. 3.

47: Ex. xii. 8.

48: Lev. xvi. 29.

49: Gal. v. 17.

50: 1 Cor. viii. 4, 11.

51: [See Liddon's Bampton Lectures on The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ , p. 383, where it is pointed out that "Origen often insists upon the worship of Christ as being a Christian duty." S.] 52: Isa. ix. 6 (LXX.).

53: Ps. xxvii. 1, 3.

54: Rom. xiv. 21.

55: Rom. xiv. 15.

56: 1 Cor. viii. 13.

57: Matt. xv. 11, 17-19.

58: 1 Cor. viii. 8.

59: Acts xv. 28, 29. It was at Jerusalem.

60: Acts xv. 28, 29. It was at Jerusalem.

61: [Sextus, or Xystus. See note of Spencer in Migne. S.] 62: [1 Cor. xv. 35. S.] 63: Ps. lxxviii. 49.

64: Wisdom of Sol. xvii. 1.

65: 1 Cor. x. 31.

66: Col. iii. 17.

67: 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.

68: Gen. i. 11.

69: Heb. iv. 14.

70: Dan. vii. 10.

71: Heb. i. 14.

72: Matt. xviii. 10.

73: Ps. xxxiv. 7.

74: Eph. vi. 11.

75: Eph. vi. 12.

76: Matt. v. 44, 45.

77: Ps. vii. 3-5.

78: Ps. xxxiv. 7.

79: Matt. xviii. 10.

80: John xviii. 30.

81: [A very express testimony in favour "of speaking in the congregation in such a tongue as the people understandeth" (Art. XXIV. of Church of England). See Rev. H. Cary's Testimonies of the Fathers of the First Four Centuries , etc., p. 287, Oxford, 1835. S.] 82: Ex. xxii. 28 [qeou\j ou0 kakologh/seij , Sept. S.].

83: Rom. xii. 14.

84: 1 Cor. vi. 10.

85: "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind to powder" (Plutarch): [De Sera Numinis Vindicta , sect. iii. S.] 86: Hom. Il ., xx. 308.

87: Deut. xxiv. 16.

88: Jer. xxxi. 30.

89: Ezek. xviii. 20.

90: Ex. xx. 5.

91: Ezek. xviii. 2-4.

92: 1 Cor. vi. 10.

93: Luke xxiii. 21, 25.

94: a0ggelma/twn . Spencer reads a0galma/twn in this and the following sentences.

95: John xii. 24.

96: Rom. viii. 32.

97: Euripides, Hippolytus , 612.

98: Isa. xxxviii. 19 (according to the LXX.).

99: [2 Kings iv. 17, 4 Kings, Sept. and Vulg. S.] 100: filo/sofon .

101: Ecclus. x. 19. In the LXX. the last clause is, "What is a dishonourable seed? They that transgress the commandments."

102: [Eccles. viii. 11. See cap. xl., supra. De Maistre has admirably annotated Plutarch's Delay of the Divine Judgment .] 103: katalhptikh\ fantasi/a .

104: Lam. iii. 34.

105: Isa. xlix. 9.

106: Isa. ix. 2.

107: Ps. ii. 3.

108: Luke xiii. 11, 16.

109: Rom. vii. 24.

110: Ps. cxvi. 15.

111: Isa. liii. 12.

112: Eph. vi. 11.

113: Ps. xxvi. 2.

114: 2 Tim. ii. 5.

115: Matt. iv. 9, 10.

116: Phil. ii. 10, 11.

117: [Observe this traditional objection to incense. Comp. vol. ii. p. 532.] 118: Acts x. 38.

119: Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

120: Ps. cxlviii. 3.

121: Homer's Iliad , ii. 547, 548.

122: ["Origen pointed out that hymns were addressed only to God and to His Only-begotten Word, who is also God... The hymnody of the primitive Church protected and proclaimed the truths which she taught and cherished." - Liddon's Bampton Lectures, On the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ , pp. 385, 386. S.] 123: Ps. civ. 15.

124: Homer's Iliad , ii. 205.

125: Dan. ii. 21.

126: Ecclus. x. 4. (LXX.).

127: Matt. xviii. 19.

128: Ex. xiv. 14.

129: [Comp. Cowper, Task, book vi., sub finem .] 130: Luke xiv. 34, 35; Matt. v. 13.

131: John xvi. 33.

132: Phil. iv. 13.

133: Matt. x. 29, 30.

Commentary on John - Book 1

Book I 1. How Christians are the Spiritual Israel.

2. The 144, 000 Sealed in the Apocalypse are Converts to Christ from the Gentile World.

3. In the Spiritual Israel the High-Priests are Those Who Devote Themselves to the Study of Scripture.

4. The Study of the Gospels is the First Fruits Offered by These Priests of Christianity.

5. All Scripture is Gospel; But the Gospels are Distinguished Above Other Scriptures.

6. The Fourfold Gospel. John's the First Fruits of the Four. Qualifications Necessary for Interpreting It.

7. What Good Things are Announced in the Gospels.

8. How the Gospels Cause the Other Books of Scripture Also to Be Gospel.

9. The Somatic and the Spiritual Gospel.

10. How Jesus Himself is the Gospel.

11. Jesus is All Good Things; Hence the Gospel is Manifold.

12. The Gospel Contains the ILL Deeds Also Which Were Done to Jesus.

13. The Angels Also are Evangelists.

14. The Old Testament, Typified by John, is the Beginning of the Gospel.

15. The Gospel is in the Old Testament, and Indeed in the Whole Universe. Prayer for Aid to Understand the Mystical Sense of the Work in Hand.

16. Meaning of "Beginning." (1) in Space.

17. (2) in Time. The Beginning of Creation.

18. (3) of Substance.

19. (4) of Type and Copy.

20. (5) of Elements and What is Formed from Them.

21. (6) of Design and Execution.

22. The Word Was in the Beginning, I.e., in Wisdom, Which Contained All Things in Idea, Before They Existed. Christ's Character as Wisdom is Prior to His Other Characters.

23. The Title "Word" Is to Be Interpreted by the Same Method as the Other Titles of Christ. The Word of God is Not a Mere Attribute of God, But a Separate Person. What is Meant When He is Called the Word.

24. Christ as Light; How He, and How His Disciples are the Light of the World.

25. Christ as the Resurrection.

26. Christ as the Way.

27. Christ as the Truth.

28. Christ as Life.

29. Christ as the Door and as the Shepherd.

30. Christ as Anointed (Christ) and as King.

31. Christ as Teacher and Master.

32. Christ as Son.

33. Christ the True Vine, and as Bread.

34. Christ as the First and the Last; He is Also What Lies Between These.

35. Christ as the Living and the Dead.

36. Christ as a Sword.

37. Christ as a Servant, as the Lamb of God, and as the Man Whom John Did Not Know.

38. Christ as Paraclete, as Propitiation, and as the Power of God.

39. Christ as Wisdom and Sanctification and Redemption.

40. Christ as Righteousness; As the Demiurge, the Agent of the Good God, and as High-Priest.

41. Christ as the Rod, the Flower, the Stone.

42. Of the Various Ways in Which Christ is the Logos.

Book I 1. How Christians are the Spiritual Israel. That people which was called of old the people of God was divided into twelve tribes, and over and above the other tribes it had the levitical order, which itself again carried on the service of God in various priestly and levitical suborders. In the same manner, it appears to me that the whole people of Christ, when we regard it in the aspect of the hidden man of the heart,1 that people which is called "Jew inwardly," and is circumcised in the spirit, has in a more mystic way the characteristics of the tribes. This may be more plainly gathered from John in his Apocalyse, though the other prophets also do not by any means conceal the state of matters from those who have the faculty of hearing them. John speaks as follows:2 "And I saw another angel ascending from the sunrising, having the seal of the living God, and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not either the earth, or the sea, or the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were sealed, a hundred and forty-four thousand

who were sealed, out of every tribe of the children of Israel; of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve thousand, of the tribe of Roubem twelve thousand." And he mentioned each of the tribes singly, with the exception of Dan. Then, some way further on,3 he continues: "And I saw, and behold the Lamb standing on Mount Zion, and with Him a hundred and forty-four thousand, having His name and the name of His Father written on their foreheads. And I heard a voice from heaven as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of a great thunder. And the voice which I heard was as the voice of harpers harping with their harps; and they sing a new song before the throne and before the four beasts and the elders, and no one could learn the song but the hundred and forty-four thousand who had been purchased from the earth. These are they which were not defiled with women, for they are virgins. These are they who follow the Lamb whithersover He goeth. These were purchased from among men, a first fruits to God and to the Lamb; and in their mouth was found no lie, for they are without blemish." Now this is said in John with reference to those who have believed in Christ, for they also, even if their bodily descent cannot be traced to the seed of the Patriarchs, are yet gathered out of the tribes. That this is so we may conclude from what is further said about them: "Hurt not," he says, "the earth, nor the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were sealed, a hundred and forty-four thousand, sealed from every tribe of the children of Israel."

2. The 144, 000 Sealed in the Apocalypse are Converts to Christ from the Gentile World.

These, then, who are sealed on their foreheads4 from every tribe of the children of Israel, are a hundred and forty-four thousand in number; and these hundred and forty-four thousand are afterwards said in John to have the name of the Lamb and of His Father written on their foreheads, and to be virgins, not having defiled themselves with women. What else could the seal be which is on their foreheads but the name of the Lamb and the name of His Father? In both passages their foreheads are said to have the seal; In one the seal is spoken of, in the other it appears to contain the letters forming the name of the Lamb, and the name of His Father. Now these taken from the tribes are, as we showed before, the same persons as the virgins. But the number of believers is small who belong to Israel according to the flesh; one might venture to assert that they would not nearly make up the number of a hundred and forty-four thousand. It is clear, therefore, that the hundred and forty-four thousand who have not defiled themselves with women must be made up of those who have come to the divine word out of the Gentile world. In this way the truth of the statement may be upheld that the first fruits of each tribe are its virgins. For the passage goes on: "These were brought from among men to be a first fruits to God and to the Lamb; and in their mouth was found no guile, for they are without blemish." The statement about the hundred and forty-four thousand no doubt admits of mystical interpretation; But it is unnecessary at this point, and would divert us from our purpose, to compare with it those passages of the prophets in which the same lesson is taught regarding those who are called from among the Gentiles.

3. In the Spiritual Israel the High-Priests are Those Who Devote Themselves to the Study of Scripture. But what is the bearing of all this for us? So you will ask when you read these words, Ambrosius, thou who art truly a man of God, a mall in Christ. and who seekest to be not a man only, but a spiritual man.5 The bearing is this. Those of the tribes offer to God, through the levites and priests, tithes and first fruits; not everything which they possess do they regard as tithe or first fruit. The levites and priests, on the other hand, have no possessions but tithes and first fruits; yet they also in turn offer tithes to God through the high-priests, and, I believe, first fruits too. The

same is the case with those who approach Christian studies. Most of us devote most of our time to the things of this life, and dedicate to God only a few special acts, thus resembling those members of the tribes who had but few transactions with the priest, and discharged their religious duties with no great expense of time. But those who devote themselves to the divine word and have no other employment but the service of God may not unnaturally, allowing for the difference of occupation in the two cases, be called our levites and priests. And those who fulfil a more distinguished office than their kinsmen6 will perhaps be high-priests, according to the order of Aaron, not that of Melchisedek. Here some one may object that it is somewhat too bold to apply the name of high-priests to men, when Jesus Himself is spoken of in many a prophetic passage as the one great priest, as7 "We have a great high-priest who has passed through the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God." But to this we reply that the Apostle clearly defined his meaning, and declared the prophet to have said about the Christ, "Thou8 art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedek," and not according to the order of Aaron. We say accordingly that men can be high-priests according to the order of Aaron, but according to the order of Melchisedek only the Christ of God.

4. The Study of the Gospels is the First Fruits Offered by These Priests of Christianity.

Now our whole activity is devoted to God, and our whole life, since we are bent on progress in divine things. If, then, it be our desire to have the whole of those first fruits spoken of above which are made up of the many first fruits, if we are not mistaken in this view, in what must our first fruits consist, after the bodily separation we have undergone from each other, but in the study of the Gospel? For we may venture to say that the Gospel is the first fruits of all the Scriptures. Where, then, could be the first fruits of our activity, since the time when we came to Alexandria, but in the first fruits of the Scriptures? It must not he forgotten, however, that the first fruits are not the same as the first growth. For the first fruits9 are offered after all the fruits (are ripe), but the first growth10 before them all. Now of the Scriptures which are current and are believed to be divine in all the churches, one would not be wrong in saying that the first growth is the law of Moses, but the first fruits the Gospel. For it was after all the fruits of the prophets who prophesied till the Lord Jesus, that the perfect word shot forth.

5. All Scripture is Gospel; But the Gospels are Distinguished Above Other Scriptures.

Here, however, some one may object, appealing to the notion just put forward of the unfolding of the first fruits last, and may say that the Acts and the letters of the Apostles came after the Gospels, and that this destroys our argument to the effect that the Gospel is the first fruits of all Scripture. To this we must reply that it is the conviction of men who are wise in Christ, who have profited by those epistles which are current, and who see them to be vouched for by the testimonies deposited in the law and the prophets,11 that the apostolic writings are to be pronounced wise and worthy of belief, and that they have great authority, but that they are not on the same level with that "Thus sayeth the Lord Almighty."12 Consider on this point the language of St. Paul. When he declares that13 "Every Scripture is inspired of God and profitable," does he include his own writings? Or does he not include his dictum,14 "I say, and not the Lord," and15 "So I ordain in all the churches," and16 "What things I suffered at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra," and similar things which he writes in virtue of his own authority, and which do not quite possess the character of words flowing from divine inspiration. Must we also show that the old Scripture is

not Gospel, since it does not point out the Coming One, but only foretells Him and heralds His coming at a future time; but that all the new Scripture is the Gospel. It not only says as in the beginning of the Gospel,17 "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world; "it also contains many praises of Him, and many of His teachings, on whose account the Gospel is a Gospel. Again, if God set in the Church18 apostles and prophets and evangelists (gospellers), pastors and teachers, we must first enquire what was the office of the evangelist, and mark that it is not only to narrate how the Saviour cured a man who was blind from his birth,19 or raised up a dead man who was already stinking,20 or to state what extraordinary works he wrought; and the office of the evangelist being thus defined, we shall not hesitate to find Gospel in such discourse also as is not narrative but hortatory and intended to strengthen belief in the mission of Jesus; and thus we shall arrive at the position that whatever was written by the Apostles is Gospel. As to this second definition, it might be objected that the Epistles are not entitled "Gospel," and that we are wrong in applying the name of Gospel to the whole of the New Testament. But to this we answer that it happens not unfrequently in Scripture when two or more persons or things are named by the same name, the name attaches itself most significantly to one of those things or persons. Thus the Saviour says,21 "Call no man Master upon the earth; "while the Apostle says that Masters22 have been appointed in the Church. These latter accordingly will not be Masters in the strict sense of the dictum of the Gospel. In the same way the Gospel in the Epistles will not extend to every word of them, when it is compared with the narrative of Jesus' actions and sufferings and discourses. No: the Gospel is the first fruits of all Scripture, and to these first fruits of the Scriptures we devote the first fruits of all those actions of ours which we trust to see turn out as we desire.

6. The Fourfold Gospel. John's the First Fruits of the Four. Qualifications Necessary for Interpreting It.

Now the Gospels are four. These four are, as it were, the elements of the faith of the Church, out of which elements the whole world which is reconciled to God in Christ is put together; as Paul says,23 "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself; "of which world Jesus bore the sin; for it is of the world of the Church that the word is written,24 "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." The Gospels then being four, I deem the first fruits of the Gospels to be that which you25 have enjoined me to search into according to my powers, the Gospel of John, that which speaks of him whose genealogy had already been set forth, but which begins to speak of him at a point before he had any genealogy. For Matthew, writing for the Hebrews who looked for Him who was to come of the line of Abraham and of David, says:26 "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." And Mark, knowing what he writes, narrates the beginning of the Gospel; we may perhaps find what he aims at in John; in the beginning the Word, God the Word. But Luke, though he says at the beginning of Acts, "The former treatise did I make about all that Jesus began to do and to teach," yet leaves to him who lay on Jesus' breast the greatest and completest discourses about Jesus. For none of these plainly declared His Godhead, as John does when he makes Him say, "I am the light of the world," "I am the way and the truth and the life," "I am the resurrection, "I am the door," "I am the good shepherd; "and in the Apocalypse, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last." We may therefore make bold to say that the Gospels are the first fruits of all the Scriptures, but that of the Gospels that of John is the first fruits. No one can apprehend the meaning of it except he have lain on Jesus' breast and received from Jesus Mary to be his mother

also. Such an one must he become who is to be another John, and to have shown to him, like John, by Jesus Himself Jesus as He is. For if Mary, as those declare who with sound mind extol her, had no other son but Jesus, and yet Jesus says to His mother, "Woman, behold thy son,"27 and not "Behold you have this son also," then He virtually said to her, "Lo, this is Jesus, whom thou didst bear." Is it not the case that every one who is perfect lives himself no longer,28 but Christ lives in him; and if Christ lives in him, then it is said of him to Mary, "Behold thy son Christ." What a mind, then, must we have to enable us to interpret in a worthy manner this work, though it be committed to the earthly treasure-house of common speech, of writing which any passer-by can read, and which can be heard when read aloud by any one who lends to it his bodily ears? What shall we say of this work? He who is accurately to apprehend what it contains should be able to say with truth,29 "We have the mind of Christ, that we may know those things which are bestowed on us by God." It is possible to quote one of Paul's sayings in support of the contention that the whole of the New Testament is Gospel. He writes in a certain place:30 "According to my Gospel." Now we have no written work of Paul which is commonly called a Gospel. But all that he preached and said was the Gospel; and what he preached and said he was also in the habit of writing, and what he wrote was therefore Gospel. But if what Paul wrote was Gospel, it follows that what Peter wrote was also Gospel, and in a word all that was said or written to perpetuate the knowledge of Christ's sojourn on earth, and to prepare for His second coming, or to bring it about as a present reality in those souls which were willing to receive the Word of God as He stood at the door and knocked and sought to come into them.

7. What Good Things are Announced in the Gospels. But it is time we should inquire what is the meaning of the designation "Gospel," and why these books have this title. Now the Gospel is a discourse containing a promise of things which naturally, and on account of the benefits they bring, rejoice the hearer as soon as the promise is heard and believed. Nor is such a discourse any the less a Gospel that we define it with reference to the position of the hearer. A Gospel is either a word which implies the actual presence to the believer of something that is good, or a word promising the arrival of a good which is expected. Now all these definitions apply to those books which are named Gospels. For each of the Gospels is a collection of announcements which are useful to him who believes them and does not misinterpret them; it brings him a benefit and naturally makes him glad because it tells of the sojourn with men, on account of men, and for their salvation, of the first-born of all creation,31 Christ Jesus. And again each Gospel tells of the sojourn of the good Father in the Son with those minded to receive Him, as is plain to every believer; and moreover by these books a good is announced which had been formerly expected, as is by no means hard to see. For John the Baptist spoke in the name almost of the whole people when he sent to Jesus and asked,32 "Art thou He that should come or do we look for another? "For to the people the Messiah was an expected good, which the prophets had foretold, and they all alike, though under the law and the prophets, fixed their hopes on Him, as the Samaritan woman bears witness when she says:33 "I know that the Messiah comes, who is called Christ; when He comes He will tell us all things." Simon and Cleopas too, when talking to each other about all that had happened to Jesus Christ Himself, then risen, though they did not know that He had risen, from the dead, speak thus,34 "Dost thou sojourn alone in Jerusalem, and knowest not the things which have taken place there in these days? And when he said what things? they answered, The things concerning Jesus of Nazareth,35 which was a prophet, mighty in deed and in word before God and all the people, and how the chief priests and our rulers delivered Him up to

be sentenced to death and crucified Him. But we hoped that it was He which should redeem Israel." Again, Andrew the brother of Simon Peter found his own brother Simon and said to him,36 "We have found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, Christ." And a little further on Philip finds Nathanael and says to him,37 "We have found Him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, wrote, Jesus the son of Joseph, from Nazareth."

8. How the Gospels Cause the Other Books of Scripture Also to Be Gospel.

Now an objection might be raised to our first definition, because it would embrace books which are not entitled Gospels. For the law and the prophets also are to our eyes books containing the promise of things which, from the benefit they will confer on him, naturally rejoice the hearer as soon as he takes in the message. To this it may be said that before the sojourn of Christ, the law and the prophets, since He had not come who interpreted the mysteries they contained, did not convey such a promise as belongs to our definition of the Gospel; but the Saviour, when He sojourned with men and caused the Gospel to appear in bodily form, by the Gospel caused all things to appear as Gospel. Here I would not think it beside the purpose to quote the example of Him who ... a few things ... and yet all.38 For when he had taken away the veil which was present in the law and the prophets, and by His divinity had proved the sons of men that the Godhead was at work, He opened the way for all those who desired it to be disciples of His wisdom, and to understand what things were true and real in the law of Moses, of which things those of old worshipped the type and the shadow, and what things were real of the things narrated in the histories which "happened to them in the way of type,"39 but these things "were written for our sakes, upon whom the ends of the ages have come." With whomsoever, then, Christ has sojourned, he worships God neither at Jerusalem nor on the mountain of the Samaritans; he knows that God is a spirit, and worships Him spiritually, in spirit and in truth; no longer by type does he worship the Father and Maker of all. Before that Gospel, therefore, which came into being by the sojourning of Christ, none of the older works was a Gospel. But the Gospel, which is the new covenant, having delivered us from the oldness of the letter, lights up for us, by the light of knowledge,40 the newness of the spirit, a thing which never grows old, which has its home in the New Testament, but is also present in all the Scriptures. It was fitting, therefore, that that Gospel, which enables us to find the Gospel present, even in the Old Testament, should itself receive, in a special sense, the name of Gospel.

9. The Somatic and the Spiritual Gospel.

We must not, however, forget that the sojourning of Christ with men took place before His bodily sojourn, in an intellectual fashion, to those who were more perfect and not children, and were not under pedagogues and governors. In their minds they saw the fulness of the time to be at hand-the patriarchs, and Moses the servant, and the prophets who beheld the glory of Christ. And as before His manifest and bodily coming He came to those who were perfect, so also, after His coming has been announced to all, to those who are still children, since they are under pedagogues and governors and have not yet arrived at the fulness of the time, forerunners of Christ have come to sojourn, discourses (logoi) suited for minds still in their childhood, and rightly, therefore, termed pedagogues. But the Son Himself, the glorified God, the Word, has not yet come; He waits for the preparation which must take place on the part of men of God who are to admit His deity. And this, too, we must bear in mind, that as the law contains a shadow of good

things to come, which are indicated by that law which is announced according to truth, so the Gospel also teaches a shadow of the mysteries of Christ, the Gospel which is thought to be capable of being understood by any one. What John calls the eternal Gospel, and what may properly be called the spiritual Gospel, presents clearly to those who have the will to understand, all matters concerning the very Son of God, both the mysteries presented by His discourses and those matters of which His acts were the enigmas. In accordance with this we may conclude that, as it is with Him who is a Jew outwardly and circumcised in the flesh, so it is with the Christian and with baptism. Paul and Peter were, at an earlier period, Jews outwardly and circumcised, but later they received from Christ that they should be so in secret, too; SO that outwardly they were Jews for the sake of the salvation of many, and by an economy they not only confessed in words that they were Jews, but showed it by their actions. And the same is to be said about their Christianity. As Paul could not benefit those who were Jews according to the flesh, without, when reason shows it to be necessary, circumcising Timothy, and when it appears the natural course getting himself shaved and making a vow, and, in a word, being to the Jews a Jew that he might gain the Jews-so also it is not possible for one who is responsible for the good of many to operate as he should by means of that Christianity only which is in secret. That will never enable him to improve those who are following the external Christianity, or to lead them on to better and higher things. We must, therefore, be Christians both somatically and spiritually, and where there is a call for the somatic (bodily) Gospel, in which a man says to those who are carnal that he knows nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, so we must do. But should we find those who are perfected in the spirit, and bear fruit in it, and are enamoured of the heavenly wisdom, these must he made to partake of that Word which, after it was made flesh, rose again to what it was in the beginning, with God.

10. How Jesus Himself is the Gospel. The foregoing inquiry into the nature of the Gospel cannot be regarded as useless; it has enabled us to see what distinction there is between a sensible Gospel and all intellectual and spiritual one. What we have now to do is to transform the sensible Gospel into a spiritual one. For what would the narrative of the sensible Gospel amount to if it were not developed to a spiritual one? It would be of little account or none; any one can read it and assure himself of the facts it tells-no more. But our whole energy is now to be directed to the effort to penetrate to the deep things of the meaning of the Gospel and to search out the truth that is ill it when divested of types. Now what the Gospels say is to be regarded in the light of promises of good things; and we must say that the good things the Apostles announce in this Gospel are simply Jesus. one good thing which they are said to announce is the resurrection; but the resurrection is in a manner Jesus, for Jesus says:41 "I am the resurrection." Jesus preaches to the poor those things which are laid up for the saints, calling them to the divine promises. And the holy Scriptures bear witness to the Gospel announcements made by the Apostles and to that made by our Saviour. David says of the Apostles, perhaps also of the evangelists:42 "The Lord shall give the word to those that preach with great power; the King of the powers of the beloved; "teaching at the same time that it is not skilfully composed discourse, nor the mode of delivery, nor well practised eloquence that produces conviction, but the communication of divine power. Hence also Paul says:43 "I will know not the word that is puffed up, but the power; for the kingdom of God is not in word but in power." And in another passage:44 "And my word and my preaching were not persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power." To this power Simon and Cleophas bear witness when they say:45 "Was not our heart burning within us by the way, as

he opened to us the Scriptures? "And the Apostles, since the quantity of the power is great which God supplies to the speakers, had great power, according to the word of David: "The Lord will give the word to the preachers with great power." Isaiah too says:46 "How beautiful are the feet of them that proclaim good tidings; "he sees how beautiful and how opportune was the announcement of the Apostles who walked in Him who said, "I am the way," and praises the feet of those who walk in the intellectual way of Christ Jesus, and through that door go in to God. They announce good tidings, those whose feet are beautiful, namely, Jesus.

11. Jesus is All Good Things; Hence the Gospel is Manifold.

Let no one wonder if we have understood Jesus to be announced in the Gospel under a plurality of names of good things. If we look at the things by the names of which the Son of God is called, we shall understand how many good things Jesus is, whom those preach whose feet are beautiful. One good thing is life; but Jesus is the life. Another good thing is the light of the world, when it is true light, and the light of men; and all these things the Son of God is said to be. And another good thing which one may conceive to be in addition to life or light is the truth. And a fourth in addition to time is the way which leads to the truth. And all these things our Saviour teaches that He is, when He says:47 "I am the way and the truth and the life." Ah, is not that good, to shake off earth and mortality, and to rise again, obtaining this boon from the Lord, since He is the resurrection, as He says:48 "I am the resurrection." But the door also is a good, through which one enters into the highest blessedness. Now Christ says:49 "I am the door." And what need is there to speak of wisdom, which "the Lord created50 the first principle of His ways, for His works," in whom the father of her rejoiced. delighting in her manifold intellectual beauty, seen by the eyes of the mind alone, and provoking him to love who discerns her divine and heavenly charm? A good indeed is the wisdom of God, proclaimed along with the other good foresaid by those whose feet are beautiful. And the power of God is the eighth good we enumerate, which is Christ. Nor must we omit to mention the Word, who is God after the Father of all. For this also is a good, less than no other. Happy, then, are those who accept these goods and receive them from those who announce the good tidings of them, those whose feet are beautiful. Indeed even one of the Corinthians to whom Paul declared that he knew nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, should he learn Him who for our sakes became man, and so receive Him, he would become identified with the beginning of the good things we have spoken of; by the man Jesus he would be made a man of God, and by His death he would die to sin. For "Christ,51 in that He died, died unto sin once." But from His life, since "in that He liveth, He liveth unto God," every one who is conformed to His resurrection receives that living to God. But who will deny that righteousness, essential righteousness, is a good, and essential sanctification, and essential redemption? And these things those preach who preach Jesus, saying52 that He is made to be of God righteousness and sanctification and redemption. Hence we shall have writings about Him without number, showing that Jesus is a multitude of goods; for from the things which can scarcely be numbered and which have been written we may make some conjecture of those things which actually exist in Him in whom53 "it pleased God that the whole fulness of the Godhead should dwell bodily." and which are not contained in writings. Why should I say, "are not contained in writings"? For John speaks of the whole world in this connection, and says:54 "I suppose that not even the world itself would contain the books which would be written." Now to say that the Apostles preach the Saviour is to say that they preach these good things. For this is He who

received from the good Father that He Himself should be these good things, so that each man receiving from Jesus the thing or things he is capable of receiving may enjoy good things. But the Apostles, whose feet were beautiful, and those imitators of them who sought to preach the good tidings, could not have done so had not Jesus Himself first preached the good tidings to them, as Isaiah says:55 "I myself that speak am here, as the opportunity on the mountains, as the feet of one preaching tidings of peace, as one preaching good things; for I will make My salvation to be heard, saying, God shall reign over thee, O Zion!" For what are the mountains on which the speaker declares that He Himself is present, but those who are less than none of the highest and the greatest of the earth? And these must be sought by the able ministers of the New Covenant, in order that they may observe the injunction which says:56 Go up into a high mountain, thou that preachest good tidings to Zion; thou that preachest good tidings to Jerusalem, lift up thy voice with strength!" Now it is not wonderful if to those who are to preach good tidings Jesus Himself preaches good tidings of good things, which are no other than Himself; for the Son of God preaches the good tidings of Himself to those who cannot come to know Him through others. And He who goes up into the mountains and preaches good things to them, being Himself instructed by His good Father,57 who "makes His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the just and on the unjust," He does not despise those who are poor in soul. To them He preaches good tidings, as He Himself bears witness to us when He takes Isaiah58 and reads: "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, for the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor, He hath sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives, and sight to the blind. For closing the book He handed it to the minister and sat down. And when the eyes of all were fastened upon Him, He said, This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears."

12. The Gospel Contains the ILL Deeds Also Which Were Done to Jesus.

It ought not to be forgotten that in such a Gospel as this there is embraced every good deed which was done to Jesus; as, for example, the story of the woman59 who had been a stalker and had repented, and who, having experienced a genuine recovery from her evil state, had grace to pour her ointment over Jesus so that every one in the house smelt the sweet savour. Hence, too, the words, "Wherever this Gospel shall be preached among all the nations, there also this that she has done shall be spoken of, for a memorial of her." And it is clear that whatever is done to the disciples of Jesus is done to Him. Pointing to those of them who met with kind treatment, He says to those who were kind to them,60 "What ye did to these, ye did to Me." So that every good deed we do to our neighbours is entered ill the Gospel, that Gospel which is written on the heavenly tablets and read by all who are worthy of the knowledge of the whole of things. But on the other side, too, there is a part of the Gospel which is for the condemnation of the doers of the ill deeds which have been done to Jesus. The treachery of Judas and the shouts of the wicked crowd when it said,61 "Away with such a one from the earth," and "Crucify Him, crucify Him," the mockings of those who crowned Him with thorns, and everything of that kind, is included ill the Gospels. And as a consequence of this we see that every one who betrays the disciples of Jesus is reckoned as betraying Jesus Himself. To Saul,62 when still a persecutor it is said, "Saul Saul, why persecutest thou Me? "and, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." There are those who still have thorns with which they crown and dishonour Jesus, those, namely, who are choked by the cares, and riches, and pleasures of life, and though they have received the word of God, do not bring it to perfection.63 We must beware, therefore, lest we also, as crowning Jesus with thorns of our own,

should be entered in the Gospel and read of in this character by those who learn the Jesus, who is in all and is present in all rational and holy lives, learn how He is anointed with ointment, is entertained, is glorified, or how, on the other side, He is dishonoured, and mocked, and beaten. All this had to be said; it is part of our demonstration that our good actions, and also the sins of those who stumble, are embodied in the Gospel, either to everlasting life or to reproach and everlasting shame.

13. The Angels Also are Evangelists.

Now if there are those among men who are honoured with the ministry of evangelists, and if Jesus Himself brings tidings of good things, and preaches the Gospel to the poor, surely those messengers who were made spirits by God,64 those who are a flame of fire, ministers of the Father of all, cannot have been excluded from being evangelists also. Hence an angel standing over the shepherds made a bright light to shine round about them, and said:65 "Fear not; behold I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all tile people; for there is born to you, this day, a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David." And at a time when there was no knowledge among men of tim mystery of the Gospel, those who were greater than men and inhabitants of heaven, the army of God, praised God, saying, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will among men."66 And having said this, the angels go away from the shepherds into heaven, leaving us to gather how the joy preached to us through the birth of Jesus Christ is glory in the highest to God; they humbled themselves even to the ground, and then returned to their place of rest, to glorify God in the highest through Jesus Christ. But the angels also wonder at the peace which is to be brought about on account of Jesus on the earth, that seat of war, on which Lucifer, star of the morning, fell from heaven, to be warred against and destroyed by Jesus.

14. The Old Testament, Typified by John, is the Beginning of the Gospel. In addition to what we have said, there is also this to be considered about the Gospel, that in the first instance it is that of Christ Jesus, the head of the whole body of the saved; as Mark says,67 "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Then also it is the Gospel of the Apostles; whence Paul68 says, "According to my Gospel." But the beginning of the Gospel-for in respect of its extent it has a beginning, a continuation, a middle, and an end-is nothing but the whole Old Testament. John is, in this respect, a type of the Old Testament, or, if we regard the connection of the New Testament with the Old, John represents the termination of the Old. For the same Mark says:69 "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way. The voice of one crying m the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight." And here I must wonder how the dissentients can connect the two Testaments with two different Gods. These words, were there no others, are enough to convict them of their error. For how can John be the beginning of the Gospel if they suppose he belongs to a different God, if he belongs to the demiurge, and, as they hold, is not acquainted with the new deity? And the angels are not entrusted with but one evangelical ministry, and that a short one, not only with that addressed to the shepherds. For at the end an exalted and flying angel, having the Gospel, will preach it to every nation, for the good Father has not entirely deserted those who have fallen away from Him. John, son of Zebedee, says in his Apocalypse: "And I saw an angel flying in the midst of heaven, having the Eternal Gospel, to preach it to those who dwell upon the earth, and to every nation, and tribe, and tongue, and

people, saying, with a loud voice, Fear God and give Him glory, for the hour of His judgment hath come, and worship Him that made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters."

15. The Gospel is in the Old Testament, and Indeed in the Whole Universe. Prayer for Aid to Understand the Mystical Sense of the Work in Hand.

As, then, we have shown that the beginning of the Gospel, according to one interpretation, is the whole Old Testament, and is signified by the person of John, we shall add, lest this should be called a mere unsupported assertion, what is said in the Acts about the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians and Philip. Philip, it is said, began at the passage of Isaiah: "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb," and so preached to him the Lord Jesus. How can he begin with the prophet and preach Jesus, if Isaiah was not a part of the beginning of the Gospel? From this we may derive a proof of the assertion made at the outset, that every divine Scripture is Gospel. If he who preaches the Gospel preaches good things, and all those who spoke before the sojourn of Jesus in the flesh preach Christ, who is as we saw good things, then the words spoken by all of them alike are in a sense a part of the Gospel. And when the Gospel is said to be declared throughout the whole world, we infer that it is actually preached in the whole world, not, that is to say, in this earthly district only, but in the whole system of heaven and earth, or from heaven and earth. And why should we discuss any further what the Gospel is? What we have said is enough. Besides the passages we have adduced, passages by no means inept or unsuited for our purpose,-much to the same effect might be collected from the Scriptures, so that it is clearly seen what is the glory of the good things in Jesus Christ shed forth by the Gospel, the Gospel ministered by men and angels, and, I believe, also by authorities and powers, and thrones and dominions, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come, and indeed even by Christ Himself. Here, then, let us bring to a close what has to be said before proceeding to read the work itself. And now let us ask God to assist us through Jesus Christ by the Holy Spirit, so that we may be able to unfold the mystical sense which is treasured up in the words before us.

16. Meaning of "Beginning." (1) in Space.

"In the beginning was the Word." It is not only the Greeks who consider the word "beginning" to have many meanings. Let any one collect the Scripture passages in which the word occurs, and with a view to an accurate interpretation of it note what it stands for in each passage, and he will find that the word has many meanings in sacred discourse also. We speak of a beginning in reference to a transition. Here it has to do with a road and with length. This appears in the saying: "The beginning of a good way is to do justice." For since the good way is long, there have first to be considered in reference to it the question connected with action, and this side is presented in the words "to do justice; "the contemplative side comes up for consideration afterwards. In the latter the end of it comes to rest at last in the so-called restoration of all things, since no enemy is left them to fight against, if that be true which is said: "For He must reign until He have placed His enemies under His feet. But the last enemy to be destroyed is death." For then but one activity will be left for those who have come to God on account of His word which is with Him, that, namely, of knowing God, so that, being found by the knowledge of the Father, they may all be His Son, as now no one but the Son knows the Father. For should any one enquire carefully at what time those

are to know the Father to whom He who knows the Father reveals Him, and should he consider how a man now sees only through a glass and in a riddle, never having learned to know as he ought to know, he would be justified in saying that no one, no apostle even, and no prophet had known the Father, but when he became one with Him as a son and a father are one. And if any one says that it is a digression which has led us to this point, our consideration of that one meaning of the word beginning, we must show that the digression is necessary and useful for the end we have in view. For if we speak of a beginning in the case of a transition, and of a way and its length, and if we are told that the beginning of a good way is to do justice, then it concerns us to know in what manner every good way has for its beginning to do justice, and how after such beginning it arrives at contemplation, and in what manner it thus arrives at contemplation.

17. (2) in Time. The Beginning of Creation.

Again, there is a beginning in a matter of origin, as might appear in the saying:70 "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth." This meaning, however, appears more plainly in the Book of Job in the passage:71 "This is the beginning of God's creation, made for His angels to mock at." One would suppose that the heavens and the earth were made first, of all that was made at the creation of the world. But the second passage suggests a better view, namely, that as many beings were framed with a body, the first made of these was the creature called dragon, but called in another passage72 the great whale (leviathan) which the Lord tamed. We must ask about this; whether, when the saints were living a blessed life apart from matter and from any body, the dragon, falling from the pure life, became fit to be bound in matter and in a body, so that the Lord could say, speaking through storm and clouds, "This is the beginning of the creation of God, made for His angels to mock at." It is possible, however, that the dragon is not positively the beginning of the creation of the Lord, but that there were many creatures made with a body for the angels to mock at, and that the dragon was the first of these, while others could subsist in a body without such reproach. But it is not so. For the soul of the sun is placed in a body, and the whole creation, of which the Apostle says:73 "The whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now," and perhaps the following is about the same: "The creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but on account of Him who subjected it for hope; "so that bodies might be in vanity, and doing the things of the body, as he who is in the body must.74 ... One who is in the body does the things of the body, though unwillingly. Wherefore the creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but he who does unwillingly the things of the body does what he does for the sake of hope, as if we should say that Paul desired to remain in the flesh, not willingly, but on account of hope. For though he thought it better75 to be dissolved and to be with Christ, it was not unreasonable that he should wish to remain in the flesh for the sake of the benefit to others and of advancement in the things hoped for, not only by him, but also by those benefited by him. This meaning of the term" beginning," as of origin, will serve us also in the passage in which Wisdom speaks in the Proverbs.76 "God," we read, "created me the beginning of His ways, for His works." Here the term could be interpreted as in the first application we spoke of, that of a way: "The Lord," it says, "created me the beginning of His ways." One might assert, and with reason, that God Himself is the beginning of all things, and might go on to say, as is plain, that the Father is the beginning of the Son; and the demiurge the beginning of the works of the demiurge, and that God in a word is the beginning of all that exists. This view is supported by our: "In the beginning was the Word." In the Word one may see the Son, and because He is in the Father He may be said to

be in the beginning.

18. (3) of Substance. In the third place a beginning may be that out of which a thing comes, the underlying matter from which things are formed. This, however, is the view of those who hold matter itself to be uncreated, a view which we believers cannot share, since we believe God to have made the things that are out of the things which are not, as the mother of the seven martyrs in the Maccabees teaches,77 and as the angel of repentance in the Shepherd inculcated.78 19. (4) of Type and Copy. In addition to these meanings there is that in which we speak of an arche,79 according to form; thus if the first-born of every creature80 is the image of the invisible God, then the Father is his arche. In the same way Christ is the arche of those who are made according to the image of God. For if men are according to the image, but the image according to the Father; in the first case the Father is the arche of Christ, and in the other Christ is the arche of men, and men are made, not according to that of which he is the image, but according to the image. With this example our passage will agree: "In the arche was the Word."

20. (5) of Elements and What is Formed from Them.

There is also an arche in a matter of learning, as when we say that the letters are the arche of grammar. The Apostle accordingly says:81 "When by reason of the time you ought to be teachers, you have need again that some one teach you what are the elements of the arche of the oracles of God." Now the arche spoken of in connection with learning is twofold; first in respect of its nature, secondly in its relation to us; as we might say of Christ, that by nature His arche is deity, but that in relation to us who cannot, for its very greatness, command the whole truth about Him, His arche is His manhood, as He is preached to babes, "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." In this view, then, Christ is the arche of learning in His own nature, because He is the wisdom and power of God; but for us, the Word was made flesh, that He might tabernacle among us who could only thus at first receive Him. And perhaps this is the reason why He is not only the firstborn of all creation, but is also designated the man, Adam. For Paul says He is Adam:82 "The last Adam was made a life-giving spirit."

21. (6) of Design and Execution.

Again we speak of the arche of an action, in which there is a design which appears after the beginning. It may be considered whether wisdom is to be regarded as the arche of the works of God because it is in this way the principle of them.

22. The Word Was in the Beginning, I.e., in Wisdom, Which Contained All Things in Idea, Before They Existed. Christ's Character as Wisdom is Prior to His Other Characters. So many meanings occur to us at once of the word arche. We have now to ask which of them we should adopt for our text, "In the beginning was the Word." It is plain that we may at once dismiss the meaning which connects it with transition or with a road and its length. Nor, it is pretty plain, will the meaning connected with an origin serve our purpose. One might, however, think of the sense in which it points to the author, to that which brings about the effect, if, as we read,83 "God commanded and they were created." For Christ is, in a manner, the demiurge, to whom the Father says, "Let there be light," and "Let there be a firmament." But Christ is demiurge as a beginning (arche), inasmuch as He is wisdom. It is in virtue of His being wisdom that He is called arche. For Wisdom says in Solomon:84 "God created me the beginning of His ways, for His works," so that the Word might be

in an arche, namely, in wisdom. Considered in relation to the structure of contemplation and thoughts about the whole of things, it is regarded as wisdom; but in relation to that side of the objects of thought, in which reasonable beings apprehend them, it is considered as the Word. And there is no wonder, since, as we have said before, the Saviour is many good things, if He comprises in Himself thoughts of the first order, and of the second, and of the third. This is what John suggested when he said about the Word:85 "That which was made was life in Him." Life then came in the Word. And on the one side the Word is no other than the Christ, the Word, He who was with the Father, by whom all things were made; while, on the other side, the Life is no other than the Son of God, who says:86 "I am the way and the truth and the life." As, then, life came into being in the Word, so the Word in the arche. Consider, however, if we are at liberty to take this meaning of arche for our text: "In the beginning was the Word," so as to obtain the meaning that all things came into being according to wisdom and according to the models of the system which are present in his thoughts. For I consider that as a house or a ship is built and fashioned in accordance with the sketches of the builder or designer, the house or the ship having their beginning (arche) in the sketches and reckonings in his mind, so all things came into being in accordance with the designs of what was to be, clearly laid down by God in wisdom. And we should add that having created, so to speak, ensouled87 wisdom, He left her to hand over, from the types which were in her, to things existing and to matter, the actual emergence of them, their moulding and their forms.88 But I consider, if it be permitted to say this, that the beginning (arche) of real existence was theSon of God, saying:89 "I am the beginning and the end, the A and the W, the first and the last." We must, however, remember that He is not the arche in respect of every name which is applied to Him. For how can He be the beginning in respect of His being life, when life came in the Word, and the Word is manifestly the arche of life? It is also tolerably evident that He cannot be the arche in respect of His being the first-born from the dead. And if we go through all His titles carefully we find that He is the arche only in respect of His being wisdom. Not even as the Word is He the arche, for the Word was in the arche. And so one might venture to say that wisdom is anterior to all the thoughts that are expressed in the titles of the first-born of every creature. Now God is altogether one and simple; but our Saviour, for many reasons, since God90 set Him forth a propitiation and a first fruits of the whole creation, is made many things, or perhaps all these things; the whole creation, so far as capable of redemption, stands in need of Him.91 And, hence, He is made the light of men, because men, being darkened by wickedness, need the light that shines in darkness, and is not overtaken by the darkness; had not men been in darkness, He would not have become the light of men. The same thing may be observed in respect of His being the first-born of the dead. For supposing the woman had not been deceived, and Adam had not fallen, and man created for incorruption had obtained it, then He would not have descended into the grave, nor would He have died, there being no sin, nor would His love of men have required that He should die, and if He had not died, He could not have been the first-born of the dead. We may also ask whether He would ever have become a shepherd, had man not been thrown together with the beasts which are devoid of reason, and made like to them. For if God saves man and beasts, He saves those beasts which He does save, by giving them a shepherd, since they cannot have a king. Thus if we collect the titles of Jesus, the question arises which of them were conferred on Him later, and would never have assumed such importance if the saints had begun and had also persevered in blessedness. Perhaps Wisdom would be the only remaining one, or perhaps the Word would remain too, or perhaps the Life, or perhaps the Truth,

not the others, which He took for our sake. And happy indeed are those who in their need for the Son of God have yet become such persons as not to need Him in His character as a physician healing the sick, nor in that of a shepherd, nor in that of redemption, but only in His characters as wisdom, as the word and righteousness, or if there be any other title suitable for those who are so perfect as to receive Him in His fairest characters. So much for the phrase "In the beginning."

23. The Title "Word" Is to Be Interpreted by the Same Method as the Other Titles of Christ. The Word of God is Not a Mere Attribute of God, But a Separate Person. What is Meant When He is Called the Word.

Let us consider, however, a little more carefully what is the Word which is in the beginning. I am often led to wonder when I consider the things that are said about Christ, even by those who are in earnest in their belief in Him. Though there is a countless number of names which can be applied to our Saviour, they omit the most of them, and if they should remember them, they declare that these titles are not to be understood in their proper sense, but tropically. But when they come to the title Logos (Word), and repeat that Christ alone is the Word of God, they are not consistent, and do not, as in the case of the other titles, search out what is behind the meaning of the term "Word." I wonder at the stupidity of the general run of Christians in this matter. I do not mince matters; it is nothing but stupidity. The Son of God says in one passage, "I am the light of the world," and in another, "I am the resurrection," and again, "I am the way and the truth and the life." It is also written, "I am the door," and we have the saying, "I am the good shepherd," and when the woman of Samaria says, "We know the Messiah is coming, who is called Christ; when He comes, He will tell us all things," Jesus answers, "I that speak unto thee am He." Again, when He washed the disciples' feet, He declared Himself in these words92 to be their Master and Lord: "You call Me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am." He also distinctly announces Himself as the Son of God, when He says,93 "He whom the Father sanctified and sent unto the world, to Him do you say, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God? "and94 "Father, the hour is come; glorify Thy Son, that the Son also may glorify Thee." We also find Him declaring Himself to be a king, as when He answers Pilate's question,95 "Art Thou the King of the Jews? "by saying, "My kingdom is not of this world; if My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is My kingdom not from hence." We have also read the words,96 "I am the true vine and My Father is the husbandman," and again, "I am the vine, ye are the branches." Add to these testimonies also the saying,97 "I am the bread of life, that came down from heaven and giveth life to the world." These texts will suffice for the present, which we have picked up out of the storehouse of the Gospels, and in all of which He claims to be the Son of God. But in the Apocalypse of John, too, He says,98 "I am the first and the last, and the living One, and I was dead. Behold, I am alive for evermore." And again,99 "I am the A and the W, and the first and the last, the beginning and the end." The careful student of the sacred books, moreover, may gather not a few similar passages from the prophets, as where He calls Himself100 a chosen shaft, and a servant of God,101 and a light of the Gentiles.102 Isaiah also says,103 "From my mother's womb hath He called me by my name, and He made my mouth as a sharp sword, and under the shadow of His hand did He hide me, and He said to me, Thou art My servant, O Israel, and in thee will I be glorified." And a little farther on: "And my God shall be my strength, and He said to me, This is a great thing for thee to be called My servant, to set up the tribes of Jacob and to turn again the diaspora of Israel. Behold I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles, that thou

shouldest be for salvation to the end of the earth." And in Jeremiah too104 He likens Himself to a lamb, as thus: "I was as a gentle lamb that is led to the slaughter." These and other similar sayings He applies to Himself. In addition to these one might collect in the Gospels and the Apostles and in the prophets a countless number of titles which are applied to the Son of God, as the writers of the Gospels set forth their own views of what He is, or the Apostles extol Him out of what they had learned, or the prophets proclaim in advance His coining advent and announce the things concerning Him under various names. Thus John calls Him the Lamb of God, saying,105 "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world," and in these words he declares Him as a man,106 "This is He about whom I said, that there cometh after me a man who is there before me; for He was before me." And in his Catholic Epistle John says that He is a Paraclete for our souls with the Father, as thus:107 "And if any one sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous," and he adds that He is a propitiation for our sins, and similarly Paul says He is a propitiation:108 "Whom God set forth as a propitiation through faith in His blood, on account of forgiveness of the forepast sins, in the forbearance of God." According to Paul, too, He is declared to be the wisdom and the power of God, as in the Epistle to the Corinthians:109 "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." It is added that He is also sanctification and redemption: "He was made to us of God," he says, "wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." But he also teaches us, writing to the Hebrews, that Christ is a High-Priest:110 "Having, therefore, a great High-Priest, who has passed through the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession." And the prophets have other names for Him besides these. Jacob in his blessing of his sons111 says, "Judah, thy brethren shall extol thee; thy hands are on the necks of thine enemies. A lion's whelp is Judah, from a shoot, my son, art thou sprung up; thou hast lain down and slept as a lion; who shall awaken him? "We cannot now linger over these phrases, to show that what is said of Judah applies to Christ. What may be quoted against this view, viz., "A ruler shall not part from Judah nor a leader from his loins, until He come for whom it is reserved; "this can better be cleared up on another occasion . But Isaiah knows Christ to be spoken of under the names of Jacob and Israel, when he says,112 "Jacob is my servant, I will help Him; Israel is my elect, my soul hath accepted Him. He shall declare judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any one hear His voice on the streets. A bruised rod shall He not break. and smoking flax shall He not quench, till He bring forth judgment from victory, and in His name shall the nations hope." That it is Christ about whom such prophecies are made, Matthew shows in his Gospel, where he quotes from memory and says:113 "That the saying might be fulfilled, He shall not strive nor cry," etc. David also is called Christ, as where Ezekiel in his prophecy to the shepherds adds as from the mouth of God:114 "I will raise up David my servant, who shall be their shepherd." For it is not the patriarch David who is to rise and be the shepherd of the saints, but Christ. Isaiah also called Christ the rod and the flower:115 "There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall spring out of tits root, and the spirit of God shall rest upon Him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel slid of might, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness, and He shall be full of the spirit of the fear of the Lord." And in the Psalms our Lord is called the stone, as follows:116 "The stone which the builders rejected is made the head of the comer. It is from the Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes." And the Gospel shows, as also does Luke in the Acts, that the stone is no other than Christ; the Gospel as follows:117 "Have ye never read, the stone which the builders rejected is made the head of the corner. Whosoever falls on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will scatter him as dust." And Luke writes

in Acts:118 "This is the stone, which was set at naught of you the builders, which has become the head of the corner." And one of the names applied to the Saviour is that which He Himself does not utter, but which John records;-the Word who was in the beginning with God, God the Word. And it is worth our while to fix our attention for a moment on those scholars who omit consideration of most of the great names we have mentioned and regard this as the most important one. As to the former titles, they look for any account of them that any one may offer, but in the case of this one they proceed differently and ask, What is the Son of God when called the Word? The passage they employ most is that in the Psalms,119 "My heart hath produced a good Word; "and they imagine the Son of God to be the utterance of the Father deposited, as it were, in syllables, and accordingly they do not allow Him, if we examine them farther, any independent hypostasis, nor are they clear about His essence. I do not mean that they confuse its qualities, but the fact of His having an essence of His own. For no one can understand how that which is said to be "Word" can be a Son. And such an animated Word, not being a separate entity from the Father, and accordingly as it, having no subsistence. is not a Son, or if he is a Son, let them say that God the Word is a separate being and has an essence of His own. We insist, therefore, that as in the case of each of the titles spoken of above we turn from the title to the concept it suggests slid apply it and demonstrate how the Son of God is suitably described by it, the same course must be followed when we find Him called the Word. What caprice it is, in all these cases, not to stand upon the term employed, but to enquire in what sense Christ is to be understood to be the door, and in what way the vine, and why He is the way; but in the one case of His being called the Word, to follow a different course. To add to the authority, therefore, of what we have to say on the question, how the Son of God is the Word, we must begin with those names of which we spoke first as being applied to Him. This, we cannot deny, will seem to some to be superfluous and a digression, but the thoughtful reader will not think it useless to ask as to the concepts for which the titles are used; to observe these matters will clear the way for what is coming. And once we have entered upon the theology concerning the Saviour, as we seek with what diligence we can and find the various things that are taught about Him, we shall necessarily understand more about Him not only in His character as the Word, but in His other characters also.

24. Christ as Light; How He, and How His Disciples are the Light of the World.

He said, then, that He was the light of the world; and we have to examine, along with this title, those which are parallel to it; and, indeed, are thought by some to be not merely parallel, but identical with it. He is the true light, and the light of the Gentiles. In the opening of the Gospel now before us He is the light of men: "That which was made,"120 it says, "was life in Him, and the life was the light of men; and the light shines in darkness, and the darkness did not overtake it." A little further on, in the same passage, He is called the true light:121 "The true light, which lightens every man, was coming into the world." In Isaiah, He is the light of the Gentiles, as we said before. "Behold,122 I have set Thee for a light of the Gentiles, that Thou shouldest be for salvation to the end of the earth." Now the sensible light of the world is the sun, and after it comes very worthily the moon, and the same title may be applied to the stars; but those lights of the world are said in Moses to have come into existence on the fourth day, and as they shed light on the things on the earth, they are not the true light. But the Saviour shines on creatures which have intellect and sovereign reason, that their minds may behold their proper objects of vision, and so he is the light of the intellectual world, that is to say, of the reasonable souls which are in the sensible world, and

if there be any beings beyond these in the world from which He declares Himself to be our Saviour. He is, indeed, the most determining and distinguished part of that world, and, as we may say, the sun who makes the great day of the Lord. In view of this day He says to those who partake of His light, "Work123 while it is day; the night cometh when no man can work. As long as I am in the world, I am the light of the world." Then He says to His disciples,124 "Ye are the light of the world," and "Let your light shine before men." Thus we see the Church, the bride, to present an analogy to the moon and stars, and the disciples have a light, which is their own or borrowed from the true sun, so that they are able to illuminate those who have no command of any spring of light in themselves. We may say that Paul and Peter are the light of the world, and that those of their disciples who are enlightened themselves, but are not able to enlighten others, are the world of which the Apostles were the light. But the Saviour, being the light of the world, illuminates not bodies, but by His incorporeal power the incorporeal intellect, to the end that each of us, enlightened as by the sun, may be able to discern the rest of the things of the mind. And as when the sun is shining the moon and the stars lose their power of giving light, so those who are irradiated by Christ and receive His beams have no need of the ministering apostles and prophets-we must have courage to declare this truth-nor of the angels; I will add that they have no need even of the greater powers when they are disciples of that first-born light. To those who do not receive the solar beams of Christ. the ministering saints do afford an illumination much less than the former; this illumination is as much as those persons can receive, and it completely fills them. Christ, again, the light of the world, is the true light as distinguished from the light of sense; nothing that is sensible is true. Yet though the sensible is other than the true, it does not follow that the sensible is false, for the sensible may have an analogy with the intellectual, and not everything that is not true can correctly be called false. Now I ask whether the light of the world is the same thing with the light of men, and I conceive that a higher power of light is intended by the former phrase than by the latter, for the world in one sense is not only men. Paul shows that the world is something more than men when he writes to the Corinthians in his first Epistle:125 "We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men." In one sense, too, it may be considered,126 the world is the creation which is being delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God, whose earnest expectation is waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God. We also draw attention to the comparison which may be drawn between the statement, "I am the light of the world," and the words addressed to the disciples, "Ye are the light of the world." Some suppose that the genuine disciples of Jesus are greater than other creatures, some seeking the reason of this ill the natural growth of these disciples, others inferring it from their harder struggle. For those beings which are in flesh and blood have greater labours and a life more full of dangers than those which are in an ethereal body, and the lights of heaven might not, if they had put on bodies of earth, have accomplished this life of ours free from danger and from error. Those who incline to this argument may appeal to those texts of Scripture which say the most exalted things about men, and to the fact that the Gospel is addressed directly to men; not so much is said about the creation, or, as we understand it, about the world. We read,127 "As I and Thou are one, that they also may be one in Us," and128 "Where I am, there will also My servant be." These sayings, plainly, are about men; while about the creation it is said that it is delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. It might be added that not even when it is delivered will it take part in the glory of the sons of God. Nor will those who hold this view forget that the first-born of every creature, honouring man above

all else, became man, and that it was not any of the constellations existing in the sky, but one of another order, appointed for this purpose and in the service of the knowledge of Jesus, that was made to be the Star of the East, whether it was like the other stars or perchance better than they, to be the sign of Him who is the most excellent of all. And if the boasting of the saints is in their tribulations, since129 "tribulation worketh patience, and patience probation, and probation hope, and hope maketh not ashamed," then the afflicted creation cannot have the like patience with man, nor the like probation, nor the like hope, but another degree of these, since130 "the creation was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but on account of Him who subjected it. for hope." Now he who shrinks from conferring such great attributes on man will turn to another direction and say that the creature being subjected to vanity groans and suffers greater affliction than those who groan in this tabernacle, for has she not suffered for the utmost extent of time in her service of vanity-nay, many times as long as man? For why does she do this not willingly, but that it is against her nature to be subject to vanity, and not to have the best arrangement of her life, that which she shall receive when she is set free, when the world is destroyed and released even from the vanity of bodies. Here, however, we may appear to be stretching too far, and aiming at more than the question now before us requires. We may return, therefore, to the point from which we set out, and ask for what reason the Saviour is called the light of the world, the true light, and the light of men. Now we saw that He is called the true light with reference to the sensible light of the world, and that the light of the world is the same thing as the light of men, or that we may at least enquire whether they are the same. This discussion is not superfluous. Some students do not take anything at all out of the statement that the Saviour is the Word; and it is important for us to assure ourselves that we are not chargeable with caprice in fixing our attention on that notion. If it admits of being taken in a metaphorical sense we ought not to take it literally.131 When we apply the mystical and allegorical method to the expression "light of the world" and the many analogous terms mentioned above, we should surely do so with this expression also.

25. Christ as the Resurrection.

Now He is called the light of men and the true light and the light of the word, because He brightens and irradiates the higher parts of men, or, in a word, of all reasonable beings. And similarly it is from and because of the energy with which He causes the old deadness to be put aside and that which is par excellence life to be put on, so that those who have truly received Him rise again from the dead, that He is called the resurrection. And this He does not only at the moment at which a man says,132 "We are buried with Christ through baptism and have risen again with Him," but much rather when a man, having laid off all about him that belongs to death, walks in the newness of life which belongs to Him, the Son, while here. We always133 "carry about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus," and thus we reap the vast advantage, "that the life of the Lord Jesus might be made manifest in our bodies."

26. Christ as the Way. But that progress too, which is in wisdom and which is found by those who seek their salvation in it to do for them what they require both in respect of exposition of truth in the divine word and in respect of conduct according to true righteousness, it lets us understand how Christ is the way. In this way we have to take nothing with us,134 neither wallet nor coat; we must travel without even a stick, nor must we have shoes on our feet. For this road is itself sufficient for all the supplies of our journey; and every one who walks on it wants nothing. He is clad with a garment which is fit for one who is setting out in response to an invitation to a wedding; and on this

road he cannot meet anything that can annoy him. "No one," Solomon says,135 "can find out the way of a serpent upon a rock." I would add, or that of any other beast. Hence there is no need of a staff on this road, on which there is no trace of any hostile creature, and the hardness of which, whence also it is called rock (petra), makes it incapable of harbouring anything hurtful.

27. Christ as the Truth.

Further, the Only-begotten is the truth, because He embraces in Himself according to the Father's will the whole reason of all things, and that with perfect clearness, and being the truth communicates to each creature in proportion to its worthiness. And should any one enquire whether all that the Father knows, according to the depth of His riches and His wisdom and His knowledge, is known to our Saviour also, and should he, imagining that he will thereby glorify the Father, show that some things known to the Father are unknown to the Son, although He might have had an equal share of the apprehensions of the unbegotten God, we must remind him that it is from His being the truth that He is Saviour, and add that if He is the truth complete, then there is nothing true which He does not know; truth must not limp for the want of the things which, according to those persons, are known to the Father only. Or else let it be shown that some things are known to which the name of truth does not apply, but which are above the truth.

28. Christ as Life.

It is clear also that the principle of that life which is pure and unmixed with any other element, resides in Him who is the first-born of all creation, taking from which those who have a share in Christ live the life which is true life, while all those who are thought to live apart from this, as they have not the true light, have not the true life either.

29. Christ as the Door and as the Shepherd. But as one cannot be in the Father or with the Father except by ascending from below upwards and coming first to the divinity of the Son, through which one may be led by the hand and brought to the blessedness of the Father Himself, so the Saviour has the inscription "The Door." And as He is a lover of men, and approves the impulse of human souls to better things, even of those who do not hasten to reason (the Logos), but like sheep have a weakness and gentleness apart from all accuracy and reason, so He is the Shepherd. For the Lord saves men and beasts,136 and Israel and Juda are sowed with the seed not of men only but also of beasts.137 30. Christ as Anointed (Christ) and as King. In addition to these titles we must consider at the outset of our work that of Christ, and we must also consider that of King, and compare these two so as to find out the difference between them. Now it is said in the forty-fourth Psalm,138 "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, whence Thou art anointed (Christ) above Thy fellows." His loving righteousness and hating iniquity were thus added claims in Him; His anointing was not contemporary with His being nor inherited by Him from the first. Anointing is a symbol of entering on the kingship, and sometimes also on the priesthood; and must we therefore conclude that the kingship of the Son of God is not inherited nor congenital to Him? But how is it conceivable that the First-born of all creation was not a king and became a king afterwards because He loved righteousness, when, moreover, He Himself was righteousness? We cannot fail to see that it is as a man that He is Christ, in respect of His soul, which was human and liable to be troubled and sore vexed, but that He is conceived as king in respect of the divine in Him. I find support for this in the seventy-first Psalm,139 which says, "Give the king Thy judgment, O God, and Thy righteousness to the king's Son, to judge Thy people in righteousness and Thy

poor in judgment." This Psalm, though addressed to Solomon, is evidently a prophecy of Christ, and it is worth while to ask to what king the prophecy desires judgment to be given by God, and to what king's Son, and what king's righteousness is spoken of. I conceive, then, that what is called the King is the leading nature of the First-born of all creation, to which judgment is given on account of its eminence; and that the man whom He assumed, formed and moulded by that nature, according to righteousness, is the King's Son. I am the more led to think that this is so, because the two beings are here brought together in one sentence, and are spoken of as if they were not two but one. For the Saviour made both one,140 that is, He made them according to the prototype of the two which had been made one in Himself before all things. The two I refer to human nature, since each man's soul is mixed with the Holy Spirit, and each of those who are saved is thus made spiritual. Now as there are some to whom Christ is a shepherd, as we said before, because of their meek and composed nature, though they are less guided by reason; so there are those to whom He is a king, those, namely, who are led in their approach to religion rather by the reasonable part of their nature. And among those who are under a king there are differences; some experience his rule in a more mystic and hidden and more divine way, others in a less perfect fashion. I should say that those who, led by reason, apart from all agencies of sense, have beheld incorporeal things, the things which Paul speaks of as "invisible," or "not seen," that they are ruled by the leading nature of the Only-begotten, but that those who have only advanced as far as the reason which is conversant with sensible things, and on account of these glorify their Maker, that these also are governed by the Word, by Christ. No offence need be taken at our distinguishing these notions in the Saviour; we draw the same distinctions in His substance.

31. Christ as Teacher and Master.

It is plain to all how our Lord is a teacher and an interpreter for those who are striving towards godliness, and on the other hand a master of those servants who have the spirit of bondage to fear,141 who make progress and hasten towards wisdom, and are found worthy to possess it. For142 "the servant knoweth not what the master wills," since he is no longer his master, but has become his friend. The Lord Himself teaches this, for He says to hearers who were still servants:143 "You call Me Master and Lord, and you say well, for so I am," but in another passage,144 "I call you no longer servants, for the servant knoweth not what is the will of his master, but I call you friends," because145 "you have continued with Me in all My temptations." They, then, who live according to fear, which God exacts from those who are not good servants, as we read in Malachi,146 "If I am a Master, where is My fear? "are servants of a master who is called their Saviour.

32. Christ as Son.

None of these testimonies, however, sets forth distinctly the Saviour's exalted birth; but when the words are addressed to Him, "Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee,"147 this is spoken to Him by God, with whom all time is to-day, for there is no evening with God, as I consider, and there is no morning, nothing but time that stretches out, along with His unbeginning and unseen life. The day is to-day with Him in which the Son was begotten, and thus the beginning of His birth is not found, as neither is the day of it.

33. Christ the True Vine, and as Bread. To what we have said must be added how the Son is the true vine. Those will have no difficulty in apprehending this who understand, in a manner worthy of

the prophetic grace, the saying:148 "Wine maketh glad the heart of man." For if the heart be the intellectual part, and what rejoices it is the Word most pleasant of all to drink which takes us off human things, makes us feel ourselves inspired, and intoxicates us with an intoxication which is not irrational but divine, that, I conceive, with which Joseph made his brethren merry,149 then it is very clear how He who brings wine thus to rejoice the heart of man is the true vine. He is the true vine, because the grapes He bears are the truth, the disciples are His branches, and they, also, bring forth the truth as their fruit. It is somewhat difficult to show the difference between the vine and bread, for He says, not only that He is the vine, but that He is the bread of life. May it be that as bread nourishes and makes strong, and is said to strengthen the heart of man, but wine, on the contrary, pleases and rejoices and melts him, so ethical studies, bringing life to him who learns them and reduces them to practice, are the bread of life, but cannot properly be called the fruit of the vine, while secret and mystical speculations, rejoicing the heart and causing those to feel inspired who take them in, delighting in the Lord, and who desire not only to be nourished but to be made happy, are called the juice of the true vine, because they flow from it.

34. Christ as the First and the Last; He is Also What Lies Between These.

Further, we have to ask in what sense He is called in the Apocalypse the First and the Last, and how, in His character as the First, He is not the same as the Alpha and the beginning, while in His character as the Last He is not the same as the Omega and the end. It appears to me, then, that the reasonable beings which exist are characterized by many forms, and that some of them are the first, some the second, some the third, and so on to the last. To pronounce exactly, however, which is the first, what kind of a being the second is, which may truly be designated third, and to carry this out to the end of the series, this is not a task for man, but transcends our nature. We shall yet venture, such as we are, to stand still a little at this point, and to make some observations on the matter. There are some gods of whom God is god, as we hear in prophecy,150 "Thank ye the God of gods," and151 "The God of gods hath spoken, and called the earth." Now God, according to the Gospel,152 "is not the God of the dead but of the living." Those gods, then, are living of whom God is god. The Apostle, too, writing to the Corinthians, says:153 "As there are gods many and lords many," and so we have spoken of these gods as really existing. Now there are, besides the gods of whom God is god, certain others, who are called thrones, and others called dominions, lordships, also, and powers in addition to these. The phrase,154 "above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come," leads us to believe that there are yet others besides these which are less familiar to us; one kind of these the Hebrews called Sabai, from which Sabaoth was formed, who is their ruler, and is none other than God. Add to all these the reasonable being who is mortal, man. Now the God of all things made first in honour some race of reasonable beings; this I consider to be those who are called gods, and the second order, let us say, for the present, are the thrones, and the third, undoubtedly, the dominions. And thus we come down in order to the last reasonable race, which, perhaps, cannot be any other than man. The Saviour accordingly became, in a diviner way than Paul, all things to all, that He might either gain all or perfect them; it is clear that to men He became a man, and to the angels an angel. As for His becoming man no believer has any doubt, but as to His becoming an angel, we shall find reason for believing it was so, if we observe carefully the appearances and the words of the angels, in some of which the powers of the angels seem to belong to Him. In several passages angels speak in such a way as to suggest this, as when155 "the angel of the

Lord appeared in a flame of fire. And he said. I am the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob." But Isaiah also says:156 "His name is called Angel of Great Counsel." The Saviour, then, is the first and the last, not that He is not what lies between, but the extremities are named to show that He became all things. Consider, however, whether the last is man, or the things said to be under the earth, of which are the demons, all of them or some. We must ask, too, about those things which the Saviour became which He speaks of through the prophet David,157 "And I became as a man without any to help him, free among the dead." His birth from the Virgin and His life so admirably lived showed Him to be more than man, and it was the same among the dead. He was the only free person there, and His soul was not left in hell. Thus, then, He is the first and the last. Again, if there be letters of God, as such there are, by reading which the saints may say they have read what is written on the tablets of heaven, these letters, by which heavenly things are to be read, are the notions, divided into small parts, into A and so on to W, the Son of God. Again, He is the beginning and the end, but He is this not in all His aspects equally. For He is the beginning, as the Proverbs teach us, inasmuch as He is wisdom; it is written: "The Lord rounded Me in the beginning of His ways. for His works." In the respect of His being the Logos He is not the beginning. "The Word was in the beginning." Thus in His aspects one comes first and is the beginning, and there is a second after the beginning, and a third, and so on to the end, as if He had said, I am the beginning. inasmuch as I am wisdom, and the second, perhaps, inasmuch as I am invisible, and the third in that I am life, for "what was made was life in Him." One who was qualified to examine and to discern the sense of Scripture might, no doubt, find many members of the series; I cannot say if he could find them all. "The beginning and the end" is a phrase we usually apply to a thing that is a completed unity; the beginning of a house is its foundation and the end the parapet. We cannot but think of this figure. since Christ is the stone which is the head of the corner, to the great unity of the body of the saved. For Christ the only-begotten Son is all and in all, He is as the beginning in the man He assumed, He is present as the end in the last of the saints, and He is also in those between, or else He is present as the beginning in Adam, as the end in His life on earth, according to the saying: "The last Adam was made a quickening spirit." This saying harmonizes well with the interpretation we have given of the first and the last.

35. Christ as the Living and the Dead. In what has been said about the first and the last, and about the beginning and the end, we have referred these words at one point to the different forms of reasonable beings, at another to the different conceptions of the Son of God. Thus we have gained a distinction between the first and the beginning, and between the last and the end, and also the distinctive meaning of A and W. It is not hard to see why he is called158 "the Living and the Dead," and after being dead He that is alive for evermore. For since we were not helped by His original life, sunk as we were in sin, He came down into our deadness in order that, He having died to sin, we,159 bearing about in our body the dying of Jesus. might then receive that life of His which is for evermore. For those who always carry about in their body the dying of Jesus shall obtain the life of Jesus also, manifested in their bodies.

36. Christ as a Sword. The texts of the New Testament, which we have discussed, are things said by Himself about Himself. Isaiah, however, He said160 that His mouth had been set by His Father as a sharp sword, and that He was hidden under the shadow of His hand, made like to a chosen shaft and kept close in the Father's quiver, called His servant by the God of all things, and Israel, and Light of the Gentiles. The mouth of the Son of God is a sharp sword, for161 "The word of God

is living, and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, and piercing to the dividing of soul and spirit, of both joints and marrow, and quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart." And indeed He came not to bring peace on the earth, that is, to corporeal and sensible things, but a sword, and to cut through, if I may say so, the disastrous friendship of soul and body, so that the soul, committing herself to the spirit which was against the flesh, may enter into friendship with God. Hence, according to the prophetic word, He made His mouth as a sword, as a sharp sword. Can any one behold so many wounded by the divine love, like her in the Song of Songs, who complained that she was wounded:162 "I am wounded with love," and find the dart that wounded so many souls for the love of God, in any but Him who said, "He hath made Me as a chosen shaft."

37. Christ as a Servant, as the Lamb of God, and as the Man Whom John Did Not Know.

Again, let any one consider how Jesus was to His disciples, not as He who sits at meat, but as He who serves, and how though the Son of God He took on Him the form of a servant for the sake of the freedom of those who were enslaved in sin, and he will be at no loss to account for the Father's saying to Him:163 "Thou art My servant," and a little further on: "It is a great thing that thou shouldst be called My servant." For we do not hesitate to say that the goodness of Christ appears in a greater and more divine light, and more according to the image of the Father, because164 "He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even the death of the cross," than if He had judged it a thing to be grasped to be equal with God, and had shrunk from becoming a servant for the salvation of the world. Hence He says,165 desiring to teach us that in accepting this state of servitude He had received a great gift from His Father: "And My God shall be My strength. And He said to Me, It is a great thing for Thee to be called My servant." For if He had not become a servant, He would not have raised up the tribes of Jacob, nor have turned the heart of the diaspora of Israel, and neither would He have become a light of the Gentiles to be for salvation to the ends of the earth. And it is no great thing for Him to become a servant, even if it is called a great thing by His Father, for this is in comparison with His being called with an innocent sheep and with a lamb. For the Lamb of God became like an innocent sheep being led to the slaughter, that He may take away the sin of the world. He who supplies reason (logoj to all is made like a lamb which is dumb before her shearer, that we might be purified by His death, which is given as a sort of medicine against the opposing power, and also against the sin of those who open their minds to the truth. For the death of Christ reduced to impotence those powers which war against the human race, and it set free from sin by a power beyond our words the life of each believer. Since, then, He takes away sin until every enemy shall be destroyed and death last of all, in order that the whole world may be free from sin, therefore John points to Him and says:166 "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." It is not said that He will take it away in the future, nor that He is at present taking it, nor that He has taken it, but is not taking it away now. His taking away sin is still going on, He is taking it away from every individual in the world, till sin be taken away from the whole world, and the Saviour deliver the kingdom prepared and completed to the Father, a kingdom in which no sin is left at all, and which, therefore, is ready to accept the Father as its king, and which on the other hand is waiting to receive all God has to bestow, fully, and in every part, at that time when the saying167 is fulfilled, "That God may be all in all." Further, we hear of a man who is said to be coming after John, who was made before him and was before him. This is to teach us that the man also of the Son of God, the man who was mixed with His divinity, was older than His birth from Mary. John says he does not know this man, but

must he not have known Him when he leapt for joy when yet a babe unborn in Elisabeth's womb, as soon as the voice of Mary's salutation sounded in the ears of the wife of Zacharias? Consider, therefore, if the words "I know Him not" may have reference to the period before the bodily existence. Though he did not know Him before He assumed His body, yet he knew Him when yet in his mother's womb, and perhaps he is here learning something new about Him beyond what was known to him before, namely, that on whomsoever the Holy Spirit shall descend and abide on him, that is he who is to baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. He knew him from his mother's womb, but not all about Him. He did not know perhaps that this is He who baptizes with the Holy Spirit and with fire, when he saw the Spirit descending and abiding on Him. Yet that He was indeed a man, and the first man, John did not know.

38. Christ as Paraclete, as Propitiation, and as the Power of God. But none of the names we have mentioned expresses His representation of us with the Father, as He pleads for human nature, and makes atonement for it; the Paraclete, and the propitiation, and the atonement. He has the name Paraclete in the Epistle of John:168 "If any man sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." And He is said in the same epistle to be the atonement169 for our sins. Similarly, in the Epistle to the Romans, He is called a propitiation:170 "Whom God set forth to be a propitiation through faith." Of this proportion there was a type in the inmost part of the temple, the Holy of Holies, namely, the golden mercy-seat placed upon the two cherubim. But how could He ever be the Paraclete, and the atonement, and the propitiation without the power of God, which makes an end of our weakness, flows over the souls of believers, and is administered by Jesus, who indeed is prior to it and Himself the power of God, who enables a man to say:171 "I can do all things through Jesus Christ who strengtheneth me." Whence we know that Simon Magus, who gave himself the title of "The power of God, which is called great," was consigned to perdition and destruction, he and his money with him. We, on the contrary, who confess Christ as the true power of God, believe that we share with Him, inasmuch as He is that power, all things in which any energy resides.

39. Christ as Wisdom and Sanctification and Redemption.

We must not, however, pass over in silence that He is of right the wisdom of God, and hence is called by that name. For the wisdom of the God and Father of all things does not apprehend His substance in mere visions, like the phantasms of human thoughts. Whoever is able to conceive a bodiless existence of manifold speculations which extend to the rationale of existing things, living and, as it were, ensouled, he will see how well the Wisdom of God which is above every creature speaks of herself, when she says:172 "God created me the beginning of His ways, for His works." By this creating act the whole creation was enabled to exist, not being unreceptive of that divine wisdom according to which it was brought into being; for God, according to the prophet David,173 made all things in wisdom. But many things came into being by the help of wisdom, which do not lay hold of that by which they were created: and few things indeed there are which lay hold not only of that wisdom which concerns themselves, but of that which has to do with many things besides, namely, of Christ who is the whole of wisdom. But each of the sages, in proportion as he embraces wisdom, partakes to that extent of Christ, in that He is wisdom; just as every one who is greatly gifted with power, in proportion as he has power, in that proportion also has a share in Christ, inasmuch as He is power. The same is to be thought about sanctification and redemption; for Jesus Himself is made sanctification to us and redemption. Each of us is sanctified with that

sanctification, and redeemed with that redemption. Consider, moreover, if the words "to us," added by the Apostle, have any special force. Christ, he says, "was made to us of God, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." In other passages, he speaks about Christ as being wisdom, without any such qualification, and of His being power, saying that Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God, though we might have conceived that He was not the wisdom of God or the power of God, absolutely, but only for us. Now, in respect of wisdom and power, we have both forms of the statement, the relative and the absolute; but in respect of sanctification and redemption, this is not the case. Consider, therefore, since174 "He that sanctifies and they that are sanctified are all of one," whether the Father is the sanctification of Him who is our sanctification, as, Christ being our head, God is His head. But Christ is our redemption because we had become prisoners and needed ransoming. I do not enquire as to His own redemption, for though He was tempted in all things as we are, He was without sin, and His enemies never reduced Him to captivity.

40. Christ as Righteousness; As the Demiurge, the Agent of the Good God, and as High-Priest.

Having expiscated the "to us" and the "absolutely"-santification and redemption being "to us" and not absolute, wisdom and redemption both to us and absolute-we must not omit to enquire into the position of righteousness in the same passage. That Christ is righteousness relatively to us appears clearly from the words: "Who was made to us of God wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." And if we do not find Him to be righteousness absolutely as He is the wisdom and the power of God absolutely, then we must enquire whether to Christ Himself, as the Father is santification, so the Father is also righteousness. There is, we know, no unrighteousness with God;175 He is a righteous and holy Lord,176 and His judgments are in righteousness, and being righteous, He orders all things righteously. The heretics drew a distinction for purposes of their own between the just and the good. They did not make the matter very clear, but they considered that the demiurge was just, while the Father of Christ was good. That distinction may, I think, if carefully examined, be applied to the Father and the Son; the Son being righteousness, and having received power177 to execute judgment, because He is the Son of Man and will judge the world in righteousness, but the Father doing good to those who have been disciplined by the righteousness of the Son. This is after the kingdom of the Son; then the Father will manifest in His works His name the Good, when God becomes all in all. And perhaps by His righteousness the Saviour prepares everything at the fit times, and by His word, by His ordering, by His chastisements, and, if I may use such an expression, by His spiritual healing aids, disposes all things to receive at the end the goodness of the Father. It was from His sense of that goodness that He answered him who addressed the Only-begotten with the words "Good Master,"178 and said, "Why callest thou Me good? None is good but one, God, the Father." This we have treated of elsewhere, especially in dealing with the question of the greater than the demiurge; Christ we have taken to be the demiurge, and the Father the greater than He. Such great things, then, He is, the Paraclete, the atonement, the propitiation, the sympathizer with our weaknesses, who was tempted in all human things, as we are, without sin; and in consequence He is a great High-Priest, having offered Himself as the sacrifice which is offered once for all, and not for men only but for every rational creature. For without179 God He tasted death for every one. In some copies of the Epistle to the Hebrews the words are "by the grace of God." Now, whether He tasted death for every one without God. He died not for men only but for all other intellectual

beings too, or whether He tasted death for every one by the grace of God, He died for all without God, for by the grace of God He tasted death for every one. It would surely be absurd to say that He tasted death for human sins and not for any other being besides man which had fallen into sin, as for example for the stars. For not even the stars are clean in the eyes of God, as we read in Job,180 "The stars are not clean in His sight," unless this is to be regarded as a hyperbole. Hence he is a great High-Priest, since He restores all things to His Father's kingdom, and arranges that whatever defects exist in each part of creation shall be filled up so as to be full of the glory of the Father. This High-Priest is called, from some other notion of him than those we have noticed, Judas, that those who are Jews secretly181 may take the name of Jew not froth Judah, son of Jacob, but from Him, since they are His brethren, and praise Him for the freedom they have attained. For it is He who sets them free, saving them from their enemies on whose backs He lays His hand to subdue them. When He has put under His feet the opposing power, and is alone in presence of His Father, then He is Jacob and Israel; and thus as we are made light by Him, since He is the light of the world, so we are made Jacob since He is called Jacob, and Israel since He is called Israel.

41. Christ as the Rod, the Flower, the Stone.

Now He receives the kingdom from the king whom the children of Israel appointed, beginning the monarchy not at the divine command and without even consulting God. He therefore fights the battles of the Lord and so prepares peace for His Son, His people, and this perhaps is the reason why He is called David. Then He is called a rod;182 such He is to those who need a harder and severer discipline, and have not submitted to the love and gentleness of God. On this account, if He is a rod, He has to "go forth; "He does not remain in Himself, but appears to go beyond His earlier state. Going forth, then, and becoming a rod, He does not remain a rod, but after the rod He becomes a flower that rises up, and after being a rod He is made known as a flower to those who, by His being a rod, have met with visitation. For "God will visit their iniquities with a red,"183 that is, Christ. But "His mercy He will not take from him," for He will have mercy on him, for on whom the Son has mercy the Father has mercy also. An interpretation may be given which makes Him a rod and a flower in respect of different persons, a rod to those who have need of chastisement, a flower to those who are being saved; but I prefer the account of the matter given above. We must add here, however, that, perhaps, looking to the end, if Christ is a rod to any man He is also a flower to him, while it is not the case that he who receives Him as a flower must also know Him as a rod. And yet as one flower is more perfect than another and plants are said to flower, even though they bring forth no perfect fruit, so the perfect receive that of Christ which transcends the flower. Those, on the other hand, who have known Him as a rod will partake along with it, not in His perfection, but in the flower which comes before the fruit. Last of all, before we come to the word Logos, Christ was a stone,184 set at naught by the builders but placed on the head of the corner, for the living stones are built up as on a foundation on the other stones of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus Himself our Lord being the chief corner-stone, because He is a part of the building made of living stones in the land of the living; therefore He is called a stone. All this we have said to show how capricious and baseless is the procedure of those who, when so many names are given to Christ, take the mere appellation "the Word," without enquiring, as in the case of His other titles, in what sense it is used; surely they ought to ask what is meant when it is said of the Son of God that He was the Word, and God, and that He was in the beginning with the Father,

and that all things were made by Him.

42. Of the Various Ways in Which Christ is the Logos.

As, then, from His activity in enlightening the world whose light He is, Christ is named the Light of the World, and as from His making those who sincerely attach themselves to Him put away their deadness and rise again and put on newness of life, He is called the Resurrection, so from an activity of another kind He is called Shepherd and Teacher, King and Chosen Shaft, and Servant, and in addition to these Paraclete and Atonement and Propitiation. And after the same fashion He is also called the Logos,185 because He takes away from us all that is irrational, and makes us truly reasonable, so that we do all things, even to eating and drinking, to the glory of God, and discharge by the Logos to the glory of God both the commoner functions of life and those which belong to a more advanced stage. For if, by having part in Him, we are raised up and enlightened, herded also it may be and ruled over, then it is clear that we become in a divine manner reasonable, when He drives away from us what in us is irrational and dead, since He is the Logos (reason) and the Resurrection.Consider, however, whether all men have in some way part in Him in His character as Logos. On this point tile Apostle teaches us that He is to be sought not outside the seeker, and that those find Him in themselves who set their heart on doing so; "Say not186 in thy heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? That is to bring Christ down; or, Who shall descend into the abyss? That is to bring Christ up from the dead. But what saith the Scripture? The Word is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart," as if Christ Himself were the same thing as the Word said to be sought after. But when the Lord Himself says187 "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no cloak for their sin," the only sense we can find in His words is that the Logos Himself says that those are not chargeable with sin to whom He (reason) has not fully come, but that those, if they sin, are guilty who, having had part in Him, act contrary to the ideas by which He declares His full presence in us. Only when thus read is the saying true: "If I had not come and spoken to them, they had not had sin." Should the words be applied, as many are of opinion that they should, to the visible Christ, then how is it true that those had no sin to whom He did not come? In that case all who lived before the advent of the Saviour will be free from sin, since Jesus, as seen in flesh, had not yet come. And more-all those to whom He has never been preached will have no sin, and if they have no sin, then it is clear they are not liable to judgment. But the Logos in man, in which we have said that our whole race had part, is spoken of in two senses; first, in that of the filling up of ideas which takes place, prodigies excepted, in every one who passes beyond the age of boyhood, but secondly, in that of the consummation, which takes place only in the perfect. The words, therefore, "If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have had sin, but now they have no cloak for their sin," are to be understood in the former sense; but the words,188 "All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers, and the sheep did not hear them," in the latter. For before the consummation of reason comes, there is nothing in man but what is blameworthy; all is imperfect and defective, and can by no means command the obedience of those irrational elements in us which are tropically spoken of as sheep. And perhaps the former meaning is to be recognized in the words "The Logos was made flesh," but the second in "The Logos was God." We must accordingly look at what there is to be seen in human affairs between the saying, "The Word (reason) was made flesh" and "The Word was God." When the Word was made flesh can we say that it was to some extent broken up and thinned out, and can we say that it recovered from that point onward till it became again what it

was at first, God the Word, the Word with the Father; the Word whose glory John saw, the verily only-begotten, as from the Father. But the Son may also be the Logos (Word), because He reports the secret things of His Father who is intellect in the same way as the Son who is called the Word. For as with us the word is a messenger of those things which tile mind perceives, so the Word of God, knowing the Father, since no created being can approach Him without a guide, reveals the Father whom He knows. For no one knows the Father save the Son,189 and he to whomsoever the Son reveals Him, and inasmuch as He is the Word He is the Messenger of Great Counsel,190 who has the government upon His shoulders; for He entered on His kingdom by enduring the cross. In the Apocalypse,191 moreover, the Faithful and True (the Word), is said to sit on a white horse, the epithets indicating, I consider, the clearness of the voice with which the Word of truth speaks to us when He sojourns among us. This is scarcely the place to show how the word "horse" is often used in passages spoken for our encouragement in sacred learning. I only cite two of these: "A horse is deceitful for safety,"192 and "Some trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will rejoice in the name of the Lord our God."193 Nor must we leave unnoticed a passage in the forty-fourth Psalm,194 frequently quoted by many writers as if they understood it: "My heart hath belched forth a good word, I speak my works to the King." Suppose it is God the Father who speaks thus; what is His heart, that the good word should appear in accordance with His heart? If, as these writers suppose, the Word (Logos) needs no interpretation, then the heart is to be taken in the natural sense too. But it is quite absurd to suppose God's heart to be a part of Him as ours is of our body. We must remind such writers that as when the hand of God is spoken of, and His arm and His finger, we do not read the words literally but enquire in what sound sense we may take them so as to be worthy of God, so His heart is to be understood of His rational power, by which He disposes all things, and His word of that which announces what is in this heart of His. But who is it that announces the counsel of the Father to those of His creatures who are worthy and who have risen above themselves, who but the Saviour? That "belched forth" is not, perhaps, without significance; a hundred other terms might have been employed; "My heart has produced a good word," it might have been said, or "My heart has spoken a good word." But in belching, some wind that was hidden makes its way out to the world, and so it may be that the Father gives out views of truth not continuously, but as it were after the fashion of belching, and the word has the character of the things thus produced, and is called, therefore, the image of the invisible God. We may enter our agreement, therefore, with the ordinary acceptation of these words, and take them to be spoken by the Father. It is not, however, a matter of course, that it is God Himself who announces these things. Why should it not be a prophet? Filled with the Spirit and unable to contain himself, he brings forth a word about his prophecy concerning Christ: "My heart hath belched forth a good word, I speak my works to the King, my pen is the tongue of a ready writer. Excellent in beauty is He beyond the sons of men." Then to the Christ Himself: "Grace is poured out on Thy lips." If the Father were the speaker, how could He go on after the words, "Grace is poured out on thy lips," to say, "Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever," and a little further on, "Therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows." Some of those who wish to make the Father the speaker may appeal to the words, "Hear, O daughter, and behold and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and thy father." The prophet, it may be said, could not address the Church in the words, "Hear, O daughter." It is not difficult, however, to show that changes of person occur frequently in the Psalms, so that these words, "Hear, O daughter," might be from the Father, in this passage, though the Psalm as a whole is not. To our discussion of the Word we

may here add the passage,195 "By the word of the Lord were the heavens rounded, and all the power of them by the breath of His mouth." Some refer this to the Saviour and the Holy Spirit. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply any more than that the heavens were founded by the reason (logos) of God, as when we say that a house is built by the plan (logos) of the architect, or a ship by the plan (logos) of the shipbuilder. In the same way the heavens were founded (made solid) by the Word of God, for they are196 of a more divine substance, which on this account is called solid;197 it has little fluidity for the most part, nor is it easily melted like other parts of the world, and specially the lower parts. On account of this difference the heavens are said in a special manner to be constituted by the Word of God. The saying then stands, first, "In the beginning was the Logos; "we are to place that full in our view; but the testimonies we cited from the Proverbs led us to place wisdom first, and to think of wisdom as preceding the Word which announces her. We must observe, then, that the Logos is in the beginning, that is, in wisdom, always. Its being in wisdom, which is called the beginning, does not prevent it from being with God and from being God, and it is not simply with God, but is in the beginning, in wisdom, with God. For he goes on: "He was in the beginning with God." He might have said, "He was with God; "but as He was in the beginning, so He was with God in the beginning, and "All things were made by Him," being in the beginning, for God made nil things, as David tells us, in wisdom. And to let us understand that the Word has His own definite place and sphere as one who has life in Himself (and is a distinct person), we must also speak about powers, not about power. "Thus saith the Lord of powers, (A.V. hosts)" we frequently read; there are certain creatures, rational and divine, which are called powers: anti of these Christ was the highest and best. and is called not only the wisdom of God but also His power. As, then, there are several powers of God, each of them in its own form, and the Saviour is different from these, so also Christ, even if that which is Logos in us is not in respect of form outside of us, will be understood from our discussion up to this point to be the Logos, who has His being in the beginning, in wisdom. This for the present may suffice, on the word: "In the beginning was the Logos."

1: Rom. ii. 29.

2: Apoc. vii. 2-5.

3: Apoc. xiv. 1-5.

4: Apoc. vii. 3, 4.

5: 1Cor. ii. 14.

6: Reading with Neander and Lommatzsch (note) diaferon ti for diaferontej .

7: Heb. iv. 14.

8: Ps. cx. 4; Heb v. 6. Cf. vii. 11.

9: aparxh , Exod. xxii. 29.

10: prwtogennhma , Exod. xxiii. 16.

11: This passage is difficult and disputed.

12: 2 Cor. vi. 18.

13: 2 Tim. iii. 16.

14: 1 Cor. vii. 12.

15: 1 Cor. vii. 17.

16: 2 Tim. iii. 11.

17: John i. 29.

18: Ephes. iv. 11.

19: John ix. 1.

20: John xi. 39.

21: Matt. xxiii. 8,9.

22: oxekakeus, Ephes. iv. 11.

23: 2 Cor. v. 19.

24: John i. 29.

25: Ambrosius.

26: Matt. i. 1.

27: John xix. 26.

28: Gal ii. 20.

29: 1 Cor. ii. 12, 16.

30: Rom. ii. 16

31: Col. i. 15.

32: Matt. xi. 3.

33: John iv. 25.

34: Luke xxiv. 18-21.

35: Nazarhnou .

36: John i. 42.

37: John i. 46.

38: Text defective here. The words as they stand would yield the sense, "the formula, little and yet all."

39: 1 Cor. x. 11.

40: guwsij .

41: John xi. 25.

42: Ps. lxvii. 11,12.

43: 1 Cor. iv. 19, 20 (with a peculiar reading).

44: 1 Cor. ii. 4.

45: Luke xxiv. 32.

46: Isa. iii. 7; Rom. x. 15.

47: John xiv. 6.

48: John xi. 25

49: John x. 9.

50: Prov. viii 22 51: Rom. vi. 10.

52: 1 Cor. i. 30.

53: Col i. 19; ii. 9.

54: John xxi. 25.

55: Isa. lii. 6.

56: Isa. xl. 9.

57: Matt. v. 45.

58: Luke iv. 18 sq.

59: Matt. xxvi. 6-13, combined with Luke vii. 36-50.

60: Matt. xxv. 40.

61: John xix. 6, 15.

62: Acts ix. 4, 5.

63: Luke viii, 14.

64: Ps. civ. 4.

65: Luke ii. 10, 11.

66: Origen, however, appears also to have read eudokiaj as: "among men of good will."

67: Mark i. 1.

68: Rom. ii. 16.

69: i. 2,3.

70: Gen. i. 1.

71: Job xi. 19.

72: Job iii. 8.

73: Rom. viii. 22, 20 74: The text is defective here.

75: Phil. i. 23.

76: viii. 22.

77: 2 Macc. vii, 28.

78: Herm. Sim. viii.

79: We must here reproduce the Greek word, as Origen passes to meanings of it which the English "beginning" does not cover.

80: Coloss. i. 15.

81: Heb. v. 12.

82: 1 Cor. xv. 45.

83: Ps. cxlviii. 5.

84: Prov. viii. 22.

85: John i. 3, 4.

86: John xiv. 6.

87: Opp. to embodied.

88: Mr. Brooke, T. & S. I. iv. p. 15, discusses this corrupt passage and suggests an improved text which would yield the sense, that wisdom was to give to things and matter, " it might be rash to say bluntly their essences, but their moulding and their forms."

89: Apoc. xxii. 13.

90: Rom. iii. 25.

91: Passage obscure and probably corrupt.

92: John xiii. 13.

93: John x. 36.

94: John xvii, 1.

95: John xviii. 33, 36.

96: John xv. 1, 5.

97: John vi. 35, 41, 33.

98: Apoc. i. 18.

99: Apoc. xxii. 13.

100: Isa. xlix. 2.

101: Isa. xlii. 1, etc.

102: Isa. xlix. 6.

103: Isa. xlix. 1, 2, 3.

104: Jerem. xi. 19.

105: John i. 29.

106: John i. 30, 31.

107: 1 John ii. 1, ilasmoj 108: Rom. iii. 25, 26, ilasthrion 109: 1 Cor, i. 24, 30.

110: Heb. iv. 14.

111: Gen. xlix. 10.

112: Isa. xlii. 1-4.

113: Matt. xii. 17, 19.

114: Ezek. xxxiv. 23.

115: Isa. xi. 1-3.

116: Ps, cxviii. 22, 23.

117: Matt. xxi. 42, 44.

118: Acts iv. 11.

119: Ps. xlv. 1.

120: John i. 3-5.

121: John i, 9.

122: Isa. xlix. 6.

123: John ix. 4, 5.

124: Matt. v. 14, 16.

125: 1 Cor. iv. 9.

126: Rom viii. 24, 19.

127: John xvii. 21.

128: John xii. 26.

129: Rom. v. 3-5.

130: Rom. viii, 20.

131: Text corrupt. The above seems to be the meaning. Cf. chap. 23 init. p. 306.

132: Rom. vi. 4.

133: 2 Cor. iv. 10.

134: Matt. x. 10.

135: Prov. xxx. 19.

136: Ps. xxxvi. 6.

137: Jer. xxxi. 27.

138: Ps. xlv. 8.

139: Ps. lxxii. 1, 2.

140: Ephes. ii 14.

141: Rom. viii. 15.

142: John xv. 15; qelei for potei .

143: John xiii. 13.

144: John xv. 15.

145: Luke xxii. 28.

146: i. 6.

147: Mark i. 11; Ps. ii. 7; Heb. i. 5.

148: Ps. civ. 15.

149: Gen. xliii. 34.

150: Ps. cxxxvi. 2.

151: Ps. l. 1.

152: Matt. xx. 2.

153: 1 Cor. viii. 5.

154: Ephes. i. 21.

155: Exod. iii. 2, 6.

156: Isa. ix. 6.

157: Ps. lxxxviii. 4, 5.

158: Apoc. i. 17, 18.

159: 2 Cor. iv. 10.

160: Isa. xlix. 3.

161: Heb. iv. 12.

162: Song ii. 5.

163: Isa. xlix. 3,6.

164: Philipp. ii. 6,8.

165: Isa. xlix. 5, 6.

166: John i. 29.

167: 1 Cor. v. 28.

168: John 2:1, 2.

169: ilasmoj .

170: ilasthrion , Rom. iii. 25.

171: Philipp. iv. 13.

172: Prov. viii. 22.

173: Ps. civ. 24.

174: Heb. ii. 11.

175: John vii. 18.

176: Apoc. xvi. 5, 7.

177: John v. 27.

178: Heb. ii. 9.

179: xwrij for xariti , a widely diffused early variant.

180: Job xxv. 5.

181: Rom. ii. 29.

182: Isa. xi. 1.

183: Ps. lxxxix. 32, 33.

184: Ps. cxviii. 22.

185: It is impossible to render by any one English word the Greek logoj as used by Origen in the following discussion. We shall therefore in many passages leave it untranslated.

186: Rom. x. 6 8.

187: John xv. 22.

188: John x. 8.

189: Matt. xi. 27.

190: Isa. ix. 5, 6.

191: xix. 11.

192: Ps. xxxiii. 17.

193: Ps. xx. 7.

194: Ps. xlv. 1.

195: Ps. xxxiii. 6.

196: Reading tugxanomtaj .

197: stereoj , of which the sterewma , firmament, is made.

Commentary on John - Book 10

Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. X 1. Jesus Comes to Capernaum. Statements of the Four Evangelists Regarding This.

"After this [John 2:12-25] He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother and His brothers and His disciples; and there they abode not many days. And the passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and He found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting, and He made a sort of scourge of cords, and cast them all out of the temple, and the sheep and the oxen, and He poured out the small money of the changers and overthrew their tables, and to those that sold the doves He said, Take these things hence; make not My Father's house a house of merchandize. Then His disciples remembered that it was written, that the zeal of your house shall eat me up. The Jews therefore answered and said to Him, What sign showest Thou unto us, that You do such things? Jesus answered and said to them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. The Jews therefore answered, Forty-six years was this temple in building, and will you raise it up in three days? But He spoke of the temple of His body. When therefore He rose from the dead, His disciples remembered that He said this, and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus said. Now when He was at Jerusalem at the passover at the feast, many believed in His name, beholding His signs which He did. But Jesus Himself did not trust Himself to them, for that He knew all men, and because He had no need that any should bear witness concerning man. For He Himself knew what was in man." The numbers which are recorded in the book of that name obtained a place in Scripture in accordance with some principle which determines their proportion to each thing. We ought therefore to enquire whether the book of Moses which is called Numbers teaches us, should we be able to trace it out, in some special way, the principle with regard to this matter. This remark I make to you at the outset of my tenth book, for in many passages of Scripture I have observed the number ten to have a peculiar privilege, and you may consider carefully whether the hope is justified that this volume will bring you from God some special benefit. That this may prove to be the case, we will seek to yield ourselves as fully as we can to God, who loves to bestow His choicest gifts. The book begins at the words: "After this He went down to Capernaum, He and His mother and His brothers and His disciples, and there they abode not many days." The other three Evangelists say that the Lord, after His conflict with the devil, departed into Galilee. Matthew and Luke represent that he was first at Nazara, and then left them and came and dwelt in Capernaum. Matthew and Mark also state a certain reason why He departed there, namely, that He had heard that John was cast into prison. The words are as follows: Matthew says, "Then the devil leaves Him, and behold, angels came and ministered unto Him. But when He heard that John was delivered up, He departed into Galilee, and leaving Nazareth He came and dwelt at Capernaum on the seashore in the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying, The land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali;" and after the quotation from Isaiah: "From that time Jesus began to preach and to say, Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Mark has the following: "And He was in the desert forty days and forty nights

tempted by Satan, and He was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto Him. But after John was delivered up Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the Gospel of God, that the time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe in the Gospel." Then after the narrative about Andrew and Peter and James and John, Mark writes: "And He entered into Capernaum, and straightway on the Sabbath He was teaching in the synagogue." Luke has, "And having finished the temptation the devil departed from Him for a season. And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee, and a fame went out concerning Him into all the region round about, and He taught in their synagogues being glorified of all. And He came to Nazara, where He had been brought up, and He entered as His custom was into the synagogue on the Sabbath day." Then Luke gives what He said at Nazara, and how those in the synagogue were enraged at Him and cast Him out of the city and brought Him to the brow of the hill on which their cities were built, to cast Him down headlong, and how going through the midst of them the Lord went His way; and with this he connects the statement, "And He came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and He was teaching them on the Sabbath day."

2. The Discrepancy Between John and the First Three Gospels at This Part of the Narrative, Literally Read, the Narratives Cannot Be Harmonized: They Must Be Interpreted Spiritually. The truth of these matters must lie in that which is seen by the mind. If the discrepancy between the Gospels is not solved, we must give up our trust in the Gospels, as being true and written by a divine spirit, or as records worthy of credence, for both these characters are held to belong to these works. Those who accept the four Gospels, and who do not consider that their apparent discrepancy is to be solved anagogically (by mystical interpretation), will have to clear up the difficulty, raised above, about the forty days of the temptation, a period for which no room can be found in any way in John's narrative; and they will also have to tell us when it was that the Lord came to Capernaum. If it was after the six days of the period of His baptism, the sixth being that of the marriage at Cana of Galilee, then it is clear that the temptation never took place, and that He never was at Nazara, and that John was not yet delivered up. Now, after Capernaum, where He abode not many days, the passover of the Jews was at hand, and He went up to Jerusalem, where He cast the sheep and oxen out of the temple, and poured out the small change of the bankers. In Jerusalem, too, it appears that Nicodemus, the ruler and Pharisee, first came to Him by night, and heard what we may read in the Gospel. "After these things, [John 3:23-26] Jesus came, and His disciples, into the land of Judæa, and there He tarried with them and baptized, at the same time at which John also was baptizing in Ænon near Salim, because there were many waters there, and they came and were baptized; for John was not yet cast into prison." On this occasion, too, there was a questioning on the part of John's disciples with the Jews about purification, and they came to John, saying of the Saviour, "Behold, He baptizes, and all come to Him." They had heard words from the Baptist, the exact tenor of which it is better to take from Scripture itself. Now, if we ask when Christ was first in Capernaum, our respondents, if they follow the words of Matthew, and of the other two, will say, After the temptation, when, "leaving Nazareth, He came and dwelt in Capernaum by the sea." But how can they show both the statements to be true, that of Matthew and Mark, that it was because He heard that John was delivered up that He departed into Galilee, and that of John, found there, after a number of other transactions, subsequent to His stay at Capernaum, after His going to Jerusalem, and His journey from there to Judæa, that John was not yet cast into prison, but was baptizing in Ænon near Salim? There are many other points on which the careful student of the Gospels will find that their narratives do not

agree; and these we shall place before the reader, according to our power, as they occur. The student, staggered at the consideration of these things, will either renounce the attempt to find all the Gospels true, and not venturing to conclude that all our information about our Lord is untrustworthy, will choose at random one of them to be his guide; or he will accept the four, and will consider that their truth is not to be sought for in the outward and material letter.

3. What We are to Think of the Discrepancies Between the Different Gospels.

We must, however, try to obtain some notion of the intention of the Evangelists in such matters, and we direct ourselves to this. Suppose there are several men who, by the spirit, see God, and know His words addressed to His saints, and His presence which He vouchsafes to them, appearing to them at chosen times for their advancement. There are several such men, and they are in different places, and the benefits they receive from above vary in shape and character. And let these men report, each of them separately, what he sees in spirit about God and His words, and His appearances to His saints, so that one of them speaks of God's appearances and words and acts to one righteous man in such a place, and another about other oracles and great works of the Lord, and a third of something else than what the former two have dealt with. And let there be a fourth, doing with regard to some particular matter something of the same kind as these three. And let the four agree with each other about something the Spirit has suggested to them all, and let them also make brief reports of other matters besides that one; then their narratives will fall out something on this wise: God appeared to such a one at such a time and in such a place, and did to him thus and thus; as if He had appeared to him in such a form, and had led him by the hand to such a place, and then done to him thus and thus. The second will report that God appeared at the very time of the foresaid occurrences, in a certain town, to a person who is named, a second person, and in a place far removed from that of the former account, and he will report a different set of words spoken at the same time to this second person. And let the same be supposed to be the case with the third and with the fourth. And let them, as we said, agree, these witnesses who report true things about God, and about His benefits conferred on certain men, let them agree with each other in some of the narratives they report. He, then, who takes the writings of these men for history, or for a representation of real things by a historical image, and who supposes God to be within certain limits in space, and to be unable to present to several persons in different places several visions of Himself at the same time, or to be making several speeches at the same moment, he will deem it impossible that our four writers are all speaking truth. To him it is impossible that God, who is in certain limits in space, could at the same set time be saying one thing to one man and another to another, and that He should be doing a thing and the opposite thing as well, and, to put it bluntly, that He should be both sitting and standing, should one of the writers represent Him as standing at the time, and making a certain speech in such a place to such a man, while a second writer speaks of Him as sitting.

4. Scripture Contains Many Contradictions, and Many Statements Which are Not Literally True, But Must Be Read Spiritually and Mystically. In the case I have supposed where the historians desire to teach us by an image what they have seen in their mind, their meaning would be found, if the four were wise, to exhibit no disagreement; and we must understand that with the four Evangelists it is not otherwise. They made full use for their purpose of things done by Jesus in the exercise of His wonderful and extraordinary power; they use in the same way His sayings, and in some places they tack on to their writing, with language apparently implying things of sense, things

made manifest to them in a purely intellectual way. I do not condemn them if they even sometimes dealt freely with things which to the eye of history happened differently, and changed them so as to subserve the mystical aims they had in view; so as to speak of a thing which happened in a certain place, as if it had happened in another, or of what took place at a certain time, as if it had taken place at another time, and to introduce into what was spoken in a certain way some changes of their own. They proposed to speak the truth where it was possible both materially and spiritually, and where this was not possible it was their intention to prefer the spiritual to the material. The spiritual truth was often preserved, as one might say, in the material falsehood. As, for example, we might judge of the story of Jacob and Esau. [Genesis xxvii] Jacob says to Isaac, "I am Esau your firstborn son," and spiritually he spoke the truth, for he already partook of the rights of the first-born, which were perishing in his brother, and clothing himself with the goatskins he assumed the outward semblance of Esau, and was Esau all but the voice praising God, so that Esau might afterward find a place to receive a blessing. For if Jacob had not been blessed as Esau, neither would Esau perhaps have been able to receive a blessing of his own. And Jesus too is many things, according to the conceptions of Him, of which it is quite likely that the Evangelists took up different notions; while yet they were in agreement with each other in the different things they wrote. Statements which are verbally contrary to each other, are made about our Lord, namely, that He was descended from David and that He was not descended from David. The statement is true, "He was descended from David," as the Apostle says, [Romans 1:3] "born of the seed of David according to the flesh," if we apply this to the bodily part of Him; but the self-same statement is untrue if we understand His being born of the seed of David of His diviner power; for He was declared to be the Son of God with power. And for this reason too, perhaps, the sacred prophecies speak of Him now as a servant, and now as a Son. They call Him a servant on account of the form of a servant which he wore, and because He was of the seed of David, but they call Him the Son of God according to His character as first-born. Thus it is true to call Him man and to call Him not man; man, because He was capable of death; not man, on account of His being diviner than man. Marcion, I suppose, took sound words in a wrong sense, when he rejected His birth from Mary, and declared that as to His divine nature He was not born of Mary, and hence made bold to delete from the Gospel the passages which have this effect. And a like fate seems to have overtaken those who make away with His humanity and receive His deity alone; and also those opposites of these who cancel His deity and confess Him as a man to be a holy man, and the most righteous of all men. And those who hold the doctrine of Dokesis, not remembering that He humbled Himself even unto death [Philippians 2:8] and became obedient even to the cross, but only imagining in Him the absence of suffering, the superiority to all such accidents, they do what they can to deprive us of the man who is more just than all men, and are left with a figure which cannot save them, for as by one man came death, so also by one man is the justification of life. We could not have received such benefit as we have from the Logos had He not assumed the man, had He remained such as He was from the beginning with God the Father, and had He not taken up man, the first man of all, the man more precious than all others, purer than all others and capable of receiving Him. But after that man we also shall be able to receive Him, to receive Him so great and of such nature as He was, if we prepare a place in proportion to Him in our soul. So much I have said of the apparent discrepancies in the Gospels, and of my desire to have them treated in the way of spiritual interpretation.

5. Paul Also Makes Contradictory Statements About Himself, and Acts in Opposite Ways at Different Times. On the same passage one may also make use of such an example as that of Paul, who at one place [Romans 7:14] says that he is carnal, sold under sin, and thus was not able to judge anything, while in another place he is the spiritual man who is able to judge all things and himself to be judged by no man. Of the carnal one are the words, "Not what I would that do I practise, but what I hate that do I." And he too who was caught up to the third heaven and heard unspeakable words is a different Paul from him who says, Of such an one I will glory, but of myself I will not glory. If he becomes [1 Corinthians 9:20-22] to the Jews as a Jew that he may gain the Jews, and to those under the law as under the law that he may gain those under the law, and to them that are without law as without law, not being without law to God, but under law to Christ, that he may gain those without law, and if to the weak he becomes weak that he may gain the weak, it is clear that these statements must be examined each by itself, that he becomes a Jew, and that sometimes he is under the law and at another time without law, and that sometimes he is weak. Where, for example, he says something by way of permission [1 Corinthians 7:6] and not by commandment, there we may recognize that he is weak; for who, he says, [2 Corinthians 11:29] is weak, and I am not weak? When he shaves his head and makes an offering, or when he circumcises Timothy, [Acts 16:3] he is a Jew; but when he says to the Athenians, [Acts 17:23] "I found an altar with the inscription, To the unknown God. That, then, which you worship not knowing it, that declare I unto you," and, "As also some of your own poets have said, For we also are His offspring," then he becomes to those without the law as without the law, adjuring the least religious of men to espouse religion, and turning to his own purpose the saying of the poet, "From Love do we begin; his race are we." And instances might perhaps be found where, to men not Jews and yet under the law, he is under the law.

6. Different Accounts of the Call of Peter, and of the Imprisonment of the Baptist. The Meaning of "Capernaum."

These examples may be serviceable to illustrate statements not only about the Saviour, but about the disciples too, for here also there is some discrepancy of statement. For there is a difference in thought perhaps between Simon who is found by his own brother Andrew, and who is addressed "You shall be called Cephas," [John 1:41] and him who is seen by Jesus when walking by the sea of Galilee, along with his brother, and addressed conjointly with that brother, "Come after Me, and I will make you fishers of men." There was some fitness in the fact that the writer who goes more to the root of the matter and tells of the Word becoming flesh, and hence does not record the human generation of the Word who was in the beginning with God, should not tell us of Simon's being found at the seashore and called away from there, but of his being found by his brother who had been staying with Jesus at the tenth hour, and of his receiving the name Cephas in connection with his being thus found out. If he was seen by Jesus when walking by the sea of Galilee, it would scarcely be on a later occasion that he was addressed, "You are Peter and upon this rock I will build My church." With John again the Pharisees know Jesus to be baptizing with His disciples, adding this to His other great activities; but the Jesus of the three does not baptize at all. John the Baptist, too, with the Evangelist of the same name, goes on a long time without being cast into prison. With Matthew, on the contrary, he is put in prison almost at the time of the temptation of Jesus, and this is the occasion of Jesus retiring to Galilee, to avoid being put in prison. But in John there is nothing at all about John's being put in prison. Who is so wise and so able as to learn all

the things that are recorded about Jesus in the four Evangelists, and both to understand each incident by itself, and have a connected view of all His sojournings and words and acts at each place? As for the passage presently before us, it gives in the order of events that on the sixth day the Saviour, after the business of the marriage at Cana of Galilee, went down with His mother and His brothers and His disciples to Capernaum, which means "field of consolation." For after the feasting and the wine it was fitting that the Saviour should come to the field of consolation with His mother and His disciples, to console those whom He was training for disciples and the soul which had conceived Him by the Holy Ghost, with the fruits which were to stand in that full field.

7. Why His Brothers are Not Called to the Wedding; And Why He Abides at Capernaum Not Many Days. But we must ask why His brothers are not called to the wedding: they were not there, for it is not said they were; but they go down to Capernaum with Him and His mother and His disciples. We must also examine why on this occasion they do not " go in to" Capernaum, nor " go up to," but "go down to" it. Consider if we must not understand by His brothers here the powers which went down along with Him, not called to the wedding according to the explanations given above, since it is in lower and humbler places than those who are called disciples of Christ, and in another way, that these brothers receive assistance. For if His mother is called, then there are some bearing fruit, and even to these the Lord goes down with the servants and disciples of the Word, to help such persons, His mother also being with Him. Those indeed who are called Capernaum appear not to be able to allow Jesus and those who went down with Him to make a longer stay with them: hence they remain with them not many days. For the lower field of consolation does not admit the illumination of many doctrines, but is only capable of a few. To get a clear view of the difference between those who receive Jesus for longer and for shorter time, we may compare with this, "They abode there not many days," the words recorded in Matthew as spoken by Christ when risen from the dead to His disciples who were being sent out to teach all nations, "Behold, I am with you always, even to the end of the world." To those who are to know all that human nature can know while it still is here, is said with emphasis, "I am with you;" and as the rise of each new day upon the field of contemplation brings more days before the eyes of the blessed, therefore He says, "All the days till the end of the world." As for those in Capernaum, on the contrary, to whom they go down as to the more needy, not only Jesus, but also His mother and His brothers and His disciples "abode there not many days."

8. How Christ Abides with Believers to the End of the Age, and Whether He Abides with Them After that Consummation.

Some may very likely and not unreasonably ask, whether, when all the days of this age are over, there will no longer be any one to say, "Lo, I am with you," with those, namely, who received Him till the fulfilment of the age, for the "until" seems to indicate a certain limit of time. To this we must say that the phrase, "I am with you," is not the same as "I am in you." We might say more properly that the Saviour was not in His disciples but with them, so long as they had not arrived in their minds at the consummation of the age. But when they see to be at hand, as far as their effort is concerned, the consummation of the world which is crucified to them, then Jesus will be no longer with them, but in them, and they will say, "It is no longer I that live but Christ that lives in me," [Galatians 2:20] and "If you seek a proof of Christ that speaks in me." [2 Corinthians 13:3] In saying this we are keeping for our part also to the ordinary interpretation which makes the "always" the time down to the consummation of the age, and are not asking more than is attainable to

human nature as it is here. That interpretation may be adhered to and justice yet be done to the "I." He who is with His disciples who are sent out to teach all the nations, until the consummation, may be He who emptied Himself and took the form of a servant, and yet afterwards may be another in point of state; afterwards He may be such as He was before He emptied Himself, until all His enemies are made by His Father the footstool of His feet; and after this, when the Son has delivered up the kingdom to God and the Father, it may be the Father who says to them, "Behold, I am with you." But whether it is "all the days" up to that time, or simply "all the days," or not "all days" but "every day," any one may consider that likes. Our plan does not allow us at present to digress so far.

9. Heracleon Says that Jesus is Not Stated to Have Done Anything at Capernaum. But in the Other Gospels He Does Many Things There. But Heracleon, dealing with the words, "After this He went down to Capernaum," declares that they indicate the introduction of another transaction, and that the word "went down" is not without significance. "Capernaum," he says, "means these farthest-out parts of the world, these districts of matter, into which He descended, and because the place was not suitable, he says, He is not reported either to have done anything or said anything in it." Now if the Lord had not been reported in the other Gospels either as having done or said anything at Capernaum, we might perhaps have hesitated whether this view ought or ought not to be received. But that is far from being the case. Matthew says our Lord left Nazareth and came and dwelt at Capernaum on the seaside, and that from that time He began to preach, saying, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." And Mark, starting in his narrative from the temptation by the devil, relates that after John was cast into prison, Jesus came into Galilee, proclaiming the Gospel of God, and after the call of the four fishermen to the Apostleship, "they enter into Capernaum; and straightway on the Sabbath day He taught in the synagogue, and they were astonished at His doctrine." And Mark records an action of Jesus also which took place at Capernaum, for he goes on to say, "In their synagogue there was a man with an unclean spirit, and he cried out, saying, Ah! What have we to do with You, Thou Jesus of Nazareth? Have You come to destroy us? We know You who You are, the Son of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold your peace and come out of him; and the unclean spirit, tearing him and crying with a loud voice, came out of him. And they were all amazed." And at Capernaum Simon's mother-in-law is cured of her fever. And Mark adds that when evening had come all those were cured who were sick and who were possessed with demons. Luke's report is very like Mark's about Capernaum. He says, "And He came to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and He was teaching them on the Sabbath day, and they were astonished at His teachings, for His word was with power. And in the synagogue there was a man having a spirit of an unclean demon, and he cried out with a loud voice, Ah! What have we to do with You, Thou Jesus of Nazareth? Have You come to destroy us? I know You who You are, the holy one of God. And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold your peace and come out of him. Then the demon having thrown him down in the midst, went out of him, doing him no harm." And then Luke reports how the Lord rose up from the synagogue and went into the house of Simon, and rebuked the fever in his mother-in-law, and cured her of her disease; and after this cure, "when the sun was setting," he says, "all, as many as had persons sick with various diseases, brought them to Him, and He laid his hands on each one of them and cured them. And demons also went out from many, crying and saying, You are the Son of God, and He rebuked them and suffered them not to speak because they knew that He was the Christ." We have presented all these statements as to the Saviour's sayings and doings at Capernaum in order to

refute Heracleon's interpretation of our passage, "Hence He is not said to have done or to have spoken anything there." He must either give two meanings to Capernaum, and show us his reasons for them, or if he cannot do this he must give up saying that the Saviour visited any place to no purpose. We, for our part, should we come to passages where even a comparison of the other Gospels fails to show that Jesus' visit to this place or that was not accompanied by any results, will seek with the divine assistance to make it clear that His coming was not in vain.

10. Significance of Capernaum.

Matthew for his part adds, that when the Lord had entered into Capernaum the centurion came to him, saying, "My boy is lying in my house sick of the palsy, grievously tormented," and after telling the Lord some more about him, received the reply, "Go, and as you have believed, so be it unto you." And Matthew then gives us the story of Peter's mother-in-law, in close agreement with the other two. I conceive it to be a creditable piece of work and becoming to one who is anxious to hear about Christ, to collect from the four Gospels all that is related about Capernaum, and the discourses spoken, and the works done there, and how many visits the Lord paid to the place, and how, at one time, He is said to have gone down to it, and at another to have entered into it, and where He came from when He did so. If we compare all these points together, we shall not go astray in the meaning we ascribe to Capernaum. On the one hand, the sick are healed, and other works of power are done there, and on the other, the preaching, Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand, begins there, and this appears to be a sign, as we showed when entering on this subject, of some more needy place of consolation, made so perhaps by Jesus, who comforted men by what He taught and by what He did there, in that place of consolation. For we know that the names of places agree in their meaning with the things connected with Jesus; as Gergesa, where the citizens of these parts besought Him to depart out of their coasts, means, "The dwelling of the casters-out." And this, also, we have noticed about Capernaum, that not only did the preaching, "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," begin there, but that according to the three Evangelists Jesus performed there His first miracles. None of the three, however, added to the first wonders which he records as done in Capernaum, that note attached by John the disciple to the first work of Jesus, "This beginning of His signs did Jesus in Cana of Galilee." For that which was done in Capernaum was not the beginning of the signs, since the leading sign of the Son of God was good cheer, and in the light of human experience it is also the most representative of Him. For the Word of God does not show forth His own beauty so much in healing the sick, as in His tendering the temperate draught to make glad those who are in good health and are able to join in the banquet.

11. Why the Passover is Said to Be that of the "Jews." Its Institution: and the Distinction Between "Feasts of the Lord" And Feasts Not So Spoken of.

"And the passover of the Jews was at hand." [John 2:13] Inquiring into the accuracy of the most wise John (on this passage), I put myself the question, What is indicated by the addition "of the Jews"? Of what other nation was the passover a festival? Would it not have been enough to say, "And the passover was at hand"? It may, however, be the case that the human passover is one thing when kept by men not as Scripture intended, and that the divine passover is another thing, the true passover, observed in spirit and truth by those who worship God in spirit and in truth; and then the distinction indicated in the text may be that between the divine passover and that said to

be of the Jews. We should attend to the passover law and observe what the Lord says of it when it is first mentioned in Scripture. [Exodus 12:1-3] "And the Lord spoke unto Moses and Aaron in the land of Egypt, saying, This month is to you the beginning of months, it is the first for you among the months of the year. Speak to all the congregation of the children of Israel, saying, On the tenth of this month shall every man take a sheep, according to the houses of your families;" then after some directions in which the word passover does not occur again, he adds, "Thus shall you eat it, your loins girt and your shoes on your feet, and your staves in your hands, and you shall eat it with haste. It is the passover of the Lord." He does not say, "It is your passover." And a little further on He names the festival again in the same way, "And it shall come to pass, when your sons say to you, What is this service? And you shall say to them, It is the sacrifice, the passover of the Lord, how He guarded the houses of the children of Israel." And again, a little further on, "And the Lord spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, This is the law of the passover. No alien shall eat of it." And again in a little, "But if a proselyte come to you, and keep the passover of the Lord, every male of him shall be circumcised." Observe that in the law we never find it said, "Your passover;" but in all the passages quoted the phrase occurs once without any adjunct, while we have three times "The passover of the Lord." To make sure that there is such a distinction between the passover of the Lord and the passover of the Jews, we may consider the way in which Isaiah speaks of the matter: [Isaiah 1:13] "Your new moons and your Sabbaths and your great day I cannot bear; your fast and your holiday and your new moons and your feasts my soul hates." The Lord does not call them His own, these observances of sinners (they are hated of His soul, if such there be); neither the new moons, nor the Sabbaths, nor the great day, nor the fast, nor the festivals. And in the legislation about the Sabbath in Exodus, we read, "And Moses said to them, This is the word which the Lord spoke, The Sabbath is a holy rest unto the Lord." And a little further on, "And Moses said, Eat ye; for today is a Sabbath unto the Lord." And in Numbers, before the sacrifices which are offered at each festival, as if all the festivals came under the law of the continuous and daily sacrifice, we find it written, "And the Lord spoke unto Moses, Announce to the children of Israel, and thus shall you say unto them, My gifts, My offerings, My fruits for a smell of sweet savour, you shall observe to offer unto Me at My festivals. And you shall say unto them, These are the offerings which you shall offer unto the Lord." The festival set forth in Scripture He calls His own, not those of the people receiving the law, He speaks of His gifts, His offerings. A similar way of speaking is that in Exodus with regard to the people; it is said by God to be His own people, when it does not sin; but in the section about the calf He abjures it and calls it the people of Moses. [Exodus 8:21-23] On the one hand, "You shall say to Pharaoh, Thus says the Lord, Let My people go, that they may serve Me in the wilderness. But if you will not let My people go, behold, I will send against you and against your servants, and against your people and against your houses, the dog-fly; and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of the dog-fly, and on the land on which they are, against it will I send them. And I will glorify on that day the land of Gesem, on which My people are; on it there shall be no dog-fly, that you may know that I am the Lord, the Lord of all the earth. And I will make a distinction between My people and your people." To Moses, on the other hand, He says, [Exodus 32:7] "Go, descend quickly, for your people has transgressed, which you led out of the land of Egypt." As, then, the people when it does not sin is the people of God, but when it sins is no longer spoken of as His, thus, also, the feasts when they are hated by the Lord's soul are said to be feasts of sinners, but when the law is given regarding them, they are called feasts of the Lord. Now of these feasts passover is one, which in the passage before us is said to be that not of the Lord, but of the

Jews. In another passage, too, [Leviticus 23:2] we find it said, "These are the feasts of the Lord, which you shall call chosen, holy." From the mouth of the Lord Himself, then, we see that there is no gainsaying our statement on this point. Some one, no doubt, will ask about the words of the Apostle, where he writes to the Corinthians: [1 Corinthians 5:7] "For our Passover also was sacrificed for us, namely, Christ;" he does not say, "The Passover of the Lord was sacrificed, even Christ." To this we must say, either that the Apostle simply calls the passover our passover because it was sacrificed for us, or that every sacrifice which is really the Lord's, and the passover is one of these, awaits its consummation not in this age nor upon earth, but in the coming age and in heaven when the kingdom of heaven appears. As for those feasts, one of the twelve prophets says, [Hosea 9:5] "What will you do in the days of assembly, and in the days of the feast of the Lord?" But Paul says in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "But you have come unto Mount Zion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to ten thousands of angels, the assembly and church of the firstborn, who are written in heaven." And in the Epistle to the Colossians: "Let no one judge you in meat and in drink, or in respect of a feast-day or a new moon, or a sabbath-day; which are a shadow of the things to come."

12. Of the Heavenly Festivals, of Which Those on Earth are Typical.

Now in what manner, in those heavenly things of which the shadow was present to the Jews on earth, those will celebrate festivals who have first been trained by tutors and governors under the true law, until the fullness of the time should come, namely, above, when we shall be able to receive into ourselves the perfect measure of the Son of God, this it is the work of that wisdom to make plain which has been hidden in a mystery; and it also may show to our thought how the laws about meats are symbols of those things which will there nourish and strengthen our soul. But it is vain to think that one desiring to work out in his fancy the great sea of such ideas, even if he wished to show how local worship is still a pattern and shadow of heavenly things, and that the sacrifices and the sheep are full of meaning, that he should advance further than the Apostle, who seeks indeed to lift our minds above earthly views of the law, but who does not show us to any extent how these things are to be. Even if we look at the festivals, of which passover is one, from the point of view of the age to come, we have still to ask how it is that our passover is now sacrificed, namely, Christ, and not only so, but is to be sacrificed hereafter.

13. Spiritual Meaning of the Passover. A few points may be added in connection with the doctrines now under consideration, though it would require a special discussion in many volumes to treat of all the mystical statements about the law, and specially of those connected with the festivals, and more particularly still with the passover. The passover of the Jews consists of a sheep which is sacrificed, each taking a sheep according to his father's house; and the passover is accompanied by the slaughter of thousands of rams and goats, in proportion to the number of the houses of the people. But our Passover is sacrificed for us, namely, Christ. Another feature of the Jewish festival is unleavened bread; all leaven is made to disappear out of their houses; but "we keep the feast [1 Corinthians 5:8] not with the old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth." Whether there be any passover and any feast of leaven beyond the two we have mentioned, is a point we must examine more carefully, since these serve for a pattern and a shadow of the heavenly ones we spoke of, and not only such things as food and drink and new moons and sabbaths, but the festivals also, are a shadow of the things to come. In the first place, when the Apostle says, "Our passover is sacrificed, Christ," one may feel

with regard to this such doubts as these. If the sheep with the Jews is a type of the sacrifice of Christ, then one should have been offered and not a multitude, as Christ is one; or if many sheep were offered it is to follow out the type, as if many Christs were sacrificed. But not to dwell on this, we may ask how the sheep, which was the victim, contains an image of Christ, when the sheep was sacrificed by men who were observing the law, but Christ was put to death by transgressors of the law, and what application can be found in Christ of the direction, [Exodus 12:8] "They shall eat the flesh this night, roast with fire, and unleavened bread on bitter herbs shall they eat," and "Eat not of it raw, nor sodden with water, but roast with fire; the head with the feet and the entrails; you shall not set any of it apart till the morning, and a bone thereof you shall not break. But that which is left thereof till the morning you shall burn." The sentence, "A bone of it you shall not break," John appears to have made use of in his Gospel, as applying to the transactions connected with Christ, and connecting with them the occasion spoken of in the law when those eating the sheep are bidden not to break a bone of it. He writes as follows: The soldiers therefore came and broke the legs of the first, and of the other who was crucified with him; but when they came to Jesus and saw that He was already dead, they broke not His legs, but one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side, and straightway there came out blood and water. And he that has seen has borne witness and his witness is true, and he knows that he says truth that you also may believe. And these things took place that the Scripture might be fulfilled, "A bone of Him you shall not break." There are a myriad other points besides this in the Apostle's language which would call for inquiry, both about the passover and the unleavened bread, but they would have to be dealt with, as we said above, in a special work of great length. At present we can only give an epitome of them as they bear on the text presently before us, and aim at a short solution of the principal problem. We call to mind the words, "This is the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world," for it is said of the passover, [Exodus 12:5] "You shall take it of the lambs or of the goats." The Evangelist here agrees with Paul, and both are involved in the difficulties we spoke of above. But on the other hand we have to say that if the Word became flesh, and the Lord says, [John 6:53] "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you have no life in you. He that eats My flesh and drinks My blood, has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. For My flesh is meat indeed and My blood is drink indeed. He that eats My flesh and drinks My blood abides in Me, and I in him,"— then the flesh thus spoken of is that of the Lamb that takes away the sin of the world; and this is the blood, some of which was to be put on the two side posts of the door, and on the lintels in the houses, in which we eat the passover. Of the flesh of this Lamb it is necessary that we should eat in the time of the world, which is night, and the flesh is to be roast with fire, and eaten with unleavened bread; for the Word of God is not flesh and flesh only. He says, in fact, Himself, [John 6:48-50] "I am the bread of life," and "This is the bread of life which came down from heaven, that a man should eat of it, and not die. I am the bread of life that came down from heaven; if a man eat of this bread, he shall live forever." We must not overlook, however, that by a loose use of words, any food is called bread, as we read in Moses in Deuteronomy, "Forty days He ate no bread and drank no water," instead of, He took no food, either wet or dry. I am led to this observation by John's saying, "And the bread which I will give is My flesh, for the life of the world." Again, we eat the flesh of the Lamb, with bitter herbs, and unleavened bread, when we repent of our sins and grieve with the sorrow which is according to God, a repentance which operates for our salvation, and is not to be repented of; or when, on account of our trials, we turn to the speculations which are found to be those of truth, and are

nourished by them. We are not, however, to eat the flesh of the Lamb raw, as those do who are slaves of the letter, like irrational animals, and those who are enraged at men truly reasonable, because they desire to understand spiritual things; truly, they share the nature of savage beasts. But we must strive to convert the rawness of Scripture into well-cooked food, not letting what is written grow flabby and wet and thin, as those do who have itching ears, [2 Timothy 4:3-4] and turn away their ears from the truth; their methods tend to a loose and flabby conduct of life. But let us be of a fervent spirit and keep hold of the fiery words given to us of God, such as Jeremiah received from Him who spoke to him, [Jeremiah 5:14] "Behold, I have made My words in your mouth like fire," and let us see that the flesh of the Lamb be well cooked, so that those who partake of it may say, as Christ speaks in us, "Our heart burned by the way, as He opened to us the Scriptures." [Luke 24:32] Further, if it is our duty to enquire into such a point as the roasting of the flesh of the Lamb with fire, we must not forget the parallel of what Jeremiah suffered on account of the words of God, as he says: "And it was as a glowing fire, burning in my bones, and I am without any strength, and I cannot bear it." But, in this eating, we must begin at the head, that is to say, at the principal and the most essential doctrines about heavenly things, and we must end at the feet, the last branches of learning which enquire as to the final nature in things, or about more material things, or about things under the earth, or about wicked spirits and unclean demons. For it may be that the account of these things is not obvious, like themselves, but is laid away among the mysteries of Scripture, so that it may be called, tropically, the feet of the Lamb. Nor must we fail to deal with the entrails, which are within and hidden from us; we must approach the whole of Scripture as one body, we must not lacerate nor break through the strong and well-knit connections which exist in the harmony of its whole composition, as those do who lacerate, so far as they can, the unity of the Spirit that is in all the Scriptures. But this aforesaid prophecy of the Lamb is to be our nourishment only during the night of this dark life of ours; what comes after this life is, as it were, the dawn of day, and why should we leave over till then the food which can only be useful to us now? But when the night is passed, and the day which succeeds it is at hand, then we shall have bread to eat which has nothing to do with the leavened bread of the older and lower state of things, but is unleavened, and that will serve our turn until that which comes after the unleavened bread is given us, the manna, which is food for angels rather than men. Every one of us, then, may sacrifice his lamb in every house of our fathers; and while one breaks the law, not sacrificing the lamb at all, another may keep the commandment entirely, offering his sacrifice, and cooking it aright, and not breaking a bone of it. This, then, in brief, is the interpretation of the Passover sacrificed for us, which is Christ, in accordance with the view taken of it by the Apostles, and with the Lamb in the Gospel. For we ought not to suppose that historical things are types of historical things, and material things of material, but that material things are typical of spiritual things, and historical things of intellectual. It is not necessary that our discourse should now ascend to that third passover which is to be celebrated with myriads of angels in the most perfect and most blessed exodus; we have already spoken of these things to a greater extent than the passage demands.

14. In the First Three Gospels the Passover is Spoken of Only at the Close of the Ministry; In John at the Beginning. Remarks on This. Heracleon on the Passover.

We must not, however, fail to enquire into the statement that the passover of the Jews was at hand, when the Lord was at Capernaum with His mother and His brothers and His disciples. In the

Gospel according to Matthew, after being left by the devil, and after the angels came and ministered to Him, when He heard that John was delivered up He withdrew into Galilee, and leaving Nazara He came and dwelt in Capernaum. Then He began to preach, and chose the four fishermen for His Apostles, and taught in the synagogues of the whole of Galilee and healed those who were brought to Him. Then He goes up into the mountain and speaks the beatitudes and what follows them; and after finishing that instruction He comes down from the mountain and enters Capernaum a second time. [Matthew viii] Then He embarked in a ship and crossed over to the other side to the country of the Gergesenes. On their beseeching Him to depart out of their coasts He embarked in a ship and crossed over and came to His own city. Then He wrought certain cures and went about all the cities and the villages, teaching in their synagogues; after this most of the events of the Gospels take place, before Matthew indicates the approach of the time of passover. With the other Evangelists also, after the stay at Capernaum it is long till we come to any mention of the passover; which may confirm in their opinion those who take the view about Capernaum which was set forth above. That stay, in the neighbourhood of the passover of the Jews, is set in a brighter light by that nearness, both because it was better in itself, and still more because at the passover of the Jews there are found in the temple those who sell oxen and sheep and doves. This adds emphasis to the statement that the passover was not that of the Lord but that of the Jews; the Father's house was made, in the eyes of those who did not hallow it, a house of merchandise, and the passover of the Lord became for those who took a low and material view of it a Jewish passover. A fitter occasion than the present will occur for enquiring as to the time of the passover, which took place about the spring equinox, and for any other enquiry which may arise in connection with it. As for Heracleon, he says, "This is the great festival; for it was a type of the passion of the Saviour; not only was the lamb put to death, the eating of it afforded relaxation, the killing it pointed to what of the passion of the Saviour was in this world, and the eating it to the rest at the marriage." We have given his words, that it may be seen with what a want of caution and how loosely he proceeds, and with what an absence of constructive skill even on such a theme as this; and how little regard in consequence is to be paid to him.

15. Discrepancy of the Gospel Narratives Connected with the Cleansing of the Temple.

"And Jesus went up to Jerusalem. [John 2:13-17] And He found in the temple those that sold oxen and sheep and doves and the changers of money sitting; and He made a scourge of cords, and cast out of the temple the sheep and the oxen, and poured out the small coin of the changers, and overturned their tables, and to those who sold the doves He said, Take these things hence; make not My Father's house a house of merchandise. Then His disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of your house shall eat me up." It is to be noted that John makes this transaction of Jesus with those He found selling oxen and sheep and doves in the temple His second work; while the other Evangelists narrate a similar incident almost at the end and in connection with the story of the passion. Matthew has it thus: [Matthew 21:10-13] "At Jesus' entry into Jerusalem the whole city was stirred, saying, Who is this? And the multitudes said, This is Jesus the prophet, from Nazareth of Galilee. And Jesus went into the temple and cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple, and He overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them that sold doves. And He says to them, It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, but you make it a den of robbers." Mark has the following: "And they came to Jerusalem. And having entered into the temple He began to cast out those that sold and bought in the temple, and the

tables of the money-changers He overthrew and the seats of them that sold doves. And He suffered not that any should carry a vessel through the temple; and He taught and said to them, Is it not written that My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations? But you have made it a den of robbers." And Luke: [Luke 19:41-42] "And when he came near, He beheld the city and wept over it, saying that, if you had known in this day, even you, the things that belong to peace; but now they are hid from your eyes. For the days shall come upon you, when they shall surround you and shut you in on every side, and shall dash you to the ground and your children, and they shall not leave in you one stone upon another, because you knew not the time of your visitation. And He entered into the temple and began to cast out those that sold, saying to them, It is written, My house shall be a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of robbers." It is further to be observed that what is recorded by the three as having taken place in connection with the Lord's going up to Jerusalem, when He did these things in the temple, is narrated in a very similar manner by John as taking place long after this, after another visit to Jerusalem different from this one. We must consider the statements, and in the first place that of Matthew, where we read: [Matthew 21:1] "When He drew near to Jerusalem and came to Bethphage over against the Mount of Olives, then Jesus sent two disciples, saying unto them, Go into the village over against you, and straightway you shall find an ass tied and a colt with her; loose them and bring them to Me. And if any man say unto you, What are you doing? You shall say, The Lord has need of them, and straightway he will send them. But this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold, your king comes, meek and seated upon an ass and upon the colt of an ass. And the disciples went and did as Jesus commanded them; they brought the ass and the foal, and they placed on them their garments, and He sat thereon. And the most part of the multitude spread their garments on the road, but the multitudes that went before Him, and they that followed, cried, Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." After this comes, "And when He had entered into Jerusalem the whole city was stirred," which we cited above. Then we have Mark's account: [Mark 11:1-12] "And when they drew near unto Jerusalem, to Bethphage and Bethany, to the Mount of Olives, He sends two of His disciples and says to them, Go into the village over against you. And straightway as you enter into it you shall find a colt tied, on which no man has ever sat, loose it and bring it. And if any one say to you, Why do ye this? Say, Because the Lord has need of him, and straightway he will send him back hither. And they went and found the colt tied at the door outside on the road, and they loose him. And some of them that stood there said to them, What do ye, loosing the colt? And they said to them as Jesus told them, and they let them go. And they brought the colt to Jesus, and cast on it their garments. But others cut down branches from the field and spread them in the way. And they that went before and they that followed cried, Hosanna, blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord; blessed be the kingdom that comes, of our father David! Hosanna in the highest! And He went into Jerusalem to the temple, and looked round about on all things, and as it was already evening, He went out to Bethany with the twelve. And on the morrow when they had come forth from Bethany He was hungry." Then, after the affair of the withered fig tree, "They came to Jerusalem. And He went into the temple and began to cast out them that sold." Luke narrates as follows: [Luke 19:29] "And it came to pass, when He drew near to Bethphage and Bethany at the mount that is called the Mount of Olives, He sent two of his disciples, saying, Go into the village over against you, in which when you enter, you shall find a colt tied, on which no man ever has sate; loose him and bring him. And if any man asks you, Why

do ye loose him? You shall say thus, The Lord has need of him. And the disciples went and found as He said to them. And when they were loosing the colt its owners said to them, Why loose ye the colt? and they said, Because the Lord has need of him. And they brought him to Jesus, and they threw their garments on the colt, and set Jesus thereon. And as He went, they strewed their garments in the way. And when He was drawing near, being now at the descent of the Mount of Olives, the whole multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God with a loud voice for all the mighty works which they had seen, saying, Blessed is the King in the name of the Lord; peace in heaven and glory in the highest. And some of the Pharisees from the multitude said to Him, Master, rebuke Your disciples. And He answered and said, I say unto you, If these shall hold their peace, the stones will cry out. And when He drew near He beheld the city and wept over it," and so on, as we cited above. John, on the contrary, after giving an account nearly identical with this, as far as, "And Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and He found in the temple those who were selling oxen and sheep," gives a second account of an ascent of the Lord to Jerusalem, and then goes on to tell of the supper in Bethany six days before the passover, at which Martha served and Lazarus was at table. "On the morrow, [John 12:12-15] a great multitude that had come to the feast, having heard that Jesus was coming to Jerusalem, took branches of palm trees and went forth to meet Him; and they cried, Hosanna, blessed be the King of Israel in the name of the Lord. And Jesus, having found a young ass, sat thereon, as it is written, Fear not, daughter of Zion; behold your King comes, sitting on the foal of an ass." I have written out long sections from the Gospels, but I have thought it necessary to do so, in order to exhibit the discrepancy at this part of our Gospel. Three of the Gospels place these incidents, which we supposed to be the same as those narrated by John, in connection with one visit of the Lord to Jerusalem. While John, on the other hand, places them in connection with two visits which are widely separated from each other and between which were various journeys of the Lord to other places. I conceive it to be impossible for those who admit nothing more than the history in their interpretation to show that these discrepant statements are in harmony with each other. If any one considers that we have not given a sound exposition, let him write a reasoned rejoinder to this declaration of ours.

16. The Story of the Purging of the Temple Spiritualized. Taken Literally, It Presents Some Very Difficult and Unlikely Features.

We shall, however, expound according to the strength that is given to us the reasons which move us to recognize here a harmony; and in doing so we entreat Him who gives to every one that asks and strives acutely to enquire, and we knock that by the keys of higher knowledge the hidden things of Scripture may be opened to us. And first, let us fix our attention on the words of John, beginning, "And Jesus went up to Jerusalem." [John 2:13] Now Jerusalem, as the Lord Himself teaches in the Gospel according to Matthew, [Matthew 5:35] "is the city of the great King." It does not lie in a depression, or in a low situation, but is built on a high mountain, and there are mountains round about it, and the participation of it is to the same place, and there the tribes of the Lord went up, a testimony for Israel. But that city also is called Jerusalem, to which none of those upon the earth ascends, nor goes in; but every soul that possesses by nature some elevation and some acuteness to perceive the things of the mind is a citizen of that city. And it is possible even for a dweller in Jerusalem to be in sin (for it is possible for even the acutest minds to sin), should they not turn round quickly after their sin, when they have lost their power of mind and are on the point not only of dwelling in one of those strange cities of Judæa, but even of being inscribed as its

citizens. Jesus goes up to Jerusalem, after bringing help to those in Cana of Galilee, and then going down to Capernaum, that He may do in Jerusalem the things which are written. He found in the temple, certainly, which is said to be the house of the Father of the Saviour, that is, in the church or in the preaching of the ecclesiastical and sound word, some who were making His Father's house a house of merchandise. And at all times Jesus finds some of this sort in the temple. For in that which is called the church, which is the house of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth, [1 Timothy 3:15] when are there not some money-changers sitting who need the strokes of the scourge Jesus made of small cords, and dealers in small coin who require to have their money poured out and their tables overturned? When are there not those who are inclined to merchandise, but need to be held to the plough and the oxen, that having put their hand to it and not turning round to the things behind them, they may be fit for the kingdom of God? When are there not those who prefer the mammon of unrighteousness to the sheep which give them the material for their true adornment? And there are always many who look down on what is sincere and pure and unmixed with any bitterness or gall, and who, for the sake of miserable gain, betray the care of those tropically called doves. When, therefore, the Saviour finds in the temple, the house of His Father, those who are selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the changers of money sitting, He drives them out, using the scourge of small cords which He has made, along with the sheep and oxen of their trade, and pours out their stock of coin, as not deserving to be kept together, so little is it worth. He also overturns the tables in the souls of such as love money, saying even to those who sell doves, "Take these things hence," that they may no longer traffic in the house of God. But I believe that in these words He indicated also a deeper truth, and that we may regard these occurrences as a symbol of the fact that the service of that temple was not any longer to be carried on by the priests in the way of material sacrifices, and that the time was coming when the law could no longer be observed, however much the Jews according to the flesh desired it. For when Jesus casts out the oxen and sheep, and orders the doves to be taken away, it was because oxen and sheep and doves were not much longer to be sacrificed there in accordance with Jewish practices. And possibly the coins which bore the stamp of material things and not of God were poured out by way of type; because the law which appears so venerable, with its letter that kills, was, now that Jesus had come and had used His scourge to the people, to be dissolved and poured out, the sacred office (episcopate) being transferred to those from the Gentiles who believed, and the kingdom of God being taken away from the Jews [Matthew 21:43] and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits of it. But it may also be the case that the natural temple is the soul skilled in reason, which, because of its inborn reason, is higher than the body; to which Jesus ascends from Capernaum, the lower-lying place of less dignity, and in which, before Jesus' discipline is applied to it, are found tendencies which are earthly and senseless and dangerous, and things which have the name but not the reality of beauty, and which are driven away by Jesus with His word plaited out of doctrines of demonstration and of rebuke, to the end that His Father's house may no longer be a house of merchandize but may receive, for its own salvation and that of others, that service of God which is performed in accordance with heavenly and spiritual laws. The ox is symbolic of earthly things, for he is a husbandman. The sheep, of senseless and brutal things, because it is more servile than most of the creatures without reason. Of empty and unstable thoughts, the dove. Of things that are thought good but are not, the small change. If any one objects to this interpretation of the passage and says that it is only pure animals that are mentioned in it, we must say that the passage would otherwise have an unlikely

air. The occurence is necessarily related according to the possibilities of the story. It could not have been narrated that a herd of any other animals than pure ones had found access to the temple, nor could any have been sold there but those used for sacrifice. The Evangelist makes use of the known practice of the merchants at the times of the Jewish feasts; they did bring in such animals to the outer court; this practice, with a real occurrence He knew of, were His materials. Any one, however, who cares to do so may enquire whether it is in agreement with the position held by Jesus in this world, since He was reputed to be the Son of a carpenter, to venture upon such an act as to drive out a crowd of merchants from the temple? They had come up to the feast to sell to a great number of the people, the sheep, several myriads in number, which they were to sacrifice according to their fathers' houses. To the richer Jews they had oxen to sell, and there were doves for those who had vowed such animals, and many no doubt bought these with a view to their good cheer at the festival. And did not Jesus do an unwarrantable thing when He poured out the money of the money-changers, which was their own, and overthrew their tables? And who that received a blow from the scourge of small cords at the hands of One held in but slight esteem, was driven out of the temple, would not have attacked Him and raised a cry and avenged himself with his own hand, especially when there was such a multitude present who might all feel themselves insulted by Jesus in the same way? To think, moreover, of the Son of God taking the small cords in His hands and plaiting a scourge out of them for this driving out from the temple, does it not bespeak audacity and temerity and even some measure of lawlessness? One refuge remains for the writer who wishes to defend these things and is minded to treat the occurrence as real history, namely, to appeal to the divine nature of Jesus, who was able to quench, when He desired to do so, the rising anger of His foes, by divine grace to get the better of myriads, and to scatter the devices of tumultuous men; for "the Lord scatters the counsels of the nations and brings to naught devices of the peoples, but the counsel of the Lord abides forever." Thus the occurrence in our passage, if it really took place, was not second in point of the power it exhibits to any even of the most marvellous works Christ wrought, and claimed no less by its divine character the faith of the beholders. One may show it to be a greater work than that done at Cana of Galilee in the turning of water into wine; for in that case it was only soulless matter that was changed, but here it was the soul and will of thousands of men. It is, however, to be observed that at the marriage the mother of Jesus is said to be there, and Jesus to have been invited and His disciples, but that no one but Jesus is said to have descended to Capernaum. His disciples, however, appear afterwards as present with Him; they remembered that "the zeal of your house shall devour me." And perhaps Jesus was in each of the disciples as He ascended to Jerusalem, whence it is not said, Jesus went up to "Jerusalem and His disciples," but He went down to Capernaum, "He and His mother and His brothers and His disciples."

17. Matthew's Story of the Entry into Jerusalem. Difficulties Involved in It for Those Who Take It Literally.

We have now to take into consideration the statements of the other Gospels on the expulsion from the temple of those who made it a house of merchandise. Take in the first place what we find in Matthew. On the Lord's entering Jerusalem, he says, "All the city was stirred, saying, Who is this?" But before this he has the story of the ass and the foal which were taken by command of the Lord and found by the two disciples whom he sent from Bethphage into the village over against them. These two disciples loose the ass which was tied, and they have orders, if any one says anything

to them, to answer that "the Lord has need of them; and immediately he will send them." By these incidents Matthew declares that the prophecy was fulfilled which says, "Behold, the King comes, meek and sitting on an ass and a colt the foal of an ass," which we find in Zechariah. [Zechariah 9:9] When, then, the disciples went and did as Jesus commanded them, they brought the ass and the colt, and placed on them, he says, their own garments, and the Lord sat upon them, clearly on the ass and the colt. Then "the most part of the multitude spread their garments in the way, and others cut down branches from the trees and strewed them in the way, and the multitudes that went before and that followed cried, Hosanna to the Son of David, blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." Hence it was that when He entered Jerusalem, the whole city was moved, saying, Who is this? "and the multitudes said," those obviously who went before Him and who followed Him, to those who were asking who He was, "This is the prophet Jesus of Nazareth of Galilee. And Jesus entered into the temple and cast out all those that sold and bought in the temple, and overthrew the tables of the money-changers and the seats of them that sold doves: and He says unto them, It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer; but you make it a den of robbers." Let us ask those who consider that Matthew had nothing but the history in his mind when he wrote his Gospel, what necessity there was for two of the disciples to be sent to the village over against Bethphage, to find an ass tied and its colt with it and to loose them and bring them? And how did it deserve to be recorded that He sat upon the ass and the foal and entered into the city? And how does Zechariah prophesy about Christ when he says, [Zechariah 9:9] "Rejoice greatly, you daughter of Zion, proclaim it, you daughter of Jerusalem. Behold your king comes unto you, just is He and bringing salvation, meek and sitting on an ass and a young foal"? If it be the case that this prophecy predicts simply the material incident described by the Evangelists, how can those who stand on the letter maintain that this is so with regard to the following part also of the prophecy, which runs: "And He shall destroy chariots from Ephraim and horse from Jerusalem, and the bow of the warrior shall be destroyed, and a multitude and peace from the Gentiles, and He shall rule over the waters as far as the sea, and the rivers to the ends of the earth," etc. It is to be noted, too, that Matthew does not give the words as they are found in the prophet, for instead of "Rejoice greatly, you daughter of Zion, proclaim it, you daughter of Jerusalem," he makes it, "Tell ye the daughter of Zion." He curtails the prophetic utterance by omitting the words, "Just is He and bringing salvation," then he gives, "meek and sitting," as in the original, but instead of "on an ass and a young colt," he gives, "on an ass and a colt the foal of an ass." The Jews, examining into the application of the prophecy to what is recorded about Jesus, press us in a way we cannot overlook with the enquiry how Jesus destroyed chariots out of Ephraim and horse from Jerusalem, and how He destroyed the bow of the enemy and did the other deeds mentioned in the passage. So much with regard to the prophecy. Our literal interpreters, however, if there is nothing worthy of the appearance of the Son of God in the ass and the foal, may perhaps point to the length of the road for an explanation. But, in the first place, fifteen stades are not a great distance and afford no reasonable explanation of the matter, and, in the second place, they would have to tell us how two beasts of burden were needed for so short a journey; "He sat," it is said, "on them." And then the words: "If any man say anything unto you, say ye that the Lord has need of them, and straightway he will send them." It does not appear to me to be worthy of the greatness of the Son's divinity to say that such a nature as His confessed that it had need of an ass to be loosed from its bonds and of a foal to come with it; for everything the Son of God has need of should be great and worthy of His goodness. And

then the very great multitude strewing their garments in the way, while Jesus allows them to do so and does not rebuke them, as is clear from the words used in another passage, [Luke 19:40] "If these should hold their peace, the stones will cry out." I do not know if it does not indicate a certain degree of stupidity on the part of the writer to take delight in such things, if nothing more is meant by them than what lies on the surface. And the branches being cut down from the trees and strewn on the road where the asses go by, surely they are rather a hindrance to Him who is the centre of the throng than a well-devised reception of Him. The difficulties which met us on the part of those who were cast out of the temple by Jesus meet us here in a still greater degree. In the Gospel of John He casts out those who bought, but Matthew says that He cast out those who sold and those who bought in the temple. And the buyers would naturally be more numerous than the sellers. We have to consider if the casting out of buyers and sellers in the temple was not out of keeping with the reputation of one who was thought to be the Son of a carpenter, unless, as we said before, it was by a divine power that He subjected them. The words addressed to them, too, are harsher in the other Evangelists than in John. For John says that Jesus said to them, "Make not My Father's house a house of merchandise," while in the others they are rebuked for making the house of prayer a den of robbers. Now the house of His Father did not admit of being turned into a den of robbers, though by the acts of sinful men it was brought to be a house of merchandise. It was not only the house of prayer, but in fact the house of God, and by force of human neglect it harboured robbers, and was turned not only into their house but their den — a thing which no skill, either of architecture or of reason, could make it.

18. The Ass and the Colt are the Old and the New Testament. Spiritual Meaning of the Various Features of the Story. Differences Between John's Narrative and that of the Other Evangelists.

Now to see into the real truth of these matters is the part of that true intelligence which is given to those who can say, [1 Corinthians 2:16] "But we have the mind of Christ that we may see those things which are freely given to us of God;" and doubtless it is beyond our powers. For neither is the ruling principle in our soul free from agitation, nor are our eyes such as those of the fair bride of Christ should be, of which the bridegroom says, [Song of Songs 1:15] "Your eyes are doves," signifying, perhaps, in a riddle, the observant power which dwells in the spiritual, because the Holy Spirit came like a dove to our Lord and to the lord in every one. Such as we are, however, we will not delay, but will feel about the words of life which have been spoken to us and strive to lay hold of that power in them which flows to him who touches them in faith. Now Jesus is the word of God which goes into the soul that is called Jerusalem, riding on the ass freed by the disciples from its bonds. That is to say, on the simple language of the Old Testament, interpreted by the two disciples who loose it: in the first place him who applies what is written to the service of the soul and shows the allegorical sense of it with reference to her, and in the second place him who brings to light by the things which lie in shadow the good and true things of the future. But He also rides on the young colt, the New Testament; for in both alike we find the word of truth which purifies us and drives away all those thoughts in us which incline to selling and buying. But He does not come alone to Jerusalem, the soul, nor only with a few companions; for many things have to enter into us before the word of God which makes us perfect, and as many things have to come after Him, all, however, hymning and glorifying Him and placing under Him their ornaments and vestures, so that the beasts He rides on may not touch the ground, when He who descended out of heaven is seated on them. But that His bearers, the old and the new words of Scripture, may be raised yet

higher above the ground, branches have to be cut down from the trees that they may tread on reasonable expositions. But the multitudes which go before and follow Him may also signify the angelic ministrations, some of which prepare the way for Him in our souls, and help in their adorning, while some come after His presence in us, of which we have often spoken, so that we need not now adduce testimonies about it. And perhaps it is not without reason that I have likened to an ass the surrounding voices which conduct the Word Himself to the soul; for it is a beast of burden, and many are the burdens, heavy the loads, which are brought into view from the text, especially of the Old Testament, as he can clearly see who observes what is done in this connection on the part of the Jews. But the foal is not a beast of burden in the same way as the ass. For though every lead of the latter be heavy to those who have not in themselves the upbearing and most lightening power of the Spirit, yet the new word is less heavy than the old. I know some who interpret the tied-up ass as being believers from the circumcision, who are freed from many bonds by those who are truly and spiritually instructed in the word; and the foal they take to be those from the Gentiles, who before they receive the word of Jesus are free from any control and subject to no yoke in their unbridled and pleasure-loving existence. The writers I am speaking of do not say who those are that go before and who those follow after; but there would be no absurdity in saying that those who went before were like Moses and the prophets, and those who followed after the holy Apostles. To what Jerusalem all these go in it is now our business to enquire, and what is the house which has many sellers and buyers to be driven out by the Son of God. And perhaps the Jerusalem above to which the Lord is to ascend driving like a charioteer those of the circumcision and the believers of the Gentiles, while prophets and Apostles go before Him and follow after Him (or is it the angels who minister to Him, for they too may be meant by those who go before and those who follow), perhaps it is that city which before He ascended to it contained the so-called [Ephesians 6:12] "spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places," or the Canaanites and Hittites and Amorites and the other enemies of the people of God, and in a word, the foreigners. For in that region, too, it was possible for the prophecy to be fulfilled which says, [Isaiah 1:7] "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire, your land, strangers devour it in your presence." For these are they who defile and turn into a den of robbers, that is, of themselves the heavenly house of the Father, the holy Jerusalem, the house of prayer; having spurious money, and giving pence and small change, cheap worthless coinage, to all who come to them. These are they who, contending with the souls, take from them what is most precious, robbing them of their better part to return to them what is worth nothing. But the disciples go and find the ass tied and loose it, for it cannot have Jesus on account of the covering that is laid upon it by the law. [2 Corinthians 3:14] And the colt is found with it, both having been lost till Jesus came; I mean, namely, those of the circumcision and those of the Gentiles who afterwards believed. But how these are sent back again after Jesus has ascended to Jerusalem seated upon them, it is somewhat dangerous to say; for there is something mystical about it, in connection with the change of saints into angels. After that change they will be sent back, in the age succeeding this one, like the ministering spirits, [Hebrews 1:11] who are sent to do service for the sake of them who will thereby inherit salvation. But if the ass and the foal are the old and the new Scriptures, on which the Word of God rides, it is easy to see how, after the Word has appeared in them, they are sent back and do not wait after the Word has entered Jerusalem among those who have cast out all the thoughts of selling and buying. I consider, too, that it is not without significance that the place where the ass was found tied, and the foal, was a village, and a village without a name. For

in comparison with the great world in heaven, the whole earth is a village where the ass is found tied and the colt, and it is simply called "the village" without any other designation being added to it. From Bethphage Matthew says the disciples are sent out who are to fetch the ass and the colt; and Bethphage is a priestly place, the name of which means "House of Jaw-bones." So much we have said, as our power allowed, on the text of Matthew, reserving for a further opportunity, when we may be permitted to take up the Gospel of Matthew by itself, a more complete and accurate discussion of his statements. Mark and Luke say that the two disciples, acting on their Master's instructions, found a foal tied, on which no one had ever sat, and that they loosed it and brought it to the Lord. Mark adds that they found the foal tied at the door, outside on the road. But who is outside? Those of the Gentiles who were strangers [Ephesians 2:12] from the covenants, and aliens to the promise of God; they are on the road, not resting under a roof or a house, bound by their own sins, and to be loosed by the twofold knowledge spoken of above, of the friends of Jesus. And the bonds with which the foal was tied, and the sins committed against the wholesome law and reproved by it — for it is the gate of life — in respect of it, I say, they were not inside but outside the door, for perhaps inside the door there cannot be any such bond of wickedness. But there were some persons standing beside the tied-up foal, as Mark says; those, I suppose, who had tied it; as Luke records, it was the masters of the foal who said to the disciples, Why loose ye the foal? For those lords who subjected and bound the sinner are illegal masters and cannot look the true master in the face when he frees the foal from its bonds. Thus when the disciples say, "The Lord has need of him," these wicked masters have nothing to say in reply. The disciples then bring the foal to Jesus naked, and put their own dress on it, so that the Lord may sit on the disciples' garments which are on it, at His ease. What is said further will not, in the light of Matthew's statements, present any difficulty; how [Mark 11:15] "They come to Jerusalem, and entering into the temple He began to cast out them that sold and bought in the temple," or how [Luke 19:41] "When He drew near and beheld the city He wept over it; and entering into the temple He began to cast out them that sold." For in some of those who have the temple in themselves He casts out all that sell and buy in the temple; but in others who do not quite obey the word of God, He only makes a beginning of casting out the sellers and buyers. There is a third class also besides these, in which He began to cast out the sellers only, and not also the buyers. With John, on the contrary, they are all cast out by the scourge woven of small cords, along with the sheep and the oxen. It should be carefully considered whether it is possible that the changes of the things described and the discrepancies found in them can be satisfactorily solved by the anagogic method. Each of the Evangelists ascribes to the Word different modes of action, which produce in souls of different tempers not the same effects but yet similar ones. The discrepancy we noticed in respect of Jesus' journeys to Jerusalem, which the Gospel now in hand reports quite differently from the other three, as we have expounded their words, cannot be made good in any other way. John gives statements which are similar to those of the other three but not the same; instead of branches cut from the trees or stubble brought from the fields and strewed on the road he says they took branches of palm trees. He says that much people had come to the feast, and that these went out to meet Him, crying, "Blessed is He that comes in the name of the Lord," and "Blessed is the King of Israel." He also says that it was Jesus Himself who found the young ass on which Christ sat, and the phrase, young ass, doubtless conveys some additional meaning, as the small animal afforded a benefit not of men, nor through men, but through Jesus Christ. John moreover does not, any more than the others, reproduce the prophetic words exactly; instead of them he

gives us "Fear not, O daughter of Zion; behold your King comes sitting" (instead of "mounted") "on the foal of an ass" (for "on an ass and a young foal"). The words "Fear not, daughter of Zion," are not in the prophet at all. But as the prophetic utterance has been applied by all in this way, let us see if there was not a necessity that the daughter of Zion should rejoice greatly and that the greater than she, the daughter of Jerusalem, should not only rejoice greatly but should also proclaim it when her king was coming to her, just and bringing salvation, and meek, having mounted an ass and a young colt. Whoever, then, receives Him will no longer be afraid of those who are armed with the specious discourses of the heterodox, those chariots of Ephraim said to be destroyed by the Lord, [Zechariah 9:10] nor the horse, the vain thing for safety, that is the mad desire which has accustomed itself to the things of sense and which is injurious to many of those who desire to dwell in Jerusalem and to attend to the sound word. It is also fitting to rejoice at the destruction by Him who rides on the ass and the young foal of every hostile dart, since the fiery darts of the enemy are no longer to prevail over him who has received Jesus to his own temple. And there will also be a multitude from the Gentiles with peace [Zechariah 9:9-10] at the Saviour's coming to Jerusalem, when He rules over the waters that He may bruise the head of the dragon on the water, and we shall tread upon the waves of the sea and to the mouths of all the rivers on the earth. Mark, however, writing about the foal, reports the Lord to have said, "On which never man sat;" and he seems to me to hint at the circumstance that those who afterwards believed had never submitted to the Word before Jesus' coming to them. For of men, perhaps, no one had ever sate on the foal, but of hearts or of powers alien to the Word some had sate on it, since in the prophet Isaiah the wealth of opposing powers is said to be borne on asses and camels. [Isaiah 30:6] "In the distress and the affliction," he writes, "the lion and the lion's cub, whence also the offspring of flying asps, who carried their riches on asses and camels." The question occurs again, for those who have no mind but for the bare words, if according to their view the words, "on which never man sat," are not quite meaningless. For who but a man ever sits on a foal? So much of our views.

19. Various Views of Heracleon on Purging of the Temple.

Let us see what Heracleon makes of this. He says that the ascent to Jerusalem signifies the Lord's going up from material things to the spiritual place, which is a likeness of Jerusalem. And he considers that the words are, "He found in the temple," and not "in the sanctuary," because the Lord is not to be understood as instrumental in that call only, which takes place where the spirit is not. He considers the temple to be the Holy of Holies, into which none but the High-Priest enters, and there I believe he says that the spiritual go; while the court of the temple, where the levites also enter, is a symbol of these psychical ones who are saved, but outside the Pleroma. Then those who are found in the temple selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the money-changers sitting, he took to represent those who attribute nothing to grace, but regard the entrance of strangers to the temple as a matter of merchandise and gain, and who minister the sacrifices for the worship of God, with a view to their own gain and love of money. And the scourge which Jesus made of small cords and did not receive from another, he expounds in a way of his own, saying that the scourge is an image of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit, driving out by His breath those who are bad. And he declares that the scourge and the linen and the napkin and other things of such a kind are symbolic of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit. Then he assumes what is not written, as that the scourge was tied to a piece of wood, and this wood he takes to be a

type of the cross; on this wood the gamblers, merchants, and all evil was nailed up and done away. In searching into the act of Jesus, and discussing the composition of the scourge out of two substances, he romances in an extraordinary way; He did not make it, he says, of dead leather. He wished to make the Church no longer a den of robbers, but the house of His Father. We must here say what is most necessary on the divinity, as referred to in Heracleon's text. If Jesus calls the temple at Jerusalem the house of His Father, and that temple was made in honour of Him who made heaven and earth, why are we not at once told that He is the Son of no one else than the Maker of heaven and earth, that He is the Son of God? To this house of the Father of Jesus, as being the house of prayer, the Apostles of Christ also, as we find in their "Acts," are told [Acts 5:20] by the angel to go and to stand there and preach all the words of this life. But they came to the house of prayer, through the Beautiful Gate, to pray there, a thing they would not have done had they not known Him to be the same with the God worshipped by those who had dedicated that temple. Hence, too, they say, those who obeyed God rather than men, Peter and the Apostles, "The God [Acts 5:29-30] of our Fathers raised up Jesus, whom you slew, hanging Him on a tree;" for they know that by no other God was Jesus raised from the dead but the God of the fathers, whom Jesus also extols as the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, who are not dead but living. How, too, could the disciples, if the house was not that of the same God with the God of Christ, have remembered the saying in the sixty-ninth Psalm, "The zeal of your house shall devour Me;" for thus it is found in the prophet, and not "has devoured Me." Now Christ is zealous principally for that house of God which is in each of us; He does not wish that it should be a house of merchandise, nor that the house of prayer should be a den of robbers; for He is the Son of a jealous God. We ought to give a liberal interpretation to such utterances of Scripture; they speak of human things, but in the way of metaphor, to show that God desires that nothing foreign should be mixed up with His will in the soul of all men, indeed, but principally of those who are minded to accept the message of our most divine faith. But we must remember that the sixty-ninth Psalm, which contains the words, "The zeal of your house shall devour me," and a little further on, "They gave Me gall for My drink and for My thirst they gave Me vinegar," both texts being recorded in the Gospels, that that Psalm is spoken in the person of the Christ, and nowhere shows any change of person. It shows a great want of observation on Heracleon's part that he considers the words, "The zeal of your house shall devour Me," to be spoken in the person of those powers which were cast out and destroyed by the Saviour; he fails to see the connection of the prophecy in the Psalm. For if these words are understood as spoken by the expelled and destroyed powers, it follows that he must take the words, "They gave Me vinegar to drink," which are a part of the same psalm, to be also spoken by those powers. What misled him was probably that he could not understand how the "shall devour Me" could be spoken by Christ, since He did not appreciate the way in which anthropopathic statements are applied to God and to Christ.

20. The Temple Which Christ Says He Will Raise Up is the Church. How the Dry Bones Will Be Made to Live Again.

"The Jews then answered and said to Him, What sign showest Thou unto us, seeing that You do these things? [John 2:18-19] Jesus answered and said to them, Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." Those of the body, and those who incline to material things, seem to me to be meant by the Jews, who, after Jesus has driven out those who make God's house a house of merchandise, are angry at Him for treating these matters in such a way, and demand a sign, a

sign which will show that the Word, whom they do not receive, has a right to do such things. The Saviour joins on to His statement about the temple a statement which is really one with the former, about His own body, and to the question, What sign do You do, seeing that You do such things? Answers, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." He could have exhibited a thousand other signs, but to the question, "Seeing that You do such things," He could not answer anything else; He fittingly gave the answer about the sign connected with the temple, and not about signs unconnected with the temple. Now, both of these two things, the temple and the body of Jesus, appear to me, in one interpretation at least, to be types of the Church, and to signify that it is built of living stones, [1 Peter 2:5] a spiritual house for a holy priesthood, built [Ephesians 2:20] on the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone; and it is, therefore, called a temple. Now, from the text, [1 Corinthians 12:27] "You are the body of Christ, and members each in his part," we see that even though the harmonious fitting of the stones of the temple appear to be dissolved and scattered, as it is written in the twenty-second Psalm that all the bones of Christ are, by the plots made against it in persecutions and afflictions, on the part of those who war against the unity of the temple in persecutions, yet the temple will be raised again, and the body will rise again on the third day after the day of evil which threatens it, and the day of consummation which follows. For the third day will rise on the new heaven and the new earth, when these bones, the whole house of Israel, [Ezekiel 37:11] will rise in the great Lord's day, death having been overcome. And thus the resurrection of the Saviour from the passion of the cross contains the mystery of the resurrection of the whole body of Christ. But as that material body of Jesus was sacrificed for Christ, and was buried, and was afterwards raised, so the whole body of Christ's saints is crucified along with Him, and now lives no longer; for each of them, like Paul, glories [Galatians 6:14] in nothing but the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which He is crucified to the world, and the world to Him. Not only, therefore, is it crucified with Christ, and crucified to the world; it is also buried with Christ, for we were buried with Christ, Paul says. [Romans 6:4] And then he says, as if enjoying some earnest of the resurrection, "We rose with Him," because He walks in a certain newness of life, though not yet risen in that blessed and perfect resurrection which is hoped for. Either, then, he is now crucified, and afterwards is buried, or he is now buried and taken down from the cross, and, being now buried, is to rise at some future time. But to most of us the mystery of the resurrection is a great one, and difficult of contemplation; it is spoken of in many other passages of Scripture, and is specially announced in the following passage of Ezekiel: "And the hand of the Lord was upon me, and He led me out in the Spirit of the Lord, and set me in the midst of the plain, and it was full of human bones. And He led me round about them in a circle, and behold there were very many on the face of the plain, and behold they were very dry. And He said to me, Son of man, shall these bones live? And I said, Lord, Lord, You know. And He said to me, Prophesy to these bones, and you shall say to them, Hear the word of the Lord, you dry bones;" and a little further on, "And the Lord spoke to me, saying, Son of man, these bones are the house of Israel. And they say, Our bones have become dry, our hope is lost, we have breathed our last." For what bones are these which are addressed, "Hear ye the word of the Lord," as if they heard the word of the Lord? They belong to the house of Israel, or to the body of Christ, of which the Lord says, "All My bones are scattered," although the bones of His body were not scattered, and not even one of them was broken. But when the resurrection itself takes place of the true and more perfect body of Christ, then those who are now the members of Christ, for they will then be dry bones, will be brought together, bone to bone, and

fitting to fitting (for none of those who are destitute of fitting (■ρμον■α) will come to the perfect man), to the measure [Ephesians 4:13] of the stature of the fullness of the body of Christ. And then the many members will be the one body, all of them, though many, becoming members of one body. But it belongs to God alone to make the distinction of foot and hand and eye and hearing and smelling, which in one sense fill up the head, but in another the feet and the rest of the members, and the weaker and humbler ones, the more and the less honourable. God will temper the body together, and then, rather than now, He will give to that which lacks the more abundant honour, that there may be, by no means, any schism in the body, but that the members may have the same care for one another, and, if any member be well off, all the members may share in its good things, or if any member be glorified, all the members may rejoice with it.

21. That the Son Was Raised Up by the Father. The Charge Brought Against Jesus at His Trial Was Based on the Incident Now Before Us.

What I have said is not alien to the passage now engaging us, dealing as it does with the temple and those cast out from it, of which the Saviour says, "The zeal of your house shall devour Me;" and with the Jews who asked that a sign should be showed them, and the Saviour's answer to them, in which He combines the discourse on the temple with that on His own body, and says, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." For from this temple, which is the body of Christ, everything that is irrational and savours of merchandise must be driven away, that it may no longer be a house of merchandise. And this temple must be destroyed by those who plot against the Word of God, and after its destruction be raised again on that third day which we discussed above; when the disciples also will remember what He, the Word, said before the temple of God was destroyed, and will believe, not only their knowledge but their faith also being then made perfect, and that by the word which Jesus spoke. And every one who is of this nature, Jesus purifying him, [John 15:3] puts away things that are irrational and things that savour of selling, to be destroyed on account of the zeal of the Logos that is in Him. But they are destroyed to be raised again by Jesus, not on the third day, if we attend to the exact words before us, but "in three days." For the rising again of the temple takes place on the first day after it has been destroyed and on the second day, and its resurrection is accomplished in all the three days. Hence a resurrection both has been and is to be, if indeed we were buried with Christ, and rose with Him. And since the word, "We rose with Him," does not cover the whole of the resurrection, "in Christ shall all be made alive, [1 Corinthians 15:22-24] but every one in his own order, Christ the first fruits, then they that are Christ's at His coming, and then the end." It belongs to the resurrection that one should be on the first day in the paradise of God, [Luke 23:43] and it belongs to the resurrection when Jesus appears and says, "Touch Me not; for I am not yet ascended to My Father," [John 20:17] but the perfection of the resurrection was when He came to the Father. Now there are some who fall into confusion on this head of the Father and the Son, and we must devote a few words to them. They quote the text, [1 Corinthians 15:15] "Yea, and we are found false witnesses for God, because we testified against God that He raised up Christ, whom He raised not up," and other similar texts which show the raiser-up to be another person than He who was raised up; and the text, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up," as if it resulted from these that the Son did not differ in number from the Father, but that both were one, not only in point of substance but in point of subject, and that the Father and the Son were said to be different in some of their aspects but not in their hypostases. Against such views we must in the first place adduce

the leading texts which prove the Son to be another than the Father, and that the Son must of necessity be the son of a Father, and the Father, the father of a Son. Then we may very properly refer to Christ's declaration that He cannot do anything but what He sees the Father doing and saying, [John 5:19] because whatever the Father does that the Son also does in like manner, and that He had raised the dead, i.e., the body, the Father granting Him this, who must be said to have been the principal agent in raising up Christ from the dead. But Heracleon says, "In three days," instead of "On the third day," not having examined the point (and yet having noted the words "in three"), that the resurrection is brought about in three days. But he also calls the third the spiritual day, in which they consider the resurrection of the Church to be indicated. It follows from this that the first day is to be called the "earthly" day, and the second the psychical, the resurrection of the Church not having taken place on them. Now the statements of the false witnesses, recorded in the Gospel according to Matthew and Mark towards the end of the Gospel, and the accusation they brought against our Lord Jesus Christ, appear to have reference to this utterance of His, "Destroy this temple, and I will build it up in three days." For He was speaking of the temple of His body, but they supposed His words to refer to the temple of stone, and so they said when accusing Him, "This man said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it up in three days," or, as Mark has it, "We heard Him say, that I will destroy this temple made with hands, and in three days I will build up another temple not made with hands." Here the high-priest stood up and said to Him, "Answerest Thou nothing? What do these witness against You? But Jesus held His peace." Or, as Mark says, "And the high-priest stood up in the midst, and asked Jesus saying, Answerest Thou nothing? What do these witness against You? But He held His peace and answered nothing." These words must, I think, necessarily have reference to the text now before us.

22. The Temple of Solomon Did Not Take Forty-Six Years to Build. With Regard to that of Ezra We Cannot Tell How Long It Took. Significance of the Number Forty-Six. The Jews therefore said, "Forty and six years was this temple in building, [John 2:20] and will you raise it up in three days?" How the Jews said that the temple had been forty-six years building, we cannot tell, if we adhere to the history. For it is written in the third Book of Kings, [1 Kings 5:18] that they prepared the stones and the wood three years, and in the fourth year, in the second month, [1 Kings 6:1] when Solomon was king over Israel, the king commanded, and they brought great precious stones for the foundation of the house, and unhewn stones. And the sons of Solomon and the sons of Hiram hewed the stones and laid them in the fourth year, and they founded the house of the Lord in the month Nisan and the second month: in the tenth year in the month Baal, which was the eighth month, the house was finished according to the whole count and the whole plan of it. Thus comparing the time of its completion with the period of building, the building of it occupies less than eleven years. How, then, do the Jews come to say that the temple was forty-six years in building? One might, indeed, do violence to the words and make out the period of forty-six years at all costs, by counting from the time when David, after planning about the building of the temple, said to Nathan the prophet, [2 Samuel 7:2] "Behold I dwell in a house of cedar, and the ark of God dwells in the midst of the tent," for though it is true that he was prevented, as being a man of blood, from carrying out the building, he seems to have busied himself in collecting materials for it. In the first Book of Chronicles, [1 Chronicles 29:1-5] certainly, David the king says to all the congregation, "Solomon my son, whom the Lord has chosen, is young and tender, and the work is great, because he is not to build for man but for the Lord God. According to my whole power I have prepared for the house of my God, gold, silver, brass, and iron, wood, stones of Soom, and stones

for filling up, and precious stones of many kinds, and all sorts of precious wood, and a large quantity of Parian marble. And besides this, for the pleasure I have taken in the house of my God, the gold and the silver I possess, lo, I have given it for the house of my Lord, to the full; from such supplies I prepared for the house of the saints, three thousand talents of gold from Suphir, and seven thousand talents of stamped silver. that the houses of God may be overlaid with them by the hands of artificers." For David reigned seven years in Hebron and thirty-three years in Jerusalem; [1 Kings 2:11] so that if it could be shown that the beginning of the preparations for the temple and of David's collecting the necessary material, was in the fifth year of his reign, then, with some forcing, the statement about forty-six years might stand. But some one else will say that the temple spoken of was not that built by Solomon, for that it was destroyed at the period of the captivity, but the temple built at the time of Ezra, [Ezra 6:1] with regard to which the forty-six years can be shown to be quite accurate. But in this Maccabean period things were very unsettled with regard to the people and the temple, and I do not know if the temple was really built in that number of years. Heracleon pays no attention to the history, but says that in that he was forty-six years preparing the temple, Solomon was an image of the Saviour. The number six he connects with matter, that is, the image, and the number forty, which he says is the tetrad, not admitting of combination, he connects with the inspiration and the seed in the inspiration. Consider if the forty cannot be taken as due to the four elements of the world arranged in the building of the temple at the points at issue, and the six to the fact that man was created on the sixth day.

23. The Temple Spoken of by Christ is the Church. Application to the Church of the Statements Regarding the Building of Solomon's Temple, and the Numbers Stated in that Narrative.

"But He spoke of the temple of His body. [John 2:21] When, therefore, He was raised from the dead, His disciples remembered that He said this, and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said." This refers to the statement that the body of the Son is His temple. It may be asked whether this is to be taken in its plain sense, or whether we should try to connect each statement that is recorded about the temple, with the view we take about the body of Jesus, whether the body which He received from the Virgin, or that body of Christ which the Church is said to be, as we are said by the Apostle [1 Corinthians 12:27] to be all members of His body. One may, on the one hand, suppose it to be hopeless to get everything that is said about the temple properly connected with the body, in whatever sense the body be taken, and one may have recourse to a simpler explanation, and say that the body (in either of these senses) is called the temple, because as the temple had the glory of God dwelling in it, so He who was the image and glory of God, the first-born of every creature, could rightly be called, in respect of His body or the Church, the temple containing the image. We, for our part, see it to be a hard task to expound every particular of what is said about the temple in the third Book of Kings, and far beyond our powers of language, and we defer it in the meantime, as a thing beyond the scale of the present work. We also have a strong conviction that in such matters, which transcend human nature, it must be the work of divine wisdom to make plain the meaning of inspired Scripture, of that wisdom which is hidden in a mystery, which none of the rulers of this world knew. We are well aware, too, that we need the assistance of that excellent Spirit of wisdom, in order to understand such matters, as they should be understood by ministers of sacred things; and in this connection we will attempt to describe, as shortly as we may, our view of what belongs to this subject. The body is the Church, and we learn from Peter [1 Peter 2:5] that it is a house of God, built of living stones, a

spiritual house for a holy priesthood. Thus the son of David, who builds this house, is a type of Christ. He builds it when his wars are at an end, [1 Kings 5:3-5] and a period of profound peace has arrived; he builds the temple for the glory of God in the Jerusalem on earth, so that worship may no longer be celebrated in a moveable erection like the tabernacle. Let us seek to find in the Church the truth of each statement made about the temple. If all Christ's enemies are made the footstool of His feet, [1 Corinthians 15:25] and Death, the last enemy, is destroyed, then there will be the most perfect peace. Christ will be Solomon, which means "Peaceful," [1 Chronicles 22:9] and the prophecy will find its fulfilment in Him, which says, "With those who hated peace I was peaceful." And then each of the living stones will be, according to the work of his life here, a stone of that temple, one, at the foundation, an apostle or a prophet, bearing those placed upon him, and another, after those in the foundation, and supported by the Apostles, will himself, with the Apostles, help to bear those in more need. One will be a stone of the inmost parts, where the ark is, and the cherubim, and the mercy-seat; another will be on the outer wall, and another even outside the outer wall of the levites and priests, a stone of the altar of whole burnt offerings. And the management and service of these things will be entrusted to holy powers, angels of God, being, respectively, lordships, thrones, dominions, or powers; and there will be others subject to these, typified by three thousand six hundred [1 Kings 5:15-18] chief officers, who were appointed over the works of Solomon, and the seventy thousand of those who bore burdens, and the eighty thousand stone-cutters in the mountain, who wrought in the work, and prepared the stones and the wood. It is to be remarked that those reported as bearing burdens are related to the Hebdomad. The quarrymen and stone-cutters, who make the stones fitted for the temple, have some kinship to the ogdoad. And the officers, who are six hundred in number, are connected with the perfect number six multiplied into itself. The preparation of the stones, as they are taken out and fitted for the building, extends over three years; this appears to me to point solely to the time of the eternal interval which is akin to the triad. This will come to pass when peace is consummated after the number of years of the transaction of the matters connected with the exodus from Egypt, namely, three hundred and forty, and of what took place in Egypt four hundred and thirty years after the covenant made by God with Abraham. Thus, from Abraham to the beginning of the building of the temple, there are two sabbatic numbers, the 700 and the 70; and at that time, too, our King Christ will command the seventy thousand burden-bearers not to take any chance stones for the foundation of the temple, but great stones, precious, unhewn, that they may be hewn, not by any chance workmen, but by the sons of Solomon; for so we find it written in the third Book of Kings. Then, too, on account of the profound peace, Hiram, king of Tyre, cooperates in the building of the temple, and gives his own sons to the sons of Solomon, to hew, in company with them, the great and precious stones for the holy place, which, in the fourth year, are placed in the foundation of the house of the Lord. But in an ogdoad of years the house is finished in the eighth month of the eighth year after its foundation.

24. The Account of the Building of Solomon's Temple Contains Serious Difficulties and is to Be Interpreted Spiritually. For the sake of those, however, who consider that nothing further than the narrative itself is meant to be indicated in these words, it may not be unfitting to introduce at this point some considerations which they can scarcely withstand, to show that the words ought to be regarded as those of the Spirit, and that the mind of the Spirit should be sought for in them. Did the sons of the kings really spend their time in hewing the great and precious stones, and practise a craft so little in keeping with royal birth? And the number of the burden-bearers and of the

stone-cutters and of the officers, the duration, too, of the period of preparing the stones and marking them, is all this recorded as it really was? The holy house, too, was got ready in peace and was to be built for God without hammer or axe or any iron tool, that there might be no disturbance in the house of God. And again I would ask those who are in bondage to the letter how it is possible that there should be eighty thousand stone-cutters and that the house of God should be built out of hard white stones without the noise of hammer or axe or any iron tool being heard in His house while the building was going on? Is it not living stones that are hewn without any noise or tumult somewhere outside the temple, so that they are brought ready prepared to the place which awaits them in the building? And there is some sort of an ascent about the temple of God, not with angles, but with bends of straight lines. For it is written, [1 Kings 6:8] "And there was a winding staircase to the middle, and from the middle to the third floor;" for the staircase in the house of God had to be spiral, thus imitating in its ascent the circle, which is the most perfect figure. But that this house might be secure five ties are built in it, [1 Kings 6:10] as fair as possible, a cubit high, that on looking up one might see it to be suggested how we rise from sensible things to the so-called divine perceptions, and so be brought to perceive those things which are seen only by the mind. But the place of the happier stones appears to be that called Dabir, where the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord was, and, as I may say, the handwriting of God, the tables written with His own finger. And the whole house is overlaid with gold; "the whole house," we read, [1 Kings 6:21] "he overlaid with gold until all the house was finished." But there were two cherubim in Dabir, a word which the translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek failed to render satisfactorily. Some, failing to do justice to the language, render it the temple; but it is more sacred than the temple. Now everything about the house was made golden, for a sign that the mind which is quite made perfect estimates accurately the things perceived by the intellect. But it is not given to all to approach and know them; and hence the veil of the court is erected, since to most of the priests and levites the things in the inmost part of the temple are not revealed.

25. Further Spiritualizing of Solomon's Temple-Building.

It is worth while to enquire how, on the one hand, Solomon the king is said to have built the temple, and on the other the master-builder whom Solomon sent and fetched, [1 Kings 7:13] "Hiram of Tyre, the son of a woman who was a widow; and he was of the tribe of Naphtali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass, and filled with wisdom and understanding, to work all works in brass; and he was brought in to King Solomon and wrought all his works." Here I ask whether Solomon can be taken for the first-born of all creation, [Colossians 1:15] and Hiram for the man whom he assumed, from the constraint of men — for the word Tyrians means "constrainers"— the man who derived his birth from nature, and being filled with all manner of art and wisdom and understanding, was brought in to cooperate with the first-born of all creation, and to build the temple. In this temple there are also windows, [1 Kings 6:4] placed obliquely and out of sight, so that the illumination of the divine light may enter for salvation, and — why should I go into particulars?— that the body of Christ, the Church, may be found having the plan of the spiritual house and temple of God. As I said before, we require that wisdom which is hidden in a mystery, and which he alone can apprehend who is able to say, "But we have the mind of Christ,"— we require that wisdom to interpret spiritually each detail of what is said in accordance with the will of Him who caused it to be written. To enter into these details is not in accordance with our present subject. What has been said may suffice to let us understand how "He spoke about the temple of

His body."

26. The Promises Addressed to Jerusalem in the Prophets Refer to the Church, and are Still to Be Fulfilled.

After all this it is proper to ask whether what is narrated as having taken place about the temple has ever taken place or ever will take place about the spiritual house. The argument may seem to pinch in whichever way we take it. If we say that it is possible that something like what is told about the temple may take place with regard to the spiritual house, or has already taken place in it, then those who hear us will, with difficulty, be brought to admit that a change can take place in such good things as these, firstly, because they do not wish it, and secondly, because of the incongruity of thinking that such things admit of change. If, on the other hand, We seek to maintain the unchangeableness of the good things once given to the saints, then we cannot apply to them what we find in the history, and we shall seem to be doing what those of the heresies do, who fail to maintain the unity of the narrative of Scripture from beginning to end. If we are not to take the view proper to old wives or Jews, of the promises recorded in the prophets, and especially in Isaiah, if, that is to say, we are to look for their fulfilment in connection with the Jerusalem on earth, then, as certain remarkable things connected with the building of the temple and the restoration of the people from the captivity are spoken of as happening after the captivity and the destruction of the temple, we must say that we are now the temple and the people which was carried captive, but is to come up again to Judæa and Jerusalem, and to be built with the precious stones of Jerusalem. But I cannot tell if it be possible that, at the revolution of long periods of time, things of the same nature should take place again, but in a worse way. The prophecies of Isaiah which we mentioned are the following: [Isaiah 54:11-14] "Behold I prepare for your stone carbuncle and for your foundation sapphire; and I will make your battlements jasper, and your gates stones of crystal, and your outer wall choice stones; and all your sons shall be taught of the Lord, and in great peace shall your children be, and in righteousness shall you be built." And a little further on, to the same Jerusalem: [Isaiah 60:13-20] "And the glory of Lebanon shall come to you with cypress, and pine, and cedar, along with those who will glorify My holy place. And the sons of them that humbled you and insulted you shall come to you in fear; and you shall be called the city of the Lord, Sion of holy Israel, because you were desolate and hated, and there was none to help you. And I will make you an eternal delight, a joy of generations of generations. And you shall suck the milk of the Gentiles and shall eat the riches of kings, and you shall know that I am the Lord that saves you and the God of Israel that chooses you. And instead of brass I will bring you gold, and instead of iron I will bring you silver, and for wood I will bring you brass, and for stones iron. And I will establish your rulers in peace and your overseers in righteousness. And wickedness shall no more be heard in your land, nor affliction and distress in your borders, but your walls shall be called salvation and your gates sculpture. And the sun shall no longer be to you for light by day, nor shall the rising of the moon give light to you by night, but Christ shall be to you an everlasting light and your God your glory. For your sun shall no more go down, and your moon shall not fail, for your Lord shall be to you an everlasting light, and the days of your mourning shall be fulfilled." These prophecies clearly refer to the age still to come, and they are addressed to the children of Israel in their captivity, to whom He was sent and came, who said, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." [Matthew 15:24] Such things, though they are captives, they are to receive in their own land; and proselytes also are to come to them at that time through Christ, and are to fly to them, according to the

saying, [Isaiah 54:15] "Behold, proselytes shall come to you through Me, and shall flee to you for refuge." And if all this is to take place with the captives, then it is plain that they must be about their temple, and that they must go up there again to be built up, having become the most precious of stones. For we find with John in his Apocalyse, [Revelation 3:12] the promise made to him that overcomes, that he will be a pillar in the temple of God, and will go no more out. All this I have said with a view to our obtaining a cursory view at least of the matters pertaining to the temple, and the house of God, and the Church and Jerusalem, which we cannot now take up systematically. Those, however, who, in their reading of the prophets, do not shrink from the labour of seeking after their spiritual meaning, must enquire into these matters with the greatest particularity, and must take account of every possibility. So far of "the temple of His body."

27. Of the Belief the Disciples Afterwards Attained in the Words of Jesus.

"When He was raised from the dead, [John 2:22] His disciples remembered that He spoke this, and they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said." This tells us that after Jesus' resurrection from the dead His disciples saw that what He had said about the temple had a higher application to His passion and His resurrection; they remembered that the words, "In three days I will raise it up," pointed to the resurrection; "And they believed the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said." We are not told that they believed the Scripture or the word which Jesus said, before. For faith in its full sense is the act of him who accepts with his whole soul what is professed at baptism. As for the higher sense, as we have already spoken of the resurrection from the dead of the whole body of the Lord, we have now to note that the disciples were put in mind by the fulfilment of the Scripture which when they were in life they had not fully understood; its meaning was now brought under their eyes and made quite clear to them, and they knew of what heavenly things it was the pattern and shadow. Then they believed the Scripture who formerly did not believe it, and believed the word of Jesus which, as the speaker means to convey, they had not believed before the resurrection. For how can any one be said in the full sense to believe the Scripture when he does not see in it the mind of the Holy Spirit, which God would have us to believe rather than the literal meaning? From this point of view we must say that none of those who walk according to the flesh believe the spiritual things of the law, of the very beginnings of which they have no conception. But, they say, those are more blessed who have not seen and yet believe, than those who have seen and have believed, and for this they quote the saying to Thomas at the end of the Gospel of John, "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed." But it is not said here that those who have not seen and yet have believed are more blessed than those who have seen and believed. According to their view those after the Apostles are more blessed than the Apostles; than which nothing can be more foolish. He who is to be blessed must see in his mind the things which he believes, and must be able with the Apostles to hear the words spoken to him, "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear," [Matthew 13:16] and "Many prophets and righteous men have desired to see the things which you see, and have not seen them, and to hear the things which you hear, and have not heard them." Yet he may be content who only receives the inferior beatitude, which says: [John 20:29] "Blessed are they who have not seen and yet have believed." But how much more blessed are those eyes which Jesus calls blessed for the things which they have seen, than those which have not attained to such a vision; Simeon is content to take into his arms the salvation of God, and after seeing it, he says, [Luke 2:29-30] "Now, O Lord, let Your servant depart in peace, according to Your word;

for my eyes have seen Your salvation." We must strive, therefore, as Solomon says, to open our eyes that we may be satisfied with bread; "Open your eyes," he says, "and be satisfied with bread." What I have said on the text, "They believe the Scripture and the word which Jesus had said to them," may lead us to understand, after discussing the subject of faith, that the perfection of our faith will be given us at the great resurrection from the dead of the whole body of Jesus which is His Holy Church. For what is said about knowledge, "Now I know in part," [1 Corinthians 13:12] that, I think, may be said in the same way of every other good; and one of these others is faith. "Now I believe in part," we may say, "but when that which is perfect has come, then the faith which is in part will be done away." As with knowledge, so with faith, that which is through sight is far better, if I may say so, than that which is through a glass and in an enigma.

28. The Difference Between Believing in the Name of Jesus and Believing in Jesus Himself.

"Now, when He was in Jerusalem at the passover, during the feast, many believed in His name, beholding His signs which He did. But He, Jesus, did not trust Himself to them, because He knew all (men) and because He needed not that any should testify of man, for he Himself knew what was in man." One might ask how Jesus did not Himself believe in those of whom we are told that they believed. To this we must say it was not those who believed in Him that Jesus did not trust, but those who believed in His name; for believing in His name is a different thing from believing in Him. He who will not be judged because of his faith is exempted from the judgment, not for believing in His name, but for believing in Him; for the Lord says, [John 3:18] "He that believes in Me is not judged," not, "He who believes in My name is not judged;" the latter believes, and hence he is not worthy to be condemned already, but he is inferior to the other who believes in Him. Hence it is that Jesus does not trust Himself to him who believes in His name. We must, therefore, cleave to Him rather than to His name, lest after we have done wonders in His name, we should hear these words addressed to us which He will speak to those who boast of His name alone. [Matthew 7:21-23] With the Apostle Paul [Philippians 4:13] let us seek joyfully to say, "I can do all things in Christ Jesus strengthening me." We have also to notice that in a former passage [John 2:13] the Evangelist calls the passover that of the Jews, while here he does not say that Jesus was at the passover of the Jews, but at the passover at Jerusalem; and in the former case when the passover is called that of the Jews, it is not said to be a feast; but here Jesus is recorded to have been at the feast; when at Jerusalem He was at the passover during the feast, and many believed, even though only in His name. We ought to notice certainly that "many" are said to believe, not in Him, but in His name. Now, those who believe in Him are those who walk in the straight and narrow way, [Matthew 7:14] which leads to life, and which is found by few. It may well be, however, that many of those who believe in His name will sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, the Father's house, in which are many mansions. And it is to be noted that the many who believe in His name do not believe in the same way as Andrew does, and Peter, and Nathanael, and Philip. These believe the testimony of John when he says, "Behold the Lamb of God," or they believe in Christ as found by Andrew, or Jesus saying to Philip, "Follow Me," or Philip saying, "We have found Him of whom Moses and the prophets did write, Jesus the Son of Joseph from Nazareth." Those, on the other hand, of whom we now speak, "believed in His name, beholding His signs which He did." And as they believe the signs and not in Him but in His name, Jesus "did not trust Himself to them, because He knew all men, and needed not that any should testify of man, because He knew what is in every man."

29. About What Beings Jesus Needed Testimony. The words, "He needed not that any should testify of man," may fitly be used to show that the Son of God is able of Himself to see the truth about each man and is in no need of such testimony as any other could supply. The words, however, "He had no need that any should testify of man," are not equivalent to "He had no need of testimony about any being." If we take the word "man" to include every being who is according to the image of God, or every reasonable creature, then He will have no need that any should testify to Him of any reasonable being whatever, since He Himself, by the power given Him by the Father, knows them all. But if the term "man" be restricted to mortal animated reasonable beings, then it might be said, on the one hand, that He had need of testimony respecting the beings above man, and while His knowledge was adequate with regard to man it did not extend to those other beings. On the other hand, however, it might be said that He who humbled Himself had no need that any should testify to Him concerning man, but that He had such need in respect of beings higher than men.

30. How Jesus Knew the Powers, Better or Worse, Which Reside in Man.

It may also be asked what signs those many saw Him do who believed on Him, for it is not recorded that He did any signs at Jerusalem, though some may have been done which are not recorded. One may, however, consider if what He did may be called signs, when He made a scourge of small cords, and cast them all out of the temple, and the sheep, and the oxen, and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables. As for those who suppose that it was only about men that He had no need of witnesses, it has to be said that the Evangelist attributes to Him two things, that He knew all beings, and that He had no need that any one should testify of man. If He knew all beings, then He knew not only men but the beings above men, all beings who are without such bodies as ours; and He knew what was in man, since He was greater than those who reproved and judged by prophesying, and who brought to the light the secret things of the hearts of those whom the Spirit suggested to them to be thus dealt with. The words, "He knew what was in man," could also be taken as referring to the powers, better or worse, which work in men. For if any one gives place to the devil, Satan enters into him; thus did Judas give place, and thus did the devil put it in his heart to betray Jesus, and "after the sop," therefore, "the devil entered into him." [John 13:2-27] But if any one gives place to God, he becomes blessed; for blessed is the man whose help is from God, and the ascent is in his heart from God. You know what is in man, Thou who know all things, O Son of God. And now that our tenth book has come to be large enough we will here pause in our theme.

Commentary on John - Book 13

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Perhaps it might have seemed to you, most godly and devout Ambrosius, that the discourse concerning the Samaritan woman should not be interrupted, so that a part of it would be in the twelfth volume, and the rest in the thirteenth. But since I see that the twelfth volume of the exegesis has received a sufficient outline, it seemed good to us to conclude the discourse about the Samaritan woman concerning the well mentioned by her, as Jacob gave it and drank from it himself, along with his sons and his livestock, so that we may begin the thirteenth from the response of our Lord to her.

[John 4:13-14] Jesus answered and said to her: "Everyone who drinks of this water will thirst again; but whoever drinks of the water that I will give him will become in him a spring of water welling up to eternal life."

Jesus responds this second time to the Samaritan woman, previously saying: "If you knew the gift of God and who it is that says to you, 'Give me to drink,' you would have asked him, and he would have given you living water," and now, as encouraging her to ask for the living water, he says the preceding words. And at the former instance, the Samaritan woman did not speak but was puzzled about the comparison of the waters; after the Lord's second response, having accepted what was said, she says: "Give me this water." It is likely a principle that no one receives the divine gift who does not ask for it. Even the Savior himself, through the Psalm, is urged by the Father to ask, so that He may bestow it upon Him, as the Son teaches us by saying: "The Lord said to me: You are my Son; ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession"; and the Savior says: "Ask, and it will be given to you"; "for everyone who asks receives." The Samaritan woman is indeed persuaded to ask Jesus for water, being, as we mentioned, a representation of the opinion of those heterodox concerning the divine Scriptures, when she hears about the comparison of both waters. And observe from the things she suffered how, although drinking from the well she considered deep, she did not find rest nor was she freed from her thirst.

Let us see, then, what is meant by "Everyone who drinks from this water will thirst again." For from the words "to thirst" and "to hunger" in the physical sense, two things are indicated: one, in that we need food, being emptied and desiring it, or drink when the liquid within us depletes; another, in that often the poor and those in want of necessities say they are sated with hunger or thirst. And indeed, a testimony of the former is in Exodus, when, being in want of foods, "on the nineteenth day of the second month after they had come out of the land of Egypt, the whole congregation of the sons of Israel grumbled against Moses and Aaron. And the sons of Israel said to them, 'If only we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the pots of meat and ate bread to the full, for you have brought us out into this wilderness to kill this whole congregation with hunger.' And the Lord spoke to Moses, 'Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you, and the

people shall go out and gather a day's portion every day, that I may test them, whether they will walk in my law or not.'" For those who were hungry and in want of necessary food, as far as the words permit. But also when in want of water and being thirsty, they grumbled against Moses, saying, "What shall we drink?" when "Moses cried to the Lord, and the Lord showed him a piece of wood, and he threw it into the water, and the water became sweet." And shortly after, when they came to Rephidim, it is written that "the people thirsted there for water, and the people grumbled against Moses." An example of the second meaning can be found in Paul, who says, "To the present hour we hunger and thirst and we are poorly clothed." Therefore, the first, to hunger and to thirst, necessarily happens to healthy bodies; the second occurs to the indigent. One must therefore inquire from "Everyone who drinks from this water will thirst again" what kind of "thirst" is being mentioned; first in the physical sense, or possibly what is implied, that even if for the present one is sated, but as soon as the drink subsides, the one who drank will experience the same condition again, that is, will thirst again, being restored to the state like at the beginning. He then adds, "But whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him will become in him a fountain of water springing up into everlasting life." But who, possessing a fountain within himself, will be able to thirst?

However, what is previously indicated would be such: he who partakes of what is considered the depth of words, even if he pauses for a little while, having received as the deepest concepts that seem to be stirring and discovered, yet again coming upon them a second time, will be perplexed regarding these, as many times as he paused over them, since the supposed depth cannot provide a clear and distinct comprehension of the matters sought after. Therefore, even if someone is seized and complies with the persuasiveness of the words, he will still find later that the same perplexity remains within him, which he had before learning certain things; but I have such a discourse, so that the fountain of the life-giving drink arises in the one who receives the words announced by me; and to such an extent will the one who has taken my water be benefited, that a fountain yielding all that is sought springs up in him with waters leaping upwards, with the mind springing and flying swiftly in accordance with this quick-moving water, carrying him with its leaps and bounds to the higher place, to eternal life. He says that the end of the leaping water is eternal life, just as Solomon, speaking of the bridegroom in the Song of Songs, says, "Behold, he comes leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills." For just as there the bridegroom leaps upon the mountains, which are called the nobler and more divine souls, and skips upon the lesser ones, called hills, so here the fountain that arises in the one who drinks of the water given by Jesus leaps up to eternal life. Perhaps it will also leap after eternal life to the Father beyond eternal life; for Christ is life; the one greater than Christ is greater than life. Then the one who drinks of the water that Jesus will give will have the fountain of water springing up into eternal life, when the promise made to those who hunger and thirst for righteousness is fulfilled. For the Word says, "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be filled." And perhaps since it is necessary to hunger and thirst for righteousness before being filled, it is required to instill the hunger and the thirst in order to say, "As the deer longs for the springs of water, so my soul longs for you, O God. My soul thirsts for the strong, living God; when shall I come and appear before the face of God?" Therefore, to thirst, it is good first to drink from the spring of Jacob, not calling it similarly to the Samaritan woman a well. For the Savior even now, addressing her word, does not say that the water is from a well, but simply says, "Whoever drinks of this water will thirst again." If it were not beneficial to drink from the spring, neither would Jesus

have sat by the spring, nor would He have said to the Samaritan woman, "Give me a drink." It is to be observed, then, that Jesus promising to provide the water to the Samaritan woman did so not from another place but from the spring, saying to her, "Go call your husband and come here."

Furthermore, we will understand if the combination of associating and combining with the truth and the scriptures produce a different kind of benefit from what is assumed, when the one who drinks from the spring of Jacob thirsts again, but the one who drinks from the water which Jesus gives has a spring of water within himself welling up to eternal life. For indeed, some of the most principal and divine mysteries of God have not been enclosed in scripture, and some not even in human speech according to the common significations of the words or human language. "For there are also many other things which Jesus did; if they were written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that would be written." John, intending to write what the seven thunders spoke, was prevented; but Paul says he heard inexpressible words which it is not lawful for a man to utter. These words it was lawful for angels to speak, but not for men. "All things are lawful, but not all things are expedient." What Paul heard were "inexpressible words, which it is not lawful for a man to speak." I believe that all the scriptures are minor elements and brief introductions to the totality of knowledge, even if they are understood very precisely. Therefore, consider whether the well of Jacob, from which Jacob once drank–but no longer drinks now– and also his sons drank from it–but now they have a better drink than that–, and their livestock drank from it too, can be considered all of scripture, and the water of Jesus is "beyond what is written." Not everyone is permitted to investigate what is beyond what is written, unless they become like them, so that they may not be reproached by hearing "Do not seek what is too difficult for you, and do not investigate what is beyond your strength." If we say that what is "beyond what is written" exists, we are not saying that it could be known to the many, but to John who heard and was not permitted to write them, like the utterances of the thunders, and learned them and did not write them because he considered that even the world itself could not contain the books that would be written. But also what Paul learned, "unspeakable words," "beyond what is written," if indeed what is written is spoken by men; and "what no eye has seen" is beyond what is written, and "what no ear has heard" cannot be written. And the things that have not entered into the heart of man are greater than the well of Jacob, revealed from a spring of water welling up to eternal life to those who no longer have the heart of man, but can say "we have the mind of Christ," "that we might know the things that are freely given to us by God, which we also speak not in words taught by human wisdom but in those taught by the Spirit." And consider whether it is possible to not call human wisdom false doctrines, but the elementary principles of truth, still coming to men; and the teachings of the Spirit perhaps are the spring of water welling up to eternal life. Therefore, the scriptures are introductions, from which, having accurately comprehended them, now named the well of Jacob, we must go up to Jesus, so that he may grant us a spring of water welling up to eternal life. Not everyone draws alike from the well of Jacob; for if Jacob drank from it, and his sons and his livestock, and the Samaritan woman, who still was thirsty, came to it and drew from it, perhaps Jacob and his sons drank otherwise, with knowledge; and his livestock drank otherwise, more simply and brutishly; and the Samaritan woman drank otherwise than Jacob and his sons and his livestock. For the wise according to the scriptures drink like Jacob and his sons; and the simpler and more innocent ones, the so-called "sheep of Christ," drink like the livestock of Jacob; and those who distort the scriptures and introduce certain slanders on the pretext of understanding them drink like the Samaritan woman did before believing in Jesus.

[John 4:15] The woman says to him, "Sir, give me this water, so that I may not thirst, nor come here to draw."

Already, for the second time, the Samaritan woman addresses the Savior as "Lord"; the first time when she says, "Sir, you have nothing to draw with, and the well is deep," when she inquires where he has the living water from, and whether he is greater than her patriarch Jacob. Now, she asks specifically for the water that becomes a spring within the drinker, welling up to eternal life. And if the saying, "You would have asked him, and he would have given you living water," is true, it is clear that when she says, "Give me this water," she receives the living water so that she may no longer struggle with thirst and may not need to come to Jacob's well to draw water, but without Jacob's water, she may be able to behold the truth angelically and beyond human capacity. For indeed, the angels do not need Jacob's well to drink, but each has within himself a spring of water springing up to eternal life, produced and revealed by the Logos and wisdom itself. Nevertheless, it is not possible to accommodate another water apart from the water from Jacob's well without diligently attending to the act of drawing and thirsting; thereby, many lack this refined practice of drawing from Jacob's well.

[John 4:16-17] He said to her, "Go, call your husband and come here." The woman answered and said, "I have no husband."

We also mentioned earlier the ruler of the soul, the law, to which each person subjects themselves, is considered the husband. Now, even from the Apostle's letter to the Romans, we will provide this testimony, saying: "Or do you not know, brothers—for I speak to those who know the law—that the law has dominion over a person as long as they live?" Who then lives? Taking the law in general, the law. Then he immediately says, "For the married woman is bound by the law to her living husband," as if he were saying, "to her living husband, who is the law." Then again, he says, "But if the husband dies, she is released from the law of the husband," as if the woman were released upon the death of the law, and her obligations as a wife to a husband no longer apply. Then he says, "So then, if while her husband lives she marries another man, she will be called an adulteress; but if the husband dies, she is free from the law, so that she is not an adulteress if she marries another man." The law, therefore, has died according to the letter, and the soul is not an adulteress when it marries another, the law according to the spirit. But if the husband has died, the wife might somehow be said to be dead to the husband, so that we understand it this way: "So, my brothers, you also were put to death in the law through the body of Christ, that you may belong to another, to Him who was raised from the dead, in order that we might bear fruit for God." If, then, the husband is the law, and the Samaritan woman has some husband, having subjected herself according to a certain law, according to which each of the heterodox wishes to live, the divine word intends to expose the ruler of that heterodox soul, who is her law, in order that she despise him as not being a lawful husband and seek another husband, to belong to another, to the resurrected Logos, who neither can be overturned nor will die, but remains eternal and subjugates all enemies, for "Christ, having been raised from the dead, will never die again; death no longer has dominion over him. For the death he died, he died to sin once for all; but the life he lives, he lives to God, being at His right hand until all His enemies are made a footstool for His feet." Where, then, should the supposed husband of the Samaritan be exposed as not being her husband if not at Jacob's well by Jesus, unless the woman herself rejected the husband? Therefore, Jesus said to her, "Go, call your husband and come here." As if she already had something of the water that leaps into

eternal life by saying, "Give me this water," and relying on the truthful promise that "You would have asked him, and he would have given you living water," the woman answered, condemning herself for her association with such a husband, and said, "I have no husband."

[John 4:17-18] Jesus said to her, "You have correctly said, 'I have no husband'; for you have had five husbands, and the one whom you now have is not your husband; this you have said truly."

I think that every soul introduced into piety in Christ through the scriptures, beginning from the sensory and bodily matters mentioned, holds the five husbands as representatives of each of the senses, being a certain husband of each. But when, after associating with the sensory, someone desires and turns towards the intellectual, encountering rationality under the guise of allegory and unhealthy spiritual matters, this person, after the five husbands, comes to another, giving, so to speak, a divorce to the former five and deciding to coexist with the sixth. And as long as Jesus has not come to make us aware of such a man, we are united with that one; but when the Lord's word comes and converses with us, denying that man, we say, "I have no husband"; and the Lord praises us, saying, "You have correctly said, 'I have no husband.'" The phrase "This you have said truly" is somewhat reproachful, as the former things said by her were not truly stated. And perhaps it was not true that "Jews do not associate with Samaritans." For Jesus himself, as we have said earlier, associates with Samaritans to benefit them as well. It is also not true that "You have nothing to draw with, and the well is deep." Perhaps it is also not true that "Jacob drank from the well, and his sons and his livestock." For if Jacob and his sons and his livestock did not drink in the same manner as the Samaritan woman, but the Samaritan woman thinks that Jacob and his sons and his livestock drank entirely the same and identical drink, it is clear that she is lying.

Let us also consider the words of Heracleon regarding these matters, who says that that life and the glory associated with it were weak, temporary, and ceasing; for he says it was worldly; and he thinks he provides proof of it being worldly from the fact that the livestock of Jacob drank from it. And if indeed he took partial knowledge as weak, temporary, and deficient, namely the knowledge obtained from the Scriptures by comparison of ineffable sayings, "which it is not lawful for a man to speak," or all the knowledge that now comes "through a mirror dimly," being abolished when the perfect comes, we would not have blamed it. But if he does this to slander the old, he should be reproached. The water that the Savior gives, he says, is from his Spirit and his power, not lying. And to "he shall never thirst" he renders thus in these words: "For his life is eternal and never-perishing, unlike the first which is from the well, but remaining; for the grace and the gift of our Savior is irrevocable and not consumed nor corrupted in the one who partakes of it." But calling the first life perishable, if he meant according to the letter, seeking the removal of the veil done according to the spirit, and finding, he would speak correctly; but if he categorically accuses the old of corruption, it is clear he does this as one not seeing the good things of the future have their shadow there. Not improbably did he narrate the "leaping" and those partaking of what is abundantly supplied from above and also themselves gushing forth into others' eternal life what was provided to them. But he also praises the Samaritan woman as having revealed her indiscriminate and by nature suitable faith, not doubting what was said to her. Therefore, if he accepted the intention, not hinting anything about a differing nature, we would also agree; but if he attributes the cause of the agreement to the natural construction as if it is not present in all, his statement must be overturned. I do not know how Heracleon, taking the unrecorded, says that in regards to "Give me this water," having been briefly instructed by the Word, she henceforth hated

both the place and the so-called living water. Furthermore, concerning "Give me this water, so that I may not thirst nor come here to draw," he says that the woman says these things showing the toilsome, difficult, and inadequate nature of that water. For where does he have the evidence to show that the water of Jacob is without stain? Moreover, Heracleon says concerning the phrase "He said to her," it is clear that saying something like this, "If you want to receive this water, go call your husband," he supposes that the man mentioned by the Savior is her fullness, so that being with him, she might be able to obtain from the Savior the power, the union, and the mingling towards her fullness. For, he says, He did not tell her to call a man of the world, since He was not unaware that she did not have a lawful husband. Obviously, he is overreaching here, saying that the Savior told her, "Call your husband and come here," meaning the spouse from the fullness. For if this were so, he ought to have said who the man was and in what manner he should be called, so that she might be with him before the Savior. But since, as Heracleon says, she did not recognize her own man in the intelligible sense, and in the simplistic sense was ashamed to say that she had a lover and not a husband, how is not his command, "Go, call your husband and come here," void? Then he says further to this, "You have rightly said that you have no husband," since the Samaritan woman did not have a husband in the world, for her husband was in the aeon. We, however, have read, "You have had five husbands," but in Heracleon's text, we found, "You have had six husbands." And he interprets that all material evil is indicated by the six husbands, with whom she had been entangled and associated unlawfully, fornicating and being violated and rejected by them. One must say to him that if the spiritual was fornicating, the spiritual was sinning; if the spiritual was sinning, the spiritual was not a good tree; for according to the gospel, "A good tree cannot bear bad fruit." And it is clear that their myth-making falls apart. If it is impossible for the good tree to bear bad fruit, and the Samaritan woman, as a spiritual being, was a good tree, it follows to say that either her fornication was not a sin, or she did not fornicate.

[John 4:19-20] The woman said to Him, "Lord, I perceive that You are a prophet. Our fathers worshiped on this mountain, and you Jews say that in Jerusalem is the place where one ought to worship." For the third time the Samaritan woman calls our Savior "Lord" when it is lastly written that she spoke this to Him; but she does not yet consider Him greater than the prophets, nor the prophesied one, but some prophet. And even the heterodox opinion of those muddling with the scriptures, refuted by her by the earlier five husbands and the one left afterward by her believed to be a man, could not initially recognize what He is, says He is a prophet, as if something divine and having something superior to human, yet not as great as He was. Hence, she says, as if she somehow saw with new vision and assumed in contemplation, "I perceive that you are a prophet." To this, "Our fathers" and what follows must be understood as the Samaritan's difference with the Jews concerning their considered holy place; for the Samaritans, believing the called Mount Gerizim to be holy, worship God there, as Moses remembers in Deuteronomy thus saying, "And Moses commanded the people on that day, saying: ‘These shall stand on Mount Gerizim to bless the people when you have crossed over the Jordan: Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin; and these shall stand on Mount Ebal for the curse: Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali.’" But the Jews, believing Zion to be a divine and proper place of God, think that it is the chosen place by the Father of all, and for this reason, they say the temple was built there by Solomon and all the Levitical and priestly services are performed there. Consequently, each nation has taken it upon themselves, according to their beliefs, that the fathers worshiped God on this or that mountain. And if ever the Samaritans and the Jews condescended to debate with each other,

each would interrogate the other, and the Samaritan would say to the Jew the recorded words of the woman: "Our fathers worshiped on this mountain," pointing to Mount Gerizim, "but you say that in Jerusalem is the place where one ought to worship." But since the Jews, from whom salvation comes, are pictures of those who possess sound reasoning, and the Samaritans of the heterodox, the Samaritans therefore venerate Mount Gerizim, which is interpreted as "cutting or division"—and from the historical cutting and division of the ten tribes separated from the remaining two that occurred during the times of Jeroboam, whose name means "judgment of the people." The Jews, however, venerate Zion, which means "watchtower." It is reasonable to question why the blessings of Moses happened on Mount Gerizim. It must be said in this respect that since the name Gerizim signifies cutting and division, the aspect of cutting is taken to mean when the people were divided by Jeroboam and the king dwelt in Samaria; the aspect of division applies to the blessing of the wise who divide matters precisely for understanding each issue, which is necessary for the understanding of truth. Therefore, as long as the hour spoken of by the Lord has not yet come, when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will they worship the Father, one must avoid the mountain of the Samaritans and worship God in Zion, where Jerusalem is, which is said to be the city of the great king, Christ. What is the city of the great king, the true Jerusalem, but the church built of living stones, where the sanctuary is holy, spiritual sacrifices are offered to God by those who are spiritual and understand the spiritual law? But when the fullness of time comes, then it must not be supposed that true worship and perfect piety will be performed in Jerusalem any longer, when someone is no longer in the flesh but in the spirit and no longer in type but wholly in truth, being made in such a way as to resemble those worshippers whom God seeks.

Twice it is written "The hour is coming," and in the first instance it is not added "And now is," but in the second instance, the evangelist says, "But the hour is coming and now is." And I think the former signifies the worship outside bodies to be consummated in perfection, and the latter the progress towards perfection as far as human nature allows in this life. Therefore, it is possible to worship the Father in spirit and truth when not only "the hour is coming" but "it now is," even if we think it happens in Jerusalem for those who have reached only so far. Hence, when it is written, "The hour is coming and now is," it is no longer said, "Neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father," as it was said where "The hour is coming" is written without "And now is." Yet still, the Samaritan woman has a similar mistaken belief as the one about the supposed well when she says these things. "Is it that you are greater," she says, "than our father Jacob, who gave us the well and drank from it himself, as well as his sons and his livestock?" And here, "Our fathers worshiped on this mountain."

Heracleon says that in these very words the Samaritan woman has properly acknowledged the things spoken to her by him: for he says it belongs to a prophet alone to know everything; but he is doubly false: for angels are also capable of knowing such things, and a prophet does not know everything; "For we know in part and we prophesy in part," even if we prophesy or know. After this, he praises the Samaritan woman for acting according to her nature, neither lying nor openly confessing her own disgrace; he says she is convinced that he is a prophet, asking him at the same time to reveal the cause for which she committed adultery, due to her ignorance of God and neglect of the worship according to God and all the necessities of life for her, and otherwise always being involved in worldly things; for he says she would not have come to the well outside

the city otherwise. I do not know how he thought to indicate the cause of her having committed adultery, or that ignorance became the cause of her transgressions and the worship according to God; but it seems he has made these statements without any probability. He adds to these things: that seeking to learn how and by whom she might please and worship God, and be freed from adulterous behavior, she says, "Our fathers worshiped on this mountain," and the following. But what has been said is very easily refutable; for whence is it that she wants to learn by whom she might please and be freed from adulterous behavior?

[John 4:21] Jesus said to her, "Believe me, woman, that the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father." When it seemed most likely that Heracleon had observed in these words that it was not said to her previously, "Believe me, woman," but now this was commanded to her, then he obscured the plausible observation, saying that the mountain refers to the devil or to his world, since the devil, he said, was a part of the whole matter, while the world is the entirety of wickedness, a deserted dwelling place of beasts, to which all who were before the law and the Gentiles worshipped. But Jerusalem represents creation or the Creator, whom the Jews worshipped. But also secondly, he thought that the mountain referred to creation which the Gentiles worshipped, whereas Jerusalem referred to the Creator whom the Jews served. Therefore, he said, you, as if the spiritual ones, will worship neither creation nor the creator but rather the Father of truth; and indeed, he includes her, he said, as already faithful and included among those who truly worship. But we understand the pseudo-religion of the Gnostics and those called by seemingly high-sounding names among the heterodox to be clearly shown by the "Neither on this mountain," while the canon according to the majority of the church, which the perfect and holy one will surpass, worshipping the Father more theoretically, clearly, and divinely, is shown by the "Neither in Jerusalem will you worship the Father." For as even the Jews would confess, the angels do not worship the Father in Jerusalem, the place superior to worshipping the Father in Jerusalem, thus those who have already attained the angelic disposition will not worship the Father in Jerusalem, but rather better than those in Jerusalem, even if they accompany those in Jerusalem out of consideration for them, becoming Jews to the Jews so that they might win over the Jews. Let Jerusalem be understood by me as we have previously stated, and likewise the Jews. However, when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem anyone will worship, the hour having come, a son born with boldness will worship the Father. Therefore, it was not said, "Neither in Jerusalem will you worship God," but rather, "Neither in Jerusalem will you worship the Father."

[John 4:22] You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. The "you," in terms of the literal word, refers to the Samaritans; in terms of higher interpretation, it refers to the heterodox in relation to the scriptures. But the "we," in the literal sense, is the Jews; in the allegorical sense, it is I, the Word, and those formed according to me, holding salvation from the Jewish words; for the revealed mystery has now been manifested through the prophetic scriptures and the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. But see whether Heracleon did not, on his own, and beyond the sequence of the words, interpret the "you" in place of "the Jews and the Gentiles." For how can it be said to a Samaritan, "You Jews," or to a Samaritan, "You Gentiles?" Yet the heterodox do not know what they worship, for it is a fabrication and not truth, both myth and not mysteries; but one who worships the Creator, especially according to the inner Jew and the spiritual words of the Jews, worships what he knows. It would be too lengthy now to present Heracleon's words, taken from the so-called "Preaching of Peter,"

and to stand examining them and whether the book is genuine, spurious, or mixed; thus, willingly passing over them, marking only that he attributes to Peter the teaching that one ought not worship according to the Greeks, accepting and serving material things and worshipping wood and stones, nor according to the Jews, as even they, thinking they alone know God, are ignorant of Him, worshipping angels and the moon and the sun. Yet it needs to be inquired, in regard to truth, to whom the bodily worship was conducted by the Jews; for it is evident that it was set before them to offer sacrifices to the Creator of all. It is also worth seeing what is written in the Acts of the Apostles: "But God turned and gave them up to worship the host of heaven." I do not understand how, with the Savior declaring openly that "salvation is from the Jews," the heterodox deny the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, the fathers of the Jews. Moreover, if the Savior fulfills the law and in order to fulfill the things written in the prophets such and such happen according to the coming of the Lord, how is it not clear in what way "salvation is from the Jews?" For the same God is of Jews and Gentiles, "if indeed God is one, who will justify the circumcised by faith and the uncircumcised through faith." For we do not nullify the law through faith, but rather we uphold the law through it.

[John 4:23] But the hour is coming and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth.

Those who do not at all profess to worship the Father should not even be called worshipers of God; but among all those who profess to worship the Creator, if they no longer walk in the flesh but in the spirit, and walk by the spirit and do not fulfill the desires of the flesh, these should be called true worshipers, those who worship the Father in spirit and not in flesh, and in truth and not in pretense. And one who is enslaved by the letter that kills, and has not partaken of the spirit that gives life, nor follows the spiritual aspects of the law, this one would be the untrue worshiper who does not worship the Father in spirit; and this very one, being wholly of the form and the bodily, when he seems to be succeeding most fully, then worships God in form and not in truth, thus being unable to be called a true worshiper. Perhaps it has ever been reasonably granted for the true worshiper, worshiping in spirit and truth, to also perform some formal acts, in order that by liberating those enslaved to the form in the most prudent manner from the forms, he may bring them to truth, as Paul seems to have done with Timothy, and perhaps also in Cenchreae and Jerusalem, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. It must be observed that the true worshipers worship the Father in spirit and in truth not only at the future hour but also at the present hour. But those who worship in spirit, as they have received the spirit’s earnest, worship presently, but in the fullness of the spirit, when they will possess all the spirit, they will worship the Father. If the one who sees through a mirror does not see the truth, as this is shown to those skilled in mirrors, Paul and those like him now see through a mirror, it is evident that as they see, so they worship God, and through a mirror, they worship God; but when the time comes which follows the present time, then worship will be in the truth "face to face" and no longer seen through a mirror. However, Heracleon thinks that "We worship" refers to the one in the age and those who came with him; for these, he says, knew whom they worshiped, worshiping in truth. But also the statement "For salvation is from the Jews" is said because it happened in Judea, but not through themselves—for not all of them were in favor—and because from that nation salvation and the word went out to the world. According to the understanding, salvation being from the Jews was told since they are considered images of those in His fullness. It was necessary for him and those from him to show

how each of those in worship is an image of those in the fullness if indeed they say this not only by voice but also genuinely believe this. Additionally, he says, explaining "Worshiping God in spirit and in truth," that the former worshipers worshiped in flesh and in error to the not-Father, so, according to him, all those who worshiped the Creator were mistaken. And Heracleon adds that they served the creation, and not the true Creator, who is Christ if indeed "All things were made through Him, and without Him was not anything made."

[John 4:23] For the Father seeks such as these to worship Him.

If the Father seeks, He seeks through the Son who has come to seek and save the lost, whom He equips as true worshippers by cleansing and instructing them with the word and sound doctrines. Heracleon says that what belongs to the Father is lost in the deep forest of error, which is sought so that the Father may be worshipped by His own. Therefore, if he had seen the parable about the lost sheep and the son who fell away from the Father's sons, we might have accepted his narration. But since those of his belief create myths and do not clearly demonstrate to us anything definite about the loss of the spiritual nature, nor do they teach us anything clear about the times or ages before its loss—for they are unable to make their argument clear—therefore we willingly dismiss them, questioning them at this point.

[John 4:24] God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and in truth

Many have spoken many things about God and His essence, so that some have said that He is of a physical, subtle, and ethereal nature, while others have said He is bodiless, and others beyond essence in dignity and power. It is worthy for us to see if we have grounds from the divine scriptures to say something about the essence of God. Here indeed, it is said that His essence is spirit; "For God is spirit," it says; and in the law, "fire"; for it is written, "Our God is a consuming fire"; and by John, "light"; "For God," it says, "is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all." If then we hear these more simply, without involving ourselves beyond the term, it is time for us to say that God is a body; but which incongruities this statement entails is not for the many to know; for few have grasped the nature of bodies, and especially those ordered by reason and providence; yet those who say that what foresees is of the same essence with the things foreseen generally, assert it to be perfect but like the foreseen. Those who wish God to be a body accepted all these things in their argument absurdly, as they cannot withstand those who clearly demonstrate by reason. With the exception of those who declare a fifth nature of bodies apart from the elements, I say these things. But if every body has a material nature, by its own account, it happens to be devoid of qualities, changeable, and alterable, and wholly variable, and bearing qualities which the creator may wish to impart upon it, then it is necessary that God, being material, would also be changeable, alterable, and variable. And those, indeed, are not ashamed to say that He is mortal, being a body, a spiritual and ethereal body, especially in His ruling aspect; they say that, though being mortal, He does not die because there is not a destroyer of Him. But we, because we do not see the consequences, if we say that this is a body and because of the scripture such a body, consuming spirit and fire and light, rejecting what necessarily follows from these, we will behave disgracefully like fools and speak against the clear facts. For every fire that needs nourishment is perishable, and every spirit, if we take spirit in the simplest sense as a body, is subject to transformation to a denser state according to its own nature. Therefore, it is time either to accept these many absurdities and blasphemies concerning God by adhering to the words, or to examine,

as we also do with many other matters, what can be meant by saying that God is spirit or fire or light. And first it must be said that, just as we find eyes and eyelids and ears, hands and arms and feet written concerning God, and even wings, we take the written things allegorically, ignoring those who attribute a human-like form to God and rightly doing so. Similarly, with regard to the mentioned names, we must do the following as it is clear from the more practical aspect: "For God is light," according to John, "and in him there is no darkness at all."

Let us then examine how it is possible to understand him as light more intelligibly as far as we can. For the term "light" is used in two ways, both physical and spiritual, which is intellectually perceived and, as the scriptures might say, invisible, as the Greeks might call it incorporeal. And as for the physical example acknowledged by those who accept the history, "And for all the children of Israel, there was light in all their dwellings;" and the intellectual and spiritual example is in one of the twelve, "Sow for yourselves in righteousness, reap in the fruit of life, enlighten for yourselves with the light of knowledge." Similarly, "darkness" will also be spoken of in an analogous manner. And the more commonly spoken example, "And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night;" and the intellectual, "The people sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death, light has risen upon them." With these things being thus, it is worth considering what is fitting for us to think about God being called light, in whom there is no darkness. For does God enlighten the physical eyes or the intellectual ones, about which the prophet also says, "Enlighten my eyes, lest I sleep unto death"? I think it is evident to everyone that we would not say that God is doing the work of the sun, assigning to another to enlighten the eyes of those not sleeping unto death. Therefore, God enlightens the mind of those He deems worthy of His enlightenment. And if He is enlightening the mind according to what is said, "The Lord is my light," it is necessary for us to consider Him being intellectual, invisible, and immaterial as light. Perhaps also as a consuming fire, it seems that He is immaterial, consuming things like wood, grass, and straw. And if the wood, grass, and straw are intellectual, perhaps the consuming fire of such material is God, said to be a consuming fire. And it is fitting for the Lord to consume and destroy such things, from which pains and sufferings arise, not from physical contact, but in the ruling parts, where the structure worthy of being consumed is established. Therefore, God is called light, having been transferred from bodily light to invisible and incorporeal light, and is thus called because of the power to enlighten intellectual eyes. He is also called fire, consuming, understood from bodily fire and that which consumes such matter.

Similarly, it seems to me regarding "God is spirit"; for since in the ordinary and generally called life, by the blowing of the air around us, the so-called more bodily breath of life, we are quickened by the spirit, I suppose that from that the spirit is called God, leading us to true life. For the spirit, according to scripture, is said to quicken, obviously not the ordinary but the more divine quickening. For the letter kills and brings death, not the separation of the soul from the body, but the separation of the soul from God and from its Lord, and from the Holy Spirit. Perhaps we should also understand "You will receive their spirit, and they will pass away" and "You will send forth your spirit and they will be created, and you will renew the face of the earth" better regarding this spirit if we assumed that he who is deprived of the divine spirit becomes earthly, and having made himself fit to receive it and having received it, he will be recreated and, being recreated, saved. Such would it be if he "breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul," so that we may understand both the inspiration and the breath of life and the life of the soul spiritually.

Since the aforementioned power, as it were, having found the soul of the holy one to be a suitable dwelling place, imparts itself to it alone, so to speak, it must be considered written "I will dwell in them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." Yet we need more exercise in order to become perfect and to have our senses trained to discern both good and evil, truth and falsehood, and to contemplate intelligible things, so that we may be able to understand more carefully and fittingly, according to what is possible for human nature, how God is light and fire and spirit. Even in the third book of Kings, the spirit of the Lord coming to Elijah suggests something like this about God: "For he said: Go forth tomorrow and stand before the Lord on the mountain; behold, the Lord will pass by. And a great strong wind rent the mountains and broke in pieces the rocks before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind" – in other places we find: "in the wind of the Lord"; – "after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a still small voice"; and perhaps in those things that are necessary to be explained about the apprehension of the Lord, they are indicated through these things, which it is not the time to narrate now. But whom should we have expected to speak to us about what God is, other than the Son? "For no one knows the Father except the Son," so that we too, as the Son reveals, may know how God is spirit, and strive to worship God in the spirit that gives life and not in the letter that kills, and to revere him in truth, no longer with types nor shadows nor examples, just as neither do the angels serve God with examples and shadows as humans do, but with intelligible and heavenly things, having as their guide the high priest according to the order of Melchizedek for the service that is for the salvation of those who need it, and for the mystical and secret contemplation. However, as for the saying "God is Spirit," Heracleon says, for the divine nature is undefiled and pure and invisible. But I do not know if he has taught us these things on saying how God is Spirit; but thinking to clarify the phrase "those who worship must worship in spirit and truth," he says: suitably to the one who is worshipped spiritually, not carnally; for they too, being of the same nature as the Father, are spirit, who worship in truth and not in error, as also the apostle teaches, calling such godliness reasonable service. But we must consider whether it is not exceedingly impious to say that those who worship God in spirit are of the same substance with the unbegotten and entirely blessed nature, whom Heracleon himself recently said had fallen, saying that the Samaritan woman, being of a spiritual nature, committed fornication. But those who say such things do not see that everything of the same substance is also receptive to the same things; but if the spiritual nature received fornication, being of the same substance * * * unholy and impious and godless consequences follow from their statement about God, and it is not safe even to imagine. But we, obeying the Savior who says, "The Father who sent me is greater than I," and for this reason not accepting the title "Good," which is proper and true and perfect, attributed to him, but referring it gratefully to the Father with reproof to the one who wants to overly glorify the Son, say that the Savior and the Holy Spirit exceed all creatures, not by comparison but by surpassing excellence, and so much or even more does he exceed the Father as he himself and the Holy Spirit exceed the rest, not of any kind of beings. For such glorification of the one who surpasses thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, and every name that is named not only in this age but also in the age to come, and also of holy angels and spirits and righteous souls, what need is there to say? Yet, exceeding these so great and so many in substance and preeminence and power and divinity – for he is a living Word – and in wisdom, he is in no way comparable to the Father. For he is an image of His goodness and a radiance not of God but of His glory and of His

eternal light, and a vapor not of the Father but of His power, and a pure emanation of His almighty glory, and an unblemished mirror of His activity, through which mirror Paul and Peter and those like them see God, saying, "He who has seen me has seen the Father who sent me."

[John 4:25] The woman said to him, "I know that Messiah is coming, who is called Christ. When he comes, he will tell us all things."

It is worthy to see how the Samaritan woman, accepting nothing beyond the Pentateuch of Moses, expects the coming of Christ as being proclaimed from the law only. And it is reasonable for them to hope from the blessing of Jacob to Judah, saying, “Judah, your brothers shall praise you; your hand shall be on the neck of your enemies; your father's sons shall bow down to you.” And shortly after, “The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until tribute comes to him; and to him shall be the obedience of the peoples.” It is also likely that from the prophecies of Balaam they themselves hope the same, saying, “A man shall come forth from his seed and he shall rule over many nations, and the kingdom of Gog shall be exalted, and his kingdom shall increase. God led him out of Egypt; he has the glory of a wild ox; he shall consume the nations of his enemies and break their bones in pieces, and pierce them with his arrows. He lay down, he rested like a lion, and like a lioness; who will rouse him? Blessed are those who bless you, and cursed are those who curse you.” And following this, Balaam himself says, “I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not near. A star shall come forth out of Jacob, and a man shall rise out of Israel; he shall crush the chiefs of Moab and break down all the sons of Sheth. Edom shall be a possession, and Esau a possession, his enemies. Israel will act valiantly. And one from Jacob shall have dominion and destroy the survivors of the city.” You may also consider whether Moses’ blessing to Judah is referred to Christ and might thus seem acceptable to the Samaritans, “Hear, O Lord, the voice of Judah, and bring him to his people; let his hands contend for him, and be a help against his adversaries.” Since the Samaritans boast Joseph as their patriarch, I suggest that perhaps both the blessing of Jacob to Joseph and that of Moses may be considered as referring to the presence of Christ; and whoever wishes may take the sayings directly from the text itself. And the Savior himself, knowing that Moses had written many prophecies about Christ, says to the Jews, “If you believed Moses, you would believe me; for he wrote about me.” Indeed, one can find many things written in the law that typologically and enigmatically refer to Christ; but at present, I see no others clearer and unambiguous than these. Messiah is called in Hebrew, which the seventy translated as “Christ”; but Aquila translated it as “Anointed.” Consider also the phrase, “When he comes, he will tell us everything”; whether this was said to the Samaritan woman from tradition or from the law. It should not be ignored that just as Jesus arose from the Jews, declaring and proving that he is Christ, so some Dositheus, arising from the Samaritans, claimed himself to be the prophesied Christ, from whom the Dositheans derive, carrying books attributed to Dositheus and narrating certain myths about him, such as that he has not tasted death but is somewhere alive. And these things pertain to the word. But the heterodox opinion at Jacob’s well, considered to be its well, regards this saying as a fuller understanding of Christ, “When he comes, he will tell us everything.” And the awaited and hoped-for one present with her says, “I, who speak to you, am he.” Consider also what Heracleon says; for he states that the church welcomed Christ and was convinced about him, that he alone knows everything.

[John 4:26-27] Jesus said to her, “I am he, the one speaking to you.” At that moment his disciples arrived. They were astonished that he was speaking with a woman. Nevertheless, none of them

said, “What are you seeking?” or “Why are you speaking with her?”

It should be considered whether Christ revealed himself and compared these things to one another like, “I am the one who testifies about myself, and the Father who sent me also testifies about me,” and further “If you believed Moses, you would believe me, for he wrote about me,” and any other similar statements in the Gospels. But let us learn from this saying that he is meek and humble in heart, not exalting himself in talking about such significant matters with a woman drawing water because of great poverty and fatigue coming to the city to draw water. The disciples were amazed when they arrived, having previously perceived the greatness of his divinity, and they marveled at how such a great one spoke with a woman. But we, driven by arrogance and pride, overlook the simpler people and forget that each person is made in the image and likeness of God, and forget the one who has formed the hearts of all humans individually and who understands all their works. We do not recognize that God is the one who humbles himself and is a helper of the needy, a supporter of the weak, a protector of the hopeless, and a savior of the desperate. It’s as if he even used this woman as an apostle to those in the city, having so much influenced her through his words that she left her water jar and went to the city to tell the people, “Come, see a man who told me everything I ever did. Could this be the Christ?” When they came out of the city and made their way to him, it is clear then and not later that the Word made himself known so clearly, causing the disciples to marvel if even this woman, being of lesser intellect and easily deceived, was deemed worthy to have a conversation with the Word. However, the disciples, convinced by the Word that all things are done well, did not criticize or discuss the inquiry towards the Samaritan woman and the conversation with her. Perhaps they were also astounded by the great kindness of the Word who condescended to a despised soul, Zion, trusting in the Mount of Samaria; therefore, it is written, “They were astonished that he was speaking with a woman.” And Heracleon also says about “I am he, the one speaking to you,” that when the Samaritan woman was persuaded about Christ that he would declare everything to her, he said, "Know that the one you are expecting, I am he, the one speaking to you." And when he acknowledged himself as the awaited one who had come, “The disciples came to him,” it says, indicating that he had come to Samaria for their sake. How had he come to Samaria for the sake of the disciples, who had already been with him before?

[John 4:28-29] The woman then left her water jar and went into the city and said to the people, "Come, see a man who told me everything I have done; could this be the Christ?"

It is not for nothing, I think, that the evangelist recorded both the details about the water jar being left, which the woman left behind when she went into the city, and the greater zeal indicated by the Samaritan woman leaving the jar, showing no longer so much concern for the physical and meaner duty as for the benefit of many people. For she was very kindly moved, wishing to preach Christ to the citizens, witnessing to Him who told her "all that she had done." She calls them to see a man who has a word greater than human; for the visible to her eyes was a man. Therefore, we also, forgetting the more physical things and leaving them, must hasten to impart the benefit we have received to others. For this the evangelist encourages through his praise of the woman written to be read by those who know. Moreover, we must look into the symbolism of the water jar which the Samaritan woman left behind, having received some sort of message from Jesus; perhaps it represents the vessel of her teaching, which she put aside, deeming it base, having taken in the superior teaching, now that in her was established a source of "water springing up to

eternal life." For how else would she have preached Christ so generously to the citizens, marveling at Him who proclaimed to her "all that she did," unless through the saving water she had received and taken in? Rebekah, too, had a water jar on her shoulders, before the servant of Abraham finished speaking in his mind, and she was going out, a beautiful virgin by appearance. Since she did not draw the same way as the Samaritan woman, she goes down to the well and fills the jar, and as she ascended with it, Abraham's servant ran to meet her and said, "Let me drink a little water from your jar." For because he was Abraham's servant, he loved to receive even a little water from Rebekah's jar. "And Rebekah hurried, and lowered the jar to her arm and gave him a drink until he finished drinking." Therefore, because Rebekah's jar was commendable, it was not left behind by her, but the Samaritan woman's, in the sixth hour, was left. Here the Samaritan woman evangelizes Christ to the Samaritans, and at the end of the Gospels, the woman who first saw the Savior after His resurrection tells the apostles. But this woman, though heralding the perfect faith, was not commended by the Samaritans who said: "We no longer believe because of your words; for we have heard ourselves and we know that this is truly the savior of the world." And she who touched Christ was not believed when he said to her: "Do not cling to me." For Thomas was about to hear: "Put your finger here and see my hands. Reach out your hand and put it into my side." All that the woman did, her association with the five husbands and after them her conciliation with the sixth, who was not her genuine husband, for which she abandoned the water jar and decently rests on the seventh day, bringing benefit to those living in the city with their previous doctrines, constructing with unsound words, the same as the woman; they are also the reason to leave the city and come to Jesus. The Samaritans very carefully request Jesus next, not to stay in the city but "with them," meaning in their leading position; for perhaps it was impossible for him to stay in their city since they themselves left the city and came to him greatly doing well. As these things are very distinctly shown, with the evangelist giving us grounds for deeper insights, from this we must judge; previously it was written: "They went out of the city and were coming to him," and after a little while: "Many Samaritans from that city believed in him because of the woman's testimony, 'He told me everything I ever did.'" When the Samaritans came to him, they urged him to stay with them. And indeed, before that, they came out of the city to him, and secondly, the Samaritans came to him while he was still beside Jacob's well—for he seemed not to have moved from there—and "they urged him to stay with them"; it is not written after this that he entered the city, but "He stayed there two days." But even subsequently it is not said, "After the two days he went out of the city," but "He departed from there"; for as far as the spiritual aspect is concerned, all the economy of benefit for the Samaritans happened beside Jacob's well.

Heracleon believes the jug receiving life to be a disposition and thought of the power from the savior, which she left, he says, with him, that is, having with the savior such a vessel, in which she came to receive living water, she returned to the world announcing Christ's presence; for through the spirit and by the spirit the soul is brought to the savior. But consider whether this jug can be commendable at all left behind; "The woman left her water jar," she said. It does not imply that she left it with the savior. And how is it not implausible that having left an accepting disposition of life and power's thought from the savior and the vessel in which she came to receive living water, she went away into the world without these, evangelizing Christ's presence? And how can the spiritual one, after all these words, not be clearly convinced about Christ, but says: "Could this be the Christ?" And the narrative "They went out of the city" signifies rather their previous worldly conduct; and they came through faith, he says, to the savior. But one must tell him how he stays

with them for the two days; for he did not adhere to what we previously stated about not being recorded as having remained in the city for two days.

[John 4:31] Meanwhile, his disciples asked him, saying, "Rabbi, eat."

After the dispensation concerning the drink and the teaching on the distinction of the waters, it was appropriate also to record matters concerning food. Therefore, the Samaritan woman asked to drink, though she was in a state of questioning, as it were, * * but because of the one who asked; for she had no worthy drink to give to Jesus, if he willed to do her a favor by means of what she gave to drink. It was fitting now * * * * from the Samaritan woman. But the disciples * * * having gone to the city to buy food, either finding suitable food from the heterodox, or some fitting words, * * * * * * to him, they said, "Eat," thinking it a suitable time for him to take food between the departure of the woman to the city and the arrival of the Samaritans to him; for they did not set the food before him at any other time, perhaps because it would be vexing to the Samaritan woman, if she saw the disciples intending to set food from her city, whether it existed or was considered so, before the teacher. Nor would those disciples fittingly say "Rabbi, eat," in the presence of the Samaritans, as those wishing to abandon their city. Therefore, the phrase "Meanwhile, his disciples were asking him, saying, Rabbi, eat" is well placed. Why "they were asking him" and not is worth seeing; for it could have been written more simply, "Meanwhile, his disciples said to him, Rabbi, eat." But to ask him to eat, to beg and to plead with him, indicates something before the inquiry, or sometimes even after the inquiry. And observe whether perhaps, fearing that * * the discourse * * with suitable * * or with strengthening foods, they ask him to consume what is found; for the disciples always wish to nourish the word with what they find, so that by strengthening, invigorating, and empowering it, it may remain more with those who nourish it, reciprocally nourishing those who present it with food. For this reason, he says he stands at the door and knocks so that if anyone opens the door, he will come in to him and dine with him, so that later the one who has dined might be able to reciprocate the diner with the word given by the man. However, Heracleon says that they wished to share with him what they had bought and brought back from Samaria. He says these things so that some * * * the five foolish virgins * * * from the bridegroom. How then do I think * * to have the same * * are said * * * * to the foolish virgins who were shut out, conveying a charge against the disciples, belonging with those same foolish virgins. Furthermore, there is the dissimilarity of light to food, and of oil to provisions * * * to bring an accusation against the interpretation; or if there was anything that could make the word clear, he had to comfort it through more preparation, constructing his own interpretation.

[John 4:32] He said to them, "I have food to eat that you do not know about." The needless does not require food, but that which requires food is not needless. And it is clear that the one who eats does not eat out of not needing food, but out of needing and wanting it. Bodies, being fluid by nature, are nourished by food that replenishes the places of what has flowed out. But those things better than the body are nourished by incorporeal thoughts and words and healthy actions, not dissolving into non-existence if they are not nourished; for even bodies do not dissolve into non-existence if they are not nourished. It loses its being in such a way when it is not nourished by things suited to its differing nature from bodies. Just as bodies that need food are not nourished by qualities, nor is the same quantity of food sufficient for all. Similarly, one must understand with matters better than bodies. For these too need more or less nourishment, not being equally receptive. Nor does the quality of nourishing words and thoughts, and fitting actions in

contemplation, suit all souls the same. Furthermore, both vegetable and solid food do not nourish those needing improvement from these at the same time. For newborn infants, as Peter says, should long for pure spiritual milk. And if anyone is in the infant state like the Corinthians, to whom Paul says, "I fed you with milk, not solid food." And the weak, due to a lack of faith, should eat vegetables; and Paul too says this, teaching "The one who believes may eat all things, but the weak eats vegetables." And there is sometimes a "better dinner of vegetables with friendship and grace, as opposed to fatted calves with enmity." "Solid food is for the mature, who have their faculties trained by practice to distinguish good from evil." Yet, there is also poisonous food, which we learn from the Fourth Book of Kings, where some said to Elisha, "Death in the pot, man of God." And there is also spiritual yet rudimentary food for the less rational souls, which another herb or grass or straw symbolizes, as indicated in "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want; He makes me lie down in green pastures; He leads me beside still waters." And Isaiah also says, "The lion shall eat straw like the ox." But grass is also placed before the cattle in Rebecca's household for the child of Abram. If there is a more rational and therefore also intellectual person, he eats the intellectual bread, as it is written in the Psalms: "Bread strengthens the heart of man," and he rejoices in the intellectual wine, none other than a man: "For wine gladdens the heart of man." But the word must ascend from the irrational and men to the angels, who also are nourished; for they are not completely without need. "Man ate the bread of angels," and blessed Abraham was able to present to the three appearing to him unleavened cakes. But now it is necessary to proceed to the discourse concerning the eating of Christ, which the disciples did not then know; for Jesus speaks truly, saying: "I have food to eat that you do not know about." For what Jesus did, accomplishing the will of the one who sent him and completing his work, this the disciples did not know. To understand more clearly the saying, "I have food to eat that you do not know about," let Paul speak to those who need milk, and not solid food, to the Corinthians, who are fed with milk and not food, who are not yet able to partake of food: "I have food to eat that you do not know about." And always the one who excels and sees what the inferior cannot will say: "I have food to eat that you do not know about." It is not unreasonable to say that not only humans and angels are in need of intellectual nourishment, but also Christ of God; for even he, so to speak, is ever being sustained by the Father, the only one who is without need and self-sufficient. The general populace of the disciples receives food from the disciples of Jesus, being commanded to give to the crowds; the disciples of Jesus receive from Jesus himself, though sometimes also from holy angels; but the Son of God receives food from the Father alone, not through someone. It is not unreasonable to say that the Holy Spirit is also nourished; but we must seek a scriptural phrase that suggests this. The parables about the feasts should be gathered from the Gospels. The entire mystery of the calling and election is present in the foods of the great feast: "For a man," it says, "made a great feast, and at the hour of the feast sent to call the invited." Also, through Isaiah, the promises of eating and drinking are given: "Behold, my servants shall eat, but you shall be hungry; behold, my servants shall drink, but you shall be thirsty." Yet, in Genesis, God places man in the paradise of delight, giving laws about eating this and not eating that. And man would have remained immortal, had he eaten from every tree in the paradise, but not from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. See also what is said in the twenty-first Psalm about those who worship because they have eaten: "All the fat ones of the earth have eaten and worshipped," for this reason: "The Lord will not let the soul of the righteous go hungry," but when we become unjust, He will send "a famine upon the land, not a famine of bread nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord."

Therefore, as we progress, we shall eat greater and better food, until perhaps we reach the point of eating the same food as the Son of God, which the disciples at present do not know. Heracleon did not speak anything significant to this word.

[John 4:33] The disciples therefore said to one another, "Has anyone brought him something to eat?"

Even if Heracleon understands these things carnally as having been said by the disciples, who still think more humbly and imitate the Samaritan woman saying, "You have no bucket and the well is deep," it is fitting for us to consider whether the disciples, seeing something more divine, said to one another, "Has anyone brought him something to eat?" For perhaps they suspected that some angelic power had brought him food; and it is reasonable that they were taught because of this that the food he had to eat was greater, which was to do "the will of the one who sent him and to finish his work."

[John 4:34] Jesus said to them, "My food is to do the will of Him who sent Me and to finish His work." The appropriate food for the Son of God when He becomes the doer of the Father's will is to will in Himself what was also in the Father, so that the will of God may be in the will of the Son, and the will of the Son may become identical with the will of the Father, so that there may no longer be two wills but one will; this one will is the reason for the Son saying, "I and the Father are one," and through this will whoever has seen the Son has seen the One who sent Him. And it is more appropriate for us to consider doing the Father's will by the Son as this: from which will even the things outside of the will occur rightly, rather than us to think that the doing of the will of the One who sent us is to do something external. For that which occurs outside of the will without the previously mentioned will, is not the entire will of the Father; but the whole will of the Father is done by the Son whenever the will of God is done in the Son, doing these things which the will of God wishes. Only the Son does the entire will of the Father, and thus He is also His image. We must also consider concerning the Holy Spirit. But the other holy things will do nothing contrary to the will of God, and indeed whatever they do, they do according to the will of God, yet they do not suffice to perfectly represent the whole will. And this holy one compared to that holy one is greater or more complete or more perfect as it departs from the paternal will, and again different from it something else will depart respectively; but the whole and entire will of God is done by Him who said, "My food is to do the will of Him who sent Me." After this, indeed, He says thankfully concerning God, "The Son can do nothing by Himself, unless He sees the Father doing it; for whatever the Father does, these things the Son does likewise. The Father loves the Son and shows Him all that He does." Perhaps for these reasons He is the image of the invisible God; for His will is the image of the primary will, and His divinity is the image of the true divinity; and being the image of the Father's goodness, He says, "Why do you call Me good?" And this will is the Son’s peculiar food, through which the food is what it is. That the will concerns the disposition is shown by the succeeding word, which says after the doing of the will to complete the work of God. Additionally, we must consider this to understand what "I will complete His work" means. Someone might simply say that the commanded work, which is from Him who commanded, * * as we say of examples, indicating those building or cultivating to complete the work of the one who took them to the work, in the doing for which they were received; someone else might say that if the work of God is completed by Christ, it is clear that this, before being completed, was incomplete. How then was it imperfect, the work of God? And how is the work of God perfected by the one who said:

"The Father who sent me is greater than I"? But the perfection of the work was the perfection of the rational being; for this came, being imperfect, to render perfect the Word who became flesh. Was then the work created imperfect, and the Savior sent to perfect the imperfect? And how is it not absurd for the Father to be the maker of the imperfect, and the Savior to perfect the imperfect, having been created imperfect? I suppose a deeper mystery lies hidden in these passages; for perhaps the rational being was not entirely imperfect at the same time it was placed in paradise. For how would God have placed the entirely imperfect in paradise to work and guard it? For the one able to work "the tree of life" and everything planted by God and subsequently sprouted, could not reasonably be called imperfect. Perhaps, being somehow perfect, it became imperfect through disobedience and needed the one who would perfect it from imperfection, and thus the Savior was sent, first to do the will of the one who sent him, becoming his servant even here, and second to perfect the work of God and each one perfected may be suitable for solid food and exercise wisdom. "Solid food is for the perfect, those who through practice have their senses trained to distinguish good from evil." And the one speaking wisdom says, "We speak wisdom among the perfect." And when each of us, the work of God, is perfected by Jesus, he will say, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness." Not only man, but also the "sons of God, seeing the daughters of men that they are fair, took for themselves wives of all whom they chose," and consistently all those who left "their own dwelling" and did not preserve their own principality - and by "principality" I mean not in reference to power but to the beginning and foundation; just as for man, the beginning was to be in paradise, but the end perhaps due to transgression in Hades below or some such place, so also for each of the fallen ones a particular beginning is given. However, Jesus perfecting the work of God, I say every rational being, not man alone, perfects it in the same way; indeed the more blessed ones persuade reason without toil alone are perfected by the word; others, having disobeyed the word, require sufferings, so that after sufferings they may later be brought to reason and then perfected by it. Nevertheless, both are one food own to Jesus, to do the will of the one who sent him and to perfect his work. But Heracleon interprets "My food is to do the will of him who sent me" to mean the Savior dismissed his disciples that this was what he was discussing with the woman, calling the will of the Father his proper food; for this was his nourishment and rest and power. And he said that the will of the Father is to know men the Father and be saved, which was the work of the Savior who for this was sent into Samaria, that is, into the world. He thus understood Jesus' food and discourse with the Samaritan woman, which I think is clearly evident to all, understood plainly and forced. But how the will of the Father is the food of the Savior he did not clearly show, nor how the will of the Father is rest; for the Lord says in another place, as if not all of the Father's will is his rest: "Father, if possible, let this cup pass from me; nevertheless, not what I will, but what you [will]." And how also is the will of God the strength of the Savior? Do you not say, 'There are yet four months, and then comes the harvest'? Behold, I say to you, lift up your eyes, and see how the fields are already white for harvest. To those who think it is said more simply and physically, 'Do you not say, "There are yet four months, and then comes the harvest"?' it must be pointed out that one must be persuaded that the Savior often spoke of the spiritual and the unseen. For if the time when Jesus said this was four months before the actual harvest, it is clear that it was winter. In Judea, the harvest begins in the month calls Nisan by the Hebrews, when the Passover is celebrated, and often they make unleavened bread from new wheat. But let us grant that the harvest is not in that month, but in the following month called Iyar

by them. Thus, the time four months prior would be considered winter. Therefore, if we show that when Jesus said these things it was near the time of harvest, either approaching or already at hand, we will have demonstrated the context. It should be noted that after the incident in Cana of Galilee concerning the turning of water into wine, the Lord is said to have gone down to Capernaum with his mother, brothers, and disciples, where they stayed a few days; and it was near the Passover of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem. There he found those who sold oxen, sheep, and doves in the temple, and made a whip of cords and drove them all out of the temple. After talking with Nicodemus, he came himself and his disciples into the land of Judea, where he stayed with them and baptized. How much time should we assume he spent baptizing in Judea after the Passover? For it is not written explicitly. And it seems, as the Pharisees had learned that Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John, he left Judea and went into Galilee, passing through Samaria. He said what no one expected, 'Do you not say, "There are yet four months, and then comes the harvest?"'. If someone supposes that Jesus stayed many months in Judea baptizing with his disciples after the Passover, so that it was already at the time four months before the harvest, it should be noted that he stayed two days with the Samaritans and then went into Galilee, and it is written, as the Passover had recently occurred and the events with him in Jerusalem, 'When he came into Galilee, the Galileans received him, having seen all that he did in Jerusalem at the feast; for they also went to the feast'. But it is plausible that someone might say these things do not contradict him staying in Judea for a longer period before coming to Jacob's well, and departing for Galilee, at which point 'There are yet four months,' he said, 'to the harvest'; and there is nothing strange in the Galileans receiving him because of what happened eight months prior in Jerusalem. It should be read to them that upon coming into Galilee, "He went to Cana of Galilee, where" He had previously made "the water wine", where also He healed the son of the royal official who was sick at Capernaum, saying to his father: "Your son lives", and "After this there was a feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem", when He healed the paralytic who had been sick for thirty-eight years. If this feast is the Passover—for the name of it is not given—the sequence of the story is troubled, especially since shortly after it is said, "The feast of the Jews, the Feast of Tabernacles, was near." Examining these things further, it is fitting for the one who observes the deeper meaning of the scriptures to inquire into what Jesus, meaning, said to His disciples, "Do you not say, 'There are four months, and then comes the harvest'? Behold, I tell you, lift up your eyes and see the fields, for they are already white for harvest." Just as we said considering the Samaritans about the issues concerning the waters, so let us do here also. For who would not agree that "Lift up your eyes and see the fields, for they are white for harvest already" is spiritual, and entirely spiritual, being bare of the physical? It would follow that the disciples' saying that after four months the harvest would come refers, as far as their understanding, to the harvest shown by Jesus. We think, therefore, that there is something similar in the disciples saying, "There are four months, and then comes the harvest"; most of the disciples of the Word, understanding that the truth is difficult to attain to human nature, when they have received the concept of another life beyond the present one, having despaired in the present they suppose they will grasp the truth after transcending the four elements. Accordingly, the disciples say concerning the harvest, which is the completion of the works of those who gather the truth, that it occurs after the present tetrad. But the name of the months has been taken appropriately to the bodily discourse concerning the harvest. For it would not have been fitting to say, "Do not you say: There are yet four days, and harvest comes" or "There are yet four years,

and harvest comes?" Especially since the word desires to conceal the mystical from the many and the more bodily-minded, revealing what is simpler to make the words spoken by the Savior appear clear. Or perhaps the intention of the disciples saying: "There are yet four months, and harvest comes" is such: there are four spheres of the four elements underlying the etheric nature, in the middle and lowest place, of earth, around it that of water, and thirdly that of air, and fourthly that of fire, after which is that of the moon, and so on. And we should consider whether the disciples understand that those who have become nearer to the purer essence will grasp the truth when one can also surpass the sphere of fire, not being corrupted by sin, which is the matter of everything in the regions before the * * * etheric places * *. Refuting this notion as unhealthy, the Word made flesh says to those who think so, "Do not you say: There are yet four months, and harvest comes? Behold, I say to you: Lift up your eyes and see the fields that they are white for harvest already." For it indeed seems inconceivable to us that he would be talking about a single harvest in all these things when he reproaches the disciples who think, as they suppose, that the harvest comes after four months, which we have shown previously does not seem capable of occurring after four months; and correcting, as it were, the notion of the disciples, he says, "Do not you say this? But I say this;" besides, how is it not absurd to allegorically interpret the "Lift up your eyes" clearly, and the "See the fields that they are white for harvest already," but not take allegorically the preceding "Do not you say: There are yet four months, and harvest comes?" And Heracleon, likewise, remained with the common interpretation of the phrase, not thinking it could be elevated. He says, indeed, that he speaks of the harvest of crops, which still has a period of four months, but that the harvest he spoke of was already present. And also, I do not know how he understood the harvest in relation to the soul of believers, saying that they are already ripe and ready for harvest and suitable for being gathered into the barn, that is, through faith into rest, as many indeed are ready; for not all are; for, he says, some were already ready, others were about to be, others are already being sown. Thus he said. But how can the disciples, lifting up their eyes, see the souls already suitable for being, as he thinks, gathered into the barn, I do not know how he can show. And indeed, how is the saying "One sows, and another reaps" and "I sent you to reap that for which you have not labored" true concerning the souls? How can we accept the statement "Others have labored, and you have entered into their labor" concerning the soul? Therefore, we understand the harvest of the gathered fruit into eternal life as the completion of the word sown in ideas for us, perfected from greater cultivation. How one sows and another reaps we will discuss further on.

[John 4:35] Behold, I say to you: Lift up your eyes and look at the fields, for they are white already to harvest. In many places in scripture is the phrase "Lift up your eyes" set forth by the divine word, urging us to elevate and raise our thoughts and our vision, which is cast down and stooped, unable to fully look up and to rise on high; just as in Isaiah: "Lift up your eyes on high and see: who has created these things?" And the Savior, when about to proclaim the Beatitudes to those gathered on the plain, lifted up his eyes to his disciples and said, "Blessed are they" and so forth; for no true disciple of Jesus is below, just as neither is the one resting in Abraham's bosom. Thus the rich man, being in torments, lifted up his eyes and saw Abraham and Lazarus in his bosom. Moreover, the woman "bowed together and could in no wise lift up herself" was straightened by Jesus so that she might lift up her eyes. And no one involuntarily afflicted or attached to the flesh or immersed in material things has kept the commandment that says, "Lift up your eyes," whence such a one shall not see the fields even if they are "already white to harvest." Yet again, no one working the deeds of the flesh has lifted up their eyes. The fields are "already white for harvest"

when the word of God is present, making all the fields of scripture fully illumined by His presence. Perhaps even all perceptible things, up to the very heavens and those within them, are fields white and ready for harvest to those who lift up their eyes, clearly shown to those receiving the word concerning each thing, transformed from glory to glory, an image of the eyes seeing how each created thing was good; for the "God saw" concerning each creature, "that it was good" is such because God inserted into each the word concerning it and saw how each created thing is good according to the words concerning them. But if someone does not thus accept "God saw that it was good," let them tell how in "Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creatures that have life, and fowl that fly above the earth in the open expanse of the heaven" is preserved the "God saw that it was good," especially since "God created the great sea creatures." Rather, the word concerning each of these things, seen by God, is what is "good." The same must be said concerning "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind, cattle and creeping thing, and beast of the earth after its kind," to which also is appended "God saw that it was good." For how are the beasts and creeping things good unless the word concerning them is what is good? These things are said to us because of "Lift up your eyes and look at the fields for they are white already to harvest," exhorting the hearers of the present word to lift up their eyes both to the fields of scripture and to the fields of the word within each being, that someone might see the whiteness and brightness of the light of truth everywhere. "For all things are straight before those who understand," according to Solomon, "and right to those who wish to find knowledge."

[John 4:36] The one who reaps receives wages and gathers fruit for eternal life, so that the one who sows and the one who reaps may rejoice together.

I think it is necessary to present in how many ways the harvest is mentioned in scripture and on what grounds it is arranged, so that we may be able to see here to which of the many meanings the word is applied. We see in Matthew, when the disciples came to the Lord saying, "Explain to us the parable of the weeds of the field," the Lord's teaching about this says among other things, "The harvest is the end of the age, and the reapers are angels." But indeed also in another place, concerning the multitude of believers seeking a clear teaching to them about the things they believe in, our Savior says, "The harvest is plentiful, but the laborers are few; therefore pray earnestly to the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest." Besides this, the apostle names the seed as the good deeds or sins of people in this life, and the harvest as the retribution for these, each according to its merit, saying thus; "For whatever a man sows, that he will also reap. For he who sows to his flesh will of the flesh reap corruption, but he who sows to the Spirit will of the Spirit reap everlasting life." I believe that the prophet expressed something similar in Psalms, "Those who sow in tears shall reap in joy. He who continually goes forth weeping, bearing seed for sowing, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." The term is also used in customary matters, for instance in Ruth through this: "They arrived at Bethlehem at the beginning of barley harvest." Having presented five significances at this time, it is evident that neither the customary meaning is implied here, nor that assigned to the end of the age; for neither the customary “the one who reaps receives wages and gathers fruit for eternal life” nor the encouraging thought about the angel reapers can be sensibly understood in this context. Nor can the phrase “the one who reaps receives wages and gathers fruit for eternal life” be taken here according to “the one who sows to his flesh will of the flesh reap corruption, and the one who sows to the Spirit will of the Spirit reap everlasting life.” For according to the apostolic sayings, the

same one is both sowing and reaping, whether to the flesh or to the Spirit, and hence gathering either corruption or eternal life; but according to the current passage, “one is the sower and another the reaper.” Similarly, the same one both sows and reaps according to what we have stated in the Psalms, distinctly differing from the apostolic in its more mystical and inscrutable nature. For the apostolic is expressed more simply, not teaching about the differing nature of the seeds from where they are taken. However, the Psalms seem to me to indicate about the descent of the nobler souls arriving in this life with the salvific seeds, and arriving indeed almost unwillingly with a sigh, but returning with rejoicing because the seeds have been well cultivated and have grown and multiplied, along with those who have gathered them. "One sows and another reaps" in the proposed phrase. And Heracleon will say, perhaps along with someone ecclesiastical in agreement with this view, that these things are similarly stated to the one indicated by "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few," that they are ready for harvest and suitable to already be gathered into the storehouse through faith for rest, and suitable for salvation and reception of the word. According to Heracleon, through their preparation and nature, and according to the ecclesiastical, through some preparation of the leading part, ready for completion so that it may also be harvested. Therefore, it must be spoken to those who received it in this manner, if they wish to accept, that there has perhaps not been a harvest similar to the one hoped for from the times of the gospel preaching before the advent of our Savior. For if many have believed because the harvest is plentiful, though there were few workers beyond the apostles as many as received the word, either through "Look at the fields, that they are white for harvest already," no one before the physical advent of our Savior believed, nor was there any worker among the believers—which is the most absurd to claim—Abraham and Moses and the prophets did not occupy the position of workers or the reaped. Or if indeed there were workers and harvest even before, it will not seem paradoxical for the Savior to promise to those who lift up their eyes to see the fields "that they are white for harvest already." From these things, indeed, it may be somehow clear that none of the aforementioned is understood here according to the harvest. Nor will the thing said by the apostle elsewhere be applied here, saying "The one who sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and the one who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully." Therefore, we seek a seventh meaning suitable to the previously given ones concerning "Do you not say, 'There are still four months, and then comes the harvest?' Behold, I say to you, lift your eyes, and look at the fields, that they are white for harvest already." So, the clear discourse about the clarity of the scriptures or how "all that God has made is very good" in connection with the harvest, which the reaper has two fruits of reaping: one that he receives a reward, and another that he gathers fruit for eternal life. And I think that due to the promises to come after these things according to what is written: "Behold, the Lord and His reward is with Him, to give to each one according to his work," it was said "Receives a reward"; and due to the benefit from the very contemplation itself, naturally inherent in the intellect, and inherently superior to reason and apart from other promises beside this, it is written: "Gathers fruit unto eternal life," which indicates some well-being of the ruling part, as we have demonstrated in the third book of the Stromata explaining "Your Father who sees in secret will reward you." But Heracleon thinks that "Reaps a reward" was said because the Savior says that he is a reaper. And he considers the reward of our Lord to be the salvation and restoration of those being reaped, in that he is pleased with them. And he says that "Gathers fruit unto eternal life" was spoken either because what is gathered is the fruit of eternal life, or because it itself is eternal life. But I think his interpretation is forced, claiming the Savior receives a reward and confusing the reward and the

gathering of the fruit into one, while the scripture presents two distinct things, as we have previously explained. Therefore, if we have attained the exaltation of the apostles' eyes and the vision of the fields already white unto harvest, we must next examine what "That both he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together" means. I think that in every art and science derived from many theories, he who finds the principles sows, and others taking them and working on them, passing on what was found to others, become the cause of what they found for the later ones who were unable to find the principles and link the subsequent parts and complete the end of arts and sciences, to receive the full fruit of such arts and sciences as in the harvest. If this is true for arts and certain sciences, how much more can it be perceived in the highest art and science of sciences. For those coming after have elaborated on what was found by the predecessors and handed it down to those who approach the findings inquisitively, providing sources so that the one body of truth can be gathered together with wisdom. Therefore, with the whole work of the highest art completed, "both he who sows and he who reaps rejoice together," with God rewarding and bringing to a unified end all. Consider if "those who sow" are Moses and the prophets, who wrote for our admonition, reaching the ends of the ages, and proclaimed the advent of Christ; and "those who reap" are the apostles who received Christ and witnessed His glory, in agreement with the prophetic rational seeds harvested through their elaboration and understanding of the mystery hidden from the ages, now revealed at the end of times, which "in other generations was not made known to the sons of men, as it has now been revealed to His holy apostles and prophets." The whole word was a seed "according to the revelation of the mystery kept secret since the world began but now revealed through the prophetic scriptures" and the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ, when the true light made the regions, illuminating them, already white unto harvest. According to this argument, the regions in which the seeds were sown are the legal and prophetic scriptures, which were not white to those who had not advanced to the presence of the Word. But they become such to the disciples of the Son of God and to those who obey Him who says, "Lift up your eyes and see the fields, for they are white for harvest already." Therefore, as genuine disciples of Jesus, let us lift up our eyes and behold the fields sown by Moses and the prophets, so that we may see their whiteness and in what way it is already possible to harvest them and gather fruit unto eternal life, while also hoping for wages from the Lord of the fields and the giver of the seeds. For the sower and the reaper to rejoice together when "pain and sorrow and sighing shall flee away" in the age to come, everyone who agrees with the readers will confess: "That many shall come from the east and the west and will sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven." If anyone hesitates to accept that every sower already rejoices together with every reaper, let him understand that the transformation of Jesus in glory was seen not only by the reapers Peter, James, and John, who went up with Him, but also by the sowers Moses and Elijah; they too rejoiced seeing the glory of the Son of God, which neither Moses nor Elijah had seen before, though enlightened by the Father, now illuminated and illuminating those seeing it, as they now behold it along with the holy apostles. Thus, we understand universally the statement "He who reaps receives wages and gathers fruit unto eternal life, that both he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together," since more reapers and more laborers are addressed following it, as it clearly pertains to sowing. It is said to many reapers, "I sent you to reap what you did not labor for," and to many who toiled in the sowing, "Others have toiled and you have entered into their labors." This equally can be understood universally in "He who reaps receives wages" and the following phrase, "Everyone who reaps receives wages and gathers fruit unto eternal life," so that

everyone who sows and everyone who reaps may rejoice together. Some will readily accept these words, not doubting that what was hidden in past generations and to Moses and the prophets has been revealed to the holy apostles through Christ's presence, illuminating them with the knowledge of all scripture's light; others will hesitate to accept it, not daring to say that such great Moses and the prophets had not yet reached what was understood by the apostles while they lived in human life and because this is sown in the divine scriptures ministered by them. The former will use the saying "Many prophets and righteous men longed to see the things you see but did not see them, and to hear the things you hear but did not hear them", and "Behold, something greater than Solomon is here", and "In other generations, it was not known to the sons of men, as it has now been revealed to His holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, that the Gentiles should be fellow heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of His promise in Christ", and that which is written in Daniel after a certain vision, "I arose, and there was none who understood", and that in Isaiah, "The words of this book are like the words of a sealed book, which if they give it to a man learned in letters, saying, Read this, he will say, I cannot, for it is sealed. And if they give it to a man not learned, saying, Read this, he will say, I am not learned." But the latter will resolve all these with the saying, "A wise man will understand from his own mouth, and on his lips, he wears discernment," saying Moses and each of the prophets comprehended what was ministered by them, not so that they might hand it down to others and unfold the mysteries; but the apostles, as having become in the time of revelation, will say, "Stand firm and hold to the traditions which you were taught" and "The things which you have heard from me in the presence of many witnesses, entrust these to faithful men, who will be able to teach others also", and that although many prophets and righteous men longed to see what the apostles saw and heard from the Savior, they did not long for the legal and prophetic writings, but for greater things being declared in addition to the spiritual matters of the law and the secrets of the prophets by the Savior to the apostles, such as "I heard ineffable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter" and things similar to what the Comforter says.

Yet another will argue that if the evangelist is narrating about the one reaping receiving wages and gathering fruit for eternal life, saying "that both he who sows and he who reaps may rejoice together," then, if it is so that both the sower and the reaper may rejoice together, receiving wages and gathering fruit for eternal life, perhaps the sower, participating in the reaper's reward and gathering the fruit gathered for eternal life, will rejoice at the same time as the reaper. Another will say that all the legal and prophetic words were precisely understood spiritually by Moses and the prophets and were written as they should be covered and concealed; and since " When a wise man hears a word of wisdom, he will praise it and add to it," it is clear that the apostles, using the seeds of more mysterious and deeper things understood by Moses and the prophets, have advanced to reach the many-fold sights of truth, as Jesus was lifting their eyes and enlightening their minds, and the many-fold were the harvests of the many fields; not because the prophets and Moses from the beginning could not see as much as the apostles during Jesus' presence, but as those waiting for the fullness of time, in which after the exceptional presence of Jesus Christ, exceptional things beyond what had been spoken in the world or written were to be revealed by Him who did not regard "being equal with God a thing to be grasped," but emptied Himself and took "the form of a servant."

[John 4:37] For in this the saying is true: that one sows and another reaps.

Whether we take the example from the arts and sciences in place, it is clear how this saying is true: that one is the sower and another the reaper; whether in that Moses and the prophets sow, but those who lift their eyes according to the exhortations of our Savior Jesus see that the fields were white already for harvest, it is thus clear that one sows and another reaps. Consider if it is possible to understand the "one" and "another" in that those are justified in such a manner of life, and these in another way, so that we may say that one is the legalist and another the evangelical. However, they both rejoice in one end from one God through one Christ in one Holy Spirit. And Heracleon explained "that the sower may rejoice together with the reaper" thus: for he says that the sower rejoices because he sows, and because some of his seeds are already gathered, having the same hope for the rest; and the reaper likewise because he also reaps; but the first began by sowing, and the second by reaping. For they could not both begin at the same time; for it was necessary for it first to be sown, and then later to be reaped. Moreover, while the sower has ceased to sow, the reaper still reaps; yet at present, each performing their own work, both rejoice together considering the completion of the seeds to be a common joy. And again, in "In this the saying is true: that one sows and another reaps," he says: the son of man sows above the place; but the savior, being himself also the son of man, reaps and sends reapers who are understood as angels through the disciples, each over his own soul. But he did not very clearly set forth who the two sons of man are, one of whom sows and the other reaps.

[John 4:38] I sent you to reap what you have not labored for; others have labored, and you have entered into their labor.

It is not difficult from the foregoing to see how Jesus sent the disciples to reap this, for which they did not labor, but others before them did; for Moses and the prophets labored, that they might be able to comprehend the mysteries, the traces of which they left us in their writings. The apostles have entered into the labor of Moses and the prophets, with Jesus their mystagogue reaping and gathering into the storehouses of their souls the understanding from those [writings]. Moreover, the word always makes the labor of the predecessors clearer to those being taught genuinely, without the similar toil of the sowers. In all things concerning those sowing by others and reaping by others, it is to be considered whether the apostles, helpers in the completion of what has been sown, enter into the labor of others, reaping and finding fruits in those benefited, which the coming of Jesus has made ready for harvest even before the hopeful four-month period. If these things are so, it is worth pondering whether the ministry of angels to sow souls into bodies is laborious, bringing together in unison two contradicting natures, beginning to administer each individual case in due time, and advancing to completion what has been preformed. But someone might say that it is contradictory to assert that God himself is the one who forms, both in "Your hands have made and fashioned me" and in "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you came forth out of the womb I sanctified you." To this, it should be said that just as the law was ordained through angels, and the word spoken by angels was confirmed, it is clear that it was spoken by God. Thus, it is also conceivable that God, through the angels appointed over creation, is said to fashion in the womb. I do not know if it accounts for what is uncertain and something like this could be said: that those who said "Your hands have made and fashioned me"—Job and David—being part of God's portion, were fashioned by Him, and Jeremiah hearing, "Before I formed you in the womb, I knew you"—as being to be part of God’s portion—was fashioned by Him; while those of other portions are fashioned by those who received them by lot. And even more curiously, this

argument avoids the "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," as said by God about all men and initiating the work which was later performed also by the rest unto whom the word was addressed, according to their own portion, God saying to them, "Let us make man," and who again says at the confusion of the languages, "Come, let us go down and there confuse their language." But we say these things without making any determinations, for such deep matters require much examination, to determine whether it is indeed so or otherwise. Yet we must not disdain such an interpretation; each person is a portion of someone according to the "When the Most High divided the nations, as He dispersed the sons of Adam, He set the borders of the nations according to the number of the angels of God, and God's portion became His people, Jacob, the lot of His inheritance Israel." If each person is thus certainly a portion of someone, with God dispersing the sons of Adam, each of the angels works with his own portion, managing what pertains to it. But during the Savior's coming, they are taken captive into the obedience of Christ from every portion by the apostles and evangelists and teachers serving the gospel, under Christ, and are brought to become the inheritance of Christ among the nations. Could it therefore perhaps be said, to those apostles who would soon after hear, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations," "Others have labored, and you have entered into their labor"? If holy angels are those who have received the other portions separate from the chosen one and are appointed over the dispersion of souls, it is not unreasonable for the sower and the reaper to rejoice together after the harvest. But Heracleon says that these seeds were not sown by or from the apostles, but those who have toiled are the angels of the economy, through whom, as intermediaries, the seed was sown and nurtured. And in "You have entered into their labor," he interpreted this: for the labor of those who sow and those who reap is not the same; for those who sow, digging the earth in cold and water and toil, and throughout the winter care, cleaning and selecting the woods, while those who enter the ready fruit during summer rejoice harvesting. It will be permissible for the one comparing, encountering what we have said and what has been found by Heracleon, to see which of the narratives could be achieved.

[John 4:39] And from that city many of the Samaritans believed in him because of the word of the woman who testified, "He told me everything I ever did." When the Samaritan woman left her water jar and went into the city to evangelize about the Savior, and those who believed in the word of the woman came to the Lord, in the meantime, the Savior being with the disciples has spoken the previously mentioned words, while the disciples were asking him to eat. After speaking to the disciples as much as possible, the scripture returns to those who came from the city to him and believed because of the testimony of the woman saying, "He told me everything I ever did." If we hold to what was previously said about Samaria and the Samaritan woman and Jacob's well, it is not difficult to see how those initially constrained by other teachings, upon encountering sound doctrine, leave the city of dogmas, and going out, come to healthy belief by means of one who had first progressed at Jacob's well in saving teaching, and leaving the aforementioned water jar to invite others to similarly benefit. Heracleon understood "from the city" as "from the world"; "because of the word of the woman" as by means of the spiritual church; he also marks "many" as referring to many of a psychic nature, and he speaks of the one as the incorruptible nature of the chosen, singular and unique. We have stood by what was previously said, as far as it was possible, to address these matters.

[John 4:40-41] So when the Samaritans came to him, they asked him to stay with them. And he stayed there two days. And many more believed because of his word.

It is not improbable that someone might correlate the statement, "Do not go into the way of the Gentiles, and do not enter a city of the Samaritans," with this passage. Because when the Savior was asked to stay with the Samaritans, "he stayed there two days," though he had said, "Do not enter a city of the Samaritans." Clearly, then, his disciples also had entered with him. It should be said here that to go into the way of the Gentiles is to adopt some doctrine foreign to the "Israel of God," and to follow it; to enter a city of the Samaritans is to engage in spurious knowledge, concerning those who profess to focus on the words of the law, or the prophets, or the gospel, or the apostles. However, when the Samaritans left their own city and came to Jesus by Jacob's well, recognizing the good intention of those who believed, Jesus stayed with those who asked him. I think that John precisely recorded that the Samaritans did not ask him to enter Samaria, or to enter their city, but simply to stay with them; for it is not the same thing to stay with a believer and to enter his city. Furthermore, the passage also does not say, "And he stayed in that city two days," or "he stayed in Samaria," but, "He stayed there," that is, with those who asked him. For Jesus stays with those who ask him, especially when those asking him leave their own city and come to Jesus, in imitation of Abraham, who was persuaded by God saying, "Get out of your country and from your kindred and from your father's house." Jesus stays with those who ask him for two days because they could not yet accommodate his third day, since they were not capable of receiving a great miracle, like those in Cana of Galilee who dined with Jesus on the third day at the wedding. The beginning of the belief by many from Samaria was due to the word of the woman testifying, "He told me all that I ever did"; but the growth and increase in the many more who believed were not any longer because of the woman's word but because of his own word. For the word itself, shining light on the receiver, is not perceived the same when it testifies through another. Heracleon interprets that he stayed "with them" and not "in them" for two days, suggesting this means the present age and the future age represented in marriage, or the time before his passion and the time after, during which he brought many to faith by his own word and then separated from them. This interpretation implies that "with them" and not "in them" is written, comparing it to "Behold, I am with you always," for he did not say, "I am in you." Mentioning the two days also signifies this age and the next, or the time before and after the passion. However, it overlooks the future ages following the coming age, as stated by the apostle, "that in the ages to come he might show," nor does it recognize that Jesus remains with those who come to him not just before and after his passion but always, never leaving his disciples, so much so that they could say, "I live, yet not I, but Christ lives in me."

[John 4:42] They said to the woman: "No longer do we believe because of your words, for we have heard for ourselves and we know that this is truly the savior of the world."

They renounce the faith because of the woman's words, having found a better one than that, in having heard the savior himself, to know also that "this is truly the savior of the world." And it is indeed better to become an eyewitness of the word and to hear directly from him teaching without instruments and to perceive through the teaching the clearest forms of truth, than not seeing him and also not being enlightened by his power through ministers who have seen him, to hear the word about him. For it is impossible for the one learning from the seer and recounting to affect the rational soul in the same way as to the one who has seen, and indeed it is better to walk by sight

than by faith. Therefore, those who walk as if by sight are said to be in the earlier gifts in "the word of wisdom" through the Spirit of God and "the word of knowledge according to the same Spirit"; and those who walk by faith, even if faith is a gift according to "to another faith by the same Spirit," are in the later order than the previous ones. But we must examine when and how Paul says, "For we walk by faith, not by sight." For how, as many suppose, does the one who says most profoundly walk by faith and not by sight: "Am I not free? Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are you not my work in the Lord?" Let us then see how we should understand the statement "For we walk by faith, not by sight," considering it from what has been stated above: "Now the one who has formed us for this very purpose is God, who has given us the Spirit as a pledge. Therefore we are always courageous and we know that while we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord—for we walk by faith, not by sight." It is clear, then, that while we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord—being courageous, "we would rather be absent from the body and to be at home with the Lord." When these things are spoken in this way to understand what it means to be at home in the body and away from the Lord, and what it means to be away from the body and at home with the Lord, let us learn what we shall say about the apostle. Whether being at home in the body, he was away from the Lord, or being away from the body, he was at home with the Lord. Clearly, since "those who are in the flesh cannot please God," the saints are not in the flesh "but in the Spirit, if indeed the Spirit of God dwells in them." Paul was not in the flesh nor in the body; for he says truly, "I think that I also have the Spirit of God," not being at home in the flesh and body, but walking by faith, not by sight. And see if it can belong to apostolic precision to distinguish between "being in the flesh" and "being at home in the body"; "for those who are in the flesh cannot please God"; but those who are at home in the body are "away from the Lord"; nevertheless, they walk by faith, even if not yet proceeding by sight. And I think that those who are in the flesh are those who wage war according to the flesh, and those who are at home in the body and away from the Lord are those who do not understand the spiritual things of scripture, but wholly adhere to it and the body; for how is he not away from the Lord if "the Lord is the Spirit," who has not yet grasped the life-giving Spirit and the spiritual meaning of scripture? However, such a one walks by faith, and is away from the body and at home with the Lord, who compares spiritual things with spiritual and becomes spiritual, who judges all things but is judged by no one. Although these things may seem to have been said with a digression into apostolic words, they are nevertheless most necessary for distinguishing the reason of the Samaritans, who no longer believe because of the woman's speech but having heard for themselves and knowing that "this is the Savior of the world." It is not at all surprising that it is said concerning some that they walk by faith and not by sight, and concerning others, by sight greater than walking by faith. Heracleon, however, more simply took the words "we no longer believe because of your speech" saying that "only" is missing. For still towards the words "for we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is the Savior of the world," he says: people at first believe in the Savior being led by humans, but when they encounter His words, they no longer believe through mere human testimony, but through the truth itself.

[John 4:43-44] After the two days He departed from there to Galilee, for Jesus Himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country. The phrase appears very inconsistent. What connection is there between His leaving after two days from the Samaritans, with whom He stayed, and going to Galilee, “for Jesus Himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country”? For if Samaria were His country and He was dishonored there, then it would have

consistently followed that “for Jesus Himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country” applies here. But even if it were written, “After the two days He departed into Galilee, but it did not happen in His own country,” “for Jesus Himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country,” the statement would still make sense. And perhaps the intent of the speaker is this, though John expressed it awkwardly, as he was unpolished in his use of language. For it is not mentioned where in Galilee they accepted Him, “having seen all the things He did in Jerusalem at the feast.” Nonetheless, it is recorded that He came “to Cana of Galilee” afterward. The evangelist listens to himself and is not puzzled about the narrative. After mentioning in what manner the Lord left Judea and went to Galilee – and describing how He necessarily had to pass through Samaria, narrating the incidents near the plot of ground Jacob gave to Joseph by Jacob's well, and how He stayed two days with the Samaritans – he resumes the account of His arrival in Galilee, despite many intervening matters being narrated. Since we have previously noted that Judea symbolizes something superior as it is positioned above, and Galilee something inferior, the compassionate God does not overlook the inspection of the lesser, and hence leaves the Samaritans promptly to attend to those Galileans who would willingly receive Him and to heal a nobleman’s son. Having done these things in Galilee, with the feast of the Jews at hand, He goes up to Jerusalem, making the feast more joyful and significant by His presence.

Let us see also what this means, “for Jesus Himself testified that a prophet has no honor in his own country,” and let us seek the sense of the phrase deserving of Jesus’ testimony. The homeland of the prophets was indeed in Judea, and it is evident that they did not receive honor among the Jews, having been stoned, sawn asunder, tempted, slain with the sword, wandering in sheepskins and goatskins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented. And the Jews are reproached by the one who says to them: "Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? And they have killed those who foretold the coming of the Righteous One?" Furthermore, they dishonored even the ultimate prophet, through whom the prophets became prophets: "Away with him, away with him, crucify him," they said. In my homeland, however, all the prophets and the one raised up by God according to what was said about him by Moses— "The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet from among your brethren like unto me; him shall you hear"—are honored; for was not his homeland among the nations that had accepted salvation through Israel's transgression? And it is also written elsewhere: "No prophet is accepted in his homeland and in his own house," and it is useful to gather from the Gospels when and to whom this was said regarding the Savior. It is remarkable to observe the truth of the Savior’s statement, which is seen not only in regard to the holy prophets who were dishonored by their own people and to our Lord himself but also to those who excelled in some wisdom and were despised by their fellow citizens, so that some of them were even led to death. This can be gathered from Greek history concerning those who philosophized and practiced astronomy or excelled in any other study. And there are such voices of dishonor: "Is not this the carpenter’s son? Is not his mother called Mary? And his brothers are with us? From whence then does this man have all these things?" And it is most paradoxical of the prophets that, while alive, their fellow citizens did not honor them, but upon their death, they attend to them by building and adorning their tombs. To build and adorn the monuments of the prophets is when someone, leaving aside the life-giving spirit that resides in the intentions of their writings, attends to and decorates the letter that kills, thinking the beauty of the prophecy lies in the mere letter. This is the work of those who are tormented by the Lord—the scribes and Pharisees, the scribes named after the mere letter, and the Pharisees, who are divided and have lost the divine

unity; for Pharisee means "the separated ones."

[John 4:45] When therefore he came into Galilee, the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did in Jerusalem at the feast: for they also went unto the feast.

It is worth seeing the reason for the acceptance of the Galileans, who received the Savior coming into Galilee, if it was such as to instill amazement and wonder about the Savior, so as to receive him; and what is referred to by the many things he did in Jerusalem, the "having seen all the things he did in Jerusalem at the feast." We find nothing mentioned before, except that "he found in the temple those selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the money changers sitting; and having made a scourge of cords, he drove them all out of the temple, both the sheep and the oxen, and poured out the changers' money and overturned the tables, and to those who sold doves he said, 'Take these things hence, make not my Father's house a house of merchandise.'" What therefore is so great in these things, that the Galileans, moved by them, received the Lord, testified because of this to have received him, since having come to the feast in Jerusalem they saw all the things Jesus did there? If we remember the things said in the place indicating no less power to be manifested by the Savior in those things than that which worked to make the blind see, the deaf hear, and the lame walk, it must be said that what the Galileans, realizing what they never thought, and being astonished at the divinity of Jesus, received him coming into Galilee "having seen all the things he did in Jerusalem." And the "all these things" were, with the scourge of cords, driving out of the temple both the sheep and the oxen and pouring out the changers' money and overturning the tables, and with authority telling those who sold doves, "Take these things hence, make not my Father's house a house of merchandise." Yet I think he did not only these things then, but also other signs; for it is added to those, "Now when he was in Jerusalem at the Passover during the feast, many believed in his name, observing his signs which he did"; upon which also Nicodemus says, "Rabbi, we know that you have come from God as a teacher; for no one can do these signs that you do unless God is with him." But it is permitted for a Galilean to be celebrating in Jerusalem, where the temple of God is, and to see all the things Jesus did there, especially how he drove out with the scourge of cords those who sold oxen and sheep and doves, the sheep and the oxen and the rest. For the feast in Jerusalem is the beginning for the Galileans to also receive the Son of God coming to them; for if they had not seen the things at the feast, they would not have received him; nor would he have so eagerly come to them if they had not been prepared to receive him, having left those who asked him to "stay with them." But those who received Jesus also received the one who sent him; for he says, "He who receives me receives the one who sent me." First, then, one must see, that is, understand, all the works of Jesus in Jerusalem, how he cleanses the temple, restoring it to be "the house of my Father" and no longer "a house of merchandise," so that after seeing these things, we may receive the word who worked these things. I think that the one who has not seen all the works of Jesus in Jerusalem will not receive Jesus, nor will he come to this visit, which is a symbol of the visit to those who have not previously gone up to the feast and have not seen all the things he did in Jerusalem.

[John 4:46] Then he came again to Cana of Galilee, where he had made the water wine.

Whatever we have discussed concerning Cana, we have said above. And not without reason are there two visits of Jesus in Cana; for perhaps they signify the two comings of the Savior into the world: the first, to bring joy to those feasting, and the second, to raise the son of a certain royal

one, now near death, but not a king's son. Perhaps the royal one was Abraham or Jacob, whose people—the son—, after the fullness of the Gentiles has come in, he will save in the end. And there can also be two presences of the Word in the soul: the former offering wine made from water for the joy of those at the feast, and the latter removing every remaining weakness and the threat of death. It is not surprising if most of the works of God are hidden, with Jesus doing many things for the salvation of those in various places, of which types are the remaining recorded passages. By visiting twice in this Cana, he confirms the possession of those who believe in the Father through him from this land.

[John 4:46-53] And there was a certain royal official whose son was sick at Capernaum. And he believed, and his whole house as well.

We do not commonly find among the Jews the name “royal official,” hence neither do we, with respect to the story, cast our minds to who this royal official was, and whose king's name he bore. The more genuine would consider this royal official to be a man of King Herod’s. But another, similar to this one, will say that this royal official came from the household of Caesar, doing something around Judea at that time; for it is not found clearly whether he was a Jew, since it does not follow his son who was sick in Capernaum was native to that place. His rank is also evident from the fact that his servants met him as he was coming down, saying that his son lives; for the servants are mentioned in the plural. Thus, let the history stand as it does, and the son of the royal official have recovered more elegantly by the words of the Savior at the seventh hour, freed from the fever, and his whole house believed. Let us then, as much as in us lies, investigate of whose symbol he might be and his son. Indeed, there is a great king, whose city is the true Jerusalem, and the king of kings, the one who went into a far country to receive a kingdom for himself and to return, and coming back as king, we know none other than he who says, “But I am appointed king by him over Zion, his holy mountain, declaring the command of the Lord.” All who see and rejoice in his day are the king’s people, and those who believe in the Father through him are reputed as his kingdom, of whom we seek one and the son of him who was sick, and the following associates. We said above that the whole people are sons of Abraham, as they themselves boast, “We are Abraham’s seed and have never been enslaved to anyone,” and, “Are you greater than our father Abraham who died?” For the people boasted of him beyond the rest and with him, saying, and hence even the Savior says, “Do not begin to say, ‘We have Abraham as our father,’” or “Do not think to say, ‘We have Abraham as our father;’ for God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham.” But Isaiah also says to the people, “Look to Abraham, your father, and to Sarah, who bore you.” And why should we extend the argument by examples, since it is clear that he primarily holds the position of the people’s father, which is why he is specially called “father”? We therefore conjecture that the royal official is Abraham, and his son who was sick in Capernaum and was about to die represents the Israelite nation, weakened in godliness and the observance of the divine laws and falling to death unto God, inflamed by the fiery darts of the enemy and thus said to be feverish. It appears that the saints who have passed from this life care about the people, as it is written in the Maccabees many years after the assumption of Jeremiah, "This is Jeremiah, the prophet of God, who prays much for the people." Therefore, see if it is possible for us to understand that Abraham, being a nobleman, when his son was sick and about to die, requests help from our Savior, going to Him and asking that He come down and heal his son, for he was about to die. The statement, “Unless you see signs and wonders,” referring to him, has relevance

to his sons, and perhaps also to himself. For as John, expecting Christ’s advent, awaited the given sign to recognize the prophesied one - and the sign was, “On whom you see the Spirit descending and remaining, this is the Son of God” - so the holy ones who have fallen asleep, expecting the coming of Christ in the flesh, recognized Him through signs and wonders, believing in the hoped-for Savior through these. Quickly he asks the Lord to come down to his ailing child, fearing that death would overcome the sick, and Christ drives away the fever by His word, promising the father concerning the life of the endangered child through, "Go; your son lives." This nobleman has not only a son but also servants, symbolized by Abraham’s household and bought slaves, representing a certain inferior and subordinate belief. These, being with the sick child, witness his salvation and meet the father, announcing the child's health with, "Your child lives," indicating that they did not believe previously that the master's child lived. Not in vain does the fever leave him at the seventh hour, for this number is of rest. However, the son in Capernaum, the one who was sick and being healed in the "field of consolation," represents a race labouring but not entirely devoid of fruit. The father's faith is most complete when he believes in the son's salvation and when his whole household believes in Christ. After descending from Judea to Galilee, how Jesus performed this second sign, as much as possible, we will investigate in the following passages according to the text. If the nobleman is an image of the rulers of this age, and if his son is especially the people under his authority, and, to put it in this way, a kind of chosen ones among them, and if his illness represents a condition contrary to the will of the ruler, and Capernaum symbolizes the place of residence of those under him, it is worth examining. For I think that even some of the rulers, struck by His power and divinity, have fled to Him and deemed worthy of the things governed under them; for why indeed would men accept repentance and transform from unbelief to faith, but we hesitate to say something similar about the powers? Or let someone tell us why those clothed in flesh and blood, having transformed, are able to come to God through Christ, but those using a purer nature are all insusceptible to faith in the savior and amazement at the miraculous powers brought about by Him; but I think that even among the rulers something becomes better in the presence of Christ, so that some whole cities or even nations have come to hold more closely to the things concerning Christ. And there will be nothing strange about this interpretation if it is said to the royal official, "Unless you see signs and wonders, you will not believe." The royal official being able to entreat concerning the power of God, to come down to the place of the child's illness and heal the one that is sick; but not necessarily needing to come down to the feverish son of the royal official; for "Your son lives" is sufficient when said for the salvation of the child, the word being effective and creative of what the speaker desires. Heracleon seems to call the creator the royal official because he also ruled over what was under him; but due to his short and temporary reign, he is called royal official, as if a small king appointed by a universal king over a small kingdom; and narrates that his son in Capernaum is the soul attached to the part that is lower and toward the sea, that is, the one attached to matter, and says that his own person being weak, that is, not according to nature, was in ignorance and sins. Then the phrase "from Judea into Galilee" instead of "from the higher Judea"... I do not know how, moved by "he was about to die," he thinks he overturns the doctrines of those presuming the soul to be immortal and contributing to the notion of the soul and body perishing in hell. And Heracleon does not think the soul to be immortal, but suitable for salvation, calling it itself the one wearing incorruption mortal and immortality perishable, whenever "death is swallowed up in victory." In addition, he says that "unless you see signs and wonders, you will not believe" is properly said to a person of such

nature, believing by works and sensory experience and not by word. He believes "come down before my child dies" was said because the end of the law is death, arising from sins; so before, he says, the child is completely put to death by sins, the father petitions the only savior to help the son, that is, such a nature. Besides, he interprets "Your son lives" to have been said by the savior without arrogance, since he did not say "let him live," nor did he declare that he himself provided life. He says that going down to the sick one and healing him of the illness, that is, the sins, and giving life through forgiveness, he said, "Your son lives." And adds to "the man believed" that even the creator is confident that the savior can heal even when not present. He redeemed the angels of the Creator out of servitude, proclaiming it in the words, "Your son lives," showing that he is now fitting and proper and no longer engaging in improper acts. Therefore, he considers that the servants report to the king concerning the salvation of the son, as he also believes that the angels are the first to observe the actions of people in the world, whether they live strictly and sincerely after the Savior's advent. Regarding the seventh hour, he says that by this hour the nature of the healed is indicated. And in all these things, "He and his whole household believed" has been narrated concerning the angelic order and people closest to him. He says it is questioned whether certain angels who descended upon the daughters of humans will be saved. And he considers that the destruction of the Creator's humans is indicated in "The sons of the kingdom will be cast into the outer darkness." And concerning these, Isaiah prophesied, "I have borne and raised sons, but they have rejected me," calling them foreign sons, an evil seed, and a lawless vineyard producing thorns. These are Heracleon's words, which, being bolder and more impious, required much preparation to refute if they were true. I do not know how he also disbelieves in the immortality of the soul, not understanding what is implied by the term "death." For he should have examined the meaning carefully and seen if it in every way signified mortality. If it means that the soul is capable of sin and the soul that sins will die, we too will say it is mortal; but if he considers its complete dissolution and disappearance as death, we will not agree, nor can we even think that a mortal substance could transform into an immortal one, or a corruptible nature into an incorruptible one. For this is like saying something changes from physical to non-physical, as if there were a common substrate underlying both physical and non-physical natures, which remains as those dealing with these matters claim the material remains despite the qualities changing into incorruptibility. But it is not the same to clothe a corruptible nature with incorruptibility as it is to change a corruptible nature into incorruptibility. The same things must be said about the mortal, which does not change into immortality but is clothed with it. Since he thought the psychic nature could be convinced by deeds and perception, not by words, we will ask him about Paul, of what nature he was. If he was of a spiritual nature, how did he believe through a miraculous appearance? If he could not believe except through a miraculous appearance, it follows that he too was psychic, according to him. How is it not impious to consider that the angels of the Creator observe the steadfast and sincere conduct of those improved by the power of the Savior, alongside the clear meaning of the word concerning the Creator, and also contrary to the scripture saying, "Can a man hide in secret places so that I do not see him?" and "The Lord searches the reins and hearts" and "The Lord knows the thoughts of men even if they are vain"? How will he save the statement, "He who knows all things before their existence"? Why is the nature of the healed indicated more by the number of the hour than the nature of the healing being accomplished in its appropriate, restful number? The idea of psychic corruptions, in the end of what we have set forth being said by him, using an ambiguity and introducing another fourth

nature, which he does not intend.

[John 4:54] This again was the second sign that Jesus performed after coming from Judea to Galilee. The saying is ambiguous; for it signifies something like this: during the period of Jesus' coming from Judea to Galilee, He performed two signs, of which the one concerning the royal official's son is the second. Another interpretation is that of the two signs which Jesus performed in Galilee, the second was performed upon His coming from Judea to Galilee. And this indeed is the accepted and true interpretation; for He did not perform the former upon coming from Judea to Galilee; the former sign was the turning of water into wine, which happened the day after Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter, found out where Jesus was staying and stayed with Him about the tenth hour of the day; for it is written: "The next day He wanted to go to Galilee, and He found Philip." Consider the arrangement, if we can understand it, where the evangelist marks this second sign as happening upon the Lord's coming from Judea to Galilee. We had previously said that the two visits of our Savior to Cana could symbolize His two comings to earth; which, being by His authority as He possessed every power both in heaven and on earth, was named Cana. During the first visit, after baptism, He delights us who were dining with Him and gives us to drink of the wine that comes from His power, though it was water at first when it was drawn, but became wine when Jesus transformed it. Indeed, truly before Jesus the scripture was water, but from Jesus, it has become wine for us. During the second visit, He releases from fever at the time of judgment, which He was trusted to bear by God, releasing from fever and completely healing the son of the royal official, whether named Abraham or some ruler referred to as royal. And these things have been recounted as leading to the previous ones. Since we must remember ourselves, it should be noted that His dual visitation to all creation can be understood. And you will notice if you lay down the first as preceding in this and the second as following, so that in the former those accepting Him rejoice, while in the latter those who are healed from every disease and the burning darts of the enemy are those who did not previously wish to drink of His wine. The first power is indivisible; for it was He who made the water wine in Cana, and they who drank it; the second, however, involves a kind of division; for the son of the royal official who was sick was not where Jesus was; for he was not in Cana but in Capernaum. And the message of power comes forth from Cana; for "Your son lives" was spoken in Cana; but the work of the message takes place in Capernaum; for there the son of the royal official who was sick was healed by Jesus' word at the seventh hour. We find this man healed by the word of Jesus, who was not believed to be present with him, as well as the centurion’s servant; for the Lord did not come into the house of the centurion when he said, “Lord, I am not worthy that you should come under my roof, but only speak a word, and my servant shall be healed.” Therefore, He says to him, “Go, and as you have believed, let it be done for you.” And we have also noted that in Capernaum both were sick, the centurion’s servant and the nobleman’s son. Peter’s mother-in-law also, having been bedridden with a fever in Capernaum, He healed by touching her hand, causing her to arise and serve Him. And they were healed during the daytime in Capernaum: the nobleman’s son at the seventh hour, the centurion’s servant, and Peter’s mother-in-law before evening. “In the evening—according to Matthew, in Capernaum—they brought to Him many who were demon-possessed, and He cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all who were sick.” Therefore, some are healed by Jesus later and others sooner; those at evening later, being lesser, for they were demon-possessed and in a worse condition than those healed during the day. One should attempt to gather the places where those in need of healing were found and note in which places other signs occurred, not just concerning the sick; for

example, in Samaria, the sign was, “You have had five husbands, and the one whom you now have is not your husband,” which caused the woman to be amazed and say, “I perceive that you are a prophet”; and to the townspeople, she says, “Come, see a man who told me all things that I ever did. Could this be the Christ?” One must also observe His words, where and why and upon what occasions they are spoken; for only through such observations and examinations, along with the sufferings, will you find little by little the fruits of your labors, the blessing in the psalms that says, “You shall eat the fruit of your labors.” Additionally, with regard to “This again is the second sign that Jesus did,” it must also be said that nowhere are the miracles mentioned alone; if they are spoken of anywhere, they are recorded along with the signs, as in “Unless you see signs and wonders, you will not believe”; but often the signs are mentioned without the wonders, as they are now. And we must inquire whether there is any difference between wonders and signs. I think that extraordinary and wondrous powers, due to their extraordinary nature and their surpassing of what is customary, are called "wonders"; but those that are indicative of something beyond what happens are called "signs." Therefore, we also find the name "sign" used for non-extraordinary things. For instance, circumcision is called a sign by God in these words: "Every male among you shall be circumcised. And you shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and you." Nowhere are wonders alone named, since nothing extraordinary happens in Scripture that is not a sign and symbol of something beyond what is sensibly occurring. As if a wonder occurred that was not symbolic of something else, it would have been written that Jesus, or Moses, or some other saint, performed the wonder. Therefore, when we are taught by Scripture to seek what something signifies, it says, "This second sign Jesus performed"; but when the royal official is rebuked for not believing without seeing extraordinary things, it is no longer said, "Unless you see signs, you will not believe"—since it is not the signs happening that induce belief as signs, if coincidentally the sign is not also a wonder—but "Unless you see signs and wonders, you will not believe," with you believing for the extraordinary, while we also act because of what is signified by it. You will seek in the seventy-seventh Psalm, "He placed his signs in Egypt and his wonders in the field of Tanis," whether signs and wonders differ in their subject, or if they are the same, insofar as they are signs that occurred in Egypt, with Egypt itself referring to some intelligible thing; but where they are wonders "in the field of Tanis," neither the wonders as wonders nor the field of Tanis as the field of Tanis are to be taken allegorically. But wonders, insofar as they are signs, need to be referred to their higher meaning, as does the field of Tanis to Egypt. Let us conclude here with the thirteenth volume, containing the account of events up to the seventh ministry of Jesus from the beginning: first, being baptized at Bethabara beyond the Jordan; secondly, making water wine at Cana of Galilee; third, descending to Capernaum where it is fitting that those who are weak are; fourth, ascending to Jerusalem; fifth, residing in Judea with his disciples; sixth, teaching in Samaria at Jacob's well, which we examined to the extent possible; and seventh, again being at Cana of Galilee. Henceforth, by God's grace, we will discuss what happened and was said during the festival of the Jews in Jerusalem.

Commentary on John - Book 19

Volume 19 of the Commentaries on the Gospel of John (Origen), Translated by ChatGPT from Migne's Patrologia Graeca

[John 8:19] Jesus answered, “You neither know me nor my Father. If you had known me, you would have known my Father also.”

If the words were addressed to the same, saying, "You know me and where I am from," [John 7:28] and then saying, "You neither know me nor my Father," it would seem directly contradictory. But now the phrase "You know me" is directed to some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem who said, "Do the rulers know indeed that this is truly the Christ? But we know where this man is from, and when the Christ comes, no one knows where he is from." However, the statement "You neither know me" and what follows it is to the Pharisees who said to him, "You bear witness of yourself; your witness is not true." Nevertheless, he says to both the inhabitants of Jerusalem through the earlier words, and to the Pharisees through the words now under examination, that they do not know the Father. To the inhabitants of Jerusalem, through these words: "I have not come of myself, but He who sent me is true, whom you do not know. I know Him because I am from Him, and He sent me." And to the Pharisees, through the words: "You neither know me nor my Father. If you had known me, you would have known my Father also." And one may reasonably inquire how, if it is true that "If you had known me, you would have known my Father also," the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to whom he says, "You know me," do not know the Father. And John adds to the perplexity regarding this point by what he says in his catholic epistle: "Whoever denies the Son does not have the Father either; he who acknowledges the Son has the Father also." For if "Whoever denies the Son denies the Father" and "He who acknowledges the Son has the Father also," it is evident that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, insofar as they do not know the Father, by denying the Father, also deny the Son. And if they deny the Son, how is the statement "You know me" true? Again, if they know the Son because of "You know me," since "He who acknowledges the Son has the Father also," they acknowledge the Father. But if they acknowledge the Father, how is it true that "He who sent me is true, whom you do not know"?

It must be said that the Savior sometimes speaks about himself as a man and sometimes as having a divine nature united with the unbegotten nature of the Father. For when he says, "Now you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth," he speaks knowing that what is being sought to be killed is not God but a man. But when he says, "I and the Father are one" and "I am the truth and the life" and "I am the resurrection" and similar things, he is not teaching about the man who is sought to be killed. Thus, we must understand from the context whether each of the matters before us refers to his human nature or his divinity. The phrase "You know me and where I am from" refers to his human nature, but "You neither know me nor my Father" refers to his divinity. For before saying, "You know me and where I am from," the following had been stated: "Some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem said, 'Is this not the man whom they seek to kill? And look, he speaks openly and they say nothing to him. Do the rulers know indeed that this is truly the

Christ? But we know where this man is from; when the Christ comes, no one knows where he is from.'" And regarding the phrase "You neither know me nor my Father," the following was said by the Pharisees to him: "You bear witness of yourself; your witness is not true." Jesus answered and said to them, “Even if I testify about myself, my testimony is true, because I know where I came from and where I am going. * * * You judge according to the flesh; I am not judging anyone. But even if I do judge, my judgment is true, for I am not alone, but I and the Father who sent me.” It is clear from these that it was said by those in Jerusalem, “We know where this man is from,” referring to his being born in Bethlehem, and knowing that his mother was called Mary, and his brothers James and John and Simon and Judas. Therefore, it testifies to those who said, “We know where he is from” by saying, “You know me and you know where I am from.” To the Pharisees, “Even if I testify about myself, my testimony is true, because I know where I came from and where I am going;” speaking according to his divine nature, he said these things, and, as one might say, as the firstborn of all creation he was. Therefore, to those who asked these things of him and said, “Where is your father?” he answers (as one might say, being different from the one who said, “You know me”) and says, “You neither know me nor my Father.” But regarding the ignorance of the Pharisees, either not understanding that he was speaking about the God of all, with “He who sent me testifies about me, the Father,” or if they accepted that he was speaking about God, thinking that God is in a location, and therefore responding, “Where is your Father?”

It is necessary, though, to know that heretics consider clearly from this that the God whom the Jews worship does not be the Father of Christ; for if to the Pharisees worshipping the creator, they say, the Savior said, “You neither know me nor my Father,” it is clear that the Father of Jesus, being different from the creator, the Pharisees did not know, nor did those in Jerusalem, to whom he had previously said, “But he who sent me is true, whom you do not know.” They say these things not having read the divine scriptures, nor having kept to the customary language in them. For even if one can understand thoroughly from the scriptures of the fathers concerning God that one must worship only Him, if he does not live well, they say this one does not have the knowledge of God. If, indeed, another knew about the creator and his priestly service, it would be clear that even the sons of Eli the priest, being raised in the worship, but even so, having sinned, it is written about them in the first book of Samuel: “And the sons of Eli were worthless men; they did not know the Lord.” For we will inquire of the heretics whether it is written about the creator, “They did not know the Lord,” and if they answer that these things are about the creator, we will seek to understand why it was said about the sons of Eli, “They did not know the Lord;” whether it was due to the things concerning the creator or due to their wickedness; it is clearly said because of their wickedness that they are said not to have known the Lord. And this can be found not only about the sons of Eli but also about other kings who ruled in Israel and Judah who were sinners. Thus then, the Pharisees did not know the Father; for they did not live according to the will of the creator.

There is also another meaning of knowing God, with there being a difference between knowing God and merely believing in God, as is evident from: "Whatever the law speaks, it speaks to those who are under the law," indicating clearly that it also includes the prophets whose words are called law, as we have demonstrated elsewhere. It is said in the Psalms: “Be still and know that I am God.” Who would not agree [believe] that these words were written to people who believe in the Creator? Whom to know is impossible without being still and purifying the mind of those who

contemplate, and seeing God with more divine eyes because they have made their hearts pure, and are deemed worthy of this grace, as the Savior testifies, saying: “Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.” Similarly, regarding “No one knows the Father except the Son,” we shall say that knowing the Father is not the same thing as believing in Him. Therefore, the statement “No one knows the Father except the Son” does not contradict “And Abraham believed in God, and it was credited to him as righteousness.” If someone thinks we are forcing the issue by saying that believing is not the same as knowing, and that it is possible to believe without having knowledge of the one they believe in, let them hear what Jesus says to those Jews who had believed in Him: “If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free.” Notice that before it says “If you continue in my word, you will know the truth,” it is written: “So Jesus said to the Jews who had believed in him,” and what He said was: “If you continue in my word, you will know the truth.” It is vastly different to have knowledge alongside believing, compared to merely believing. For one is given by the Spirit, a message of wisdom; to another, a message of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another, faith by the same Spirit.

These things, then, show that knowing God is different from believing in Him. Regarding the exactness, we will assign this meaning to the words said to the Pharisees: “Neither know me, nor my Father,” meaning reasonably: you do not even believe in my Father, for they did not believe in the one sent by the Father, and he who denies the Son does not have the Father either; and in no way do I say that they neither believe nor know. See whether the scripture also teaches that those who have been united to something and are joined with it are said to know that to which they have been united and shared in; but before such union and shared participation, even if they comprehend the words about something, they do not know it. Therefore Adam, speaking about Eve, said, "This now is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh," but did not yet know the woman; for when he was united with her, it is said, "And Adam knew Eve his wife." And if anyone should stumble because we have received this as an example concerning the knowledge of God from "And Adam knew Eve his wife," let him first reflect on "This mystery is great." Secondly, let him compare what is said about male and female by the apostle; he uses the same expression concerning man and the Lord: "He who is joined to a prostitute is one body with her, but he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit." Therefore, the one joined to the prostitute has known the prostitute, and the one joined to the wife has known the wife; moreover, he who is joined to the Lord surely and holy knows the Lord. If this is the case, the Pharisees did not know the Father nor the Son, and true was the one who said, "Neither know me nor my Father." If we do not understand it in this final acceptation—I mean, taking knowledge as the same as being united and mixed—someone might explain, "But now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God," and, "The Lord knows those who are his." For according to us, the Lord knew those who were his by uniting with them and sharing with them his divinity and taking them up, as the gospel word says, into his hand, those who have believed in the Savior being in the hand of the Father; therefore, if they do not fall away by distancing themselves from the hand of God, they will not be seized. For no one seizes from the hand of the Father.

After this, you will inquire into the same point, I mean the statement, "Neither have you known me, nor my Father," whether it is possible for someone to know God without knowing the Father; for if there is a different conception of Him as Father, and a different one as God, then perhaps it is

possible to know God without knowing the Father as long as one knows Him as God, but does not know the Father. The Savior, therefore, says after the resurrection to Mary, "Go to my brothers and say to them, 'I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God.'" It is suitable for heterodox to say, granting them that Moses and the prophets did not know the Father, which perhaps is not true, because anyone who has not known the Father has not known the Son; for the Son knows the Father, but the servant knows the Lord; and just as we would not be impious by saying that the Son did not know the Lord (for being a Son, He has not experienced the Father's dominion), so keeping the same God, we would not admit anything absurd by saying that the Son should know the Father and the servant the Lord, and neither the servant knows the Father nor the Son the Lord. Though there are many prayers written in the Psalms and the prophets and in the law itself, we do not find anyone praying and saying to God, "Father," perhaps because they did not know the Father; but they pray to Him as God and Lord, expecting the Spirit of adoption that He pours out not less upon them than upon those believing in God through Him after His appearing; unless indeed the spiritual advent of Christ has already happened to them and they have once received the Spirit of adoption when perfected; in a veiled manner and not openly known to all they called or wrote about God as Father, lest they anticipate the grace being bestowed upon the whole world through Jesus, calling everyone to adoption, to declare the name of God to His brothers and praise the Father in the midst of the congregation according to what is written: "I will declare Your name to my brothers, in the midst of the congregation I will praise You." For it is evident that the same God is the God of the prophets and the creator of the world; it is sufficient for the present to consider the speech of Stephen in Acts where he says to the people, "Men, brothers, and fathers, listen." The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he dwelt in Haran, and said to him, "Depart from your land and from your kin," and the rest. From the entire speech, it is incontestably clear to learn that the God of the prophets is the Father of Christ Jesus. And from the epistle to the Romans of the apostle in these words: "Paul, a servant of Christ Jesus, called to be an apostle, separated to the gospel of God, which He promised beforehand through His prophets in the holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was declared the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness by the resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we have received grace and apostleship to bring about the obedience of faith among all the Gentiles for His name's sake, among whom you also are called of Jesus Christ; to all who are in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints. Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ." Clearly, from these words we have learned that the Creator and God of the prophets and the Father of Christ is both the God and Father of us. Therefore, the Pharisees not only did not have knowledge of Him either as Father or as God, who gave the law as the Father of Christ; but neither did they believe in Him confessing as Father of Jesus and His God, nor perhaps even as the God who created all things.

They did not know Christ, and the Savior rightly reproves them saying, "You neither know Me nor My Father." These I inquire: whether "If you knew Me, you would know My Father also" is equal to "If you knew My Father, you would know Me also," or not? And I think that these do not equally correspond to one another, that from the knowledge of the Son ascending to the knowledge of the Father, the one who knows the Father knows Him not otherwise than by seeing the Son. "For he who has seen Me," He says, "has seen the One who sent Me." He would not have said, "He who has seen the Father has seen Me," since he who has perceived the Word of God has perceived

God, ascending from the Word to God. It is impossible to perceive God apart from the Word. And the one who contemplates the wisdom that God created before the ages for his works rises from knowing wisdom to knowing her Father. And it is impossible to conceive the God of wisdom without progressing through wisdom. You will say the same about truth; for no one can conceive or behold God without first knowing the truth, so that thus he might come to see in the essence or the power and nature of God beyond essence. And perhaps, just as there were some steps in the temple through which one would enter the Holy of Holies, in the same way, for all of us, the Only-Begotten of God is the steps. And just as of the steps one is first towards the lower parts, another higher than it, and so on in succession up to the highest, in the same way the Savior is all the steps. The first lower one is his human nature, upon which ascending, we proceed through the rest of his steps along the whole path in the steps, so that through him, who is both angel and the other powers, we might ascend. And according to the concepts about him, if there is another way and door, one must first meet the way, so that afterwards he may reach the door, and use him as a leader inasmuch as he is also a shepherd, so that he may later enjoy him also as a king, gain advantage of him first as a lamb, in order to first take away our sin, and then, being purified, eat his flesh, the true food; and someone will more diligently examine and acquire these things which are adjacent, and he will hear: "If you knew me, you would know my Father also," and "Since you have known me, you have known my Father."

[John 8:20] These words he spoke in the treasury, teaching in the temple; and no one seized him, because his hour had not yet come.

If it were not useful to learn from what was previously mentioned that the Savior spoke in the treasury, the evangelist would not have added to the words of Jesus, "These words he spoke in the treasury, teaching in the temple;" and everywhere that it is mentioned, "These words he spoke" in this place, you will find the reason for the addition. Therefore, so that it may be understood why these words were spoken by Jesus in the treasury, we will present what we have learned from Luke and Mark, who named the treasury. From Luke: "Looking up, he saw the rich putting their gifts into the treasury, and he saw a certain poor widow putting in two small coins. And he said, 'Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all of them; for they all contributed out of their abundance, but she out of her poverty put in all the living that she had.'" And from Mark: "And Jesus sat opposite the treasury and watched how the crowd put money into the treasury. Many rich people put in large sums; but a poor widow came and put in two small copper coins, which make a penny." And he called his disciples to him, and said to them, "Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all those who are contributing to the treasury. For all of them have contributed out of their abundance; but she out of her poverty has put in everything she had, all she had to live on." But what does the mention of these sayings mean to me, considering that the treasury was in the temple? To understand the presented word of John let us already say: if we regard the sacred place of God and the matters concerning the temple in a spiritual sense, correspondingly let us also understand the treasury in the temple, which is a place for money in honor of God and for the maintenance of the offered poor. What might this money be other than the divine words bearing the image of the great king imprinted, observed by experienced bankers, who know how to separate the genuine from the counterfeit that pretends to be genuine while it is not, and who keep the command of Jesus saying, "Be competent bankers," as well as the teaching of Paul saying, "Test everything; hold fast to what is good; abstain from every form of evil"? Let

each person contribute to the edification of the church, bringing to the spiritual treasury whatever they can in honor of God and for the benefit of the community.

Since the community can be benefited in two ways, both by words and by deeds, which the righteous performs, these also are fittingly brought to the spiritual treasury. But as not all have equal or similar strength in this life, since the householder gave to one five talents, to another two, and to another one, each according to their ability, the living word accepts them, observing the ability of those contributing to the treasury we described, and does not only observe the quantity of their contributions. Therefore, if someone is capable of more, but contributes less relative to their inherent ability, even though it is more compared to those less able, he accepts those who contribute less with all their might over those who contribute more from an ability to give manifold, as it is written in what we have set forth from both Luke and Mark. At the same time, these spoken words teach the one who has understood them spiritually to never think of exalting themselves above those who are considered inferior by human judgment. For, let no one be convinced who thinks themselves to do greater and better things, comparing themselves with those who, as far as human judgment is concerned, do the least, just because they have done everything they could, or because the other person did not deliver everything they could according to the word's requirement. Then Jesus looked up and saw the rich putting their gifts into the treasury, and noticing the poor widow putting in two small coins, perhaps in a way according to her discernment or her practice, thinking more simply about divine matters and living accordingly, he said, “Truly I say to you, this poor widow has put in more than all.” And he said this observing how those who were powerful and rich, able to contribute many times more, put into the offerings for God only a small fraction of what they were capable of contributing. But he reflected on the widow’s want and how, by straining herself, she had offered everything she had for survival into the treasury in the temple, giving all her strength to God. So Jesus, according to Luke, looking up at the rich putting their gifts into the treasury, also saw the poor widow putting in two small coins; and according to Mark, standing opposite the treasury he watched how the people gave, each according to their ability, into the treasury, like meaningful copper, and being able to see the rich he also saw if a poorly endowed soul gave with all their might and was thus justified more than the many rich. He does not say these things to the general public but, as Mark says, to his disciples; and he now, calling his disciples, teaches them to see not as man sees but as God sees (“For man looks at the outward appearance, but the Lord looks at the heart”), the “Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all those who are contributing to the treasury," and the following words.

What do all these things mean to me as the narrative presents “These words that he spoke in the treasury, teaching in the temple,” or show that when everyone contributing to the treasury of the temple gave the things to nourish those in need, Jesus should have given the things to benefit them more than all, which were words of eternal life and teaching about God and himself? And indeed, more precious than any currency was the saying “I am the light of the world,” spoken in the treasury, and “If you had known me, you would have known my Father also,” and all the further sayings in that place. And compared to the words of Jesus, all the gold brought by the others into the treasury was like a little sand; for all his words were wisdom. “For all gold in comparison to wisdom is a little bit of sand, and silver will be counted as clay before it.” [Wisdom 7:9] And these things will be clearly understood by those who have learned to hearken to the wisdom spoken among the perfect, hidden in a mystery, "which God foreordained before the ages to the glory" of

His righteous ones, and who are able to perceive the supremacy of God's wisdom beyond the "wisdom of this age" or "the rulers of this age, who are coming to nothing," as if using their own prophets, opposing any words that are contrary to truth; for all other wisdoms are considered little sand compared to gold in the presence of the wisdom [Wisdom 7:9], which God created as the beginning of His ways for His works, and the shining and persuasive argument of many regarded as silver will be counted as clay [Wisdom 7:9], the pure oracles of the Lord that are seven times purified and proved, as they come from the Word who was with God in the beginning. And from the book called Wisdom, we have otherwise recorded to understand the power of "These words which He spoke in the treasury, teaching in the temple." For let the narrative about the rich and the poor widow be kept as it has been rendered, and if anyone is an imitator of Christ, let him not walk by the mind alone to the spiritual temple of God, but be led by the Spirit able to guide him there, and bring accepted offerings, words of eternal life, to the treasury, and works corresponding to such words. But may none of us be poor or widowed, able to bring nothing more than two mites, nor rich bringing only out of abundance, but consecrating all wealth to God.

Jesus did not speak all the words He had in the treasury teaching, but only as many as the treasury could hold; for I think not even the whole world could contain the word of God. Yet, still speaking and teaching so many words in the treasury, Jesus was not yet seized by anyone; for His words were stronger than those wishing to seize Him. And as long as He speaks, none of His adversaries could seize Him; but if He is silent, then He is seized. Thus, when He desired to suffer for the world, being examined by Pilate and scourged, He was silent; for if He had spoken, it would no longer have happened to Him to be crucified through weakness, since there is no weakness in what the Word speaks. And while He was in the treasury, the time for Him to be seized had not yet come, nor even when He was in the temple; but He needed to be in a place like a torrent when He wished and could be seized. And it was necessary that the time for His capture should not be by day; "For Judas, having taken the cohort and officers from the chief priests and Pharisees, comes there with lanterns and torches and weapons." We have discussed more about "His hour had not yet come" above, and it will be useful for the present as well.

[John 8:21] Then He said to them again, "I am going away, and you will seek me, and you will die in your sin. Where I am going, you cannot come." And these things He spoke in the treasury, in the temple, adding to the previous words not only these but more until, "Truly, truly, I say to you, before Abraham was, I am." After this statement, when they took up stones to throw at Him, Jesus hid Himself and went out of the temple. Passing by, He saw a man who was blind from birth, about whom we will inquire, God willing, when we meet at the place. He says these things so that they may happen, "While He was speaking these things, many believed in Him," like the poor coming to the treasury to take whatever they can and whatever is distributed to them. Many indeed believed in Him, but not many knew Him, since among those who believed in Him, those who remain in His word, truly becoming His disciples, will know the truth. Not many of those who believed in Him remain in His word, nor do many truly become His disciples. Therefore, not many will know the truth, and if the truth sets free, they will not be free; for very few perceive freedom. Who then are those who will know or exalt Him? As He Himself teaches, saying, "When you lift up the Son of Man, then you will know that I am He." No one exalts Him while being fed with milk, preparing himself for receiving solid food; therefore, He says to such a one, "I determined to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and Him crucified," to whom even the minister of the word

becomes weak, as Paul says to such, "I was with you in weakness and in fear and in much trembling." Thus speaks the word of God, beginning the second teachings in the treasury in the temple, "I am going away, and you will seek me, and you will die in your sin." I seek through the "While He was speaking these things, many believed in Him," lest perhaps He says this not to all those present, but to those who He knew would not believe, and therefore they will die in their sin and will not be able to follow Him; unable because they do not want to; for if willing, they could not, it would not reasonably be said to them, "You will die in your sin."

Someone might say to this, "If He said this to those persisting in unbelief, how can He say to such, 'You will seek me'?" For often seeking Jesus is good, somehow the same as seeking the Word and truth and wisdom. But you will say that it is also said concerning those who plot, just as in, "They sought to seize Him, but no one laid a hand on Him because His hour had not yet come," and in "I know that you are Abraham’s seed, but you seek to kill me, because my word finds no place in you," and in "Now you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth which I heard from God." Therefore, it is said to those not seeking rightly, "You will seek me," not contradicting "Everyone who seeks finds." And there are always differences among those seeking Jesus, not all seeking Him genuinely and for their own salvation and to benefit from Him. For there are also countless fallen dispositions seeking Jesus; therefore, only those who have rightly sought Him found peace, who rightly could be said to seek the Word from the beginning, the Word with God, and to be brought near to the Father. But when the Word is present and appearing, if it is not accepted, it threatens to depart and says, "I am going away;" and if we seek Him after He has departed, we shall not find Him, but we shall die in our sins. He knows from whom He is going away and to whom He remains inaccessible until He is sought in due time. And it is said to those who have Him like this and have not yet observed Him: "Do not say in your heart, 'Who will ascend into heaven? That is, to bring Christ down; or, 'Who will descend into the abyss? That is, to bring Christ up from the dead.' But what does the scripture say? 'The word is very near you, in your mouth and in your heart.'" To these, the Savior kindly shows also concerning the kingdom of God, so that they do not seek it outside themselves nor say, "Here it is," or "There it is;" for He says to them, "The kingdom of God is within you." And as long as we preserve within our soul the seeds of truth and its beginnings that were sown in us, the Word has not yet departed from us; but if we are corrupted by the outpouring of wickedness, then He will say to us, "I am going," so that if we seek Him we shall not find Him, but we shall die in our sins, caught in them and taken by those appointed to seize the soul, according to what was said: "Fool, this very night your soul will be demanded from you."

We should not pass over unexamined also the phrase, "You will die in your sins." If it is taken more commonly, it is clear that sinners will die in their sin, and the righteous will die in their righteousness; but if "You will die" is understood according to the death of the enemy of Christ, as one sinning unto death, it is clear that those to whom it was said had not yet died. And you inquire how those who did not believe while they were living will ever die. Someone will answer even to this, saying that at that time not yet believing was not yet a sin unto death, and those to whom the word came had not yet sinned unto death. But they were living in the weakness of their soul, and that weakness was unto death. Therefore, the physician, seeing them gravely ill, said in despair of their healing, "I am going away, and you will seek me, and you will die in your sins." We said then that "since that infirmity was 'unto death' for them, since they learned from Jesus the difference of

infirmities. Lazarus also was sick, but the physician knew that his sickness was not unto death; therefore he says: 'This sickness is not unto death.' Therefore, even when we take hold of our own sicknesses, let us be careful lest we fall sick unto death, the disease changing from one that can still have a cure to one that is incurable. At the same time, it becomes somewhat clearer also what is meant by 'Where I am going, you cannot come,' in relation to 'You will die in your sin.' For when someone dies in their own sin, where Jesus is going they cannot go; for no dead person can follow Jesus. 'The dead do not praise you, Lord, nor any of those who go down into Hades. But we, who are alive, shall bless the Lord.' You may also add to 'You will die in your sin' what is written in Ezekiel: 'The soul who sins shall die'; for the death of the soul is sin, though not every sin, but the one that John speaks of as unto death. He also distinguishes that some sins are the death of the soul, some its sickness, and perhaps even thirdly, some a loss to the soul, the sin namely from 'What shall a man profit if he gains the whole world but loses or suffers loss of his soul?' and from 'If someone’s work is burned, he will suffer loss.' To those, therefore, who die in their sin, he says: 'I go away, and you will seek me, and you will die in your sin; where I go, you cannot come,' but to Peter: 'Where I am going, you cannot follow me now, but you will follow afterward'; for it is possible that one who is a disciple of Jesus can now not be prepared to follow Him as He goes to the Father, but later diligently walking in His steps, they may follow their teacher and follow the Word of God. It is reasonable that someone, considering what pertains to the end, will dwell on 'Where I am going you cannot come,' and regarding it will say that one may be unable to do so now, but later may be able; and if there is a present age and another to come, to whom it is said, 'You cannot come,' in the present age (and much time remains until its completion) they cannot come where Jesus is, which is, where truth and wisdom and the Word are, for that is 'where Jesus is.' I know some who are not only in this age but also in the future held by their own sin, as those regarding whom the Word says: 'He who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit does not have forgiveness either in this age or in the age to come,' nor indeed even in the future age nor in the ages to come. But Heracleon, setting forth the word about the treasury, said nothing about it. But to 'Where I am going you cannot come,' he says: 'How can those in ignorance, unbelief, and sins attain incorruption?' and not even in this does he listen to himself; for if those in ignorance, unbelief, and sins cannot attain incorruption, how have the apostles who were once in ignorance and unbelief, and in sins, attained incorruption? Therefore, those who were in ignorance, unbelief, and sins can become incorrupt if they change, and it is possible for them to change."

[John 8:22] Therefore the Jews were saying, “Surely, he will not kill himself, will he, since he says, ‘Where I am going, you cannot come’?”

It is worth asking what moved the Jews to say, "Surely, he will not kill himself, will he, since he says, ‘Where I am going, you cannot come’?" so that it may also be given more simply that they said “Surely, he will not kill himself?" How can those who are able to kill themselves, even if they do not take their own lives and do not go where one who takes his own life goes, not be able to go where the one who takes his own life goes? It must therefore be said, concerning these inquiries, to those who more carefully and deeply hear the words spoken by the Jews in the Gospels, that it is clear that they were saying many things according to certain secret and obscure traditions, as having known things other than the common and publicized ones. But when we see from the context of the said things, then we will seek if they also say this about the Savior, seeing something deeper. But that they said so according to retired and obscure words, not publicized

ones, is evident from the fact that they said that the unclear one cast out demons by Beelzebul, the ruler of demons. For they surely had learned something about demons and their ruler, whose name is Beelzebul; these things are not very much laid out in the extant books; and the Savior's testimony does not lie when he says of Beelzebul, “If I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast them out?” For having admitted that there is one Beelzebul and that in him one casting out demons, he speaks as if a division of Satan against himself is in effect. They were mistaken indeed, saying that the demons were cast out by the Savior in Beelzebul, but they had a grasp that there was a Beelzebul, ruler of demons. But even if they say about Jesus that he is John risen from the dead, or one of the prophets, surely having a belief about the soul, as we have examined in the case of John, they conjecture such things about the Savior. It is likely that they also knew myriad other things, either from tradition or from apocryphal sources, beyond the common knowledge. Let us therefore see about "Surely, he will not kill himself?" if they might have thought something not more common and simpler, such as when one takes his own life either by hanging or by sword or by any other means, and especially since they think that by taking his own life he would go to a place they could not reach. And if not indeed superstitiously concerning names, but observing the matters not found using other names according to the matters, maybe, so to speak, in a more divine manner Jesus took away his own life, which we thus set forth: that the souls of all departing from the body, being demanded back by certain appointed over this, are taken up; it is likely that those appointed over this service are superior to the souls themselves; for the saying “Fool, this night your soul is demanded back from you” signifies something of the sort.

If someone says that this can be said only about the lesser ones and not about the greater and virtuous ones, let him understand whether our Lord uniquely declares concerning himself: "No one takes my life from me, but I lay it down of my own accord; I have authority to lay it down and authority to take it up again." For let us consider someone who leaves the body when he wishes and departs without the way that leads to death, whether through violent means or through diseases, and then returns whenever he wishes, and uses the body as an instrument, which he had left behind; for we would say of such a person that his life is not taken away from him. And it is fitting indeed to say this about Jesus' life, and that he, wanting to present to his disciples the uniqueness of his departure, said, "No one takes my life from me, but I lay it down of my own accord"; for neither Moses, nor any of the Patriarchs or prophets, nor any of the apostles, would say this except Jesus, since all the souls of men are taken away from them. With this being understood, it can be clear what was said in the seventy-seventh Psalm in this manner from the perspective of the Savior: "Among the dead, free." By examining what is written in the Gospels about his departure, you will find the account of his exodus not discordant with the records; for if he had died as the bandits crucified with him, with the soldiers breaking the legs of those suffering, we would not say that he laid down his life of his own accord, but in some way like dying ones. But now "Jesus cried out with a loud voice and gave up his spirit," and like a king leaving the body and acting with power and authority, doing what he thought reasonable to do, immediately "the veil of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom, and the earth shook, and the rocks were split, and the tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised, and after his resurrection, they came out of the tombs and went into the holy city and appeared to many"; seeing this, the centurion and those with him, who were keeping guard over Jesus, were greatly afraid, saying, "Truly this was the Son of God." Perhaps then, among the traditions about Christ, just as it was said that he was born in Bethlehem and arose from the tribe of Judah in

accordance with the sound interpretations of the prophetic words, so also regarding his death, as he himself separated from life in the manner we have said; and it is likely that they knew this about the one who would depart in this way to a place where those understanding these things could not be, so they did not speak in a simple sense but according to some tradition about Christ, saying, "Will he kill himself because he says, 'Where I am going, you cannot come'?" And if the Jews say these things, they say them hesitantly; for "Will he kill himself?" is of this nature. And it is not surprising that they were confused about Christ, considering even earlier the people, having heard the words of Jesus, were saying: "This man is truly the prophet;" others were saying: "This man is the Christ;" still others were saying: "No, the Christ does not come from Galilee, does he? Has not the scripture said that the Christ comes from the seed of David and from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" So there became a division among the people because of him. Shortly after, it is written that "The officers answered, 'Never has a man spoken like this man.'" As even the Pharisees told those marveling at his word: "Surely you have not been led astray too, have you? Has anyone of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed in him? But this crowd that does not know the law is accursed." When Nicodemus, who had come to him earlier, said, "Does our law judge a man without first giving him a hearing and knowing what he is doing?" They replied, "Are you from Galilee too? Search and see that no prophet arises from Galilee."

How could those hearing him saying, "I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life," consider him as simply removing himself? To this, the Pharisees said to him, "You testify on your own behalf; your testimony is not true." Jesus answered, "Even if I testify on my own behalf, my testimony is true, because I know where I came from and where I am going. You judge by human standards; I judge no one. Yet even if I do judge, my judgment is true, for it is not I alone who judge, but I and the Father who sent me. In your law it is written that the testimony of two men is true. I am one who testifies about myself, and the Father who sent me testifies on my behalf." What is believable in killing oneself after speaking these intelligent words: "You do not know me or my Father; if you knew me, you would know my Father also"? It is likely that they expected the same for his saying, "I am going away, and you will search for me, but you will die in your sin. Where I am going, you cannot come." To this, the Jews responded, “Will he kill himself, since he says, 'Where I am going, you cannot come'?” It is indeed evident that the authority to die willingly, leaving the body behind, lies in "I am going away." Perhaps because of "I am going away," he adds "And you will search for me." It is likely that those present with him, when he departed from life, would seek him. And because they die in their sins, even after all this, they were not convinced enough to say about him unmistakably, "Will he kill himself?" since they cannot go where he is going. I think that with more ill intent, naming it according to what was said about the death of Christ, it has come to them. "And not glorifying the one thus departing from life, they have said the phrase, 'Will he kill himself?' For it was said hesitantly, with an emphasis on his glory in death, and as if to say in this manner: Will his soul leave, whenever he wishes, leaving behind the body, and this is why he says, 'Where I am going, you cannot come.' At the same time, observe what was said to us about how he departed from life: 'And going up to Jerusalem, Jesus took the twelve aside by themselves, and on the way, he told them, 'Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem, and the Son of Man will be delivered up to the chief priests and scribes, and they will condemn him to death and deliver him to the Gentiles to be mocked and flogged and crucified, and on the third day he will rise again.' If someone objects by quoting, 'From then on, he began to show his disciples that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer

many things from the elders, chief priests, and scribes, and be killed,' and 'The Son of Man is to be delivered into the hands of men, and they will kill him, and on the third day he will rise again,' you will say that they killed him, all who shouted, 'Crucify, crucify him,' and those who are guilty of his death, even though he cried out with a loud voice and gave up his spirit before the soldiers coming to break his legs. Refer also to this: 'Whoever finds me will kill me,' and 'Anyone who kills Cain will suffer vengeance seven times over.' For how could 'Whoever finds Cain will kill him' be true if one had already killed him? Or how could 'Anyone who kills Cain will suffer vengeance seven times over' not imply that many would kill him? For the word 'anyone' has been said about a multitude. Perhaps Peter, taking the words of the Savior in a more human sense, says, 'God forbid, Lord; this shall never happen to you.' But the Savior, rebuking him for not understanding correctly, says, 'Get behind me, Satan; you are a stumbling block to me, for you are not setting your mind on God's interests, but man's.' Likewise, see how Paul's statement, 'He gave himself for us as a sacrifice to God,' fits into this context. Thus alone can you interpret the eternal high priest according to the order of Melchizedek and the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world, offering a sacrifice to God, not by the hands of the ungodly but by a pious high priest. So we have wrestled with the intent of those who said, 'Will he kill himself because he says, 'Where I am going, you cannot come'?' having heard the many words previously spoken by Jesus. It is likely that some stumble at what they think is a forced interpretation, believing the Jews simply said, 'Will he kill himself?' as if Jesus were taking his own life and going to a place of punishment where they could not go, not being guilty of the same sin against themselves. But even they must admit if the Jews could have conceived that Jesus said this, condemning himself to a place of punishment where they could not go, considering themselves better than him, or they will have to admit that if Jesus perceived this and decided to kill himself, he preferred taking his own life to not doing so. Also, Heracleon claims that the Jews, thinking meanly of Jesus, said this and considered themselves greater than the Savior, believing they were destined for eternal rest with God, while the Savior, by managing his death, was heading towards destruction and death, where they did not think they would go. In their very words, he says that the Jews believed the Savior was saying, 'I, managing my own death, am going to destruction, where you cannot come.' But how can this be, according to the one who said, 'I am the light of the world,' and what follows, that he was heading toward destruction? If someone argues that the Savior did not say this, but the Jews thought it, it becomes clear that the Jews had despised him, believing that those who destroy themselves would perish and be punished, which was utterly foolish in every way."

[John 8:23] And he said to them, "You are from below, I am from above; you are of this world, I am not of this world." And in the foregoing, he said, "He who is of the earth belongs to the earth and speaks of the earth; he who comes from heaven is above all; what he has seen and heard, this he testifies." Therefore, if "he who is of the earth belongs to the earth and speaks of the earth," and "he who comes from heaven testifies to what he has seen and heard," you may inquire whether "being of the earth" is the same as "being from below" or something different. And at the same time, notice that he did not say, "He who is from heaven belongs to heaven and speaks of heaven"; for perhaps the Savior was not from heaven, most especially as he was the firstborn of all creation. For "the second man" was from heaven, as Paul also somewhere says, "The first man was from the earth, a man of dust; the second man is from heaven." Here too, consider whether "You are from below" and "You are of this world" mean the same thing or if "being from the earth" is different from "being of this world." Similarly, examine "I am from above" and "I am not of this

world." It is worthwhile to see what it means to be "from above" and what it means to be "not of this world."

Indeed, consider whether he who has taken on generation and bodies from matter, by abandoning the better part, is from the earth; whoever belongs to the earth speaks of the earth, not being able to see or speak of anything higher. Such a one is also from below. However, there is a different conception of being from below and being of the earth. Below is understood not only in terms of place but also in beliefs and mind. And anyone who uses such beliefs and mind, which are from below, is from below. But also, the visible world, having become material, due to those who desire material life, has places that differ; all such places are considered below in comparison to the immaterial, the invisible, and the incorporeal, not so much in place as in comparison to the invisible. As for examining the places of the world with the places of the world, some places might indeed be below and others above; the earthly things are below, and the heavenly things are above, thus someone who is from below is certainly of this world, but someone who is of this world is not necessarily from below. For consider if someone who is a citizen of the heavenly things is somehow of this world, but not locally from below. Nevertheless, even he is from below in comparison to the intelligible things. For every citizen of the visible and transient and temporary is from below, even if he happens to be in the highest place. Yet it is possible for the one from below and from this world and from the earth to change and become from above and no longer from this world, and another who is from this world, but from heaven. For he says to his disciples: "You were of the world, and I chose you out of the world, and you are no longer of the world." For if the Savior came to seek and save what was lost, he came to transfer those below and registered among the below to the above. For he who descended to the lower parts of the earth did so for those in the lowest parts of the earth; but he also ascended above all the heavens, making a path for those willing and truly apprenticed to him, the path leading above all the heavens, that is, above the realm of bodies. And if you desire to learn from writing who is from below and who is from above, listen: since wherever each one’s treasure is, there also is his heart; if someone treasures on the earth, he becomes from below by treasuring on the earth, but if someone treasures in the heavens, he is born from above and assumes the image of the heavenly; but even otherwise, having gone through all the heavens, he is found in the highest blessedness. It would be as each one’s works, as I said, so that one may say that the works of the flesh make one from below, but the fruit of the Spirit makes one from above; and again, love for this world makes one from this world. Since, according to John, the one who has the love of God * * he is not from this world, who does not love the world nor the things in the world, but says, "May it never be that I boast, except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world," and proceeds to love the Lord his God with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his mind, such love not being distressed by love for the world or the things in the world; for it is impossible for love for the world to coexist with love for God, just as it is impossible for light and darkness, or Christ and Belial, or the temple of God and the temple of idols to coexist. As there is a difference among the lower things themselves, it is said superlatively, "They placed me in the lowest pit" and "He who descended into the lower parts of the earth, this one also ascended." Therefore, all those descending into the lower regions of the earth, into Hades, will fall down before Christ, since it is true: "In death, there is no one remembering you, and in Hades, who will confess you?" And if someone argues about Him descending into the lower parts of the earth, you will notice that it is said about those descending into the earth: "They will fall down," for all things

submit to Christ and every knee bends at the name of Jesus; some fall down to Him sooner and others later. Perhaps those on the earth will fall down and be subjected before others, for it is worse to be subjected later, which is why "the last enemy to be destroyed is death." After this, inquire if there is also a difference among the higher things, just as there is among the lower, as something is spoken of as the lowest, so also among the higher, especially since the inheritance of the kingdom of heavens is the same, with all heirs of heavens being above, but not all equally having the state of being above. But even with the intellectual descent of the soul due to wickedness and malicious doctrines, and its intellectual ascent, you will find no simple difference; indeed, you will consider the spiritual descents to be more profound. At the same time, consider whether you do not hear, more mystically and not spatially, concerning the soul of Jesus: "Ascending above all the heavens," for the intellectual ascent of that soul has surpassed all the heavens and, as it can be said, has already reached toward God Himself.

However, there exists another world besides the visible one composed of heaven and earth, or heavens and earth, where unseen things exist; and all this is an invisible world, an unobservable world, and an intellectual world, the vision and beauty of which will be perceived by the pure in heart, preparing through seeing it to proceed to see God, such that they see God as He is naturally seen, as He is by nature, God. Inquire also if in any sense the firstborn of all creation can be the cosmos, particularly since "wisdom" is manifold; for by being the reasons of everything whatsoever, by which all things made by God are made in wisdom (as the prophet says, "You made all things in wisdom"), in Him, He might also be the cosmos, differing as much from the material cosmos as the reason devoid of matter differs from the material world, not coming from matter, but from the participation of reason and wisdom, decorating matter. And observe if the saying, "I am not from this world," means the soul of Jesus is conducting itself within the whole cosmos, encompassing it all and guiding those being taught to it. That world does not have anything below, just as this one does not have anything above when examined precisely. For how could this world have anything above, whose creation is a foundation? Therefore, we must not heedlessly understand "before the foundation of the world," for the holy ones devised this name of foundation with such an intent; yet, they could have said "before the creation of the world" and not used the name "foundation." Thus, the entire world and everything in it are in a foundation; but those true disciples of Jesus become outside the foundation of every world, whom He chose out of the world, so that they are no longer of the world, lifting up their own cross and following Him.

[John 8:24] Therefore I told you that you will die in your sins; for if you do not believe that I am He, you will die in your sins. When did He say to them, "You will die in your sins," or when He said, "You will seek Me, and you will die in your sins?" What is the cause of men dying in their sins if not believing that Jesus is the Christ? For He Himself says, "If you do not believe that I am He, you will die in your sins." And if he who does not believe that Jesus is the Christ will die in his own sins, it is clear that he who does not die in his sins has believed in Christ, and he who dies in his own sins, even if he claims to believe in Christ, has not truly believed in Him; if faith is said to exist but without works, it is dead, as we read in the epistle attributed to James. So who then is he who believes or who has been affected by being disposed according to the word and to be in concord with it by not falling into, as much as possible, sinful actions? As for "Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ has been born of God," is it not to sin and towards anything that happens contrary to the right word? Moreover, you will understand what "For if you do not believe that I am

He, you will die in your sins" means, by considering that He is the firstborn of all creation. For instance, one who believes in what righteousness is would not act unjustly, and he, by having observed what wisdom is, having believed in wisdom would not say or do anything foolish, since he who has believed in the Word that was in the beginning with God, in having understood Him, would do nothing illogically. Besides, he who believes that "He is our peace" would not act in a way of war and strife. But if Christ is not only the wisdom of God but also the power of God, he who believes in Him as power would not be incapable regarding good things. Necessarily, considering Him as patience and strength, because "And now, what is my hope? Is it not the Lord?" and "My strength," and "The Lord is my sustenance," we shall say that if we yield to hardships, we do not believe in Him as patience, and if we are feeble, we have not believed in Him as strength. And if we thus reconsider the remaining attributes of Christ, we will find from the sayings without difficulty how he who does not believe in Christ will die in his sins; for by becoming in the opposites of the attribute of Christ, he dies in those very sins.

[John 8:25] So they said to him, "Who are you?"

It was natural for those listening with great authority to ask the one speaking these things, "Who is this person?" For it appeared that the one asserting these things seemed to possess a nature greater and more divine than that of a human. The Savior asserted, "If you do not believe that I am, you will die in your sins." Hence, the "Who are you?" as if asking directly, was a response such as, "I am the Christ" or "I am the Prophet" or "I am Elijah" or perhaps "I am an angel of God." For one asserting such genuine words would certainly belong to one of these or something similar to them.

Commentary on John - Book 2

Book II.

2. In What Way the Logos is God. Errors to Be Avoided on This Question.

3. Various Relations of the Logos to Men.

4. That the Logos is One, Not Many. Of the Word, Faithful and True, and of His White Horse.

5. He (This One) Was in the Beginning with God.

6. How the Word is the Maker of All Things, and Even the Holy Spirit Was Made Through Him.

7. Of Things Not Made Through the Logos.

8. Heracleon's View that the Logos is Not the Agent of Creation.

9. That the Logos Present in Us is Not Responsible for Our Sins.

10. "That Which Was Made Was Life in Him, and the Life Was the Light of Men." This Involves the Paradox that What Does Not Derive Life from the Logos Does Not Live at All.

11. How No One is Righteous or Can Truly Be Said to Live in Comparison with God.

12. Is the Saviour All that He Is, to All?

13. How the Life in the Logos Copies After the Beginning.

14. How the Natures of Men are Not So Fixed from the First, But that They May Pass from Darkness to Light.

15. Heracleon's View that the Lord Brought Life Only to the Spiritual, Refutation of This.

16. The Life May Be the Light of Others Besides.

17. The Higher Powers are Men; And Christ is Their Light Also.

18. How God Also is Light, But in a Different Way; And How Life Came Before Light.

19. The Life Here Spoken of is the Higher Life, that of Reason.

20. Different Kinds of Light; And of Darkness.

21. Christ is Not, Like God, Quite Free from Darkness: Since He Bore Our Sins.

22. How the Darkness Failed to Overtake the Light.

23. There is a Divine Darkness Which is Not Evil, and Which Ultimately Becomes Light.

24. John the Baptist Was Sent. From Where? His Soul Was Sent from a Higher Region.

25. Argument from the Prayer of Joseph, to Show that the Baptist May Have Been an Angel Who Became a Man.

26. John is Voice, Jesus is Speech. Relation of These Two to Each Other.

27. Significance of the Names of John and of His Parents.

28. The Prophets Bore Witness to Christ and Foretold Many Things Concerning Him.

29. The Six Testimonies of the Baptist Enumerated. Jesus' "Come and See." Significance of the Tenth Hour.

30. How John Was a Witness of Christ, and Specially of "The Light."

Book II.

1. "And the Word was with God, and the Word was God." In the preceding section, my revered brother Ambrosius, brother formed according to the Gospel, we have discussed, as far as is at present in our power, what the Gospel is, and what is the beginning in which the Word was, and what the Word is which was in the beginning. We now come to consider the next point in the work before us, How the Word was with God. To this end it will be of service to remember that what is called the Word came to certain persons; as "The Word of the Lord1 which came to Hosea, the son of Beeri," and "The Word2 which came to Isaiah, the son of Amos, concerning Judah and concerning Jerusalem," and "The Word which came to Jeremiah3 concerning the drought." We must enquire how this Word came to Hosea, and how it came also to Isaiah the son of Amos, and again to Jeremiah concerning the drought; the comparison may enable us to dud out how the Word was with God. The generality will simply look at what the prophets said, as if that were the Word of the Lord or the Word, that came to them. May it not be, however, that as we say that this person comes to that, so the Son, the Word, of whom we are now theologizing, came to Hosea, sent to him by the Father; historically, that is to say, to the son of Beeri, the prophet Hosea, but mystically to him who is saved, for Hosea means, etymologically, Saved; and to the son of Beeri, which etymologically means wells, since every one who is saved becomes a son of that spring which gushes forth out of the depths, the wisdom of God. And it is nowise marvellous that the saint should be a son of wells. From his brave deeds he is often called a son, whether, from his works shining before men, of light, or from his possessing the peace of God which passes all understanding, of peace, or, once more, from the help which wisdom brings him, a child of wisdom; for wisdom,4 it says, is justified of her children. Thus he who by the divine spirit searches all things, and even the deep things of God, so that he can exclaim,5 "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God!" he can be a son of wells, to whom the Word of the Lord comes. Similarly the Word comes also to Isaiah, teaching the things which are coming upon Judaea and Jerusalem in the last days; and so also it comes to Jeremiah lifted up by a divine elation. For Iao means etymologically lifting up, elation. Now the Word comes to men who formerly could not receive the advent of the Son of God who is the Word; but to God it does not come, as if it had not been with Him before. The Word was always with the Father; and so it is said, "And the Word was with God." He did not come to God, and this same word "was" is used of the Word because He was in the beginning at the same time when He was with God, neither being separated from the beginning nor being bereft of His Father. And again, neither did He come to be in the beginning after He had not been in it, nor did He come to be with God after not having been

with Him. For before all time and the remotest age6 the Word was in the beginning, and the Word was with God. Thus to find out what is meant by the phrase, "The Word was with God," we have adduced the words used about the prophets, how He came to Hosea, to Isaiah, to Jeremiah, and we have noticed the difference, by no means accidental, between "became" and "was." We have to add that in His coming to the prophets He illuminates the prophets with the light of knowledge, causing them to see things which had been before them, but which they had not understood till then. With God, however, He is God, just because He is with Him. And perhaps it was because he saw some such order in the Logos, that John did not place the clause "The Word was God" before the clause "The Word was with God." The series in which he places his different sentences does not prevent the force of each axiom from being separately and fully seen. One axiom is, "In the beginning was the Word," a second, "The Word was with God," and then comes, "And the Word was God." The arrangement of the sentences might be thought to indicate an order; we have first "In the beginning was the Word," then, "And the Word was with God," and thirdly, "And the Word was God," so that it might be seen that the Word being with God makes Him God.

2. In What Way the Logos is God. Errors to Be Avoided on This Question.

We next notice John's use of the article in these sentences. He does not write without care in this respect, nor is he unfamiliar with the niceties of the Greek tongue. In some cases he uses the article, and in some he omits it. He adds the article to the Logos, but to the name of God he adds it sometimes only. He uses the article, when the name of God refers to the uncreated cause of all things, and omits it when the Logos is named God. Does the same difference which we observe between God with the article and God without it prevail also between the Logos with it and without it? We must enquire into this. As the God who is over all is God with the article not without it, so "the Logos" is the source of that reason (Logos) which dwells in every reasonable creature; the reason which is in each creature is not, like the former called par excellence The Logos. Now there are many who are sincerely concerned about religion, and who fall here into great perplexity. They are afraid that they may be proclaiming two Gods, and their fear drives them into doctrines which are false and wicked. Either they deny that the Son has a distinct nature of His own besides that of the Father, and make Him whom they call the Son to be God all but the name, or they deny the divinity of the Son, giving Him a separate existence of His own, and making His sphere of essence fall outside that of the Father, so that they are separable from each other. To such persons we have to say that God on the one hand is Very God (Autotheos, God of Himself); and so the Saviour says in His prayer to the Father,7 "That they may know Thee the only true God; "but that all beyond the Very God is made God by participation in His divinity, and is not to be called simply God (with the article), but rather God (without article). And thus the first-born of all creation, who is the first to be with God, and to attract to Himself divinity, is a being of more exalted rank than the other gods beside Him, of whom God is the God, as it is written,8 "The God of gods, the Lord, hath spoken and called the earth." It was by the offices of the first-born that they became gods, for He drew from God in generous measure that they should be made gods, and He communicated it to them according to His own bounty. The true God, then, is "The God," and those who are formed after Him are gods, images, as it were, of Him the prototype. But the archetypal image, again, of all these images is the Word of God, who was in the beginning, and who by being with God is at all times God, not possessing that of Himself, but by His being with the Father, and not continuing to be God, if we should think of this, except by remaining always in uninterrupted contemplation of

the depths of the Father.

3. Various Relations of the Logos to Men.

Now it is possible that some may dislike what we have said representing the Father as the one true God, but admitting other beings besides the true God, who have become gods by having a share of God. They may fear that the glory of Him who surpasses all creation may be lowered to the level of those other beings called gods. We drew this distinction between Him and them that we showed God the Word to be to all the other gods the minister of their divinity. To this we must add, in order to obviate objections, that the reason which is in every reasonable creature occupied the same relation to the reason who was in the beginning with God, and is God the Word, as God the Word occupies to God. As the Father who is Very God and the True God is to His image and to the images of His image-men are said to be according to the image, not to be images of God-so He, the Word, is to the reason (word) in every man. Each fills the place of a fountain-the Father is the fountain of divinity, the Son of reason. As, then, there are many gods, but to us there is but one God the Father, and many Lords, but to us there is one Lord, Jesus Christ, so there are many Lo/goi, but we, for our part, pray that that one Lo/goj may be with us who was in the beginning and was with God, God the Logos. For whoever does not receive this Logos who was in the beginning with God, or attach himself to Him as He appeared in flesh, or take part in some of those who had part in this Logos, or whoever having had part in Him falls away from Him again, he will have his portion in what is called most opposite to reason. What we have drawn out from the truths with which we started will now be clear enough. First, we spoke about God and the Word of God, and of Gods, either, that is, beings who partake in deity or beings who are called Gods and are not. And again of the Logos of God and of the Logos of God made flesh, and of logoi, or beings which partake in some way of the Logos, of second logoi or of third, thought to be logoi, in addition to that Logos that was before them all, but not really so. Irrational Reasons these may be styled; beings are spoken of who are said to be Gods but are not, and one might place beside these Gods who are no Gods, Reasons which are no Reasons. Now the God of the universe is the God of the elect, and in a much greater degree of the Saviours of the elect; then He is the God of these beings who are truly Gods, and then He is the God, in a word, of the living and not of the dead. But God the Logos is the God, perhaps, of those who attribute everything to Him and who consider Him to be their Father. Now the sun and the moon and the stars were connected, according to the accounts of men of old times, with beings who were not worthy to have the God of gods counted their God. To this opinion they were led by a passage in Deuteronomy which is somewhat on this wise:9 "Lest when thou liftest up thine eyes to heaven, and seest the sun and the moon and the whole host of heaven, thou wander away and worship them and serve them which the Lord thy God hath appointed to all the peoples. But to you the Lord thy God hath not so given them." But how did God appoint the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven to all the nations, if He did not give them in the same way to Israel also, to the end that those who could not rise to the realm of intellect, might be inclined by gods of sense to consider about the Godhead, and might of their own free will connect themselves with these and so be kept from falling away to idols and demons? Is it not the case that some have for their God the God of the universe, while a second class, after these, attach themselves to the Son of God, His Christ, and a third class worship the sun and the moon and all the host of heaven, wandering, it is true, from God, but with a far different and a better wandering than that of those who invoke as gods the works of men's hands,

silver and gold, -works of human skill. Last of all are those who devote themselves to the beings which are called gods but are no gods. In the same way, now, some have faith in that Reason which was in the beginning and was with God and was God; so did Hosea and Isaiah and Jeremiah and others who declared that the Word of the Lord, or the Logos, had come to them. A second class are those who know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, considering that the Word made flesh is the whole Word, and knowing only Christ after the flesh. Such is the great multitude of those who are counted believers. A third class give themselves to logoi (discourses) having some part in the Logos which they consider superior to all other reason: these are they who follow the honourable and distinguished philosophical schools among the Greeks. A fourth class besides these are they who put their trust in corrupt and godless discourses, doing away with Providence, which is so manifest and almost visible, and who recognize another end for man to follow than the good. It may appear to some that we have wandered from our theme, but to my thinking the view we have reached of four things connected with the name of God and four things connected with the Logos comes in very well at this point. There was God with the article and God without the article, then there were gods in two orders, at the summit of the higher order of whom is God the Word, transcended Himself by the God of the universe. And, again, there was the Logos with the article and the Logos without the article, corresponding to God absolutely and a god; and the Logoi in two ranks. And some men are connected with the Father, being part of Him, and next to these, those whom our argument now brings into clearer light, those who have come to the Saviour and take their stand entirely in Him. And third are those of whom we spoke before, who reckon the sun and the moon and the stars to be gods, and take their stand by them. And in the fourth and last place those who submit to soulless and dead idols. To all this we find analogies in what concerns the Logos. Some are adorned with the Word Himself; some with what is next to Him and appears to be the very original Logos Himself, those, namely, who know nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and who behold the Word as flesh. And the third class, as we described them a little before. Why should I speak of those who are thought to be in the Logos, but have fallen away, not only from the good itself, but from the very traces of it and from those who have a part in it?

4. That the Logos is One, Not Many. Of the Word, Faithful and True, and of His White Horse.

"He was in the beginning with God." By his three foregoing propositions the Evangelist has made us acquainted with three orders, and he now sums up the three in one, saying, "This (Logos) was in the beginning with God." In the first premiss we learned where the Logos was: He was in the beginning; then we learned with whom He was, with God; and then who He was, that He was God. He now points out by this word "He," the Word who is God, and gathers up into a fourth proposition the three which went before, "In the beginning was the Word," "The Word was with God," and "The Word was God." Now he says, He, this (Word) was in the beginning with God. The term beginning may be taken of the beginning of the world, so that we may learn from what is said that the Word was older than the things which were made from the beginning. For if "in the beginning God created heaven and earth," but "He" was in the beginning, then the Logos is manifestly older than those things which were made at the beginning, older not only than the firmament and the dry land, but than the heavens and earth. Now some one might ask, and not unreasonably, why it is not said, "In the beginning was the Word of God, and the Word of God was with God, and the Word of God was God." But he who asked such a question could be shown to

be taking for granted that there are a plurality of logoi, differing perhaps from each other in kind, one being the word of God, another perhaps the word of angels, a third of men, and so on with the other logoi. Now, if this were so with the Logos, the case would be the same with wisdom and with righteousness. But it would be absurd that there should be a number of things equally to be called "The Word; "and the same would apply to wisdom and to righteousness. We shall be driven to confess that we ought not to look for a plurality of logoi, or of wisdom, or of righteousness, if we look at the case of truth. Any one will confess that there is only one truth; it could never be said in this case that there is one truth of God, and another of the angels, and another of man,-it lies ill the nature of things that the truth about anything is one. Now, if truth be one, it is clear that the preparation of it and its demonstration, which is wisdom, must in reason be conceived as one, since what is regarded as wisdom cannot justly claim that title where truth, which is one, is absent from its grasp. But if truth is one and wisdom one, then Reason (Logos) also, which announces truth and makes truth simple and manifest to those who are fitted to receive it, will be one. This we say, by no means denying that truth and wisdom and reason are of God, but we wish to indicate the purpose of the omission in this passage of the words "of God," and of the form of the statement, "In the beginning the Logos was with God." The same John in the Apocalypse gives Him His name with the addition "of God," where he says:10 "And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse, and He that sat thereon called Faithful and True; and in righteousness doth He judge and make war. And His eyes are as a flame of fire, and on His head are many diadems, and He hath a name written which no one knoweth but He Himself. And He is arrayed in a garment sprinkled with blood, and His name is called11 Word of God. And His armies in heaven followed Him on white horses, clothed in pure fine linen. And out of His mouth proceedeth a sharp sword, that with it He should smite the nations, and He shall rule them with a rod of iron, and He treadeth the winepress of the fierceness of the wrath of Almighty God. And He hath on His garment and on His thigh a name written: King of kings, and Lord of lords." In this passage Logos is necessarily spoken of absolutely without the article, and also with the addition Logos of God; had the first not been the case (i.e., had the article been given) we might have been led to take up the meaning wrongly,12 and so to depart from the truth about the Logos. For if it had been called simply Logos, and had not been said to be the Logos of God, then we would not be clearly informed that the Logos is the Logos of God. And, again, had it been called Logos of God but not said to be Logos absolutely, then we might imagine many logoi, according to the constitution of each of the rational beings which exist; then we might assume a number of logoi properly so called. Again, in his description in the Apocalypse of the Logos of God, the Apostle and Evangelist (and the Apocalypse entitles him to be styled a prophet, too) says he saw the Word of God in the opened heaven, and that He was riding on a white horse. Now we must consider what he means to convey when he speaks of heaven being opened and of the white horse, and of the Word of God riding on the white horse, and also what is meant by saying that the Word of God is Faithful and True, and that in righteousness He judges and makes war. All this will greatly advance our study on the subject of the Word of God. Now I conceive heaven to have been shut against the ungodly, and those who bear the image of the earthly, and to have been opened to the righteous and those adorned with the image of the heavenly. For to the former, being below and still dwelling in the flesh, the better things are closed, since they cannot understand them and have neither power nor will to see their beauty, looking down as they do and not striving to look up. But to the excellent, or those who have their commonwealth in heaven,13 he opens, with the key of David, the things in

heavenly places and discloses them to their view, and makes all clear to them by riding on his horse. These words also have their meaning; the horse is white because it is the nature of higher knowledge (gnw=sij) to be clear and white and full of light. And on the white horse sits He who is called Faithful, seated more firmly, and so to speak more royally, on words which cannot be set aside, words which run sharply and more swiftly than any horse, and overhear in their rushing course every so-called word that simulates the Word, and every so-called truth that simulates the Truth. He who sits on the white horse is called Faithful, not because of the faith He cherishes, but of that which He inspires, because He is worthy of faith. Now the Lord Jehovah, according to Moses,14 is Faithful and True. He is true also in respect of His relation to shadow, type, and image; for such is the Word who is in the opened heaven, for He is not on earth as He is in heaven; on earth He is made flesh and speaks through shadow, type, and image. The multitude, therefore, of those who are reputed to believe are disciples of the shadow of the Word, not of the true Word of God which is in the opened heaven. Hence Jeremiah says,15 "The Spirit of our face is Christ the Lord, of whom we said, In His shadow shall we live among the nations." Thus the Word of God who is called Faithful is also called True, and ill righteousness He judges and makes war; since He has received from God the faculty of judging in very righteousness and very judgment, and of apportioning its due to every existing creature. For none of those who have some portion of righteousness and of the faculty of judgment can receive on his soul such copies and impressions of righteousness and judgment as to come short in no point of absolute righteousness and absolute justice, just as no painter of a picture can communicate to the representation all the qualities of the original. This, I conceive, is the reason why David says,16 "Before Thee shall no living being be justified." He does not say, no man, or no angel, but no living being, since even if any being partakes of life and has altogether put off mortality, not even then can it be justified in comparison of Thee, who art, as it were, Life itself. Nor is it possible that one who partakes of life and is therefore called living, should become life itself, or that one who partakes of righteousness and, therefore, is called righteous should become equal to righteousness itself. Now it is the function of the Word of God, not only to judge in righteousness, but also to make war in righteousness, that by making war on His enemies by reason and righteousness, so that what is irrational and wicked is destroyed,17 He may dwell in the soul of him who, for his salvation, so to speak, has become captive to Christ, and may justify that soul and cast out from her all adversaries. We shall, however, obtain a better view of this war which the Word carries on if we remember that He is an ambassador for the truth. while there is another who pretends to be the Word and is not, and one who calls herself the truth and is not, but a lie. Then the Word, arming Himself against the lie, slays it with the breath of His mouth and brings it to naught by the manifestation of His coming.18 And consider whether these words of the Apostle to the Thessalonians may be understood in an intellectual sense. For what is that which is destroyed by the breath of the mouth of Christ, Christ being the Word and Truth and Wisdom, but the lie? And what is that which is brought to naught by the manifestation of Christ's coming, Christ being conceived as wisdom and reason, what but that which announces itself as wisdom, when in reality it is one of those things with which God deals as the Apostle describes,19 "He taketh the wise, those who are not wise with the true wisdom, in their own craftiness"? To what he says of the rider on the white horse, John adds the wonderful statement: "His eyes are like a flame of fire." For as the flame of fire is bright and illuminating, but at the same thee fiery and destructive of material things, so, if I may so say, are the eyes of the Logos with which He sees, and every one who has

part in Him; they have not only the inherent quality of laying hold of the things of the mind, but also that of consuming and putting away those conceptions which are more material and gross, since whatever is in any way false flees from the directness and lightness of truth. It is in a very natural order that after speaking of Him who judges in righteousness and makes war in accordance with His righteous judgments, and then after His warring of His giving light, the writer goes on to say, "On His head are many diadems." For had the lie been one, and of one form only, against which the True and Faithful Word contended, and for conquering which. He was crowned, then one crown alone would naturally have been given Him for the victory. As it is, however, as the lies are many which profess the truth and for warring against which the Word is crowned, the diadems are many which surround the head of the conqueror of them all. As He has overcome every revolting power many diadems mark His victory. Then after the diadems He is said to have a name written which no one knows but He Himself. For there are some things which are known to the Word alone; for the beings which come into existence after Him have a poorer nature than His, and none of them is able to behold all that He apprehends. And perhaps it is the case that only those who have part in that Word know the things which are kept from the knowledge of those who do not partake of Him. Now, in John's vision, the Word of God as He rides on the white horse is not naked: He is clothed with a garment sprinkled with blood, for the Word who was made flesh and therefore died is surrounded with marks of the fact that His blood was poured out upon the earth, when the soldier pierced His side. For of that passion, even should it be our lot some day to come to that highest and supreme contemplation of the Logos, we shall not lose all memory, nor shall we forget the truth that our admission was brought about by His sojourning in our body. This Word of God is followed by the heavenly armies one and all; they follow the Word as their leader, and imitate Him in all things, and chiefly in having mounted, they also, white horses. To him that understands, this secret is open. And as sorrow and grief and wailing fled away at the end of things, so also, I suppose, did obscurity and doubt, all the mysteries of God's wisdom being precisely and clearly opened. Look also at the white horses of the followers of the Word and at the white and pure linen with which they were clothed. As linen comes out of the earth, may not those linen garments stand for the dialects on the earth in which those voices are clothed which make clear announcements of things? We have dealt at some length with the statements found in the Apocalypse about the Word of God; it is important for us to know clearly about Him.

5. He (This One) Was in the Beginning with God. To those who fail to distinguish with care the different propositions of the context the Evangelist may appear to be repeating himself. "He was in the beginning with God" may seem to add nothing to "And the Word was with God." We must observe more carefully. In the statement "The Word was with God" we are not told anything of the when or the where; that is added in the fourth axiom. There are four axioms, or, as some call them, propositions, the fourth being "He was in the beginning with God." Now "The Word was with God" is not the same thing as "He was," etc; for here we are told, not only that He was with God, but when and where He was so: "He was in the beginning with God." The "He," too, used as it is for a demonstration, will be considered to refer to the Word, or by a less careful enquirer, to God. What was noted before is now summed up in this designation "He," the notion of the Logos and that of God; and as the argument proceeds the different notions are collected in one; for the notion God is not included in the notion Logos, nor the notion Logos in that of God. And perhaps the proposition before us is a summing up in one of the three which have preceded. Taking the statement that the Word was in the beginning, we have not yet learned that He was with God, and taking the

statement that the Word was with God it is not yet clear to us that He was with God in the beginning; and taking the statement that the Word was God, it has neither been shown that He was in the beginning, nor that He was with God.

Now when the Evangelist says, "He was in the beginning with God," if we apply the pronoun "He" to the Word and to God (as He is God) and consider that "in the beginning" is conjoined with it, and "with God" added to it, then there is nothing left of the three propositions that is not summed up and brought together in this one. And as "in the beginning" has been said twice, we may consider if there are not two lessons we may learn. First, that the Word was in the beginning, as if lie was by Himself and not with any one, and secondly, that He was in the beginning with God. And I consider that there is nothing untrue in saying of Him both that He was in the beginning, and in the beginning with God, for neither was He with God alone, since He was also in the beginning, nor was He in the beginning alone and not with God, since "He was in the beginning with God."

6. How the Word is the Maker of All Things, and Even the Holy Spirit Was Made Through Him.

"All things were made through Him." The "through20 whom "is never found in the first place but always in the second, as in the Epistle to the Romans,21 "Paul a servant of Christ Jesus, a called Apostle, separated to the Gospel of God which He promised before by His prophets in Holy Scriptures, concerning His Son, who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh, deter mined the Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom we received grace and apostleship, for obedience of the faith among all the nations, for His name's sake." For God promised aforehand by the prophets His own Gospel, the prophets being His ministers, and having their word to speak about Him "through whom." And again God gave grace and apostleship to Paul and to the others for the obedience of the faith among all the nations, and this He gave them through Jesus Christ the Saviour, for the "through whom" belonged to Him. And the Apostle Paul says in the Epistle to the Hebrews:22 "At the end of the days He spoke to us in His Son, whom He made the heir of all things, 'through whom' also He made the ages," showing us that God made the ages through His Son, the" through whom" belonging, when the ages were being made, to the Only-begotten. Thus, if all things were made, as in this passage also, through the Logos, then they were not made by the Logos, but by a stronger and greater than He. And who else could this be but the Father? Now if, as we have seen, all things were made through Him, we have to enquire if the Holy Spirit also was made through Him. it appears to me that those who hold the Holy Spirit to be created, and who also admit that "all things were made through Him," must necessarily assume that the Holy Spirit was made through the Logos, the Logos accordingly being older than He. And he who shrinks from allowing the Holy Spirit to have been made through Christ must, if he admits the truth of the statements of this Gospel, assume the Spirit to be uncreated. There is a third resource besides these two (that of allowing the Spirit to have been made by the Word, and that of regarding it as uncreated), namely, to assert that the Holy Spirit has no essence of His own beyond the Father and the Son. But on further thought one may perhaps see reason to consider that the Son is second beside the Father, He being the same as the Father, while manifestly a distinction is drawn between the Spirit and the Son in the passage,23 "Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of Man. it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, he shall not have forgiveness, either in this world or in the world to come." We consider, therefore, that there are three hypostases, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; and at the same thee we

believe nothing to be uncreated but the Father. We therefore, as the more pious and the truer course, admit that all things were made by the Logos, and that the Holy Spirit is the most excellent and the first in order24 of all that was made by the Father through Christ. And this, perhaps, is the reason why the Spirit is not said to be God's own Son. The Only-begotten only is by nature and from the beginning a Son, and the Holy Spirit seems to have need of the Son, to minister to Him His essence, so as to enable Him not only to exist, but to be wise and reasonable and just, and all that we must think of Him as being. All this He has by participation of the character of Christ, of which we have spoken above. And I consider that the Holy Spirit supplies to those who, through Him and through participation in Him, are called saints, the material of the gifts, which come from God; so that the said material of the gifts is made powerful by God, is ministered by Christ, and owes its actual existence in men to the Holy Spirit. I am led to this view of the charisms by the words of Paul which he writes somewhere,25 "There are diversities of gifts but the same Spirit, and diversities of ministrations, and the same Lord. And there are diversities of workings, but it is the same God that worketh all in all." The statement that all things were made by Him, and its seeming corollary, that the Spirit must have been called into being by the Word, may certainly raise some difficulty. There are some passages in which the Spirit is placed above Christ; in Isaiah, for example, Christ declares that He is sent, not by the Father only, but also by the Holy Spirit. "Now the Lord hath sent Me," He says,26 "and His Spirit." and in the Gospel He declares that there is forgiveness for the sin committed against Himself, but that for blasphemy against the Holy Spirit there is no forgiveness, either in this age or in the age to come. What is the reason of this? Is it because the Holy Spirit is of more value than Christ that the sin against Him cannot be forgiven? May it not rather be that all rational beings have part in Christ, and that forgiveness is extended to them when they repent of their sins, while only those have part in the Holy Spirit who have been found worthy of it, and that there cannot well be any forgiveness for those who fall away to evil in spite of such great and powerful cooperation, and who defeat the counsels of the Spirit who is in them. When we find the Lord saying, as He does in Isaiah, that He is sent by the Father and by His Spirit, we have to point out here also that the Spirit is not originally superior to the Saviour, but that the Saviour takes a lower place than He in order to carry out the plan which has been made that the Son of God should become man. Should any one stumble at our saying that the Saviour in becoming man was made lower than the Holy Spirit, we ask him to consider the words used in the Epistle to the Hebrews,27 where Jesus is shown by Paul to have been made less than the angels on account of the suffering of death. "We behold Him," he says, "who hath been made a little lower than the angels, Jesus, because of the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour." And this, too, has doubtless to be added, that the creation, in order to be delivered from the bondage of corruption, and not least of all the human race, required the introduction into human nature of a happy and divine power, which should set right what was wrong upon the earth, and that this action fell to the share, as it were, of the Holy Spirit; but the Spirit, unable to support such a task, puts forward the Saviour as the only one able to endure such a conflict. The Father therefore, the principal, sends the Son, but the Holy Spirit also sends Him and directs Him to go before, promising to descend, when the thee comes, to the Son of God, and to work with Him for the salvation of men. This He did. when, in a bodily shape like a dove, He flew to Him after the baptism. He remained on Him, and did not pass Him by, as He might have done with men not able continuously to bear His glory. Thus John, when explaining how he knew who Christ was, spoke not only of the descent of the Spirit on Jesus, but also of its remaining upon him.

For it is written that John said:28 "He who sent me to baptize said, On whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit and with fire." It is not said only, "On whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending," for the Spirit no doubt descended on others too, but "descending and abiding on Him." Our examination of this point has been somewhat extended, since we were anxious to make it clear that if all things were made by Him, then the Spirit also was made through the Word, and is seen to be one of the "all things" which are inferior to their Maker. This view is too firmly settled to be disturbed by a few words which may be adduced to the opposite effect. If any one should lend credence to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Saviour Himself says, "My mother, the Holy Spirit took me just now by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great mount Tabor," he will have to face the difficulty of explaining how the Holy Spirit can be the mother of Christ when it was itself brought into existence through the Word. But neither the passage nor this difficulty is hard to explain. For if he who does the will of the Father in heaven29 is Christ's brother and sister and mother, and if the name of brother of Christ may be applied, not only to the race of men, but to beings of diviner rank than they, then there is nothing absurd in the Holy Spirit's being His mother, every one being His mother who does the will of the Father in heaven. On the words, "All things were made by Him," there is still one point to be examined. The "word" is, as a notion, from "life," and yet we read, "What was made in the Word was life, and the life was the light of men." Now as all things were made through Him, was the life made through Him, which is the light of men, and the other notions under which the Saviour is presented to us? Or must we take the "all things were made by Him" subject to the exception of the things which are in Himself? The latter course appears to be the preferable one. For supposing we should concede that the life which is the light of men was made through Him, since it said that the life "was made" the light of men, what are we to say about wisdom, which is conceived as being prior to the Word? That, therefore, which is about the Word (His relations or conditions) was not made by the Word, and the result is that, with the exception of the notions under which Christ is presented, all things were made through the Word of God, the Father making them in wisdom. "In wisdom hast Thou made them all," it says,30 not through, but in wisdom.

7. Of Things Not Made Through the Logos.

Let us see, however, why the words are added, "And without Him was not anything (Gr. even one thing) made." Some might think it superfluous to add to the words "All things were made through Him," the phrase "Without Him was not anything made." For if everything whatsoever was made through the Logos, then nothing was made without Him. Yet it does not follow from the proposition that without the Logos nothing was made, that all things were made through the Logos. It is possible that though nothing was made without the Logos, all things were made, not through the Logos only, but some things by Him. We must, therefore, make ourselves sure in what sense the "all things" is to be understood, and in what sense the "nothing." For, without a clear preliminary definition of these terms, it might be maintained that, if all things were made through the Logos, and evil is a part of all things, then the whole matter of sin, and everything that is wicked, that these also were made through the Logos. But this we must regard as false. There is nothing absurd in thinking that creatures were made through the Logos, and also that men's brave deeds have been done through Him, and all the useful acts of those who are now in bliss; but with the sins and misfortunes of men it is otherwise. Now some have held that since evil is not based in the

constitution of things-for it did not exist at the beginning and at the end it will have ceased-that, therefore, the evils of which we spoke are the Nothing; and as some of the Greeks say that genera and forms, such as the (general) animal and the man, belong to the category of Nothings, so it has been supposed that all that is not of God is Nothing, and has not even obtained through the Word the subsistence it appears to have. We ask whether it is possible to show from Scripture in any convincing way that this is so. As for the meanings of the word "Nothing" and "Not-being," they would appear to be synonymous, for Nothing can be spoken of as Not-being, and the Not-being can be described as Nothing. The Apostle, however, appears to count the things which are not, not among those which have no existence whatever, but rather among things which are evil. To him the Not-being is evil; "God," he says,31 "called the things that are not as things that are." And Mardochaeus, too, in the Esther of the Septuagint, calls the enemies of Israel "those that are not," saying,32 "Deliver not Thy sceptre, O Lord, to those that are not." We may also notice how evil men, on account of their wickedness, are said not to be, from the name ascribed to God in Exodus:33 "For the Lord said to Moses, I am, that is My name." The good God says this with respect of us also who pray that we may be part of His congregation. The Saviour praises him, saying,34 "None is good but one, God the Father." The good, then, is the same as He who is. Over against good is evil or wickedness, and over against Him who is that which is not, whence it follows that evil and wickedness are that which is not. This, perhaps, is what has led some to affirm that the devil is not created by God. In respect that he is the devil he is not the work of God, but he who is the devil is a created being, and as there is no other creator but our God, he is a work of God. It is as if we should say that a murderer is not a work of God, while we may say that in respect he is a man, God made him. His being as a man he received from God; we do not assert that he received from God his being as a murderer. All, then, who have part in Him who is, and the saints have part in Him, may properly be called Beings; but those who have given up their part in the Being, by depriving themselves of Being, have become Not-beings. But we said when entering on this discussion, that Not-being and Nothing are synonymous, and hence those who are not beings are Nothing, and all evil is nothing, since it is Not-being, and thus since they are called Not-being came into existence without the Logos, not being numbered among the all things which were made through Him. Thus we have shown, so far as our powers admit, what are the "all things" which were made through the Logos, and what came into existence without Him, since at no time is it Being, and it is, therefore, called "Nothing."

8. Heracleon's View that the Logos is Not the Agent of Creation.

It was, I consider, a violent and unwarranted procedure which was adopted by Heracleon,35 the friend, as it is said, of Valentinus, in discussing this sentence: "All things were made through Him." He excepted the whole world and all that it contains, excluding, as far as his hypothesis goes, from the "all things "what is best in the world and its contents. For he says that the aeon (age), and the things in it, were not made by the Logos; he considers them to have come into existence before the Logos. He deals with the statement, "Without Him was nothing made," with some degree of audacity, nor is he afraid of the warning:36 "Add not to His words, lest He find thee out and thou prove a liar," for to the "Nothing" he adds: "Of what is in the world and the creation." And as his statements on the passage are obviously very much forced and in the face of the evidence, for what he considers divine is excluded from the all, and what he regards as purely evil is, that and nothing else, the all things, we need not waste our time in rebutting what is, on the face of it,

absurd, when, without any warrant from Scripture, he adds to the words, "Without Him was nothing made," the further words, "Of what is in the earth and the creation." In this proposal, which has no inner probability to recommend it, he is asking us, in fact, to trust him as we do the prophets, or the Apostles, who had authority and were not responsible to men for the writings belonging to man's salvation, which they handed to those about them and to those who should come after. He had, also, a private interpretation of his own of the words: "All things were made through Him," when he said that it was the Logos who caused the demiurge to make the world, not, however, the Logos from whom or by whom, but Him through whom, taking the written words in a different sense from that of common parlance.37 For, if the truth of the matter was as he considers, then the writer ought to have said that all things were made through the demiurge by the Word, and not through the Word by the demiurge. We accept the "through whom," as it is usually understood, and have brought evidence in support of our interpretation, while he not only puts forward a new rendering of his own, unsupported by the divine Scripture, but appears even to scorn the truth and shamelessly and openly oppose it. For he says: "It was not the Logos who made all things, as under another who was the operating agent," taking the "through whom" in this sense, "but another made them, the Logos Himself being the operating agent." This is not a suitable occasion for the proof that it was not the demiurge who became the servant of the Logos and made the world; but that the Logos became the servant of the demiurge and formed the world. For, according to the prophet David,38 "God spake and they came into being, He commanded and they were created." For the unbegotten God commanded the first-born of all creation,39 and they were created, not only the world and what is therein, but also all other things, whether thrones or dominions or principalities or powers, for all things were made through Him and unto Him, and He is before all things."

9. That the Logos Present in Us is Not Responsible for Our Sins.

One point more on the words: "Without Him was not anything made." The question about evil must receive adequate discussion; what was said of it has not, it is true, a very likely appearance, and yet it appears to me that it ought not to be simply overlooked. The question is whether evil, also, was made through the Logos, taking the Logos, now be it well noted, in the sense of that reason which is in every one, as thus brought into being by the reason which was from the beginning. The Apostle says:40 "Without the law sin was dead," and adds, "But when the commandment came sin revived," and so teaches generally about sin that it has no power before the law and the commandment (but the Logos is, in a sense, law and commandment), and there would be no sin were there no law, for,41 "sin is not imputed where there is no law." And, again, there would be no sin but for the Logos, for "if I had not come and spoken unto them," Christ says,42 "they had not had sin." For every excuse is taken away from one who wants to make excuse for his sin, if, though the Word is in him and shows him what he ought to do, he does not obey it. It seems, them, that all things, the worse things not excepted, were made by the Logos, and without Him, taking the nothing here in its simpler sense, was nothing made. Nor must we blame the Logos if all things were made by Him, and without Him nothing was made, any more than we blame the master who has showed the pupil his duty, when the instruction has been such as to leave the pupil, should he sin, no excuse or room to say that he erred through ignorance. This appears the more plainly when we consider that master and pupil are inseparable. For as master and pupil are correlatives, and belong together, so the Logos is present in the nature of reasonable beings as such, always suggesting what they ought to do, even should we pay no heed to his commands,

but devote ourselves to pleasure and allow his best counsels to pass by us unregarded. As the eye is a servant given us for the best purposes, and yet we use it to see things on which it is wrong for us to look, and as we make a wrong use of our hearing when we spend our time in listening to singing competitions and to other forbidden sounds, so we outrage the Logos who is in us, and use Him otherwise than as we ought, when we make Him assist in our transgressions. For He is present with those who sin, for their condemnation, and He condemns the man who does not prefer Him to everything else. Hence we find it written:43 "The word which I have spoken unto you, the same shall judge you." That is as if He should say: "I, the Word, who am always lifting up my voice in you, I, myself, will judge you, and no refuge or excuse will then be left you." This interpretation. however, may appear somewhat strained, as we have taken the Word in one sense to be the Word in the beginning, who was with God, God the Word, and have now taken it in another sense, speaking of it, not only in reference to the principal works of creation, as in the words, "All things were made through Him," but as related to all the acts of reasonable beings, this last being the Logos (reason), without whose presence none of our sins are committed. The question arises whether the Logos in us is to be pronounced the same being as that which was in the beginning and was with God, God the Word. The Apostle, certainly, does not appear to make the Logos in us a different being from the Logos who was in the beginning with God. "Say not in thine heart," he says,44 "who shall go up into heaven; that is to bring Christ down, or who shall go down into the abyss; that is to bring Christ up from the dead. But what saith the Scripture? The Logos is very nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart."

10. "That Which Was Made Was Life in Him, and the Life Was the Light of Men." This Involves the Paradox that What Does Not Derive Life from the Logos Does Not Live at All. The Greeks have certain apothegms, called paradoxes, in which the wisdom of their sages is presented at its highest, and some proof. or what appears to be proof, is given. Thus it is said that the wise man alone, and that every wise man, is a priest, because the wise man aloha: and every wise man possesses knowledge as to the service of God. Again, that the wise man alone and that every wise man is free and has received from the divine law authority to do what he himself is minded to do, and this authority they call lawful power of decision. Why should we say more about these so-called paradoxes? Much discussion is devoted to them, and they call for a comparison of the sense of Scripture with the doctrine thus conveyed. so that we may be in a position to determine where religious doctrine agrees with them and where it differs from them. This has been suggested to us by our study of the words, "That which was made was life in Him; "for it appears possible to follow the words of Scripture here and to make out a number of thing's which partake of the character of the paradoxes and are even more paradoxical than these sentences of the Greeks. If we consider the Logos in the beginning, who was with God, God the Word, we shall perhaps be able to declare that only he who partakes of this being, considered in this character, is to be pronounced reasonable ("logical"), and thus we should demonstrate that the saint alone is reasonable. Again, if we apprehend that life has come in the Logos, he, namely, who said, "I am the life," then we shall say that no one is alive who is outside the faith of Christ, that all are dead who are not living to God, that their life is life to sin, and therefore, if I may so express myself, a life of death. Consider however, whether the divine Scriptures do not in many places teach this; as where the Saviour says,45 "Or have ye not read that which was spoken at the bush, I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. He is not God of the dead but of the living." And46 "Before Thee shall no living being be justified." But why need we speak about God

Himself or the Saviour? For it is disputed to which of them the voice belongs which says in the prophets,47 "As I live, saith the Lord."

11. How No One is Righteous or Can Truly Be Said to Live in Comparison with God.

First let us look at the words, "He is not the God of the dead but of the living." That is equivalent to saying that He is not the God of sinners but of saints. For it was a great gift to the Patriarchs that God in place of His own name should add their name to His own designation as God, as Paul says,48 "Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God." He is the God, therefore, of the fathers and of all the saints; it might be hard to find a passage to the effect that God is the God of any of the wicked. If, then, He is the God of the saints, and is said to be the God of the living, then the saints are the living and the living are saints; neither is there any saint outside the living, nor when any one is called living is the further implication absent that in addition to his having life he is a holy one. Near akin to this is the lesson to be drawn from the saying,49 "I shall be well pleasing to the Lord in the land of the living." The good pleasure of tile Lord, he appears to say, is in the ranks of the saints, or in the place of the saints, and it is there that he hopes to be. No one pleases God well who has not entered the rank of the saints, or the place of the saints; and to that place every one must come who has assumed beforehand, as it were in this life, the shadow and image of true God-pleasing. The passage which declares that before God no living being shall be justified shows that in comparison with God and the righteousness that is in Him none, even of the most finished saints, will be justified. We might take a parable from another quarter and say that no candle can give light before the sun, not that the candle will not give light, only it will not when the sun out-shines it. In the same way every "living" will be justified, only not before God, when it is compared with those who are below and who are in the power of darkness. To them the light of the saints will shine. Here, perhaps, we have the key to the meaning of that verse:50 "Let your light shine before men." He does not say, Let your light shine before God; had he said so he would have given a commandment impossible of fulfilment, as if he had bidden those lights which have souls to let their light shine before the sun. It is not only, therefore, the ordinary mass of the living who will not be justified before God, but even those among the living who are distinguished above the rest, or, to put it more truly, the whole righteousness of the living will not be justified before God, as compared with the righteousness of God, as if I were to call together all the lights which shine on the earth by night, and to say that they could not give light in comparison with the rays of the sun. We rise from these considerations to a higher level when we take the words before our minds, "I live, saith the Lord." Life, in the full sense of the word, especially after what we have been saying on the subject, belongs perhaps to God and none but Him. Is this the reason why the Apostle, after speaking of the supreme excellency of the life of God and being led to the highest expression about it, says about God (showing in this a true understanding of that saying, "I live, saith the Lord"); "who only hath immortality."51 No living being besides God has life free from change and variation. Why should we be in further doubt? Even Christ did not share the Father's immortality; for He "tasted death for every man."

12. Is the Saviour All that He Is, to All?

We have thus enquired as to the life of God, and the life which is Christ, and the living who are in a place by themselves, and have seen how the living are not justified before God, and we have noticed the cognate statement, "Who alone hath immortality ." We may now take up the

assumption which may appear to be involved in this, namely, that whatever being is gifted with reason does not possess blessedness as a part of its essence, or as an inseparable part of its nature. For if blessedness and the highest life were an inseparable characteristic of reasonable being, how could it be truly said of God that He only has immortality? We should therefore remark, that the Saviour is some things, not to Himself but to others, and some things both to Himself and others, and we must enquire if there are some things which He is to Himself and to no other. Clearly it is to others that He is a Shepherd, not a shepherd like those among men who make gain out of their occupation; unless the benefit conferred on the sheep might be regarded, on account of His love to men, as a benefit to Himself also. Similarly it is to others that He is the Way and the Door, and, as all will admit, the Rod. To Himself and to others He is Wisdom and perhaps also Reason (Loges). It may be asked whether, as He has in Himself a system of speculations, inasmuch as He is wisdom, there are some of those speculations which cannot be received by any nature that is begotten, but His own, and which He knows for Himself only. Nor should the reverence we owe to the Holy Spirit keep us from seeking to answer this question. For the Holy Spirit Himself receives instruction, as is clear from what is said about the Paraclete and the Holy Spirit,52 "He shall take of mine and shall declare it to you." Does He, then, from these instructions, take in everything that the Son, gazing at the Father from the first, Himself knows? That would require further consideration. And if the Saviour is some things to others, and some things it may be to Himself, and to no other, or to one only, or to few, then we ask, in so far as He is the life which came in the Loges, whether he is life to Himself and to others, or to others, and if to others, to what others. And are life and the light of men the same thing, for the text says, "That which was made was life in Him and the life was the light of men." But the light of men is the light only of some, not of all, rational creatures; the word "men" which is added shows this. But He is the light of men, and so He is the life of those whose light he is also. And inasmuch as He is life He may be called the Saviour, not for Himself but to be life to others, whose light also He is. And this life comes to the Logos and is inseparable from Him, once it has come to Him. But the Loges, who cleanses the soul, must have been in the soul first; it is after Him and the cleansing that proceeds from Him, when all that is dead or weak in her has been taken away, that pure life comes to every one who has made himself a fit dwelling for the Loges, considered as God.

13. How the Life in the Logos Copies After the Beginning.

Here, we must carefully observe, we have two things which are one, and we have to define the difference between them. First, what is before us in The Word in the beginning, then what is implied in The Life in Word. The Word was not made in the beginning; there was no time when the beginning was devoid of the Word, and hence it is said, "In the beginning was the Word." Of life, on the other hand, we read, not that it was as the Word, but that it was made; if at least it he the case that the life is the light of men. For when man was not yet, there was no light of men; for the light of men is conceived only in relation to men. And let no one annoy us with the objection that we have put this trader the category of time, though it be the order of the things themselves, that make them first and second and so on, and even though there should have been no time when the things placed by the Loges third and fourth were not in existence. As, then, all things were made by Him, not all things were by Him, and as without Him was nothing made, not, without Him nothing was, so what was made in Him, not what was in Him, was life. And, again, not what was made in the beginning was the Word, but what was in the beginning was the Word. Some of the

copies, it is true, have a reading which is not devoid of probability, "What was made is life in Him." But if life is the same thing as the light of men, then no one who is in darkness is living, and none of the living is in darkness; but every one who is alive is also in light, and every one who is in light is living, so that not he only who is living, but every one who is living, is a son of light; and he who is a son of light is he whose work shines before men.

14. How the Natures of Men are Not So Fixed from the First, But that They May Pass from Darkness to Light.

We have been discussing certain things which are opposite, and what has been said of them may serve to suggest what has been omitted. We are speaking of life and the light of men, and the opposite to life is death; the opposite to the light of men, the darkness of men. It is therefore plain that he who is in the darkness of men is in death, and that he who works the works of death is nowhere but in darkness. But he who is mindful of God, if we consider what it is to be mindful of Him, is not in death, according to the saying,53 "In death there is no one who remembers Thee." Are the darkness of men, and death, such as they are by nature? On this point we have another passage,54 "We were once darkness, but now light in the Lord," even if we be now in the fullest sense saints and spiritual persons. Thus he who was once darkness has become, like Paul, capable of being light in the Lord. Some consider that some natures are spiritual from the first. such as those of Paul and the holy Apostles; but I scarcely see how to reconcile with such a view, what the above text tells us, that the spiritual person was once darkness and afterwards became light. For if the spiritual was once darkness what can the earthy have been? But if it is true that darkness became light, as in the text, how is it unreasonable to suppose that all darkness is capable of becoming light? Had not Paul said, "We were once in darkness, but now are we light in the Lord," and thus implied of those whom they consider to be naturally lost, that they were darkness, or are darkness still, the hypothesis about the different natures might have been admissible. But Paul distinctly says that he had once been darkness but was now light in the Lord, which implies the possibility that darkness should turn into light. But he who perceives the possibility of a change on each side for the better or for the worse, will not find it hard to gain an insight into every darkness of men, or into that death which consists in the darkness of men.

15. Heracleon's View that the Lord Brought Life Only to the Spiritual, Refutation of This.

Heracleon adopts a somewhat violent course when he arrives at this passage, "What was made in Him was life." Instead of the "In Him" of the text he understands "to those men who are spiritual," as if he considered the Logos and the spiritual to be identical, though this he does not plainly say; and then he proceeds to give, as it were, an account of the origin of the matter and says, "He (the Logos) provided them with their first form at their birth, carrying further and making manifest what had been sown by another,55 into form and into illumination and into an outline of its own." He did not observe how Paul speaks of the spiritual,56 and how he refrains from saying that they are men. "A natural man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him; but the spiritual judgeth all things." We maintain that it was not without a meaning that he did not add the word men to the word spiritual. Spiritual is something better than man, for man receives his form either in soul, or in body, or in both together, not in what is more divine than these, namely, in spirit; and it is after he has come to have a prevailing share of this that he is called "spiritual." Moreover, in bringing forward such a hypothesis as this, he furnishes not even the

pretence of a proof, and shows himself unable to reach even a moderate degree of plausibility for his argument on the subject. So much, then, for him.

16. The Life May Be the Light of Others Besides.

Let us suggest another question, namely, whether the life was the light of men only, and not of every being as well that is in blessedness. For if the life were the same thing as the light of men, and if the light of Christ were for men alone, then the life also would be only for men. But such a view is both foolish and impious, since the other Scriptures testify against this interpretation and declare that, when we are somewhat more advanced, we shall be equal to the angels.57 The question is to be solved on the principle that when a predicate is applied to certain persons, it is not to be at once taken to apply to them alone. Thus, when the light of men is spoken of, it is not the light of men only; had that been the meaning, a word would have been added to express it; the life, it would have read, was the light of men only. For it is possible for the light of men to be the light of others besides men, just as it is possible that certain animals and certain plants may form the food of men, and that the same animals and plants should be the food of other creatures too. That is an example from common life; it is fitting that another analogy should be adduced from the inspired books. Now the question here before us, is why the light of men should not be the light of other creatures also, and we have seen that to speak of the light of men by no means excludes the possibility that the light may be that of other beings besides man, whether inferior to him or like him, Now a name is given to God; He is said to be the God of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob. He, then, who infers from the saying, "The life was the light of men," that the light is for no other than for men, ought also to conclude that the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob is the God of no one else but these three patriarchs. But He is also the God of Elijah,58 and, as Judith says,59 of her father Simeon, and the God of the Hebrews. By analogy of reasoning, then, if nothing prevents Him from being the God of others, nothing prevents the light of men from being the light of others besides men.

17. The Higher Powers are Men; And Christ is Their Light Also.

Another, again, appeals to the text, "Let us make man according to our image and likeness,60 " and maintains that whatever is made according to God's image and likeness is man. To support this, numberless instances are adduced to show that in Scripture "man "and "angel" are used indifferently, and that the same subject is entitled both angel and man. This is true of the three who were entertained by Abraham, and of the two who came to Sodom; in the whole course of Scripture, persons are styled sometimes men, sometimes angels. Those who hold this view will say that since persons are styled angels who are manifestly men, as when Zechariah says,61 "The messenger of the Lord, I am with you, saith the Lord Almighty," and as it is written of John the Baptist,62 "Behold I send My messenger before thy face," the angels (messengers) of God are so called on account of their office, and are not here called men on account of their nature. It confirms this view that the names applied to the higher powers are not those of species of living beings, but those of the orders, assigned by God to this and to that reasonable being. "Throne" is not a species of living being, nor "dominion," nor "principality," nor "power"; these are names of the businesses to which those clothed with the names have been appointed; the subjects themselves are nothing but men, but the subject has come to be a throne, or a dominion, or a principality, or a power. In Joshua, the son of Nun, we read63 that in Jericho there appeared to Joshua a man who

said, "I am captain of the Lord's host, now am I come." The outcome of this is that the light of men must be held to be the same as the light of every being endowed with reason; for every reasonable being is man, since it is according to the image and likeness of God. It is spoken of in three different ways. "the light of men," and simply "the light," and "the true light." It is the light of men either, as we showed before, because there is nothing to prevent us from regarding it as the light of other beings besides men, or because all beings endowed with reason are called men because they are made in the image of God.

18. How God Also is Light, But in a Different Way; And How Life Came Before Light. The Saviour is here called simply light. But in the Catholic Epistle of this same John64 we read that God is light. This, it has been maintained, furnishes a proof that the Son is not in substance different from the Father. Another student, however, looking into the matter more closely and with a sounder judgment, will say that the light which shines in darkness and is not overtaken by it, is not the same as the light in which there is no darkness at all. The light which shines in darkness comes upon this darkness, as it were, and is pursued by it, and, in spite of attempts made upon it, is not overtaken. But the light in which there is no darkness at all neither shines on darkness, nor is at first pursued by it, so as to prove victor and to have it recorded that it was not overtaken by its pursuer. The third designation was "the true light." But in proportion as God, since He is the Father of truth, is more and greater than truth, and since He is the Father of wisdom is greater and more excellent than wisdom, in the same proportion He is more than the true light. We may learn, perhaps, in a more suggestive manner, how the Father and the Son are two lights, from David, who says in the thirty-fifth Psalm,65 "In Thy light we shall see light." This same light of men which shines in darkness, the true light, is called, further on in the Gospel, the light of the world; Jesus says,66 "I am the light of the world." Nor must we omit to notice that whereas the passage might very well have run, "That which was made was in Him the light of men, and the light of men was life," he chose the opposite order. He puts life before the light of men, even if life and the light of men are the same thing; in thinking of those who have part in life, though that life is also the light of men, we are to come first to the fact that they are living the divine life spoken of before; then we come to their enlightenment. For life must come first if the living person is to be enlightened; it would not be a good arrange-meat to speak of the illumination of one not yet conceived as living, and to make life come after the illumination. For though "life" and "the light" of men are the same thing, the notions are taken separately. This light of men is also called, by Isaiah, "the light of the Gentiles," where he says,67 "Behold I have set Thee for a covenant of the generation, for a light of the Gentiles; "and David, placing his confidence in this light, says in the twenty-sixth Psalm,68 "The Lord is my illumination and my Saviour; whom shall I fear? "

19. The Life Here Spoken of is the Higher Life, that of Reason. As for those who make up a mythology about the aeons and arrange them in syzygies (yokes or pairs), and who consider the Logos and Life to have been emitted by Intellect and Truth, it may not be beside the point to state the following difficulties. How can life, in their system, the yokefellow of the Word, derive his origin from his yokefellow? For "what was made in Him," he says, evidently referring to the Word, mentioned immediately before, "was life." Will they tell us how life, the yokefellow, as they say, of the Word, came into being in the Word, and how life rather than the Word is the light of men. It would be quite natural if men of reasonable minds, who are perplexed with such questions and find the point we have raised hard to dispose of, should turn round upon us and invite us to

discuss the reason why it is not the Word that is said to be the light of men, but life which originated in the Word. To such an enquiry we shall reply that the life here spoken of is not that which is common to rational beings and to beings without reason, but that life which is added to us upon the completion of reason in us, our share in that life, being derived from the first reason (Logos). It is when we turn away from the life which is life in appearance only, not in truth, and when we yearn to be filled with the true life, that we are made partakers of it, and when it has arisen in us it becomes the foundation of the light of the higher knowledge (gnosis). With some it may be that this life is only potentially and not actually light, with those who do not strive to search out the things of the higher knowledge, while with others it is actually light. With these it clearly is so who act on Paul's injunction, "Seek earnestly the best gifts; "and among the greatest gifts is that which all are enjoined to seek, namely, the word of wisdom, and it is followed by the word of knowledge. This wisdom and this knowledge lie side by side; into the difference between them this is not a fitting occasion to enquire.

20. Different Kinds of Light; And of Darkness.

"And69 the light shineth in darkness and the darkness hath not overtaken it." We are still enquiring about the light of men, since it is what was spoken of in the preceding verse, and also, I consider, about darkness, which is named as its adversary, the darkness also being, if the definition of it is correct, that of men. The light of men is a generic notion covering two special things; and with the darkness of men it is the same. He who has gained the light of men and shares its beams will do the work of light and know in the higher sense, being illuminated by the light of the higher knowledge. And we must recognize the analogous case of those on the other side, and of their evil actions, and of that which is thought to be bat is not really knowledge, since those who exercise it have the reason (Logos) not of light but of darkness. And because the sacred word knows the things which produce light, isaiah says:70 "Because Thy commandments are a light upon the earth," and David says in the Psalm,71 "The precept of the Lord is clear, enlightening the eyes." But since in addition to the commandments and the precepts there is a light of higher knowledge, we read in one of the twelve (prophets),72 "Sow to yourselves for righteousness, reap to yourselves for the fruit of life, make light for yourselves the light of knowledge." There is a further light of knowledge in addition to the commandments, and so we read, "Make light for yourselves," not simply light, but what light?-the light of knowledge. For if any light that a man kindles for himself were a light of knowledge, then the added words, "Make light for yourselves, the light of knowledge," would have no meaning. And again that darkness is brought upon men by their evil deeds, we learn from John himself, when he says in his epistle,73 "If we say that we have fellowship with Him and walk in darkness, we lie and do not the truth," and again, "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now," and again, "He that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because darkness hath blinded his eyes." Walking in darkness signifies evil conduct, and to hate one's brother, is not that to fall away from that which is properly called knowledge? But he also who is ignorant of divine things walks in darkness, just because of that ignorance; as David says,74 "They knew not, they understood not, they walk in darkness." Consider, however, this passage,75 "God is light and in Him is no76 darkness," and see if the reason for this saying is not that darkness is not one, being either two, because there are two kinds of it, or many, because it is taken distributively, individually with reference to the many evil actions and the many false

doctrines; so that there are many darknesses, not one of which is in God. The saying of the Saviour could not be spoken of the Holy One, "Ye are the light of the world; "for the Holy One is light of the world (absolute, not particular), and there is not in Him any darkness.

21. Christ is Not, Like God, Quite Free from Darkness: Since He Bore Our Sins.

Now some one will ask how this statement that there is no darkness in Him can be regarded as a thing peculiar to Him, when we consider that the Saviour also was quite without sin. Could it not be said of Him also that "He is light, and that there is no darkness in Him"? The difference between the two cases has been partly set forth above. We will now, however, go a step further than we did before, and add, that if God made Christ who knew no sin to be sin for us,77 then it could not be said of Him that there was no darkness in Him. For if Jesus was in the likeness78 of the flesh of sin and for sin, and condemned sin by taking ripen Him the likeness of the flesh of sin, then it cannot be said of Him, absolutely and directly, that there was no darkness in Him. We may add that "He79 took our infirmities and bare our sicknesses," both infirmities of the soul and sicknesses of the hidden man of our heart. On account of these infirmities and sicknesses which He bore away from us, He declares His soul to be sorrowful and sore troubled,80 and He is said in Zechariah to have put on filthy garments,81 which, when He was about to take them off, are said to be sins. "Behold, it is said, I have taken away thy sins." Because He had taken on Himself the sins of the people of those who believed in Him, he uses many such expressions as these: "Far from my salvation are the words of my transgressions,"82 and "Thou knowest my foolishness, and my sins were not hid from Thee."83 And let no one suppose that we say this from any lack of piety towards the Christ of God; for as the Father alone has immortality and our Lord took upon Himself. for His love to men, the death He died for us, so to the Father alone the words apply, "In Him is no darkness," since Christ took upon Himself, for His goodwill towards men, our darknesses. This He did, that by His power He might destroy our death and remove the darkness which is in our soul, so that the saying in Isaiah might be fulfilled,84 "The people that sat in darkness saw a great light." This light, which came into being in the Logos, and is also life, shines in the darkness of our souls, and it has come where the rulers of this darkness carry on their struggle with the race of men and strive to subdue to darkness those who do not stand firm with all their power; that they might be enlightened the light has come so far, and that they might be called sons of light. And shining in darkness this light is pursued by the darkness, but not overtaken.

22. How the Darkness Failed to Overtake the Light. Should any one consider that we are adding something that is not written, namely, the pursuit of the light by the darkness, let him reflect that unless the darkness had pursued the light the words, "The darkness did not overtake it," would have no meaning. John writes for those who have wit to see what is omitted and to supply it as the context requires, and so he wrote, "The darkness did not overtake it." If it did not overtake it, it must first have pursued it, and that the darkness did pursue the light is clear from what the Saviour suffered, and those also who received His teachings, His own children, when darkness was doing what it could against the sons of light and was minded to drive light away from men. But since, if God be for us,85 no one, however that way minded, can be against us, the more they humbled themselves the more they grew, and they prevailed exceedingly. In two ways the darkness did not overtake the light. Either it was left far behind and was itself so slow, while the light was in its course so sharp and swift, that it was not even able to keep following it, or if the light sought to lay a snare for the darkness, and waited for it in pursuance of the plan it had formed, then darkness,

coming near the light, was brought to an end. In either case the darkness did not overtake the light.

23. There is a Divine Darkness Which is Not Evil, and Which Ultimately Becomes Light. In connection with this subject it is necessary for us to point out that darkness is not to be understood, every time it is mentioned, in a bad sense; Scripture speaks of it sometimes in a good sense. The heterodox have failed to observe this distinction, and have accordingly adopted most shameful doctrines about the Maker of the world, and have indeed revolted from Him, and addicted themselves to fictions and myths. We must, therefore, show how and when the name of darkness is taken in a good sense. Darkness and clouds and tempest are said in Exodus86 to be round about God, and in the seventeenth Psalm,87 "He made darkness His secret place, His tent round about Him, dark water in clouds of the air." Indeed, if one considers the multitude of speculation and knowledge about God, beyond the power of human nature to take in, beyond the power, perhaps, of all originated beings except Christ and the Holy Spirit, then one may know how God is surrounded with darkness, because the discourse is hid in ignorance which would be required to tell in what darkness He has made His hiding-place when He arranged that the things concerning Him should be unknown and beyond the grasp of knowledge. Should any one be staggered by these expositions, he may be reconciled to them both by the "dark sayings" and by the "treasures of darkness," hidden, invisible, which are given to Christ by God. In nowise different, I consider, are the treasures of darkness which are hid in Christ, from what is spoken of in the text, "God made darkness His secret place," and (the saint) "shall understand parable and dark saying."88 And consider if we have here the reason of the Saviour's saying to His disciples, "What ye have heard in darkness, speak ye in the light." The mysteries committed to them in secret and where few could hear, hard to be known and obscure, He bids them, when enlightened and therefore said to be in the light, to make known to every one who is made light. I might add a still stranger feature of this darkness which is praised, namely, that it hastens to the light and overtakes it, and so at last, after having been unknown as darkness, undergoes for him who does not see its power such a change that he comes to know it and to declare that what was formerly known to him as darkness has now become light.

24. John the Baptist Was Sent. From Where? His Soul Was Sent from a Higher Region.

"There was a man sent from God, whose name was John."89 He who is sent is sent from somewhere to somewhere; and the careful student will, therefore, enquire from what quarter John was sent, and whither. The "whither" is quite plain on the face of the story; he was sent to Israel, and to those who were willing to hear him when he was staying in the wilderness of Judaea and baptizing by the banks of the Jordan. According to the deeper sense, however, he was sent into the world, the world being understood as this earthly place where men are; and the careful student will have this in view in enquiring from where John was sent. Examining the words more closely, he will perhaps declare that as it is written of Adam,90 "And the Lord sent him forth out of the Paradise of pleasure to till the earth, out of which he was taken," so also John was sent, either from heaven or from Paradise, or from some other quarter to this place on the earth. He was sent that he might bear witness of the light. There is, however, an objection to this interpretation, which is not to be lightly dismissed. It is written in Isaiah:91 "Whom shall I send, and who will go to the people? "The prophet answers: "Here am I,-send me." He, then, who objects to that rendering of our passage which appears to be the deeper may say that Isaiah was sent not to this world from

another place, but after having seen "the Lord sitting on a throne high and lifted up," was sent to the people, to say, "Hearing, ye shall hear and shall not understand," and so on; and that in the same manner John, the beginning of his mission not being narrated, is sent after the analogy of the mission of Isaiah, to baptize,92 and to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him, and to bear witness of the light. So much we have said of the first sense; and now we adduce certain solutions which help to confirm the deeper meaning about John. In the same passage it is added, "He came for witness, to bear witness of the light." Now, if he came, where did he come from? To those who find it difficult to follow us, we point to what John says afterwards of having seen the Holy Spirit as a dove descending on the Saviour. "He that sent me," he says,93 "to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shall see the Holy Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit and with fire." When did He send him and give him this injunction? The answer to titlE question will probably be that when He sent him to begin to baptize, then He who was dealing with him uttered this word. But a more convincing argument for the view that John was sent from another region when he entered into the body, the one object of his entry into this life being that he should bear witness of the truth, may be drawn from the narrative of his birth. Gabriel, when announcing to Zacharias the birth of John, and to Mary the advent of our Saviour among men, says:94 That John is to be "filled with the Holy Spirit even from his mother's womb." And we have also the saying, "For behold, when the voice of thy salutation came into mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy." He who sedulously guards himself in his dealings with Scripture against forced, or casual, or capricious procedure, must necessarily assume that John's soul was older than his body, and subsisted by itself before it was sent on the ministry of the witness of the light. Nor must we overlook the text, "This is Elijah which is to come."95 For if that general doctrine of the soul is to be received, namely, that it is not sown at the same time with the body, but is before it, and is then, for various causes, clothed with flesh and blood; then the words "sent from God" will not appear to be applicable to John alone. The most evil of all, the man of sin, the son of perdition, is said by Paul to be sent by God:96 "God sendeth them a working of error that they should believe a lie; that they all might be judged who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." But our present question may, perhaps, be solved in this way, that as every man is a man of God, simply because God created him, but not every man is called a man of God, but only he who has devoted himself to God, such as Elijah and those who are called men of God in the Scriptures, thus every man might be said in ordinary language to be sent from God, but in the absolute sense no one is to be spoken of in this way who has not entered this life for a divine ministry and in the service of the salvation of mankind. We do not find it said of any one but the saints that he is sent by God. It is said of Isaiah as we showed before; it is also said of Jeremiah, "To whomsoever I shall send thee thou shalt go";97 and it is said of Ezekiel,98 "I send thee to nations that are rebellious and have not believed in Me." The examples, however, do not expressly speak era mission from the region outside life into life, and as it is a mission into life that we are enquiring about, they may seem to have little bearing on our subject. But there is nothing absurd in our transferring the argument derived from them to our question. They tell us that it is only the saints, and we were speaking of them, whom God is said to send, and in this sense they may be applied to the case of those who are sent into this life.

25. Argument from the Prayer of Joseph, to Show that the Baptist May Have Been an Angel Who Became a Man. As we are now engaged with what is said of John, and are asking about his

mission, I may take the opportunity to state the view which I entertain about him. We have read this prophecy about him, "Behold, I send My messenger (angel) before Thy face, who shall prepare Thy way before Thee; "and at this we ask if it can be one of the holy angels who is sent down on this ministry as forerunner of our Saviour. No wonder if, when the first-born of all creation was assuming a human body, some of them should have been filled with love to man and become admirers and followers of Christ, and thought it good to minister to his kindness towards man by having a body like that of men. And who would not be moved at the thought of his leaping for joy when yet in the belly, surpassing as he did the common nature of man? Should the piece; entitled "The prayer of Joseph," one of the apocryphal works current among the Hebrews, be thought worthy of credence, this dogma will be found in it clearly expressed. Those at the beginning, it is represented, having some marked distinction beyond men, and being much greater than other souls, because they were angels, they have come down to human nature. Thus Jacob says: "I, Jacob, who speak to you, arid Israel, I am an angel of God, a ruling spirit, and Abraham and Isaac were created before every work of God; and I am Jacob, called Jacob by men, but my name is Israel, called Israel by God, a man seeing God, because I am the first-born of every creature which God caused to live." And he adds: "When I was coming from Mesopotamia of Syria, Uriel, the angel of God, came forth, and said, I have come down to the earth and made my dwelling among men, and I am called Jacob by name. He was wroth with me and fought with me and wrestled against me, saying that his name and the name of Him who is before every angel should be before my name. And I told him his name and how great he was among the sons of God; Art not thou Uriel my eighth, and I am Israel and archangel of the power of the Lord and a chief captain among the sons of God? Am not I Israel, the first minister in the sight of God, and I invoked my God by the inextinguishable name? "It is likely that this was really said by Jacob, and was therefore written down, and that there is also a deeper meaning in what we are told, "He supplanted his brother in the womb." Consider whether the celebrated question about Jacob and Esau has a solution. We read,99 "The children being not yet born, neither having done anything good or bad, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works but of him that calleth, it was said, "The elder shall serve the younger." Even as it is written: "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated." What shall we say, then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid." If, then, when they were not yet born, and had not done any-thing either good or evil, in order that God's purpose according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth, if at such a period this was said, how if we do not go back to the works done before this life, can it be said that there is no unrighteousness with God when the elder serves the younger and is hated (by God) before he has done anything worthy of slavery or of hatred? We have made something of a digression in introducing this story about Jacob and appealing to a writing which we cannot well treat with contempt; but it certainly adds weight to our argument about John, to the effect that as Isaiah's voice declares100 he is an angel who assumed a body for the sake of bearing witness to the light. So much about John considered as a man.

26. John is Voice, Jesus is Speech. Relation of These Two to Each Other.

Now we know voice and speech to be different things. The voice can be produced without any meaning and with no speech in it, and similarly speech can be reported to the mind without voice, as when we make mental excursions, within ourselves. And thus the Saviour is, in one view of Him, speech, and John differs from Him; for as the Saviour is speech, John is voice. John himself

invites me to take this view of him, for to those who asked who he was, he answered, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord! make His paths straight!" This explains, perhaps, how it was that Zacharias lost his voice at the birth of the voice which points out the Word of God, and only recovered it when the voice, forerunner of the Word, was born. A voice must be perceived with the ears if the mind is afterwards to receive the speech which the voice indicates. Hence, John is, in point of his birth, a little older than Christ, for our voice comes to us before our speech. But John also points to Christ; for speech is brought forward by the voice. And Christ is baptized by John, though John declares himself to have need to be baptized by Christ; for with men speech is purified by voice, though the natural way is that speech should purify the voice which indicates it. In a word, when John points out Christ, it is man pointing out God, the Saviour incorporeal, the voice pointing out the Word.

27. Significance of the Names of John and of His Parents. The force that is in names may be applied in many matters, and it may be worth our while to ask at this point what is the significance of the names John and Zacharias. The relatives wish, as the giving of a name is a thing not to be lightly disposed of, to call the child Zacharias, and are surprised that Elisabeth should want him to be called John. Zacharias then writes, "His name is John," and is at once freed from his troublesome silence. On examining the names, then, we find "Joannes "to be "Joa" without the "nes." The New Testament gives Hebrew names a Greek form and treats them as Greek words; Jacob is changed into Jacobus, Symeon into Simon, and Joannes is the same as Joa. Zacharias is said to be memory, add Elisabeth "oath of my God," or "strength of my God." John then came into the world from grace of God (=Joa=Joannes), and his parents were Memory (about God) and the Oath of our God, about the fathers. Thus was he born to make ready for the Lord a people fit for Him, at the end of the Covenant now grown old, which is the end of the Sabbatic period. Hence it is not possible that the rest after the Sabbath should have come into existence from the seventh of our God; on the contrary, it is our Saviour who, after the pattern of His own rest, caused us to be made in the likeness of His death, and hence also of His resurrection.101 28. The Prophets Bore Witness to Christ and Foretold Many Things Concerning Him.

"He came for a witness that He might bear witness of the light, that all through Him might believe."102 Some of the dissenters from the Church's doctrine, men who profess to believe in Christ, have desired another being, as indeed their system requires, besides the Creator, and hence cannot allow His coming to the world to have been foretold by the prophets.103 They therefore endeavour to get rid of the testimonies of the prophets about Christ, and say that the Son of God has no need of witnesses, but that He brings with Him His own evidence, partly in the sound words full of power which He proclaimed and partly in the wonderful works He did, which were sufficient at once to convince any one whatever. Then they say: If Moses is believed on account of his word and his works, and has no need of any witnesses to announce him beforehand, and if the prophets were received, every one of them, by these people, as messengers from God, how should not one who is much greater than Moses and the prophets accomplish His mission and benefit the human race, without prophets to bear witness about Him? They regard it as superfluous that He should have been foretold by the prophets, since the prophets were concerned, as these opponents would say, that those who believed in Christ should not receive Him as a new God, and therefore did what they could to bring them to that same God whom Moses and the prophets taught before Jesus. To this we must say that as there are many

causes which may lead men to believe, since men who are not moved by one argument may be by another, so God is able to provide for men a number of occasions, any of which may cause their minds to open to the truth that God, who is over all, has taken on Himself human nature. It is manifest to all, how some are brought by the prophetic writings to the admiration of Christ. They are astounded at the voices of so many prophets before Him, which establish the place of His birth, the country of His upbringing, the power of His teaching, His working of wonderful works, and His human passion brought to a close by His resurrection. We must notice, too, that Christ's stupendous acts of power were able to bring to the faith those of Christ's own time, but that they lost their demonstrative force with the lapse of years and began to be regarded as mythical. Greater evidential value than that of the miracles then performed attaches to the comparison which we now make between these miracles and the prophecy of them; this makes it impossible for the student to cast any doubt on the former. The prophetic testimonies do not declare merely the advent of the Messiah; it is by no means the case that they teach this and nothing else. They teach a great deal of theology. The relation of the Father to the Son and of the Son to the Father may be learned not less from what the prophets announce about Christ, than from the Apostles narrating the splendours of the Son of God. A parallel case, which we may venture to adduce, is that of the martyrs, who were honoured by the witness they bore Him, and by no means conferred any favour on Him by their witnessing for the Son of God. And how is it if, as many of Christ's true disciples were honoured by having thus to witness for Him, so the prophets received from God as their special gift that of understanding about Christ and announcing Him before, and that they taught not only those living after Christ's advent how they should regard the Son of God, but those also who lived in the generations before Him? As he who in these times does not know the Son has not the Father either,104 so also we are to understand it was in these earlier times. Hence "Abraham rejoiced to see the day of Christ, and he saw it and was glad."105 He, therefore, who declares that they are not to testify about Christ is seeking to deprive the chorus of the prophets of the greatest gift they have; for what office of equal importance would be left to prophecy, inspired as it is by the Holy Spirit, if all connection with the economy of our Lord and Master were taken away from it? For as these have their faith well ordered who approach the God of the universe through Mediator and High-Priest and Paraclete, and as his religion is a halting one who does not go in through the door to the Father, so also in the case of men of old time. Their religion was sanctified and made acceptable to God by their knowledge and faith and expectation of Christ. For we have observed that God declares Himself to be a witness and exhorts them all to declare the same about Christ, and to be imitators of Him, bearing witness of Him to all who require it. For he says,106 "Be witnesses for Me, and I am witness, saith the Lord God, and My servant whom I have chosen." Now every one who bears witness to the truth, whether he support it by words or deeds, or in whatever way, may properly be called a witness (martyr); but it has come to be the custom of the brotherhood, since they are struck with admiration of those who have contended to the death for truth and valour, to keep the name of martyr more properly for those who have borne witness to the mystery of godliness by shedding their blood for it. The Saviour gives the name of martyr to every one who bears witness to the truth He declares; thus at the Ascension He says to His disciples:107 "You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in Judaea and in Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." The leper who was cleansed108 had still to bring the gift which Moses commanded for a testimony to those who did not believe in the Christ. In the same way the martyrs bear witness for a testimony to the unbelieving, and so do all the saints whose deeds

shine before men. They spend their life rejoicing in the cross of Christ and bearing witness to the true light.

29. The Six Testimonies of the Baptist Enumerated. Jesus' "Come and See." Significance of the Tenth Hour.

Accordingly John came to bear witness of the light, and in his witness-bearing he cried, saying,109 "He that cometh after me exists before me; for He was before me; for of His fulness we have all received and grace for grace, for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came through Jesus Christ. No one hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten God, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him." This whole speech is from the mouth of the Baptist bearing witness to the Christ. Some take it otherwise, and consider that the words from "for of His fulness" to "He hath declared Him" are from the writer, John the Apostle. The true state of the case is that John's first testimony begins, as we said before, "He that cometh after me," and ends, "He hath declared Him," and his second testimony is that spoken to the priests and levites sent from Jerusalem, whom the Jews had sent. To them he confesses and does not deny the truth, namely, that he is not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet, but "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as saith Isaiah the prophet."110 After this there is another testimony of the same Baptist to Christ, still teaching His superior nature, which goes forth into the whole world and enters into reasonable souls. He says,111 "There standeth One among you whom you know not, even He that cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose." Consider if, since the heart is in the middle of the whole body, and the ruling principle in the heart, the saying, "There standeth One among you whom you know not," can be understood of112 the reason which is in every man. John's fourth testimony of Christ after these points to His human sufferings. He says,113 "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world. This is He of whom I said, After me cometh a man who exists before me, for He was before me. And I knew Him not, but that He should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water." And the fifth testimony is recorded in the words,114 "I beheld the Spirit descending as a dove out of heaven, and it abode upon Him, and I knew Him not, but He that sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me, Upon whomsoever thou shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit. And I have seen and borne witness that this is the Son of God." In the sixth place John witnesses of Christ to the two disciples:115 "He looked on Jesus as He walked and saith, Behold the Lamb of God.': After this testimony the two disciples who heard it followed Jesus; and Jesus turned and beheld them following, and saith unto them, "What seek ye? "Perhaps it is not without significance that after six testimonies John ceases from his witness-bearing and Jesus brings forward in the seventh place His "What seek ye? "Very becoming in those who have been helped by John's testimony is the speech in which they address Christ as their Master, and declare their wish to see the dwelling of the Son of God; for they say to Him, "Rabbi," which answers to "Master," in our language, "where dwellest Thou? "And since every one that seeketh findeth, when John's disciples seek Jesus' dwelling, Jesus shows it to them, saying, "Come and see." By the word "Come" He exhorts them perhaps to the practical part of life, while the "see" is to suggest to them that that speculation which comes in the train of right conduct will be vouchsafed to those who desire it; in Jesus' dwelling they will have it. After they had asked where Jesus dwells, and had followed the Master and had seen, they desired to stay with Him and to spend that day with the Son of God. Now the number ten is a sacred one, not a

few mysteries being indicated by it; and so we are to understand that the mention of the tenth hour as that at which these disciples turned in with Jesus, is not without significance. Of these disciples, Andrew, the brother of Simon Peter, is one; and he having profited by this day with Jesus and having found his own brother Simon (perhaps he had not found him before), told him that he had found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, Christ. It is written that "he that seeketh findeth." Now he had sought where Jesus dwelt, and had followed Him and looked upon His dwelling; he stays with the Lord "at the tenth hour," and finds the Son of God, the Word, and Wisdom, and is ruled by Him as King. That is why he says, "We have found the Messiah," and this a thing which every one can say who has found this Word of God and is ruled as by a king, by His Divinity. As a fruit he at once brings his brother to Christ, and Christ deigned to look upon Simon, that is to say, by looking at him to visit and enlighten his ruling principle; and Simon by Jesus' looking at him was enabled to grow strong, so as to earn a new name from that work of firmness and strength, and to be called Peter, 30. How John Was a Witness of Christ, and Specially of "The Light."

It may be asked why we should have gone through all this when the verse before us is, "He came for wireless, that he might bear witness of the light." But it was necessary to give John's testimonies to the light, and to show the order in which they took place, and also, in order to show how effective John's testimony proved, to set forth the help it afforded afterwards to those to whom he bore it. But before all these testimonies there was an earlier one when the Baptist leaped in the womb of Elisabeth at the greeting of Mary. That was a testimony to Christ and attested His divine conception and birth. And what more need I say? John is everywhere a witness and forerunner of Christ. He anticipates His birth and dies a little before the death of the Son of God, and thus witnesses not only for those at the time of the birth, but to those who were expecting the freedom which was to come for man through the death of Christ. Thus, in all his life, he is a little before Christ, and everywhere makes ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him. And John's testimony precedes also the second and diviner coming of Christ, for we read,116 "If ye will receive it, this is Elijah which is to come. He that hath ears to hear let him hear." Now, there was a beginning, in which the Word was,-and we saw from Proverbs that that beginning was wisdom.-and the Word was in existence, and in the Word life was made, and the life was the light of men; and all this being so, I ask why the man who came, sent from God, whose name was John, why he came for witness to bear witness especially of the light? Why did he not come to bear witness of the life, or of the Word, or about the beginning. or about any other of the many aspects in which Christ appears? Consider here the texts, "The people which sat in darkness saw a great light," and "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness overtook it not," and consider how those who are in darkness, that is, men, have need of light. For if the light of men shines in darkness, and there is no active power in darkness to attain to it, then we must partake of other aspects of Christ; at present we have no real share of Him at all. For what share have we of life, we who are still in the body of death, and whose life is hid with Christ in God?117 "For when Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with Him in glory." It was not possible, therefore, that he who came should bear witness about a life which is still hid with Christ in God. Nor did he come for witness to bear witness of the Word, for we know the Word who was in the beginning with God and who is God the Word; for the Word was made flesh on the earth. And though the witness had been, at least apparently, about the Word, it would in fact have been about the Word made flesh and not about the word of God. He did not come, therefore, to bear witness of the Word. And how could there be any witness-bearing about wisdom, to those who, even if they appear to know

something, cannot understand pure truth, but behold it through a glass and in an enigma? It is likely, however, that before the second and diviner advent of Christ, John or Elias will come to bear witness about life a little before Christ our life is made manifest, and that then they will bear witness about the Word, and offer also their testimony about wisdom. Some inquiry is necessary whether a testimony such as that of John is to precede each of the aspects of Christ. So much for the words, "He came for witness, to bear witness of the light." What we are to understand by the further words, "That all might believe through Him," may be considered later.

1: Hos. i. 1.

2: Isa. ii. 1.

3: Jer. xiv. 1.

4: Matt. xi. 19.

5: Rom. xi. 33.

6: Omitting to , with Jacobi.

7: John xvii. 3.

8: Ps. l. 1.

9: Deut. iv. 19, quoted apparently from memory.

10: Apoc. xix. 11-16.

11: In the Greek the article is here omitted.

12: Reading parekdecasqai with Huet.

13: Philipp. iii. 20.

14: Deut. xxxii. 4.

15: Lam. iv. 20.

16: Ps. cxliii. 2.

17: Omitting legesqai , with Jacobi.

18: 2 Thess. ii. 8.

19: 1 Cor. iii. 19.

20: see R. V. Margin, John i. 3.

21: Rom. i. 1-5.

22: i. 1,2.

23: Matt. xii. 32.

24: Reading pro pautwn , with Jacobi.

25: 1 Cor. xii. 4-6.

26: Isa. xlviii. 16.

27: ii, 9.

28: John i. 32.

29: Matt. xii. 50.

30: Ps. civ. 24.

31: Rom. iv. 17.

32: Esth. iv. 22.

33: Exod. iii. 14, 15.

34: Mark x. 18.

35: On the fragments of Heracleon in this work of Origen, see Texts and Studies , vol. i, part iv. by A. E. Brooke, M.A.

36: Prov. xxx, 6.

37: Accepting Jacobi's and Brook's correction para thn .

38: Ps. cxlviii. 5.

39: Coloss. i. 15, 16.

40: Rom. vii. 8, 9.

41: Rom. v. 13.

42: John xv. 22.

43: John xii. 48.

44: Rom x. 6-8.

45: Mark xii. 26.

46: Ps. cxliii. 2.

47: Numb xiv. 28.

48: Heb. xi. 16.

49: Ps. cxvi. 9.

50: Matt. v. 16.

51: 1 Tim. iv. 16.

52: John xvi. 14, 15.

53: Ps. vi. 6.

54: Ephes. v. 8.

55: The demiurge.

56: 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15.

57: Matt. xxii. 30.

58: 2 Kings ii. 14.

59: Judith ix. 2.

60: Gen. i. 26.

61: Zechar i ; Hagg. i. 13.

62: Mal. iii. 1; Mark i. 2.

63: v. 13, 14.

64: i. 5.

65: Ps. xxxvi. 10. 4 viii. 12.

66: viii. 12.

67: Isa. xlii. 6.

68: Ps. xxvii. 1.

69: i. 5.

70: xxvi. 9.

71: xix. 9.

72: Hosea x. 12.

73: 1 John i. 6; ii. 9. 11.

74: Ps. lxxxii. 5.

75: 1 John i. 5.

76: oudemia , not one.

77: 2 Cor. v. 21.

78: Rom. viii, 3.

79: Matt. viii. 17.

80: Matt. xxvi. 38.

81: Zech. iii. 4.

82: Ps. xxii. 1.

83: Ps. lxix. 5.

84: ix. 2.

85: Rom. viii. 31.

86: xix. 9. 16.

87: Ps. xviii. 11.

88: Prov. i. 6.

89: John i. 6.

90: Gen. iii. 23

91: vi. 1, 9.

92: Luke i. 17.

93: John i. 33.

94: Luke i. 13, 15.

95: Matt. xi. 14.

96: 2 Thess. ii. 11, 12.

97: Jer. i. 7.

98: Ezek. ii. 3.

99: Rom. ix. 11-14 100: Isa. xl. 3.

101: Origen appears to be pointing to the fact that the Christian rest which is connected in its origin with the resurrection of Christ is not held as the Jewish Sabbath rest on the seventh but on the first day of the week. John marking the end of the old period is the son of Elisabeth the oath, or seventh, of God, and is thus connected with the seventh day; but not so Jesus.

102: John i, 7.

103: The Old Testament belongs to the Creator, the Demiurge.

104: 1 John ii. 23.

105: John viii. 56.

106: Isa. xliii. 10.

107: Acts i. 8.

108: Matt. viii. 4.

109: i. 7, 15-18.

110: i. 23.

111: i. 26 112: Reading kata for kai .

113: i. 29-31.

114: i. 32-34.

115: i. 35-38.

116: Matt. xi. 14, 15.

117: Coloss. iii. 3, 4.

Commentary on John - Book 20

Volume 20 of the Commentaries on the Gospel of John (Origen), Translated by ChatGPT from Migne's Patrologia Graeca In dictating the twentieth volume on the Gospel according to John, most God-loving and knowledge-seeking in the Lord Ambrose, we pray from the fullness of the Son of God, in whom all fullness was pleased to dwell, to receive complete and, so to speak, substantial insights, and having nothing deficient, that the Gospel may be revealed to us according to our examinations, without us either omitting anything necessary to be examined and recorded in interpretative writings, nor unduly increasing anything, nor misunderstanding the mind of our Savior Jesus. So may God send Him, the Word, revealing Himself, so that we may become spectators of His depth, granted by the Father.

[John 8:37] I know that you are Abraham’s seed, but you seek to kill me because my word has no place in you.

It may seem contentious to those who do not understand the significance of the term "seed" and the term "child" to interpret the phrase "I know that you are Abraham’s seed" and what will be immediately brought forward and said to them: "If you were Abraham’s children, you would do the works of Abraham." So that these matters may be considered, let us first examine physically the difference between "seed" and "child." It is clear that the seed has within itself the words of the one who sowed it, still resting in quiet and laid up; but the child, after the seed has transformed and worked on the material surrounding it from the woman and the accumulated nourishment, stands formed and prepared for birth; and if indeed a part is truly a child of someone, in terms of the bodily, it has arisen from seed, while if it is a seed, it does not necessarily become a child. With these distinctions having been pre-stated by us, if one were supposed to understand "I know that you are Abraham’s seed" physically, it would certainly follow that they are also Abraham’s children to whom the phrase is spoken, granted that the child is still seed and not given strictly. Since the children of Abraham are judged by their character and works, perhaps those who are seeds of Abraham should be identified by certain seminal words sowed, as I suppose, into certain souls. And just as not all humans physically are Abraham’s seed, so in the matters now considered regarding who are Abraham’s seed, it is clear that not all humans inherit the same seminal words implanted into their souls for the life of mankind. The cause for these differences, through great judgments and ineffable ways, viewed by those who have received the mind of Christ, to see the things granted to them by God, can only be comprehended by a few who diligently grasp things before and within every individual’s birth; and since such considerations might disturb some, although understanding these things, not investigating them accurately, we risk endangering ourselves in dealing with such matters, where discussing and unfolding such subjects is perilous, even if it is correct. And furthermore, it is precarious because the steward of God's mysteries must also seek the opportune moment for the presentation of such doctrines, so as not to harm the listener, and consider the measure of what is lacking or excessive; and even if the opportune moment is observed, and something is done contrary to right reason, it must be more carefully examined whether those to whom such things are delivered are fellow slaves, or slaves of

someone else other than the Lord of the ruler. For that the steward of God's mysteries must examine all these things is indicated by the saying: "Who then is the faithful and wise steward, whom his lord will appoint over his household, to give them their portion of food in due season?" Not all people, therefore, are the seed of Abraham; for they do not have the words sown within their souls which, if cultivated, could make them children of Abraham. And someone might argue that one who has become seed of Abraham could be condemned if he does not also become his child; but how could one reasonably blame someone for not doing the works of Abraham, who does not even have the initial condition of being the seed of Abraham, from which comes the becoming children of Abraham? We might answer this by using history as a stepping-stone and seeking the traces of truth regarding the place in the scriptures, that if someone is not a child of Abraham, but is seed of no righteous person, then one would be blameless among sinners, having no opportunity from the seeds for what is good. But now, just as in bodies one might be the seed of many righteous people, while another has fewer, as will be evident from the juxtaposition of what will be said, so also in matters of spiritual advancement it is fitting to speak proportionally. Abraham is the twentieth born from the first-formed: for there are ten generations from Adam to Noah, and ten from Noah to Abraham. And Abraham had brothers Nahor and Haran; for the three were the sons of Terah. Nahor and Haran were not descendants of Abraham; nor was Abraham himself a descendant of Abraham. The three were, however, descendants of righteous men, as we still seek to count those from Adam in certain numbers: of Seth, whom God raised in place of Abel; and of Enosh, who "began to call on the name of the Lord" and of Enoch, "who pleased God, after becoming the father of Methuselah for two hundred years"; and of Noah, of whom it is said that "Noah was a righteous man, perfect in his generation; Noah walked with God"; and of Shem, whose "Lord God" seems first to have been addressed in Genesis, as it is plain from "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem." Among those who were unrighteous, these three sons of Terah were the descendants. Therefore, what we have said about the seed of Abraham, let it be understood about the seed of Shem and Noah and the aforementioned righteous men, whose characteristics Abraham, Nahor, and Haran seem to have inherited as they came into existence. But Abraham cultivated within himself the seminal reasons of all the righteous before him and added to them his own holy quality, particular to his own seed, from which those who followed after him, called "seed of Abraham," could partake. But Haran made little effort for himself and the paternal seeds in him, from which he managed, though weakly, to give forth Lot. Nahor, however, was lesser than both his brothers. Therefore, it is possible, even not being of the seed of Abraham, to be of the seed of Noah, since certainly by the history of the flood all descended from Noah. If this is so, then also of the seed of Enoch, surely also of the seed of Enosh and Seth. It is unclear to us among many of those lower than Noah, who is of the seed of Shem, who of Ham, and who of Japheth, and of those even lower; but no one is without some share in the seed of the righteous. I consider it possible that one having the starting points which Abraham had from prior seeds, even not being of the seed of Abraham, might become similar to Abraham. For as Abraham, though not from the seed of Abraham but from those previously mentioned, became Abraham, so it is possible for someone, having cultivated the superior things sown in him, to become another Abraham, not necessarily from the seed of Abraham but himself also capable of sowing like Abraham. And let us hear of all these matters, referring the spoken words not to bodies and people, but to certain intelligible things and words, more or fewer, which those entering into generation or existence participate in variously, and perhaps even ascending. And you may consider if such seeds can

apply, now being named as particular to those who receive them, the phrase "They that go forth, go weeping, bearing their seeds"; for if one can, let him understand the journey of some souls into generation with weeping, carrying the seeds either of more just or fewer and even unjust things. And let him reflect, seeing as if gardeners agonizing over the seeds they hold, how to cultivate these (I mean those that are superior), and not to sow these, if they come with worse seeds. For what kind of weeping is it likely for these to weep about whom the saying is: "They that go forth, go weeping, bearing their seeds"? And there is indeed a good hope among those who go forth and weep, carrying their seeds; for these as usually "shall come with rejoicing, carrying their sheaves." Perhaps, however, there are others, concerning whom you might say: "They that go forth went forth and laughed, bearing their seeds"; and for them the following will be: "And they shall come with weeping, carrying their sheaves"; concerning whom you might say: "They were born like grass on the rooftops, which withers before it is plucked, of which the mower fills not his hand, nor the binder of sheaves his bosom. And they that pass by do not say: The blessing of the Lord be upon you." And observe if it can perhaps be said more deeply and mystically by our savior the saying "Blessed are those who weep now, for they shall laugh;" and "Woe to those who laugh now, for they shall mourn and weep." However much the seed of later just ones is, it produces that many more words of righteousness, as for this reason the phrase "The seed of Abraham his servants, the sons of Jacob his chosen ones" is written, and for this reason somehow the saying about John: "Among those born of women, there is none greater than John the Baptist." Having come to these places, consider if it has any meaning that some seeds disappear by God, so that there be no more evil on earth, if those not deriving from better sources are sown to cultivate those from superior seeds. For this reason, the flood occurs to destroy the seed of Cain, since those born from him could not have anything to cultivate but only from Adam. That the flood happened to destroy the seed of Cain is shown by the inscription of the Proverbs of Solomon through these words: “Departing from her, the unrighteous in his anger perished” (it being evident that it means wisdom), “killed by fratricidal lusts, for whom wisdom again saved the submerged earth, steering the righteous with a simple piece of wood.” The disappearance of Sodom and the land of those likewise seems to be depicted to me: "Their land remains a smoking wasteland, bearing plants at fruitless seasons." And it was the work of a good God to make Sodom disappear from the earth and to dry up whatever residue of mist remained from it, so that there would no longer be a vine of Sodom, nor a branch of Gomorrah, nor a grape of bitterness, nor a cluster of harshness, nor wine, the anger of dragons and the incurable wrath of asps. You would say the same about the Egyptians, about whom it is said: “He killed their vines with hail, and their sycamore trees with frost”; for it is a good God who kills the vines of the Egyptians and the sycamore trees of the ungodly. These things are set forth for the examination of the debate about seeds regarding Abraham or any of the righteous, so that it may be shown how and in what manner it is said by the Savior, “I know that you are Abraham’s seed,” and “If you are Abraham’s children, do the works of Abraham.” Concerning the children of Abraham doing the works of Abraham, we will speak, God willing, in better time, when we come to the testing of that statement. It is possible then for someone who happens to be a seed of Abraham to become his child through diligence, but it is also possible through neglect and lack of cultivation to lose even the standing of being his seed. Those to whom the word was addressed were still of hope, for Jesus knew that they were still Abraham’s seed and saw that they had not yet lost the ability to become children of Abraham; as it was still possible for them to become children of Abraham since they were his seed, he said to

them, “If you are children of Abraham, do the works of Abraham.” Just as there are some who are the seed of Abraham, there are others, as Daniel says, “the seed of Canaan and not of Judah,” and others, as Wisdom says, “a cursed seed from the beginning.” And we will say concerning these that just as in physical matters, from many seeds, sometimes one seed proves capable of more vigorous growth, so it is with spiritual seeds. What I say will be clear from the subsequent statements; for since the one who sows has within himself ancestral and kin-related reasons, sometimes his own reason prevails, and what is generated resembles the sower, sometimes the reason of the sower’s brother, or the sower’s father, or the sower’s uncle, or sometimes even the sower’s grandfather; hence, those who are begotten resemble one or another of these. One can see that the word of the wife or of the wife’s father or of her brother or of her grandfather prevails, in accordance with the comminglings in their fermentations while all of them are shaken, until some of the seminal words should prevail. Let these things be transferred to the soul filled with intelligible seeds, coming from certain named fathers of her, and from the mobility or ease of movement of the governing principle, let certain seminal words of the fathers emerge as images on such occasions. When cultivated, there will be a son, this one of Abraham, clearly the same also of Noah, another of Noah, not, however, to be also of Abraham, and another of Canaan, and another of someone among the just or the unjust. Yet, we have all come not with similar and the same seeds, but no one has come empty of salvific and holy seeds; unless one of us happens to entreat strongly and simultaneously offering the help from God that does not reject even the worst and those who have entered life without the best seeds, and to entreat from the saying, "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham." All things spoken about the seed of Abraham and those having an analogy to this, we would reasonably accept if indeed we have received that it was not spoken according to the physical that "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" and "I have not found such faith in Israel," and whatever related things have been said similarly. These, to whom the word is directed, seem not to accommodate the word, unable to contain it through the excess of its own greatness beyond them, since they were still merely the seed of Abraham. But if in addition to being the seed of Abraham they had cultivated and the seed of Abraham had grown into greatness and increase, in the greatness and increase of the seed of Abraham the word of Jesus would have fitted. And even to this point, you will admit that the word does not fit in those not advancing from being the seed of Abraham and not coming into being his children. These also wish to kill the word and as it were to crush it, not being able to contain its greatness. And it is always possible to see those not accommodating the word, because they are lesser vessels, wishing to kill the unity of the greatness of the word, as if they could contain its members after its destruction and crushing. To those in whom the word thus happens, having, as it were, destroyed it, it will be said, "All my bones have been scattered." So if one of us is the seed of Abraham and yet the word of God does not fit in him, let him not seek to kill the word, but having changed from being the seed of Abraham to being the child of Abraham, he will be able to contain the word of God which he previously did not accommodate.

[John 8:38] What I have seen from the Father, I speak; and you, therefore, what you have heard from the Father, you do.

Just as we might say that certain men from the beginning have been eyewitnesses of the word, concerning whom Luke says, “Just as those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word handed them down to us,” so we will say that the Savior is an eyewitness of

things from the Father, and thus the saying “No one knows the Father except the Son” is said, since there are no other eyewitnesses to whom the Son might reveal. Clearly, the statement in “What I have seen from the Father, I speak” indicates that the Savior is an eyewitness of things with the Father. If someone ever inquires whether there will be a time when the angels themselves will see the things with the Father, no longer seeing through an intermediary and servant; then those who have seen the Son have seen the Father who sent Him; in the Son, one sees the Father. But when one looks at the Father as the Son sees the Father and the things with the Father, one will be, as it were, an eyewitness of the Father and of the things of the Father, no longer understanding these things from the image of Him whom the image is. And I think this will be the end, when the Son hands over the kingdom to God the Father, and when God becomes all in all. Therefore, the Savior, having seen the things with the Father, speaks; but the Jews who believed in Him have not seen the things with the Father, but they heard from the Father to do what they heard. Therefore, the Lord tells them, “And you, therefore, do what you have heard from the Father.” Someone might ask when the Jews who believed in the Lord heard from the Father; and to this, one might say, having simply heard, “What you have heard from the Father, do,” that they heard from the Father through Moses and the prophets the things written in the Law and the Prophets to be done. He who uses the saying against heterodox opinions clearly demonstrates that the Father of Christ is no other than the God who gave the Law and the Prophets.

Another also, using the phrase "Everyone who has heard and learned from the Father comes to me; not that anyone has seen the Father, except the one who is from the Father, he has seen the Father," will say that there are some souls that, having been embodied before coming into existence, have been taught by the Father and have heard from Him, who also come to the Savior. Among these were even those Jews who now believe in Him and were being examined, to whom He said, "You then do what you have heard from the Father." And he will say that these are those also called the seed of Abraham. But someone might oppose this, claiming that the statement "Everyone who has heard from the Father and learned comes to me" necessarily means that the one who has heard from the Father and learned from Him comes to the Savior; but "You then do what you have heard from the Father," spoken to the Jews seeking to kill the Son of God, to whom it is said as if they were not yet children of Abraham, "If you were children of Abraham, you would do the works of Abraham," shows that they do not yet have the fruits of having come to the Savior. To such an opposer it will be answered, stating that "Everyone who has heard from the Father and learned" is not the same as "You then do what you have heard from the Father"; for the one who has heard from the Father and learned necessarily comes to the Savior, while those who have heard but not necessarily learned are not yet children of Abraham. We might inquire from those introducing the natures and attributing to "My word has no place in you" according to Heracleon, that it is because they are unfit either in essence or in intention, how those who are unfit in essence have heard from the Father. Moreover, were these ever sheep of Christ, or were they originally strangers to Him? If they were strangers, how did they hear from the Father? Clearly, as they believe, it is said to the strangers, "For this reason you do not hear, because you are not of my sheep." Unless, being pressed by another absurdity, they surround themselves with the claim that the strangers have heard from the Father but do not hear from the Savior. If they were belonging to the Savior and of the blessed nature, how were they seeking to kill Him? And how did the word of the Savior not have a place in them?

[John 8:39] They answered and said to Him, "Our father is Abraham."

They might have made their answer much humbler, accepting concerning who was their father, as the Lord was saying. For Jesus, referring to God, said "You do the works you heard from the Father." But humbler, they acknowledge their father's nationality, saying, "Our father is Abraham." Someone might assist them, as replying well, by saying that as moderate and not claiming themselves to be sons of God, when Jesus said "You do the works you heard from the Father" referring to God, they say "Our father is Abraham." Clearly, the Savior redirects even this as falsely spoken through "If you were the children of Abraham, you would do the works of Abraham." Therefore, one might inquire about these things improperly, because, according to the Savior, denying them to be children of Abraham, saying to them "You do the works you heard from the Father," referring to the Father, which is God. For he who is not a child of Abraham can be much more criticized as those after Abraham against whom the word is directed, much more so will he not be a child of God. But see if also for this we can say it has not been said, "And you also should do the works you heard from your father or our father," but "from the Father," whosoever He may be, not necessarily the father of those who are not children of Abraham and are not formed from the seed of Abraham to the children of Abraham; or the saying, "You do the works you heard from the Father," can be taken indefinitely instead of "from My Father," and this will be clear from "What I have seen with My Father I speak," meaning "with My Father." And following, we are taught to whom God is Father, by which also the Savior says these things: "If God were your Father, you would love Me." It is clear that those seeking to kill the Son did not love Him; and those not loving Him could not be called sons of God. Thus it is clear that "You do the works you heard from the Father" is not equal to "from your father."

[John 8:39] Jesus said to them, "If you are children of Abraham, do the deeds of Abraham."

Those who choose one of the deeds of Abraham, the "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness," and thinking this is what is referred to by "Do the deeds of Abraham" so that it may be granted to them that faith is a deed, which would not be granted by those accepting the "Faith without works is dead" nor by those hearing that it differs to be justified "by faith" rather than "by works of the law," let them respond why it was not said: "If you are children of Abraham, do the deed of Abraham" in the singular, but in the plural: "Do the deeds of Abraham," which, as I think, amounts to "Do all the deeds of Abraham." And if it equals "Do all the deeds of Abraham," neither must he who has a wife approach a maidservant fleshly nor, after the death of the married woman in old age, take another woman, who wishes to become a child of Abraham by doing the deeds of Abraham according to the teaching of the Savior. Clearly, we learn here that it is necessary for each one to do spiritually all the history allegorized according to Abraham, starting from "Go out of your land and from your kindred and from your father's house to the land that I will show you," spoken not only to Abraham but to everyone who will be his child. For each of us has a land, an unworthy kindred before the divine instruction, and the house of our father before the word of God reached us, from all of which we must exit according to the word of God if we hear the Savior saying: "If you are children of Abraham, do the deeds of Abraham"; thus we will arrive, leaving our land, at the land which God will show us, truly good and really vast, which properly should be given by the Lord God to those who have fulfilled what was commanded in the "Go out of your land." And just as abandoning a family that is not good, we shall become a great nation and greater than according to humans; and just as despising the house of a not praiseworthy

father, we shall be blessed with our name being magnified, becoming so blessed, that those who bless us will be blessed by God, and those who curse us will be under a curse, and every tribe of the earth will be blessed in us (when it may be said about us: “He went,” as it was said about Abraham, “And Abraham went, as the Lord had spoken to him.” I think that in the beginnings and for some time Lot will follow us, of which there was a symbol: “And Lot went with him”), and returning to the land of Canaan, we shall pass through the land as far as the place of Shechem, thus advancing in the ascent of the mind until we come to the high oak. And the Lord God, who appeared to Abraham, will appear to us, and he will promise to give the land around the high oak to the seed of our intellectual soul. It is for the one who understands the phrase “Do the works of Abraham” also to build an altar to the Lord where the high oak is manifesting to us, and after these things to depart from the place of the high oak to the mountain, and from the mountain towards the east of Bethel, which is interpreted “House of God,” where he will pitch his tent, with Bethel to the west and Ai to the east; Ai is interpreted “Feasts.” And as such a one progresses, he will build again an altar to the Lord, now also able to call on the name of the Lord. And next, departing from there, the one who will be a child of Abraham, becoming somewhat more strategic and understanding against how many enemies he must prepare himself, will camp in the wilderness. After this, he will experience the trial of the famine in the land and will go down to Egypt to sojourn there, so that the famine which prevails in the land may not overpower him there. And he will go down to Egypt with his beautiful wife, making certain agreements with her, so that the Egyptians may treat him well because of her and give him in Egypt “sheep and oxen and donkeys and male and female servants and mules and camels.” Concerning each one of whom some wise person, capable of reaching the depths of the text with proficiency, it would be the work to speak and generally test every part of the history of Abraham and everything written about him, which things are allegorized; these we will attempt to do spiritually, as spiritual ones. But see if it does not clearly appear to us from the examination of the passage that it is the mark of a wise person endowed with every virtue to become a child of Abraham. For what need is there to say how much wisdom we need to understand the works of Abraham? And how much strength to carry them out? What wisdom or what power do we need, or of Christ, who is "the power of God and the wisdom of God?" Therefore, it is written: "If you are Abraham's children, do the works of Abraham"; correspondingly, you could say: if you are Isaac's children, do the works of Isaac; and similarly about Jacob and each one of the holy fathers. And by the opposites, each sinner in general is a child of the devil, since "everyone who commits sin is of the devil," or more specifically, of Cain, or of Ham, or of Canaan, or of Pharaoh, or of Nebuchadnezzar, or some of the impious ones. Accordingly, you will say to these that each one departing from this life will go to his own fathers; for it must be supposed to be said of not only Abraham, but also to all people at their departure: "You shall go to your fathers"; yet not to all people, but only to the saints: "In peace"; and to those completed and become spiritually aged also: "Having lived a good old age," since "Wisdom is gray hair to men and an unspotted life is old age among men" and "A crown of pride is old age" and the glory to the true and godly elders are the adornments of spiritual gray hairs.

[John 8:40] Now you seek to kill a man who has spoken to you the truth which I heard from God.

Those who seek to kill, since God is not killed, even if they do kill, they kill a man. Even if they seek to kill, not yet killing, they do not think they are devising against God but against a man; for no one who is persuaded that he is God to whom he devises would still devise against him. It is

always possible to consider those devising against the word of God, that they seek to kill and make him disappear, supposing him to be a man, that is, human and mortal, or they attack his more human and visible aspect; so that even if they kill the body of the word, it is clear that after this they can do nothing more. Therefore, we should not fear those who kill the body and after that can do nothing more, nor should we fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul of the word. But if there is such a word that both his body and soul can be destroyed, considering them worthy of destruction, we should fear the one who can destroy and make disappear both soul and body in Gehenna or in whatever manner he wishes; for the Lord Jesus will consume with the spirit of his mouth and abolish with the brightness of his coming the opposing word and what is lifted up against everything called God or worshiped. And these who seek to kill a man who has spoken the truth he heard from God and received do so. Yet if we take the place more simply, the Savior clearly taught that what was sought by the Jews to be killed was not God but a man, who was also killed; for it is not proper to say that God dies; therefore, the Word in the beginning with God, which was God, did not die. But you may ask, since it is written that "The Word became flesh," whether the Word that became flesh became also a man or not. For if he became a man, he could be sought to be killed; but if he did not become a man, then the Word that became flesh was not killed and restores each to what he was before he became flesh.

[John 8:40] "This Abraham did not do."

It was altogether impossible for this to be done by Abraham, if Abraham had not done it, as it happened to be stated, it would seem, that 'This Abraham did not do.' For some would say toward this that it is vainly said, 'This Abraham did not do,' if he did not do what was not at all done in his time; for Jesus had not come in his time. But since I consider "This Abraham did not do," to be said, so to speak, in praise regarding Abraham, I would say that according to the teacher's discourse, 'Abraham your father rejoiced that he might see my day, and he saw it and was glad,' it means that a man speaking the truth he heard from God did arise in the time of Abraham, yet was not sought to be slain by Abraham. And understand that there is no time when the man allegorically understood as Jesus was not present in life, both after the times of the story about him and earlier. Therefore, I think that anyone who was once enlightened and has tasted the heavenly gift, and has become a partaker of the Holy Spirit, and has tasted the good word of God and the powers of the age to come, and has fallen away, again renews himself to repentance, either re-crucifying or re-nailing the Son of God to the cross and exposing him to public shame, whether before the bodily advent of our Savior or after. For he who, after enlightenment and the other beneficences of God towards him, sins again, re-crucifies the Son of God through his own sins to which he has returned, fulfills nothing short of the common bodily action known as crucifying the Son of God, nor was it done earlier and anyone sinning after hearing divine words pre-crucified the Son of God. But if anyone is pleased to accept what is recorded in the Acts of Paul as said by the Savior, ‘I am being crucified again above,’ this person, as he accepts 'I am being crucified again above' occurring after the advent, so also before the advent, whenever the same causes occur, might say, ‘Now I am being crucified.’ Why indeed should it not be said that ‘he is being crucified above,’ since he had been crucified before? But see if it is not only the voice of the saints after the presence that says 'I am crucified with Christ,' but also of those earlier, lest we say that the saints after the presence differ from Moses and the patriarchs. And the statement 'It is no longer I who live, but Christ lives in me' should also be said not only by those after the

presence but also by those earlier. I also bring into focus the statement 'God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Jacob; He is not the God of the dead but of the living' said by the Savior, lest it may be because of this that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are living, since they too were buried with Christ and rose together with him, not necessarily according to the bodily burial or bodily resurrection of Jesus. These things are in regard to 'This Abraham did not do.' But what is 'this'? It is the seeking to kill a man who has spoken the truth which he heard from God. For we assert that the spiritual economy according to Jesus was never absent from the saints. If you elevate these things as we have hinted at in other instances, interpreting them mystically rather than commonly in reference to Abraham, you will try to harmonize all the circumstances related to the place, seeking the coherence of each of these."

[John 8:41] You are doing the works of your father. With respect to this saying, it is not clear which father He means to say to the Jews who have believed in Him and have not yet known the truth; for He says all these things to them. And if He had not shortly after added, "You are of your father the devil" and "you want to do the desires of your father," we would have understood clearly the intent of what was spoken. It is not remarkable if He said to those Jews who believed in Him but had not yet remained in His word, so that they might truly become His disciples and know the truth by being freed by it, "You are doing the works of your father" and as he shortly after added, "You are of your father the devil." For though such words may seem harsh when said of those who believe in Him and somewhat have become His disciples, though not yet truly being disciples of Jesus, it should be understood in the light of what is written in the Catholic epistle by John concerning the children of God and the children of the devil: "For the one who commits sin is of the devil, for the devil has been sinning from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil. Everyone born of God does not commit sin, because His seed remains in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God. By this are manifest the children of God and the children of the devil: whoever does not do righteousness is not of God, neither he who does not love his brother." Therefore, with these words being so, understand this if it isn’t clearly said that everyone who commits sin is of the devil. As much as we commit sins, we have not yet shed the generation of the devil, even though we may be counted as believing in Jesus; and it follows from this that Jesus said to the believing Jews, "You are doing the works of your father," referring with "father" to the devil because of "You are of your father the devil." And if everyone who commits sin is of the devil, then everyone who is not of the devil does not commit sin. But even if "the Son of God was manifested for this purpose, that He might destroy the works of the devil," so long as He has not yet destroyed the works of the devil within us, by our not presenting ourselves to the One who destroys the works of the devil, we have not yet cast away being children of the devil, as we are known by our fruits as to whose children we are. And from these things, it is clear that no one is by nature a son of the devil, nor is anyone called a son of God among men because he was so created; and it is clear that one who was once a son of the devil can become a son of God, which is also evident from Matthew, who reports the Savior saying thus: "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of your Father who is in heaven." Note that from "love your enemies" and "pray for those who persecute you," he who was not previously a son of the heavenly Father, afterward becomes His son; and indeed, because of "By this the works of God and the works of the devil are manifest," it was said concerning the children of the devil that "He who commits sin is of the devil"; but

concerning the children of God, it was said that "Everyone who is born of God does not commit sin, for His seed remains in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." It is therefore clear that every person completing the word is either a child of God or a child of the devil; for either he commits sin or he does not commit sin, with nothing in between committing sin and not committing sin; and if he commits sin, he is of the devil; but if he does not commit sin, he is born of God. Thus, what is said in the same letter concerning the children of God and the children of the devil stands: "Everyone who abides in Him does not sin; everyone who sins has not seen Him." Therefore, if everyone who abides in Him does not sin, he who sins does not abide in the Son; and if everyone who sins has not seen Him, he who has seen Him does not sin. At the same time, note what John meant by saying, "Everyone who sins has not seen Him," indicating through "has seen Him" that those who always see the Son of God and from having seen Him gain power to by no means sin. You might also say that the saying "You do the works of your father" can sometimes refer to the children of the devil and at other times to the children of God. For those who sin do the works of their father the devil, but those who do right do the works of their father, God. It is possible that someone might be moved by these things, not being able to be the same, doing good and evil deeds alternately, being a child of God due to the good deeds and a child of the devil due to the contrary ones. But this, besides being highly irrational, is not stated in the Scriptures. For John declares that "Everyone who has been born of God does not commit sin, because His seed remains in him, and he cannot sin, because he has been born of God." Therefore, everyone who has been born of God does not commit sin; but it is not written that everyone who has been born of the devil does not practice righteousness, but "the one who commits sin is of the devil". Again, it is not stated in the same way, "The one who commits sin is of the devil," as it is written, "the one who practices righteousness is of God." Pay attention to the distinctions of the statements, how with all precision John has said them, so as to marvel how perfectly and, as some might say, dialectically he expressed them, not bringing forth similar things about those born of the devil and those born of God. Similarly, he would have expressed it if he had said, just as "The one who commits sin is of the devil," so "the one who practices righteousness is of God," or as he wrote, "Everyone who has been born of God does not commit sin," he might have written "everyone who has been born of the devil does not practice righteousness." Perhaps also by using "is" for the one of the devil, and not using it for those of God, or by using "born" for those of God and not using it for those of the devil, he expressed it very wisely. For he exalted the one of God by attributing "born" to him; which, if it had been said of the one of the devil, would have shown something worse than "is of the devil." But even if he had used "is" as he did for the one of the devil, he would have shown less for the one of God, as being born of God is much greater than being from God. Some might say that some creatures are indeed from God but are not born of God, and these undoubtedly occupy a lesser rank in the universe than those who are said to be born of God. And indeed, being according to the distinction of "It is of the devil" and "Born of God," do not ever seek if there is someone who is both born of the devil and who is certainly of the devil, for not everyone who is of the devil is born of the devil; and again there is someone who is of God who is not entirely born of God, hence not everyone who is of God is born of God. However, the one born of God is characterized by not committing sin, because the seed of God remains in him, and due to the power of that seed residing within him, he is unable to sin any longer. And in the last parts of the letter, it is said: "Everyone who is born of God does not sin, but the one born of God keeps himself, and the wicked one does not touch him." If the one born of God keeps himself and the wicked one

does not touch him, then the one who does not keep himself so that the wicked one does not touch him is not born of God, and everyone who the wicked one touches is not born of God. The wicked one touches those who do not keep themselves. Since there is no interval between the matters concerning Abraham, it follows: "You do the works of your father," we seek whether this is written on account of the first command given to Abraham. The first instruction to him is as follows: "Get out of your country, and from your kindred, and from your father's house, and go to the land that I will show you." So Abraham went out from his father's house, which those who are being rebuked for not speaking soundly have not done; "Our father is Abraham," they say. For if you are the children of Abraham, do the works of Abraham; the first of his works was to leave his country, and his kindred, and his father's house, and go to the land that God shows him. Therefore, those to whom this word applies are reproved as not being the children of Abraham, clearly because they have not gone out from their father's house they are reprimanded as still being of their wicked father and still doing the works of that father. With these things being clearly stated in the text, I think those who assume from this that there are some who are by nature children of the devil are refuted.

[John 8:41] They said to Him, "We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, God."

I seek whether, when reproved as not being children of Abraham, those who are said to have believed in Him, the Jews, answered more bitterly, covertly hinting that the Savior was born out of fornication, as they probably insinuate this by denying His notorious and widely discussed birth from the Virgin. For it seems quite irrational to me that they should dismiss these words offhand. Neither do they suit the preceding nor the following context if the phrase "We were not born of fornication" spoken by them is understood more literally. But since the Savior said that God was His own Father, not admitting any human father, it is likely that they brought up again the phrase "We have one Father, God" to confront the "We were not born of fornication." As if they were saying, "We have one Father, God, rather than you, who, claiming to be born of a virgin, were born of fornication, and by boasting of your virgin birth, claim to have God as your only Father," acknowledging both God as Father and not denying a human father. But someone will say that understood in this manner, these cannot be the words of Jews who believed in Him. To this it must be replied that, at the beginning of His conversation with them, "If you remain in My word, you are truly My disciples, and you shall know the truth," as they were capable of remaining in Jesus' word and also of not remaining, it was not impossible that some of those reproved did not remain in His word, and those who did not remain spoke bitterly and reactively by saying, "We were not born of fornication; we have one Father, God." It seems to me that they answered more contentiously; for having previously said, "We are Abraham's seed," and confirming this more plainly by saying, "Our father is Abraham," on hearing in response, "If you are Abraham's children, do the works of Abraham," they claim a greater father than Abraham for themselves by saying, "We have one Father, God." Perhaps because some men are of the devil and others are born of God, we might rightly say that all who are not born of God are born of fornication. For the devil begets or makes those who are from him, not from a bride, but from a prostitute, from matter, those who are attached to bodily things and clinging to material lusts, becoming one body with her, whereas those who are born of God refrain from the prostitute matter, cleaving to the Lord, and being united with the Word who was in the beginning with God, and with His wisdom, "which He created as the beginning of His ways for His works," that they may become one spirit with her; for "He who is

joined to the prostitute is one body with her; but he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit with Him."

[John 8:42] Jesus said to them, "If God were your Father, you would love me, for I came from God and am here."

Therefore, since those who bring in the natures use this saying, narrating it thus, that you would have recognized me as your own and as a brother, but also as your own, you would have loved me if God were your Father, it must be questioned thus towards them: there was a time when Paul hated Jesus, and he hated him when he devastated and persecuted the church of God, and indeed the first divine communication correctly said to him, 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' If therefore it is true that 'If God were your Father, you would love me,' it is clearly also valid to reverse it: 'If you do not love me, God is not your Father.' Therefore, for those who do not love Jesus, God is not the Father; there was a time when Paul did not love Jesus, therefore there was a time when God was not Paul's Father. Hence, Paul was not by nature a son of God, but later became a son of God, when we also properly take what follows, namely that 'But indeed God, O Paul, is your Father, therefore you love Jesus.' But even before the times of Paul's faith, being true the saying 'If God were your Father, you would love me,' it would have been correct to accept Jesus saying, 'But indeed you do not love me, therefore God is not your Father, O Paul.' But when does God become anyone's Father? Or when one keeps the commandments, through which he, who was not previously a son of the heavenly Father, becomes His son, when also the Father, leading him to rebirth, who becomes His son, takes him as such a Father. This can be addressed from what is written in the Gospel according to Matthew: 'You have heard that it was said, "You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy." But I say to you, love your enemies, and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may become sons of your Father who is in heaven.' Pay attention to 'so that you may become sons of your Father who is in heaven,' which shows that someone does not become a son of the heavenly Father before. By keeping carefully also concerning what pertains to 'the Father,' which is 'yours' (for it is written, 'so that you may become sons of your Father'), you will ask whether it is said more plainly, or whether it is added by error of the scribes (for we would not have questioned if it had been written, 'so that you may become sons of the Father who is in heaven'); and especially since it seems to contain contention about someone becoming a son, not simply of the heavenly Father, but of one's own Father. For if He is his Father, he does not later become his son; but if he becomes his son, He was not his Father. Moreover, you will note that some of those thought to have believed are called slaves of God, but others are called His sons, that perhaps not just by any commandment but by some notable achievement, someone becomes a son of God who achieves it. Observe, then, that in the Gospel of Matthew, it is stated, "That you may become sons of your Father who is in heaven," in connection with, "But I say to you: Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you." For indeed, the likeness to God and imitation of Him who loves all things and abhors nothing of what He has made, and spares all (for all things are His), is shown in the one who loves his enemies and prays for those who persecute him. How fitting would it be for "That you may become sons of your Father who is in heaven," to be joined with, "You have heard it said, 'You shall not commit adultery'; but I say to you that everyone who looks at a woman to lust for her has already committed adultery with her in his heart," and concerning the loss of one of your members rather than the whole body being cast into hell? Furthermore, if it were added to "You have heard it said to the ancients, 'You shall not swear falsely, but shall perform your oaths to the Lord'; but I say to

you, do not swear at all," it would cause great offense. But now, as the Father who is in heaven makes His sun rise on the evil and on the good, so each of the sons of God, having love in themselves as a kind of sun, makes it rise on the evil when he loves his enemies. And again, as He sends rain on the just and on the unjust, so does the holy one send prayer as a kind of rain upon those below who persecute him and prays for such people. This is made clear in our teaching of, "If God were your Father, you would love me." Let us also consider the statement, "I came forth from God and am here," which seems useful for me to relate to the prophecy of Micah, saying, "Hear, O peoples, the word, and let the earth listen, and all that is in it. And the Lord will be a witness against you, the Lord from His holy house." For behold, the Lord is going forth from His place, and He will come down and step upon the high places of the earth, and the mountains will melt under Him, and the valleys will be split like wax before the fire, like waters poured down a steep place. And see if perchance “I proceeded from God” is equivalent to “The Lord goes forth from His place,” since when the Son is in the Father, being in the form of God before He emptied Himself, God is as it were His place. And if anyone understands that, before emptying Himself, He existed in the previous form of God, he will see the Son, not yet having gone forth from God, nor yet having proceeded from His place. But when comparing that state of the Son with taking on the form of a servant, emptying Himself, he will understand how the Son of God went forth and came to us, and as it were has come outside of the one who sent Him, even if in another way the Father did not leave Him alone but is with Him, and is in the Son as He is in the Father. And if in no other way you understand the Son to be in the Father as He was before He went forth from God, it will seem as though the going forth from God and being in God while having gone forth from God contain a contradiction. Others have narrated that “I proceeded from God” instead means “I was begotten from God,” following which they assert that the Son was begotten from the substance of the Father, as it were diminishing and lacking the substance which He previously had, when He begets the Son, as if one would understand this also of those who are pregnant. These also follow and say that the Father and the Son have a body, and that the Father is divided, which are the doctrines of men who have not at all conceived in thought the nature that is invisible and incorporeal, being truly essence. And it is clear that they will place the Father in a bodily place, and the Son as having changed place bodily, having visited life, and not from state to state, as we have understood.

[John 8:42] For I have not come of myself, but He who sent me.

I think these words are spoken to those who come of themselves and are not sent by the Father. Concerning such men, who pretend to teaching or prophecy, we are also taught by Jeremiah, where it is written: "I have not sent the prophets, yet they ran." And if certain powers come to men not sent by the Father, you understand and know if some of them are from God and have erred in this by not being sent from Him. But it must not be left unexamined in the discussion concerning the soul: perhaps the soul of Jesus, being in its own perfection in God and the fullness, having come forth from there, because it was sent by the Father, took up the body from Mary. But others have not come forth from God in this way, that is, they were not sent nor dispatched by the divine will.

[John 8:43] Why do you not understand my speech? Because you are not able to hear my word. The reason, he says, that you do not understand my speech is that you are not able to hear my word. Therefore, one must first acquire the capacity to hear the divine word, so that afterward we

may be able to understand all the speech of Jesus; for it is possible for one who was previously unable to hear the word of Jesus to later come to be able to hear it, just as someone who has not yet had his ears healed by the word saying to the deaf, "Be opened," cannot hear. But when the cause of deafness has been removed, then one will be able to hear Jesus, at which point he can also understand his speech. Or let those who believe and through these things construct the argument about nature tell us whether they were still able to hear when they were deaf, whom he later healed, or were they unable to hear? Since it is clear that "they were unable," it is evident that one can transition from being unable to hear the words of Jesus to being able to hear them, and not due to an incurable nature where one cannot hear. These things should particularly be applied to the heterodox, who delight in allegories and interpret the stories of healings as concerning the healing of the soul, relieved by Jesus from every disease and every weakness. I think that hearing now pertains to understanding the things being spoken, and knowing pertains to apprehending them with assent, enlightened by the light of understanding regarding the things being spoken. However, Heracleon assumes that the reason they could neither hear Jesus' word nor understand his speech is given in "You are of your father the devil." In these very words he says, »Why can you not hear my word? Is it because you are from your father, the devil?» instead of saying «from the substance of the devil,» clearly indicating to them their nature, and having convicted them that they are neither children of Abraham (for then they would not hate him), nor of God, hence they do not love him. And if indeed he received the "You are of your father, the devil" as we have previously narrated, and said: "Because you are still of the devil, you cannot hear my word," although we had accepted his account. But now it is clear that he speaks of some people as being of the same essence as the devil, considering them to be of another substance, contrary to what those from him think, calling them either psychic or spiritual.

[John 8:44] You are of your father the devil, and you want to do the desires of your father. The word is ambiguous; for it indicates either that the devil has a father, from who these (to whom the word is spoken) are said to be, according to the statement; or, which is more likely, that you are from this father, in whom "the devil" is accused. So, the statement would be ambiguous even if the first article "the" were omitted, but the intention of the statement would appear clearer. But certainly, not agreeing with those who believe that the devil has a father, whose sons those to whom the word is spoken are supposed to be, will use the text as it is: "When he speaks a lie, he speaks of his own, for he is a liar and the father of it," and will say that the devil is falsehood and that another is the father of falsehood apart from him. But this will not be said correctly; for falsehood rather fits the opponent of the one who said, "I am the truth;" and I mean the Antichrist, whose father is the devil, being a liar. But it is likely that one might stumble at believing that the Antichrist is falsehood, which would not be blameworthy, if in substance he is not otherwise false. Relating to this, the phrase "You have become desolation, and you will not exist forever" spoken in Ezekiel about someone who had turned into desolation because of his wickedness, similarly explains that someone may become false not by nature, but by perversion and personal choice, and thus, to use a new term, puffed up. Therefore, one avoiding the strange notion of calling the Antichrist falsehood, will say that the statement "When he speaks a lie, he speaks of his own" applies to all who lie; for the falsehood in each liar, when he speaks, speaks "of his own falsehood." But also "He is a liar and the father of it" † can be applied to each who utters falsehood from his own mouth, falsely calling him the father of the falsehood he speaks. Such an interpretation would not be unreasonable. These matters have been spoken as lying next to the

ambiguity of the present text given to us. But in recounting "You do the works of your father" previously addressed, and having spoken to this, having gathered many helpful things from different sources to the narration, it would not be reasonable now to dwell on the topic. Except if someone, by committing sin, is born of the devil and has not eliminated the birth from him within himself, this person wishes to do not just one, but many desires of such a father. And it is clear that the desires of every son of the devil, which are born from the desires in the devil, are desires of earthly mindedness and corruption, which might properly be called enmities against God. Murders, injustices, and greed he indeed claims to be his desires, engendering in his sons similar desires, he does not negate; but also generally he says that these desires, which happen to be contrary to the nature of purity, are his desires, from which the desires towards impurity become inherent in the children of the devil, it is not difficult to accept. But to say that this desire is fornication or adultery or child corruption or effeminacy is not easily accepted, even if one is puzzled as to how these desires in humans arise from those in him. Just as desires present themselves in humans, just as, therefore, men want to do the desires of their father, so everything that they desire unlawfully was the desires of their father first. For such is the saying, "And the desires of your father you want to do." It must be said, however, that the devil desires this one, let’s say, to perish, and that one to be adulterated, and for these to prostitute, and inspires these desires in those able to minister to him, to desire to do what he wishes to perform, so that in this way one might say beforehand that the one committing fornication or adultery is first performing the devil's fornication and adultery. The same you will say about all sins: for example, the devil does not desire silver, but desires to make men covetous and attached to material things; and doing this, they wish to fulfill his desire who loves money. Therefore, it is necessary that we halt in all things we wish to do and examine whether what we wish to do is from the desires of the devil; so that from recognizing what comes from the desires of the devil, we may cease wishing to do those things, knowing that everyone who wishes to do the desires of the devil is by no means a child of God but has become a child of the devil and is being formed and made in the likeness of his evil father, from whom come and are shaped those images of that earthly one. For he was the first earthly one, having fallen from higher things first and having desired another life instead of the higher life, becoming worthy of being the beginning neither of creation nor workmanship but of "the molding of the Lord, made to be ridiculed by his angels." And indeed our previous existence is in the image of the creator; but the present existence is due to the mold taken from the earth’s dust. And if indeed, as if having forgotten the better essence within us, we subject ourselves to the substance made from dust, the better part will take the image of the earthly; but if we understand what has been made according to the image and taken from the dust of the earth, we might all incline towards Him in whose image we have been made, and we shall be according to the likeness of God, leaving behind every attachment to matter and bodies and any likeness. Since, according to the divine scriptures, the desire of the middle things is, not knowing the Greek precision of the meanings among those who articulate such things accurately, so as to name the noble desire, which they define as a reasonable longing, and the base desire, which they say is an irrational longing or a violent longing, it must be stated that every created nature wishes to fulfill the desires of its own father, just as every one does the works of its own father, with the first holy father being uncreated (this is God), and the first wicked father being from no one as a father; for no one introduced wickedness in him, but the deviation from God generated it. Therefore, what is now being examined according to "And you wish to do the desires of your father" clearly refers to

the devil, since it is first stated "You are from your father the devil" and adding "He was a murderer from the beginning." And to each it would be healthily said not only to those from the devil but also to those from God "You wish to do the desires of your father." For some desires are also called God's, naming thus His wills. For in the eighteenth psalm it is said: "The judgments of the Lord are true, justified together; more to be desired than gold and much precious stone." And if, as one of the manuscripts has, it reads "the desires are more to be desired than gold and much precious stone," you would say that the desires to desire them are worthy, just as the blessed things to bless, and the beloved things to love. Just as therefore the blessings are more blessed by God and the beloved things more loved by God, so too the desires would more blessedly desired by God, more gratefully heard by us, as we have said, of the desire. And the Savior also says: "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer." Concerning the fact that there is also a base desire, the present statement was sufficient; however, nothing prevents us from also presenting "Whoever looks at a woman to desire her has already committed adultery with her in his heart." It is not always the case that one who desires desires an absent thing, just as not always the one who wishes wishes absent things. This we have previously attended to because of the desires of God and the desires of the perfect. Every son, therefore, desires to do the desires of his father, and every son does the works of his father. Thus also the Savior desires to do the desires of His Father and does the works of His Father. And "the man of sin, the son of perdition" desires to do the desires of his father, and does the works of his father. And among us men, certainly, the works are either of God or of the devil, and what we desire to do is either a desire of our good Father in heaven or of His enemy, the devil. And if we do the works of God and desire to do His desires, we are sons of God; but if we do the deeds of the devil, desiring to do what he desires, we are from the father, the devil. Therefore, let us consider not only what we do but also what we desire. For it is sufficient to be a son of the devil merely to desire to do his desires. Perhaps this is why, after "You do the works of your father," it is said, "You desire to do the desires of your father," so that we might learn that even if we merely desire to do what the devil desires, we are sons of the devil. It is most probable that one might argue from this that it suffices to be a son of God by desiring to do His desires, even if performing the works of God does not accompany this. But it must be said that the one desiring to do the desires of God must also do the works of God; for not only the will but also the working, as Paul says, is from God, necessarily following good willing with the working that matches it (for "all things work together for good to those who love God"), and the one who does all things well will not let good willing be incomplete. Nor can good willing be conceived without the working that is good in accordance with such willing being joined to it. Yet the working accompanying willing, even if it is often hindered by Providence for some common benefit, or for some other useful reason, interrupts the more harmful work according to the will. Heracleon, however, says of these matters: to whom the words apply, they were of the substance of the devil, as if the substance of the devil is different from that of other rational beings. But this seems to me similar to those who say that the substance of an eye that sees incorrectly is different from one that sees correctly, or that there is a different substance of hearing when it hears improperly and when it hears correctly. For in these things, it is not the substance that is different, but some cause has intervened leading to the improper seeing or hearing. Thus, in every being naturally endowed with reasoning, the reasoning faculty is the same, whether it follows reason or turns away from it. For what would the difference be among us humans between one who follows and one who does not follow if, even after understanding what

is said, one person approves and consents to what is said, and another rejects it. We have often said that if this impossible thing is conceded (I mean that there could be a different and impervious substance of the devil to better things), then we will argue that he (the devil) cannot be blamed for evil; we will assign the blame to the one who created and made him, which is the most absurd thing of all. The irrationality becomes evident to one who understands the nature of human souls and sees that it is impossible, just as it is impossible for human bodies to be of different and diverse substances, so also for souls, and the intellectual part apart from the intellectual part, and the thoughtful part apart from the thoughtful. You would say the same about the rational part and the powers in the soul, both the memory and the imaginative faculties; for if one human being is of a different substance from another, then the powers of the soul must also be of different kinds, and we must say, for example, that the memory is different from the memory and the intellectual part different from the intellectual.

Examine then the argument about these things, which can equally be understood and grasped mentally, so that one may similarly agree or suspend judgment or reject what they say is spiritual and what they claim to be earthly. For is it that the similar has been created in different substances, or has the passion become similar due to this, since it was of the same substance with that in which the passion occurred? It is not reasonable to say that the same forms of imaginations, agreements, thoughts, and memories have occurred in those of different substances; while it is foolish to say that, even in those of the same substance, there is another and different substance among them.

Let them indicate another substance alongside these powers, one that neither understands nor thinks nor remembers nor imagines in those they say are spiritual better than the one that understands and thinks, or in the earthly ones either resembling or inferior; for they will not claim it is better. But it is likely they will say that just as it is possible to be impressed with the same seal in different substances of gold and silver and tin and lead and wax, so it is possible for similar forms to arise from the same imaginations in those who find themselves in different substances and are imagining. They will say similar things about thoughts and understanding and memory. But see if this argument, even if it seems very plausible, is more capable of seizing and crafting notions unfittingly combined, rather than persuading someone who meticulously examines the example; for in the case of the image, I can show that either in gold or in silver, where the form appears similar, the particularity of it being in gold stands out as opposed to being imprinted in silver or the other materials.

Thus, let them demonstrate to us the distinctiveness of the one receiving the form being better or lesser or inferior, and let them try even to proclaim with full clarity the different substances of those receiving the same forms; for even if they illustrate, they will not prove it.

Such things are also said concerning the argument of Heracleon: "From the father of the devil" should be said instead of "from the substance of the father".

Again regarding "You want to do the desires of your father," he distinguishes saying that the devil does not have will but desires. And from this, the irrationality of the argument becomes evident; for everyone would acknowledge that it is the wicked things he desires. And you will gather likewise, even if we do not have it available at the moment to present, if anywhere in the Scripture the will is ascribed to the devil. Thereafter, Heracleon says that these things are not spoken of those who

are the natural sons of the devil, the earthly ones, but of those who are psychic, becoming sons of the devil by disposition; from whom some, by nature, are able to become sons of God by disposition. And he says indeed that because they love the desires of the devil and do his works, these become children of the devil, not being such by nature. And thus it is distinguished that there are three ways to hear the designation "children" — first by nature, second by will, third by worth. By nature, he says, it is what is begotten by someone begotten, which is also properly called a child. By will, when someone does the will of another and is called the child of the one whose will he performs. By worth, in the sense that some are called children of Gehenna, darkness, lawlessness, and offspring of serpents and vipers. For these are not begotten by anyone by nature, for they are destructive and consuming those thrown into them. But since they have done their works, they are called their children.

Having made such a distinction, he did not even seek a measure of consolation for his own account from the scriptures. We might say to him, "If not by nature, but by the worthiness of hell's children and of darkness and lawlessness (for these are destructive and consuming rather than constructing), how does Paul somewhere say, 'We were by nature children of wrath, like the rest'? Or let them say to us how wrath is not destructive and especially corruptive, according to him, of which we were children. Again, he says that these are now called children of the devil, not because the devil begets anyone, but because by doing the works of the devil, they have become like him."

How much better would it be to declare this concerning all the children of the devil, that they become like him by doing his works and not by the essence and construction that, without works, names them children of the devil?

[John 8:44] He was a murderer from the beginning, and he did not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. For indeed there is a more common murderer, whoever has ever killed a man, who is even comparable, as Phinehas did with zeal for God, killing the Israelite who fornicated and the Midianite woman, and David will not be reproachfully called a murderer either, “in the name of the Lord of hosts, God of the armies of Israel,” having struck down Goliath. It is necessary to seek the true life of a man and his death opposite to it, to understand the reproachful murderer. And as much as you say about Adam and Eve in the narrative, as long as they did not sin, they would not have been killed; but on the day they ate from the forbidden tree, they immediately died, not by being killed by another but by the murderer devil, when he deceived Eve through the serpent and Eve gave to her husband from the tree, and the man ate. However, understanding the deeper doctrines of "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord," and what the Savior spoke to the Sadducees most profoundly to those able to understand the meaning, in the Gospel according to Matthew: "Regarding the resurrection of the dead, have you not read what was spoken to you by God, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob'? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living," and in the Gospel according to Luke: "But that the dead are raised, even Moses showed, in the passage about the bush, as he calls the Lord, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob. He is not the God of the dead, but of the living; for all live to him." And also in the Gospel according to Mark: "Concerning the dead, have you not read that they are raised in the book of Moses, in the passage about the bush, how God spoke to him, saying, 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob'? He is not the God of the dead, but of the living," you will see that

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were dead, before they live again risen from the dead; indeed, no one is called dead who has not first lived. Take note of "In Adam all die, and in Christ all will be made alive," in which neither the intermediate death is signified by "In Adam all die," nor the indifferent life which is neither good in itself nor evil by "In Christ all will be made alive," and you will see the life of the human being in the image of God. Then, understanding his life, you will understand in what way the murderer killed the living man, not through a specific characteristic alone, but through the entire race, which he killed, as “in Adam all die,” and he will be properly called a murderer. This murder he committed beginning from the beginning, for which murder each of those understanding it and his own body, and to whom it belongs, will say this, lamenting upon having died in Adam: "Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" Seeing also how it is said, "You have brought me down to the dust of death," and "You have humbled us in a place of affliction," and "The body of our humiliation." There is also something more secret, for which the murderer from the beginning is the ruler of this world, I mean of the earthly place where there are those whom people have killed. Thus, the murderer killed us; but we by the grace of God have been buried with Christ and raised with him, if indeed we have become conformed to his resurrection and walk in newness of life. The murderer rules over the slain and rules over the dead but cannot command any living one. If you study also what is written about the dead, like this: "For this Christ died and arose, that he might lord over both the dead and the living," you will understand in what manner, through the death of Jesus, he does not rule over the dead anymore; for Jesus died to also rule over the dead. So long as man lives, he does not bear the image of the earthly; but in dying and being slain by the murderer, he neither keeps the image of God nor takes up the image of the earthly and dead; for the earthly is dead, just as the heavenly is living; and God is not the God of the dead but of the living. Therefore, if we have risen together, walking in the newness of life, God is our God; but if we are still among the dead, God will not be our God who is not the God of the dead. But it remains to examine the things concerning the murderer from the beginning and to see some who are dead, yet not in another but in Christ dead, who will also rise first; concerning whom it is spoken thus in the letter to the Corinthians: "For the trumpet will sound, and the dead will be raised imperishable, and we shall be changed;" and in the letter to the Thessalonians: "For this we declare to you by a word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, will not precede those who have fallen asleep; for the Lord himself will descend from heaven with a command, with the voice of an archangel, and with the trumpet of God. And the dead in Christ will rise first; then we who are alive, who are left, will be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so we will be with the Lord forever." And I consider those who are perfected and no longer committing sin to be living in Christ, and those dead in Christ to be those disposed according to the faith in Christ and choosing to live well but not yet perfecting it, still sinning, either through ignorance of the true word concerning righteousness or being overcome by the weakness of judgments from the flesh desiring against the spirit. And after these things, it follows naturally that Paul, being aware of himself, says, "We who are alive." And those whom we have said are dead, these are indeed those who need resurrection, neither can those living be seized up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, before first the dead in Christ rise; thus it is written: "The dead in Christ shall rise first, then we who are alive" and what follows. And you would observe that even because of his murder, the things on the accursed earth were not constituted in the works of him who was cast out of "the paradise of delight," Adam. Yet this one became a murderer from the beginning of those existing,

who, I believe, being "the beginning of the Lord's creation," envied those created "to exist." Thus "through envy, death entered into the world," always murdering those living whenever he finds them until all enemies are subjected under the feet of the Son of God, and the last enemy, death, is abolished. But let us also see regarding "and in the truth he does not stand." Every person and solely the one who securely holds sound doctrines and through the certainty of doctrines remains unshaken in his judgments at all times, and under no circumstance or bodily excuse, such as unbearable pains or intense desires of sensual pleasures or any other cause, being shaken so as to be moved even slightly from the good, would reasonably be considered to stand in the truth; but let this saying hasten even upon the natures outside flesh and blood; for even in their life there are those who accomplish to stand in the truth correctly; if anyone does not live thus, "he does not stand in the truth."

However, I suggest that perhaps there is one and uniform manner of standing in the truth, but varied and manifold is the manner of not standing in it: some, with trembling and shaking, as I might phrase it, their foundations, being forced to stand in it and not yet having it; others, not having experienced this, yet being established in danger of falling into it, such as one who says, "But as for me, my feet had almost slipped," and others who have fallen into it, concerning whom I believe it is said, "Everyone who falls on this stone will be broken to pieces." To this standing in the truth, the Lord urged Moses, saying to him, "Behold, there is a place by me, and you shall stand upon the rock"; for if the rock was Christ, and Christ says, "I am the truth," maybe "you shall stand upon the rock" could mean "you shall stand upon the truth." Yet rarely and only after much does this happen to someone. Up to the point of "Behold, there is a place by me, and you shall stand on the rock," Moses had not yet stood upon the rock. And if anyone would examine more closely the nature of humanity, not easily able to be free from false doctrines, he shall see that just as "every man is a liar," so also every man does not stand in the truth. For if there is anyone who is not a liar and stands in the truth, such a person is not a man, so that God could say to him and to those like him, "I said, 'You are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High,'" without the addition of "But you shall die like men." Therefore, if also another does not stand in the truth, it is evident that the devil from the beginning, a murderer of men, and the cause of his not standing in the truth has been said in this manner: "Because there is no truth in him." For this reason, there is no truth in him, because he has been deceived and considers false things and is deceived by himself, being reckoned worse than the rest who are deceived, because they are deceived by him, but he is the creator of his own deception. It is worthwhile to investigate how it is said, "There is no truth in him," whether it means that he does not have any true doctrine, but all that he ever believes are lies, or that he does not partake in Christ, as those who partake of Christ do partake of Him who said, "I am the truth." For those who partake of Him partake of Him also inasmuch as He is truth, and therefore truth is in them. And thirdly, one might inquire whether it is necessary to say that there is no truth in anyone who thinks any falsehood, even if he believes many true things together with it. For as a falsehood mixed with countless truths is still regarded as a falsehood, so in the one who believes one falsehood with many truths, such a condition is as if mixed, so that one might say that there is no truth in such a person. I show that one who believes one falsehood among many truths. And all three might seem to have a reason, with one saying that "There is no truth in him" because he does not partake of Christ, whom he opposes, another saying so because he does not think anything true but is deceived in everything, and because of this, he is the devil and wicked and worse than any other offender, as perhaps in many there is also something true among the many

errors, but in this one, there is nothing true. And thirdly, someone might agree with the rest, saying it is impossible for a rational being to believe falsehood in everything and not even weakly think the truth about anything. Certainly, the devil might at least have some true doctrine, considering that he is rational and that such-as-such a thing is a man, such-as-such is an angel, and such-and-such a thing is a body, and the nature of the body and something else different from the body. But that he should not even think or say the last thing would indeed be enough to prove that it cannot be true about him that he does not think anything true. Therefore, while we hear, "He does not stand in the truth" as not indicating such a nature nor presenting impossibility regarding his standing in the truth. But Heracleon says in these words, "For his nature is not from truth but from the opposite of truth, from error and ignorance. Therefore," he says, "he can neither stand in the truth nor have truth in himself, having falsehood from his own nature, unable by nature ever to speak the truth; and he says that not only he is a liar but also his father, specifically taking 'his father' as his nature, since he is made up of error and falsehood."

All these things absolve the devil of every charge, accusation, and blame; for no one could reasonably blame, accuse, or censure one who is not by nature inclined towards better things. Thus, according to Heracleon, the devil is rather unfortunate than blameworthy. It should be noted, however, that just as the devil does not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him, so also those who are of the father, the devil, do not stand in the truth, because there is no truth in them. All those who still commit sins, even if they say they belong to Christ, are like this: "For everyone who commits sin is born of the devil."

[John 8:44] "When he speaks a lie, he speaks from his own resources, for he is a liar and the father of it."

Having previously referred to 'You are of your father the devil,' we recalled the saying and have spoken what occurred to us concerning it, seeking what the lie and its father are. Let what is said now be examined together with those things. I believe that every evil and deceitful spirit is a lie and that each of them, when it speaks, speaks from its own resources and not at all from the things of God; and the liar, father of these, is the devil. But why we are moved to call every evil spirit a lie, we shall now set forth. It is written in the Third Book of Kings how Micaiah, when summoned by Ahab to prophesy about whether he should go up to Ramoth-Gilead to battle or refrain, said, 'I saw the God of Israel seated on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing around Him on His right hand and on His left. And the Lord said: Who will persuade Ahab, king of Israel, to go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one said this manner, and another said that. And there came forth a spirit and stood before the Lord and said: I will persuade him. And the Lord said to him: In what way? And he said: I will go forth and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' In the Second Book of Chronicles, the same Micaiah says to Ahab and Jehoshaphat, 'Hear the word of the Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing on His right hand and on His left. And the Lord said: Who will persuade Ahab, king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one spoke in this way, and another spoke in that way. Then a spirit went out and stood before the Lord and said: I will persuade him. And the Lord said: In what way? And he said: I will go out and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' Clearly, then, from these passages it is shown that if a spirit is a lying spirit, all similar spirits would be lies, having received their lying nature from the father of lies, according to falsehood and wickedness, and not in essence. But the Holy Spirit or an angelic spirit, when it speaks, does not speak from its own

resources, but from the Word of truth and wisdom; which indeed is shown also in the Gospel of John, where it teaches about the Paraclete and says, 'He will take of Mine and declare it to you.' However, a lie, when it speaks, speaks from its own resources; and the lying spirit that deceived Ahab spoke from its own resources. Note, however, that the name 'liar' is similarly applied both to the devil who begot lies and to a man; for here it is not said about a man, 'For he is a liar and the father of it,' but in the Psalms, 'I said in my haste, All men are liars.' These things we have set forth so that we may flee with all might from being mere men and strive to become 'gods,' since as long as we are men, we are liars, just as the father of lies is a liar. It is similar in us sharing the same name and the thing signified by the name; I say us, if we still remain men, and the devil, who is called a liar."

[John 8:45] But because I tell the truth, you do not believe me.

If we remember to whom these words were spoken, we will see that they were addressed to the Jews who had believed in him, who had received the promise that if they remain in the word of Jesus, then they are truly his disciples and they will know the truth that will set them free. We will wonder how he says to these people, "But because I tell the truth, you do not believe me." And consider whether it is possible for someone to believe one aspect of a thing but not another. For example, those who believe in Jesus who was crucified under Pontius Pilate in Judea but do not believe in the one who was born of Mary the virgin, these believe and do not believe in the same one. Similarly, those who believe in Jesus who performed the recorded wonders and signs in Judea but do not believe in the Son of the one who created heaven and earth, these believe and do not believe in the same one. Again, those who believe in the Father of Jesus Christ but do not believe in the creator and maker of all things, these believe and do not believe in the same one. Furthermore, those who believe in the creator of heaven and earth but do not believe in the Father of Jesus crucified under Pontius Pilate, these believe in God and do not believe in him. Therefore, to avoid any contradiction indicating that the writer of the gospel was unaware of this, you will say that the one who said to the Jews who believed in him, "But because I tell the truth, you do not believe me," meant that they believed in one sense and did not believe in another. And it is likely that they believed in him according to what they saw because of the miracles, but did not believe in the deeper things he said. And it fits with the statement, "You will know the truth," that those who have not known the truth, to them it was said, "Because I tell the truth, you do not believe me." "Believe me," as if he were saying: On the one hand you believe me because I perform wonders, but on the other hand, you do not believe me because I speak the truth. You might even see this now in many people, marveling at Jesus when they observe the story about him, but no longer believing him when a deeper and greater discourse than their own understanding is unfolded to them, but suspecting him to be false. Therefore, let us be careful lest the word also says to us, "Because I speak the truth, you do not believe me."

[John 8:46] Who among you convicts me of sin? When the word clearly demonstrates its intention so that none of the listeners can oppose it, and even if it says these things to implore those not consenting; because if you cannot convict the words spoken as erroneous, you might justly demand assent. The statement also has, according to the saying, the frankness of the Savior, with no person being able to say with confidence from not having sinned, "Who among you convicts me of sin?" except our Lord alone, who did not commit sin, yet was tempted "in every way in likeness without sin," being able to say this to all who have ever known him. I hear "Who among you" being

said not only to those present but also to the entire human race, as if it were clarified in this way: who from your race? or what kind of person will be able to convict me of sin? But I know well that none. And insofar as it is possible for human nature through the "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" in every way should strive to take up such a pure conscience's frankness towards all people, so as to say about subsequent times and after the beginning of faith to each of those who know us, "Who among you convicts me of sin?" although it may not be possible to say this from the time we completed the word. And this not only would the Savior say to people but also to the devil and the powers under him, having nothing to say against regarding his sin. And this is indeed consistent with "The ruler of this world comes, and he has nothing in me." It is also possible for us with much diligence to take up from a certain period such frankness to say to the devil seeking occasion against us and his angels before the time of departure: "Who among you convicts me of sin?"

[John 8:46] If I tell the truth, why do you not believe me?

It is worth seeing what appears from the puffiness. But we shall see this if even those to whom the word was directed did not bring forth the proper response. For someone might say: For this reason we do not believe, because we do not perceive in what way what is said is true; and we do not perceive because our natural faculties of perceiving the truth have not yet been cleansed; and since we are such, we are not of God; if we are not yet of God, but also the faculties of perceiving the truth are not cleansed, due to them being covered or thickened or clouded by wickedness. Understanding, then, what it means to truly believe according to which "Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ is born of God," and realizing how far we fall short of believing in this way, let us answer these things, asking the physician of the sight of the soul to do everything by his wisdom and benevolence to uncover our eyes, which are still covered by the dishonor brought about by our wickedness, as it is said somewhere: "Our dishonor has covered us"; for he will listen to us confessing the reasons for our not yet believing, and, as he assists, will aid in us receiving the gift to believe, placed third in Paul’s list of gifts after the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge, to which he adds: "To another faith by the same Spirit"; about which he also says elsewhere: "For to you it has been granted not only to believe in Christ but also to suffer for him." And from this operation it will be evident that it is no chance gift of God, among the many different teachings preached by many who claim to teach the truth, to believe in no one or only the true one; for this is already the work of an approved banker, whom you would not err in calling perfect, as also is written in the epistle to the Hebrews: "But solid food belongs to those who are mature, those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."

[John 8:47] He who is from God hears the words of God; for this reason you do not hear, because you are not from God.

Those who introduce myths about different natures and say that they are sons of God by nature and from the initial construction, only because of kinship with God, are receptive to God's words, and from this they demonstrate what is at hand for them. But they indeed seize upon even this saying, applying it to those who are uncritical and unable to respond to the plausibility of the use of the saying, nor seeing its solution thus lying: if all those who received “the true light, which enlightens every man coming into the world," did not receive it by being from God (for if they had received it by being from God, it would not have been written about them: “But as many as

received him, he gave them the authority to become children of God, to those who believe in his name”), it is evident that those who are not from God, before receiving the light, they in no way have authority to become children of God; but when they receive it, they do not yet become children of God, but they receive authority through accepting the light to become children of God. Then, having become from God, they also hear His words, no longer merely believing simply but now understanding the matters of piety more insightfully. Moreover, those who are not such, having not aspired to be children, do not become of God, and for that reason do not hear His words nor understand His will; but they remain in the state of those who, before they were children of God, only believed, being servants of God by having received the spirit of slavery in fear and not having strived to advance and progress to also occupy the place of adoption, in which those who have it cry out: “Abba, Father.” For it is clear that no person is initially a son of God, as also is demonstrated by Paul's saying, “We were by nature children of wrath;” this he also said about himself. It is evident from “But I say to you, love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, that you may become sons of your Father in heaven.” For if Paul was by nature a “son of wrath,” who, more so than Paul, as far as nature is concerned, would not be a son of wrath before receiving the authority to become a child of God and before becoming a child of God? And if one can only become a son of the heavenly Father by loving his enemies and praying for those who persecute him, it is clear that no one hears God’s words by being from God by nature, but by receiving the authority to become a child of God and properly using the authority, and by loving his enemies and praying for those who offend him, thus becoming a son of the heavenly Father. Then it is from God and hears the words of God, understanding them and acquiring knowledge of them; which is characteristic not of slaves but of children of God, who have abandoned all fleshly genesis and have taken up the one from God through "the spirit of adoption." Simultaneously, it should be understood more carefully how to accept "He hears the words of God" in a manner similar to "My sheep hear My voice." For if we take hearing in the sense of mere consent, even those who believe for a time would be from God, as testified by the Word that some believe for a time. But if we take "hearing" in the sense of keeping the commandments, it is clear that even if someone sins in one matter, he would not be a son of God; this would not trouble us who say that someone becomes a son of God through change, but it would trouble those who are unable to show themselves entirely sinless and those involved in similar teachings. But if we take "hearing" in the sense of understanding and comprehending, let them show anyone who hears all the words of the new covenant in such a manner, so that we may call them sons of God if this definition of theirs does not accept reversal into the holy scriptures. For we imagine even in these matters a great and marvelous person who is already a son of God, and we will not be condemned unworthily as those from God receiving "The one who is from God hears the words of God."

Now, from the contrary, it may be possible to demonstrate something paradoxical. What is the paradox or the matter that one may be more a son of God than another, and doubly that another is a son of God over another? How this is shown from the opposite we shall present as follows: In Matthew, the second rebuke against the scribes and Pharisees is as follows: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you traverse sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he becomes one, you make him twice as much a child of hell as yourselves." Hence, according to this, there are no natural children of hell, nor are the children of hell equally children of it if one is doubly a child of it over another. But if one person is twice the son of Gehenna as another, why not also twice the son of destruction and death and darkness and of the other things, of which those

who sin differently are sons? But if in these cases, why also not sons of light twice as much as others, and sons of life, and sons of wisdom, and thus sons of God? If indeed one becomes a son of God twice as much as another, why not also many times and as many times as one can conceive the firstborn of all creation to be the son of God compared to the other sons of God and those no longer having a spirit of bondage to fear but having received the spirit of adoption? Consequently therefore, since there are more sayings of God, not only those that are written but also those which are unspeakable, which it is not lawful for a man to speak, and of those about which John says, "I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written," anyone hearing any of the sayings of God is already from God; and the more one hears the sayings of God, by that much more will he become from God; so that if one hears all the sayings of God, if indeed it comes to pass for any of those receiving the spirit of adoption, he absolutely and consummately becomes a son of God, and wholly and entirely from God. It is necessary to interpret the phrase "wholly and entirely" with understanding in relation to all doctrines and all knowledge and all mysteries, so that it might be said that one has become wholly and entirely from God who knows all the mysteries and all knowledge, and has accomplished those of perfect love. Consider then if it is possible consistently with "We know in part and we prophesy in part" to say, "we are sons of God in part," and again, "when that which is perfect has come, then that which is in part will be done away," the perfection of becoming a son of God will come, abolishing the partial becoming a son of God. Nor should it be left unexamined whether it is possible to be a son in part of the distinguished portion concerning the divine, and in part of the contrary, or whether this is impossible to be so. With which examination, consider how many sons can be called of one father, whether through the forefathers and those of their lineage, or according to such an intention. Therefore having received the authority to become children of God, let us do all things so that we may become from God and hear His words, and advance in being from God, so that we may advance also in hearing the words of God, always proclaiming more of these, until we grasp all the words of God, as many as it is possible to grasp now and after this for those deemed worthy of the spirit of adoption. As often as we do not hear the words of God that are spoken, that is, do not understand them, it must be supposed that we are rebuked as not being from God. For because of this, he who does not hear the words of God does not hear them, because he is not from God, and he is not from God regardless of himself. And yet sometimes having already received authority to become a child of God, and being able from loving the enemies and praying for those who persecute, to become a son of the Father in heaven.

[John 8:48] The Jews answered him, saying, "Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?"

It is likely that many often said these things silently among themselves about the Savior, calling him a Samaritan as one who distorts Jewish [ways] similarly to the Samaritans; "For Jews do not associate with Samaritans," differing in many doctrines from them. But it is worth investigating how, with the Samaritans denying the future age and not admitting even the survival of the soul, they dared to call the Savior [a Samaritan], who taught much about the resurrection and judgment. But perhaps they said this as an insult to him and not because he actually shared the same doctrines as those people. And it is likely that some also thought he did not teach about the future age and about judgment and resurrection with sincere intent, being disposed like a Samaritan, as if nothing awaited humans after life, but feigned it for the sake of glory and to please the Jews by

presenting things about resurrection and eternal life; and they also said he had a demon because of his superhuman words, by which he called God his own father, and claimed to have come down from heaven, and that he himself was the bread of life much better than manna, so that whoever eats this bread will live forever, and countless other things with which the Gospels are filled. It could also have been said because of their suspicion about Beelzebul: "You have a demon," since some thought "by Beelzebul, the prince of demons," he was casting out demons, as if having Beelzebul within himself. Indeed, the enemies will know, saying he has a demon; but we believe him when he says, "I do not have a demon"; for neither can a demon open the eyes of the blind or perform these signs which are recorded, of which traces and remnants remain in the churches to this day in the name of Jesus. After this, anyone would seek to understand why, of the two accusations directed at him, "You are a Samaritan" and "You have a demon," the Jews responded to him not by those who believed in him, but by answering to the second accusation only, saying, "I do not have a demon." And look if this can compare to the parable in the Gospel according to Luke about the man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho who fell among robbers, whom the priest and the Levite passed by, but the traveling Samaritan came upon him and, seeing him, had compassion, and approached, bandaged his wounds, pouring on oil and wine. For if anyone is able to explain the parable, showing that no one but the Savior is represented by the Samaritan, who healed the half-dead man fallen among robbers, he will explain why he did not deny being a Samaritan. Another considering the distinction between Jews and those under the law, bringing those under the law to the Samaritans, and realizing the Savior was made all things to all men to win everyone, will say that because he was among those under the law as under the law, it is as though he became a Samaritan, and thus did not deny being a Samaritan. And a third, interpreting the Samaritan as "guardian," will say that even if the Jews called him a Samaritan in another sense, he did not deny the meaning derived from the name, knowing that he is the guardian of human souls, as it is said, "Behold, he who keeps Israel will neither slumber nor sleep," and "The Lord guards the little ones." The Hebrews call the guardian "Shomer," and they relate that the Samaritans got their name because they were appointed by the king of the Assyrians to guard the land of Israel after the captivity, when another Israel fell into Assyrian captivity because of many sins.

[John 8:49-50] Jesus answered, "I do not have a demon, but I honor my Father, and you dishonor me. I do not seek my own glory. There is one who seeks and judges."

If the planted tree 'by the rivers of water' is such that it yields its fruit 'in its season' and its leaf does not wither but prospers in whatever it does, what should be thought concerning our Savior Jesus, who Himself is the tree of life in being wisdom, and that wisdom is 'a tree of life to those who lay hold of her,' and who bears fruit and whose other leaves are such that not one of them withers? Therefore, no word of Jesus, as also these granted worthy to be recorded by His holy disciples, should be disregarded, but every scrutiny even to those deemed clear should be applied, not denying that even about His simple and straightforward words an apt thing will be found for those rightly seeking as worthy of that sacred mouth. Now when we do not find, we should blame ourselves and not the word of Jesus as if it does not breathe doctrines full of truth and wisdom from the entirety.

These things I have said to examine 'I do not have a demon,' through which we all who encounter the gospel learn something we did not know before encountering the gospel. What then is to be

understood by this? It pleases scripture for those who err to do mostly against reason because they have become receptive to the activity of an evil spirit or impure will of a demon. Therefore, they did not shrink even those considered minimal sins to attribute to demons, calling anger a demon, similarly slander too. Likewise, countless other things fantasized by and acting in us according to their will; and among men, just as no one is 'pure from filth,' and no 'one is righteous on earth who does good and does not sin,' so too no one is always cleansed of demons and never susceptible to their activity. Consequently, interpreting the healings in the gospel allegorically, which include the expulsions of demons, we will say that always demons are expelled by Jesus from those who no longer accept the demons' activities upon being healed by the word. Therefore, I think it is only Jesus' voice, who alone stripped the principalities and powers and made a public example of them triumphing over them in it, setting the cross as a trophy against all opposing power, just as 'The ruler of this world is coming, but he has no claim on me,' so also 'I neither had, nor have, nor will have a demon.' We too can utter the voice and say, 'I do not have a demon,' but we will be refuted like those who denied their possession and were proven by their very deeds that they lied." Or is it not proof that we are demonized when we, having the condition of madmen, shout, burning with anger and rage, or neighing like horses and mounting our own wives like frenzied stallions, casting aside the words of God regarding impassibility? But even if we are humbled and dragged down by sorrow and have lost the inherent pride of rational beings, let us not forget that a sparrow does not fall into a snare without God and that the judgments concerning each event that happens to people are just. What shall we say but that we suffer these things because the demon has overcome us and obscured our governing faculty? But what about fears of things not to be feared and excessive delight in worthless things—what are these but the activities of demons filling those who cannot truthfully say, "I have no demon"? But suppose some of the holy patriarchs, or the sacred servant, or the wonderful prophets, or the most powerful apostles of our savior Jesus, were brought in for examination. Would they not also say, like Jesus, "I have no demon"? To whom it can be said: Did these also ever sin, or is the statement "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God" false, and is it not true that "No one is pure from filth"? Or has it not been considered when it is said, "There is no righteous person on earth who does good and never sins"? But clearly all scriptures are true and those who have turned to a virtuous life were not always, nor from the beginning, able to say, "I have no demon," but this phrase originally belonged only to the one conceived as our savior. Therefore, most sovereignly and truly, this was the voice of the only one who honored the Father: for no one honoring something that is not honored by God honors the one who despises what is honored by Him. How can it be said that one honors the Father if he has not even received the spirit of adoption initially? And no one who sins has the spirit of adoption, for the one born of God does not sin. And how does one who honors earthly glory or money or the material wealth or the beauty born of flesh and blood or anything attached to matter and corruption honor the Father? It is clear then how this is the voice of the savior, "I honor the Father," which, as far as we can, we ought to strive to say with a conscience bearing witness with us in the Holy Spirit, rendering to "Him honor to whom honor is due," and not bestowing it elsewhere. And indeed, at the fulfillment of time, he who was sent by God to be born of a woman and born under the law, complying with the law that says "Honor your father and your mother so that you may have a long life," having no other father but the God in heaven, says, "But I honor my Father." So we too shall say this phrase, understanding the baptism of regeneration and having been washed in it to become sons of God and no longer calling anyone

on earth "father" because we have become sons of the Father in heaven and brothers of the one who said, "I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God." Thus, it is clear that when Jesus most sovereignly and perfectly said, "I have no demon but I honor my Father," his imitators, each according to his ability, being strengthened in Christ Jesus who empowers them, will also say, "I have no demon but I honor my Father." Who, being among the dead and dwelling in tombs, could possibly say, “I do not have a demon”? Or who, honoring anything other than God and His word and the commands given by the Word, giving honor to another when it should be rendered to Him who deserves the honor, would as a disciple of Jesus say, “But I honor my father”? Following this is the statement, “And you dishonor Me,” spoken to those who dishonored Him and said to Him, “Do we not rightly say that You are a Samaritan and have a demon?” thinking that their evil statement was spoken correctly; for by wrongly judging, they declared the Savior to be a Samaritan and demon-possessed. It should be assumed that the statement “And you dishonor Me” was not just spoken to those at that time, but also to those who always dishonor Him by doing things contrary to the right reasoning of God, and who dishonor Him by wronging Christ, who is justice, and dishonor Him by performing acts of weakness and infirmity against the power of God, which is the Savior; “For Christ is the power of God.” And to everyone who disregards wisdom could it be said, “You dishonor Me,” since Christ is also wisdom. But even if it were necessary for someone to be at peace with all men, so as to be able to say that prophetic phrase, “I am for peace, but when I speak, they are for war,” and if it were necessary to take up the peace of God which surpasses all understanding, guarding the heart and the thoughts of the one who has taken it up. If someone is warlike, biting, accusing, and consuming their neighbor, and filled with the stirring of passions within their dominant part, to them as well could it be said, “You dishonor Me.” For Christ is our peace. Further, “Everyone who does evil hates the light and does not come to the light,” and the light is He who said, “I am the light of the world”; clearly, the one who does evil, dishonoring the light, dishonors Christ, and will also hear, “And you dishonor Me.” And why do I need to extend the discourse further, unfolding and showing who are those reproved by Jesus and hearing from him “You dishonor me,” being clear from the stated facts and those that can be logically connected to them? After these things, let us see what is the meaning of “I do not seek my own glory; there is one who seeks and judges.” God seeks, having given us his Son, in each of those who have received him the glory of Christ; which he will indeed find in those who care for themselves and work out the virtues implanted in them; he will not find it in those who are not such, and in those whom he does not find the glory of his Son, he will judge them, saying to them: “Because of you, my name is blasphemed among the nations continuously.” But one might be puzzled about the statement “There is one who seeks and judges,” if it should be referred to God, clearly the Savior having said: “For not even the Father judges anyone, but he has given all judgment to the Son, so that all may honor the Son just as they honor the Father.” But see if you can use this: “I can do nothing on my own initiative; as I hear I judge, and my judgment is just, because I do not seek my own will, but the will of Him who sent me.” For if as he hears, our Savior judges according to the Father, not seeking his own will but the will of the Father who sent him, and therefore his judgment is just, perhaps the authority of judgment, which the hearing one executes, is not of the hearer but of the one who speaks to him. And even if he says that “My judgment is just,” hear in the same Gospel it is being said: “All that is mine is yours.” For if what the Savior says is true, “All that is mine is yours,” it is clear that even the judgment about which he says “My judgment is just” is the Father’s judgment. But if it is the Father’s judgment, the puzzle

concerning “I do not seek my own glory; there is One who seeks and judges” can be resolved. Moreover, the statement “I do not seek my own glory” holds a certain significance of humility appropriate to the Savior; for it would not be fitting for him to demand his own glory and judge those who have not given it, but the Father who gave glory to the Son should demand it from those who withhold it and judge them for it. Moreover, the Savior, as an imitator of the Father, seeks the glory of God from those who learn about God; and if he does not find the Father’s glory in some, he would judge them, having received authority to execute judgment because he is the Son of Man.

However, Heracleon does not attribute the phrase “There is one who seeks and judges” to the Father, saying such things: The one who seeks and judges is the avenger of me, the servant appointed for this, not bearing the sword in vain, the avenger of the king; this is Moses, according to what he had previously said to them: “In whom you have hoped.”

Then he adds that the one who judges and punishes is Moses, that is, the lawgiver himself. And after this Heracleon is perplexed within himself, saying: How then does he not say that all judgment has been given to him? And thinking to resolve the objection, he says these things: He speaks correctly; for the judge, acting as a servant, carrying out the will of this one, judges, just as it is seen happening among men. But how does he attribute the judgment to someone else as inferior to the Savior, as he considers the Creator, nor can he demonstrate it this way, clearly written that "For the Father judges no one, but has given all judgment to the Son"; and that "He has given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of Man."

[John 8:51] Truly, truly, I say to you, if anyone keeps my word, he will never see death.

Just as there is a sort of indifferent life, which is neither good nor evil, in which we say that both the impious and the irrational animals live; and another different, but good life, about which Paul says: "Our life is hidden with Christ in God"; and our Lord himself about himself: "I am the life," thus you would call the death opposite to the indifferent life indifferent; but the enemy of the one who says, "I am the life," you would call a certain evil and grievous death, in which the one who dies is in death; about which it is written: "The last enemy to be destroyed is death." And concerning this death, the apostle must surely mean these things: "Therefore, just as by one man sin entered into the world and by sin death, so also death passed upon all men, for which all sinned. For until the law, sin was in the world (for sin is not imputed when there is no law), but death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who did not sin in the likeness of Adam's transgression"; and soon after: "For if by one man's trespass death reigned through that one, much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness reign in life through the one, Jesus Christ." For what is the death that came into the world through sin, but the last enemy of Christ to be destroyed? And what is the death that passed unto all men, by which all sinned, but this very one which also reigned from Adam to Moses? But Moses, that is, the law, was until the manifestation of our Lord Jesus, and it reigned in one man's trespass through the one, until those who received the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness reign in life through the one, Jesus Christ. Therefore, this death will not be seen forever by the one who keeps the word of the only-begotten and firstborn of all creation, as it naturally prevents death from being seen. In this way, therefore, one must understand the saying, "If anyone keeps my word, he will never see death," as if the one who said this, having granted light to those who hear, were saying to them: if

anyone keeps this light of mine, he will never see darkness. For it is impossible for darkness to be to the one who keeps the light; but if one loses this light, it follows immediately that he sees the darkness who has lost it. So also, then, in the beginning with the Word, which was with God, life came into being. Hence the beginning (that is, the wisdom that says, “God created me as the beginning of his ways for his works”) regarding the Word in her, in which came into being the life, will teach and say: “If anyone keeps my word, he will never see death.” For one will keep the word and the life inseparable from it, which also is the light of men, shining in the darkness and the darkness not overcoming it. If, then, the prophet asks, as it were, “Who is the man who will live and not see death?” we answer, having learned from our Savior, and we say that the man who “will live and will not see death” is the one who keeps the word of the one who said, “If anyone keeps my word, he will never see death.” Together in the same place, I inquire whether “for eternity” ought to be taken generally, so that the whole should be such: if anyone keeps my word for eternity, he will never see death. For, indeed, it seems that one does not see death as long as he keeps the word of Jesus; for as soon as one loses it, he sees death.

If one also can go back to deeper words and understand how it might be said by a man, “You have brought me down to the dust of death,” and by Paul, “Who will deliver me from this body of death?” he will see in what way, as long as the word was kept, death was not seen by the one keeping it. But when one, being weary in attention and keeping the word, or having been careless in keeping it, no longer has kept it, then he saw death by none other than himself. And this must be considered a doctrine and an eternal law, always to be spoken to us who receive the word of “If anyone keeps my word, he will never see death.” Just as, if the darkness might be observed to flow over, it obliterates the sight of the one observing, so also, observed death kills and deadens the sight that saw it and blinds, as therefore needing the one who opens the eyes of the blind. And I think, indeed, because of this the blind, of whom the blind in the gospel were a symbol, have lost their sight, since not keeping the word, they saw death.

[John 8:52] The Jews said to him, "Now we know that you have a demon."

Many, even among the wise, think that every kind of sin, including sin in word, arises from evil judgments; but those who trust in the holy scriptures as divine believe that what is done by men contrary to reason is not without the influence of demons or some other opposing powers. So the Jews attributed the saying of Jesus, "Truly, truly, I say to you, if anyone keeps my word, he shall never see death," to the influence of a demon. They did not understand this because they neither kept his word nor understood its power. For Jesus, knowing of a certain kind of death as an enemy to his word, which sinners experience, said that this death would never be seen by anyone who kept his word. However, they, thinking he spoke of the physical death experienced by common people, believed that he was insane, considering that Abraham and the prophets had died, and so did not understand that anyone who keeps his word would never experience death in the eternal sense.

[John 8:52-53] Abraham died, and the prophets, and you say: "If anyone keeps my word, he will never taste death." Are you greater than our father Abraham, who died? And the prophets died; whom do you make yourself out to be?

If, according to the simpler interpretation, as we ourselves too have delivered, it seems clear the understanding of the Jews, answering the word of the Savior about Abraham and the prophets as

having died, nevertheless, it does not permit the examination without comparison to other similar ones. For did they think without any reason that the Savior had said, "If anyone keeps my word, he will never see death," and for this reason replied clearly to his word? Or did they understand that he was not speaking about common death, and considering Abraham and the prophets, as also having once died the worse death, they did not accept his word nor thought him to be as great as he claimed to be, saying: "Now we know that you have a demon"? The same is examined in other statements of his and their responses in the above instances; as with the Samaritan woman, when Jesus said to her, "Give me a drink," and added other such words: "If you knew the gift of God, and who it is that is saying to you, 'Give me a drink,' you would have asked him, and he would have given you living water." And the woman said to him, "Lord, you have no vessel, and the well is deep; where do you get that living water?" And again, "Lord, give me this water, so that I will not be thirsty or come here to draw." For it is not likely that the Samaritan woman would respond to him concerning perceptible water and ask him for physical water so as not to thirst anymore or come to draw from the perceptible well of Jacob. But also when the Lord said, "The bread that I will give for the life of the world is my flesh," when the Jews were disputing among themselves, saying, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" we showed that the listeners would not be so foolish as to think that the speaker was inviting them to come and eat his flesh. And it is likely that the Jews, referring to the words being examined by us now, said, “Abraham died and the prophets,” having learned how “through one man sin entered the world, and through sin, death; and so death passed to all men, for all sinned,” and they saw that “death reigned over those who had sinned in the likeness of Adam’s transgression,” and the word was about how, because of sin, death passed to all men, since all have sinned. But having learned these things following, as they did not accept the words of Jesus, they did not know that “the gift is not like the transgression.” Neither could they reason that “if by the transgression of one many died, much more the grace of God and the gift in grace by the one man Jesus Christ abounded to many.” They also did not understand how the gift was not like the death resulting from one who sinned; because they had not yet learned that the gift came from many transgressions into justification. Nor did they see that “those who receive the abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness will reign in life through the one, Jesus Christ.” And they focused on the death of Abraham and the prophets, hearing that even Samuel, as being under the earth because of death, was brought up by the witch, thinking that there were gods somewhere under the earth and saying, “I have seen gods ascending from the earth”; but they did not grasp the life of Abraham and the prophets, nor that the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob was not the God of the dead but of the living. And assuming the prophets to be dead, they built their tombs, and thus were punished. Even if Abraham died, he lived and no longer saw death, since he rejoiced and was glad upon seeing Jesus’ day. I think this is why the Savior, in response to “Abraham died,” declared, teaching that Abraham lived, “Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he saw it and was glad.” But if anyone wishes not to accept this concerning Abraham, let them tell us whether he who saw the day of our Savior and rejoiced and was glad, still sees death, or if he who saw the Savior’s day and rejoiced and was glad, being deemed worthy of such a vision as worthy of it, later was deprived of what he had seen. For if either of these is absurd, having seen Jesus’ day, Abraham, upon seeing it, also heard His word and kept it and no longer sees death; and the Jews were not correctly saying that “Abraham died” as though he were still in death. Similarly, you will say the same about the prophets. For if God is not the God of the dead but of the living, and He is the God of Abraham and

Isaac and Jacob, so He is also the God of the rest of the prophets, and the prophets live. For they have kept the word of the Son of God, when the word of the Lord came to Hosea, or the word came to Jeremiah, or the word came to Isaiah; for no other word of God came to any of these, but the one who was in the beginning with God, His Son, God the Word. And this Word, if any other, the prophets have kept, and from whom they received the word, they no longer saw death. Likewise, it is false as the Jews said, "Now we know that you have a demon," when they said "Abraham died, and the prophets" because they did not recognize that the one who commanded demons had a demon (for no one recognizes what does not exist), nor were Abraham and the prophets still in death when the Jews said, "Abraham died, and the prophets." After these things, we seek why, when the Savior said about everyone who keeps His word that "he shall never see death forever," the Jews, after the discussions, ought properly to have said about "he shall never see death forever"; "And you say: If anyone keeps my word, he shall never see death forever"; but they did not say this, rather they said what was not said by the Savior; for He did not say, "If anyone keeps my word, he shall never taste death forever," which they bring forth as said by our Lord. Observe if it were not said with a difference between not seeing death and not tasting death by the rest of the evangelists about those standing near Jesus, until they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom, by Matthew: "Truly I say to you, there are some standing here who shall not taste death until they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom"; by Mark: "Truly I say to you, there are some standing here who shall not taste death until they see the kingdom of God come with power"; and by Luke: "Truly there are some standing here who shall not taste death until they see the Son of Man in His glory." For just as in the body there are different sensations, taste and sight, so according to what is said by Solomon about divine sensations, there would be another seeing power and contemplation of the soul, and another tasting and perception of the quality of the intellectual foods. And since the Lord, on one hand, is the living bread from heaven and is tasted, being nourishment to the soul, and on the other hand, is wisdom and visible, whose beauty the lover confesses to be saying, "I became a lover of her beauty," and commands us saying, "Love her, and she will keep you," therefore in the Psalms it is said, "Taste and see that the Lord is good." Just as the Lord is tasted and seen, so also His enemy, death, is tasted and seen. And His tasting is demonstrated by the saying, "There are some standing here who will not taste death," and what follows; and His sight by the saying, "If anyone keeps My word, he will never see death forever." One tastes death, and not only tastes it but also bears it as food of death, who contradicts the words of eternal life. And there is a promise that some of those standing in the place shown by Jesus will not taste death; for note that the three sayings, "There are some standing here," or "There are some of those standing here," have been spoken of in connection with the statement, "They will not taste death until they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom," or "in His glory," or "until they see the kingdom of God coming with power." And since it is possible for the one standing to fall—it has been said, "Let him who thinks he stands take heed lest he fall"—therefore, it is written not concerning all who are standing but concerning some: "Amen, I say to you, there are some standing here." Therefore, someone standing does not taste death by maintaining their standing; and the one who receives and keeps the word will not see death. If indeed there is any difference between tasting death and seeing death, as the Jews, who were not wise listeners and confused the Lord's words, said, instead of "He will not see death," they said, "He will not taste death," falling upon the inferior sense of the word. You might inquire whether, just as there is seeing death and tasting death, so in the other senses there is either hearing death or smelling

death or touching death; for if the hands of the apostles handled concerning the word of life, perhaps the hands of the false apostles and deceitful workers, transforming themselves into angels of righteousness, handle concerning the word of death; and if the sheep of Christ hear His voice, perhaps the sheep that are not His, to whom He might say, "You are not of My sheep," hear the voice of death. But see if the smell of death is not in the wounds from sin, about which it has been said: "My wounds stink and are corrupt," and the smell of death in Lazarus before he was raised from the dead, which the apostles did not desire to smell and said to the Savior, "Lord, by now he stinks, for he has been dead four days." Regarding the intellectual scent of death or the scent of life, the apostolic saying should be observed as follows: "We are the sweet aroma of Christ to God among those who are being saved and those who are perishing; to some, a scent from death to death, and to others, a scent from life to life." For those in Christ are a sweet aroma of Christ and in no way a stench in every place. But as physical fragrance is said to kill some animals, so also the fragrance of Christ, because of prior wickedness, could become for some a scent from death to death, but to others it results in life. These matters seemed relevant to our examination of tasting death and seeing or not seeing death. After these things, not seeing how much Christ surpasses the patriarchs and prophets, and not even believing that Christ, who teaches such great things, is greater, they question, saying: "Are you greater than our father Abraham, who died?" But they do not see that not only is he greater than Abraham but also greater than anyone born of women, being born of a virgin, and the greatest of all prophets, who was prophesied by them, and the one who gives life to the dead, not making himself such but receiving from the Father. "Just as the Father has life in himself, so also he has granted the Son to have life in himself," who can do nothing by himself and seeks not his own will but the will of the one who sent him. And the question, "Who do you make yourself out to be?" was voiced without understanding that Jesus did not make himself what he is. Therefore, it seems to me he replies to this by teaching who made him what he is, saying, "If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing. It is the Father who glorifies me." And let this also be understood here, having received ample consideration in the twentieth volume of the commentary on the Gospel of John, so that by God's revelation to us we may contemplate the subsequent passages in what follows from Jesus' response, "If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing."

Commentary on John - Book 28

Volume 28 of the Commentaries on the Gospel of John (Origen), Translated by ChatGPT from Migne's Patrologia Graeca

Those who have first investigated the nature of numbers have called six perfect, as being equal to its parts, both from the combination of the doubling from one, one and two, which is three, a prime number, and of that number to which the doubling reached, I mean two; for two multiplied by three makes six. Secondly, they say that twenty-eight is perfect, being composed from the combination of those doubled from one until a prime number is formed, and of that number to which the doubling reached. For four is the product of the doubling from one to two, and seven is the prime number measured only by one; four multiplied by seven makes twenty-eight, and it is equal to its parts. Therefore, I think, it is readily understood from what was learned by Moses, "in all the wisdom of the Egyptians", for the construction of the tabernacle; for the curtains were twenty-eight cubits in length. And it was fitting that the tabernacle, which was made for the glory of God, should contain the number twenty-eight among the select numbers. Hence, holy brother Ambrose, arriving at the twenty-eighth of the commentaries on the Gospel according to John (for this will be, by God's grace, the twenty-eighth volume on the Gospel), we invoke the perfect and completion-giving God through our perfect high priest Jesus Christ, so that He may give our mind to find the truth concerning what is to be examined and its construction, and thus may we proceed further.

[John 11:39] Jesus says, "Remove the stone."

Since here the stone placed upon the cave was not lifted by Jesus himself but he says, "Remove the stone," while in Genesis, when "a large stone was upon the mouth of the well, and all the flocks were gathered there," they would roll away the stone from the mouth of the well, and after watering the sheep, they would replace the stone on the mouth of the well in its place. And because this had not yet happened due to the livestock not being gathered, Jacob, seeing Rachel, the daughter of Laban, his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban, his mother's brother, approached and rolled the stone away from the mouth of the well and watered the sheep of Laban, his mother's brother. We wish to compare the two stones with each other, so that we may understand the reasoning for why Jesus himself did not lift the stone from the cave but said, "Remove the stone," while in Genesis, Jacob himself rolled away the stone from the mouth of the well. Consider if we might say that in the case of the stone on the cave, since the cave was a tomb, Jesus did not need to touch it but only commanded those suitable for the task to remove the stone, while in the case of the stone on the mouth of the well that hindered the watering of the sheep, which were to become Jacob's possession, Jacob himself had to take it, approach the stone, and roll it away from the mouth of the well so that the sheep of Laban, his mother's brother, could be watered. It was necessary in the case of the well for Jacob to approach, but Jesus stood outside the cave. Understand if you can why the stone lying upon the cave is not rolled away but lifted, while on the well the stone is not totally lifted but only rolled away; it was proper that the

stone upon the tomb be entirely lifted and not to be rolled back again, whereas the stone on the well was to be only rolled away. For it is said, because of the estimation * seeing the glory of God, understanding the magnitude of faith reckoned for righteousness, let us believe. And if someone has not yet seen the glory of God despite thinking to have believed, let him understand that he is shown not to have believed through the things he has not yet seen of the glory of God; for He is truthful who said not only to Martha but to everyone, "If you believe, you will see the glory of God."

[John 11:41] So they took away the stone. The slowness of lifting the stone lying upon the cave was caused by the sister of the deceased; as if she delayed those whom Jesus commanded, saying, "Take away the stone," by saying, "Already there is a stench, for he has been dead four days." And had it not been for Martha's disbelief, when Jesus said to her, "Did I not tell you that if you believe, you will see the glory of God?" those who heard "Take away the stone" would not have taken away the stone. Just suppose that when Jesus said, "Take away the stone," the sister of the deceased did not answer, nor said, "Already there is a stench, for he has been dead four days." What then would have followed rightly written after "Jesus says: Take away the stone" but "So they took away the stone"? Yet now, between "Take away the stone" and "So they took away the stone," the things spoken by the sister of the deceased delayed the lifting of the stone. And it wouldn't have been lifted even with some delay, if Jesus had not responded to her disbelief, by saying "Did I not tell you that if you believe, you will see the glory of God?" Therefore, it is good for nothing to happen between Jesus' command and the work done by those whom Jesus commanded. And I think it suits to say that one has become a follower of Christ. For just as to Him God said and it was done, He commanded and they were created, so Christ said to the believer, and the latter did it; and the Son of God commanded and he fulfilled the command without any delay, not harming himself by disobedience in the time between the command and the work; for we must consider that to delay in doing what is commanded is a time of disobedience regarding the command during the time of postponement. Because of this, even the one in the parable of the Gospel who was commanded by the father to go into the field and work, did not do the father's will in the time before he repented even though later he did go. Therefore, it is necessary to remember, "Do not delay to turn to the Lord, nor postpone day by day" and "Do not say: I will return and give, and tomorrow I will give, being able to do good today." Therefore, one must consider Martha to have been accused of causing delay when it is written, "So they took away the stone," which should have been written immediately following "Jesus says: Take away the stone."

[John 11:41] And Jesus lifted up his eyes and said the written things.

Concerning Jesus' eyes and their relationship to certain ones, it must be diligently observed and examined; for instance, in Luke, when he was about to speak the blessings and the teaching that followed them: "Lifting up his eyes to his disciples, he said"; but now it says, "He lifted up his eyes above and said." We are taught from the former that Jesus' disciples are not below; hence, the teacher's eyes are lifted up to them, who were worthy for him to lift his eyes to them; and from the latter being examined, we learn that he transferred his mind from the conversation with those below and raised and lifted it, addressing it to the prayer to the Father above all. But if Paul and those similar to him are imitators of Christ, it is necessary for the one who prays according to the zeal and imitation of Christ's prayer, to lift up the eyes of his soul above and raise them from the matters and thoughts and contemplations here, thus to say the words of prayer to God about great

and heavenly things, great and heavenly. And if someone objects to this, pointing out the tax collector who didn't want to lift up his eyes but struck his chest and said, "God, be merciful to me a sinner," it should be said to him that just as it is not for everyone nor always to embrace the godly sorrow leading to repentance without regret for salvation, but for the one who has done things worthy of such sorrow and repents for them, and to embrace it in measure and not excessively, so that he may not be swallowed up by excessive sorrow by Satan, thus it may not always be appropriate for everyone to not want to lift their eyes, just as it is not appropriate for everyone to stand at a distance. Each one should judge himself about these things, and "Examine himself, and thus not only eat of the bread and drink from the cup," but also lift up his eyes and turn them above according to the prayer, submitting himself to God and humbling himself before Him, he should say. And if we think it appropriate for every way of life, just like the tax collector, not to want to lift the eyes, it is time to say likewise that it is necessary to not want to lift the eyes and to stand afar off from the temple. But what temple could it be other than the Church of the living God? Which is also called the house of God by Paul saying, "If I delay, you may know how one ought to behave in the house of God, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." Therefore, just as it is not for everyone to not make use of the bread and not drink from the cup and [not] be far from the house of God and the church, so it is not for everyone to not want to lift up his eyes. One errs if, when it is appropriate to lift up one's eyes, one does not lift them, and likewise, one errs if, when it is appropriate not to lift up one's eyes, one lifts them. The tax collector in the gospel did not want to lift up his eyes, acting appropriately; the disciple who was present with Jesus could reasonably lift up his eyes, to whom the command is given, saying: "Lift up your eyes and see the fields, for they are white already to harvest." The prophet also says: "Lift up your eyes on high." And in the hundred and twenty-second psalm, the fourth of the songs of ascents, as the prophet appropriately lifted up his eyes to God, he says: "To you I lift up my eyes, O you who dwell in the heavens. Behold, as the eyes of servants look to the hands of their masters, as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so our eyes look to the Lord our God, until he has mercy on us." If it is necessary to show more clearly to whom it is appropriate already to imitate Jesus, lifting up his eyes on high, in that he also lifts up his own eyes, and to whom it is not appropriate, similarly to the tax collector not only to stand far off from the temple but also not to want to lift up his eyes, we shall set forth from the story of Susanna concerning the wicked elders who were in love with her thus; "They perverted their minds and turned away their eyes, not to see the heavens nor remember righteous judgments," and concerning Susanna, it is said in this manner, "And she, weeping, looked up at heaven, for her heart trusted in the Lord." Observe in these cases that those who perverted their own minds turned their eyes away, not to see the heavens, but she who trusted in the Lord followed that trust by looking up at heaven. It was fitting, then, for her in the boldness concerning her chastity, about to pray, to look up at heaven and lift her eyes on high. But for the elders (if hypothetically, after perverting their own minds and turning their eyes away, not to see the heavens, nor remember righteous judgments, they repented, making an attempt toward the woman and not obtaining what they desired, and after this prayed), and not wanting to lift their eyes or even standing far off like the tax collector and beating their breasts and saying: "God, be merciful to me, the sinner." As for the one lifting his eyes on high and appropriately lifting them to heaven, it would also be fitting to lift up holy hands, especially when the prayer is sent up without anger and thinking. Thus, the eyes being lifted up on high through the intent and contemplation, and the hands being lifted in actions raising and exalting the soul, as

Moses lifted his hands, so it could be said: "Let my uplifted hands be as an evening sacrifice." The Amalekites and all invisible enemies will be defeated, and the Israelite thoughts within us will conquer. These things are analogous to "Jesus lifted up his eyes on high and said," which appears to us as fitting in this context.

[John 11:41-42] Father, I thank you that you have heard me; I knew that you always hear me; but for the sake of the crowd standing around I said it, so that they may believe that you sent me.

If indeed such a promise concerning their prayer is spoken by God to those deserving among those who live in the flesh and do not wage war according to the flesh: "And while you are yet speaking, I will say; 'Behold, I am here'", what must we think concerning the Savior and Lord: "Before you speak, I will say; 'Behold, I am here'"? For he lifted up his eyes and said. What did he say? If it is possible to surmise in such matters accordingly to "Before you speak, I will say; 'Behold, I am here'", it would be more than what is said concerning the Savior compared to what is written in the promise to the righteous: "While you are yet speaking, I will say; 'Behold, I am here'". So, what did he say? He intended to speak a prayer; but before his prayer the one who would have said to him, "Before you speak, I will say; 'Behold, I am here'", anticipates his prayer, he gives thanks instead of the usual prayer that would have been spoken; and as one who has been heard concerning what he intended but did not specifically express in prayer, he says: "Father, I thank you that you have heard me." So, he was going to pray about the resurrection of Lazarus, and the only good God and Father anticipated his prayer and heard the things that were to be said in the prayer, for which the Savior, in the hearing of the crowd surrounding him, offers thanks instead of prayer, doing two things at the same time, giving thanks for what happened concerning Lazarus and confirming the crowd surrounding him; for he wanted them to accept that he was sent by God and had come into life. He knew he was heard, since he saw in the spirit that the soul of Lazarus had been restored to his body, having been sent back from the place of souls. For it must not be thought that the soul of Lazarus was with his body after departure and, as present, it quickly heard when Jesus cried out and said: "Lazarus, come out". But if anyone asserts this concerning the soul of Lazarus and accepts the absurd notion of the soul having departed from the body, as if it sat with the dead, let him explain how Jesus was heard by the Father while Lazarus' body was still dead and the soul, though separated, as one of these might think, sat with the body. For if this is granted, we would not say that Jesus was heard before the soul entered the body again. A similar thing, I believe, occurred when He raised the daughter of the synagogue ruler, having prayed concerning her. For He requested her soul to return and indwell the body again. Whether this is similar in the case of the widow's son who was being carried out or not, you will seek for yourself to find what accords with all the circumstances. It is not our place to make such digressions.

Perhaps also, our great Jesus saw even the soul of Lazarus itself, either being led by those appointed for this task or having responded to the Father’s will, and seeing it enter through the place where the stone was removed, He said, “Father, I thank You that You have heard Me.” Since He had previously asked for numerous other things and received them, He is giving thanks not only for Lazarus but also for the preceding events, saying for Lazarus, “Father, I thank You that You have heard Me”; and regarding the previous matters, “I knew that You always hear Me,” and He said this, He claims, “for the sake of the crowd standing by, that they may believe that You sent Me.” These things we have rendered concerning the statement and the resurrection of Lazarus.

The allegory on the place from the previously established context is not difficult; for He asked that someone who had sinned after becoming a friend to Him and was dead to God might return to life through divine power, and He succeeded, and He saw in such a one vital movements, upon which He gave thanks to the Father. A crowd stood around such a dead person, not yet believing that God had sent Jesus and that this word had come from God to men. And this crowd, having stood around, marveled that one who had become foul from sins leading to death and dead in virtue had returned to it; and marveling, they might eventually believe the word that gave him life, as it had come from God to men.

[John 11:43-44] And having said these things, he cried out in a loud voice, "Lazarus, come out." The one who had died came out, bound hand and foot with linen strips, and his face was wrapped with a cloth. Jesus said to them, "Unbind him, and let him go."

Jesus lifted his eyes upward, and before he prayed, he was heard, and instead of a prayer, he gave thanks, perceiving that the soul of Lazarus had entered into the body and required the vigor from the command of Jesus to go forth from the tomb. Therefore, after giving thanks to the Father, he used a loud voice, imparting strength to Lazarus, who needed it greatly as he had not yet become keen-hearted to the cry that called him out of the tomb. And it should indeed be considered a worthy work of Jesus, not only to pray for the dead to live but also to shout to him and call the one imprisoned inside the cave and tomb to come out of it. Moreover, one should know that there are even now some Lazaruses, who after the friendship of Jesus became sick and died, and remained in the tomb and the place of the dead among the dead, and thereafter were made alive by the prayer of Jesus and were called out of the tomb by the great voice of Jesus. The one who obeys him comes out, still bound with the worthy bonds of deadness from earlier sins and having his face wrapped, being neither able to see, nor to walk, nor to do anything due to the bonds of deadness, until Jesus commands those who can unbind him and let him go. And let everyone who is able to speak attempt to say, "Or do you seek a proof of the Christ who speaks in me?" to become such as to whom Christ may say in a loud voice, having cried out to the one weakened after dying and needing Jesus' cry, "Lazarus, come out." And consider the one after receiving the knowledge of truth and being enlightened, having tasted the heavenly gift and having become a partaker of the Holy Spirit and having tasted the good word of God and the powers of the coming age, who has apostatized from Christ and returned to a worldly life, as being in Hades among the shadows and the dead and in the place of the dead, or in tombs. When, therefore, He comes to such a one and enters into the tomb and, standing outside of it, Jesus prays and is heard, asking that power be given to His voice and His words, He cries out with a loud voice, calling forth to the outside of the life of the Gentiles and their tomb and their cave, to the one thus beloved being called. It is then to see how the one who follows Jesus comes forth due to the voice of Jesus, yet still bound and tied with the cords of his own sins, living due to repentance and having heard the voice of Jesus, but not yet loosed from the bonds of sin nor able to tread with free feet, nor able to perform freely what is noble, being bound by the cords and bands of the deceased. And such a one, due to the deadness that has come upon him along with the bonds upon his hands and feet, and the face being covered and bound by ignorance.

Then, when Jesus wishes that not only he live but also that he remain not in the tomb, he comes to the outside of the tomb, bound, as said before, from life. And at his having come forth from the tomb and yet unable to move as long as he is bound, Jesus says to those able to serve him,

"Loose him and let him go." I think that unless he concurs with the discourse about returning after having sinned, still weakened in living by it, holding back the souls' powers of locomotion, action, and contemplation, such a one has come out of the tomb but is still bound by the cords and bands of the deceased, and his face is bound with a napkin. But when Jesus, having spoken to those able to loose him, by the command of Christ as Lord, says, "Loose him and let him go," and when his feet and hands are loosed, and the cover laid on his face is removed, he proceeds in such a walk as to arrive at being at one and the same to recline with Jesus. After this, because of "The dead man came out bound hand and foot with grave clothes," it must be said that there is a difference even among those bound hand and foot; it is not the same incurrence of binding from that of being dead, so that the bonds bear the name of deadness (for these bands are bonds of the dead), since the binding happens by the judgment of the Lord, the one having entered to see the guests and having seen the one not wearing the wedding garment, and having said about him: "Bind his feet and hands and cast him out into the outer darkness." There is something in this place that requires discernment, in the "And his face was wrapped with a cloth" and in the veil that lay upon the face of Moses when he spoke to the people; for the cloth that was wrapped around the face of Lazarus covered his dead eyes, but the veil of Moses was laid upon his face as a dispensation because of those among the people unable to gaze upon his glory. You will inquire about the one without a wedding garment, concerning whom it is said, "Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness," whether he remains bound and in outer darkness forever (for it is not added "for eternity" or "for the ages"), or whether he will be loosed at some point. For it does not clearly appear from the text concerning him that anything has been written about his release. It does not seem safe to me, having not understood anything about him, especially since it is not written about him, to make a pronouncement. You will inquire about the "Jesus said to them, Loose him," to whom he said it; for it is neither written that he said it to the disciples nor to the crowd standing around, nor even to the Jews who were with Mary and consoling her. But one might surmise, because of "the angels came and ministered to him" and the typology of the place, that perhaps the words "Loose him and let him go" could also be said to them. I still consider whether Jesus fulfilled what was said of "Lazarus our friend has fallen asleep," "But I go to wake him." I note then whether, in having cried out with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth" (for the loud voice and the cry could not be said without reason to awaken him), he already fulfills "I go to wake him," rather than that fulfilled in the prayer of the Son having been heard by the Father, having made the soul of Lazarus return to his body lying in the tomb; for someone might say that the Father, having heard the prayer of the Son, raised Lazarus from the dead; but he who cried out with a loud voice and shouted, "Lazarus, come forth," fulfilled what he had declared, "But I go to wake him." And if one establishes this, giving a distinction between "Lazarus our friend has fallen asleep" and "Lazarus is dead," he will say that, in regard to "fallen asleep," he declared, "But I go to wake him"; but regarding "died," he did not say, "I go to raise him from the dead." But the one who resolves the seeming difference in these statements, granting that the raising of Lazarus from the dead was a joint work of the Son who prayed and the Father who heard, will also use what was said by the Lord to Martha: "I am the resurrection and the life," and will add also, "For as the Father raises the dead and gives them life, so also the Son gives life to whom he will."

[John 11:45] Many therefore of the Jews, who had come to Mary and had seen what he had done, believed in him. And indeed who would not be moved to believe in the preaching of Jesus truly, as if from a state of death and stench, those utterly overwhelmed by wickedness, with the supreme

change they cast off by the command and cooperation of the word not only the great ill smell from sin but also the bonds holding the moving and working power of the soul, and even apart from these also the contemplative? For those who saw Jesus having such great power in such things were astonished, those boasting about being engaged in the word of God but not yet receiving the fullness of the word, and especially those who had come as for a dead person and completely despaired, also having despaired of such a one, to console the sorrowing sister for the fall of her brother; for whom perhaps more than for the one suffering these things he had come to the cave of the dead, "He lifted up his eyes and said, 'Father, I thank you that you have heard me. And I knew that you always hear me.' For it was for their sake more than for Lazarus that he proclaimed this thanksgiving to the Father, it is clearly from "But for the sake of the crowd standing around I said this, that they may believe that you sent me." Therefore he dealt with Lazarus for the sake of the surrounding crowd, that many of the Jews who had come to Mary and had seen what he had done might believe in him. But hear the words about these things, not only in the literal sense.

[John 11:46] "But some of them went to the Pharisees and told them what Jesus had done." The statement has some ambiguity, whether those who went to the Pharisees and told them what Jesus had done were from the many Jews who had seen what he had done and believed in him, wishing to appease those who were hostile towards him by announcing the matter concerning Lazarus; or the rest apart from the many and believing ones, as not moved by what happened to faith in Jesus, as far as depended on themselves and arouse the wicked zeal against him in the Pharisees by announcing the matter concerning Lazarus. And it seems to me that this is rather what the evangelist intends to mean. Therefore, the high priests and the Pharisees gathered, and the following events took place. Many, therefore, believed because they saw what happened concerning Lazarus. He spoke of many who believed because they saw, as opposed to saying there were few who did not. He mentioned, "But some of them went" and the following. Consider also what is about to be said if it can move us to agreement, for it is written: "Many of the Jews who had come to Mary and seen what He did, believed in Him." It is written: "Many of the Jews who had come to Mary and seen what He did, believed in Him." I am particularly moved by the conjecture whether all who saw, that is, understood what Jesus did, believed in Him. But those who went to the Pharisees and told them what Jesus did, since it is not attested that they saw, may not have the commendation meant for those who believed and saw. It could be that, if even they saw, it would have been written that some of them went to the Pharisees and told them what Jesus did or saw and what He did. Now, it is not said of them that they saw, but it is said of those who believed, who had come to Mary and seen what Jesus did. For those, it seems to me, He also said, "But because of the crowd standing around, I said it, that they may believe that you sent me." Also, consider whether those who came to Mary and saw what Jesus did and believed in Him alone, being many, were those around Jesus, for whom He said, "Father, I thank you that you heard me. I knew that you always hear me." For if He said this because of the crowd standing around so that they may believe that the Father sent Him, and saying this, He said it that the crowd standing around might believe. But if anyone from them did not believe, He would not have spoken to the Father in this manner, like someone ignorant of future events, "But because of the crowd standing around, that they may believe that you sent me." Perhaps those who came to Mary and saw what He did and believed in Him alone were the crowd around Jesus. The rest neither saw what He did nor stood around Him.

[John 11:47-48] So the chief priests and the Pharisees gathered a council and said, "What are we doing? For this man performs many signs. If we let him go on like this, everyone will believe in him, and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation."

Regarding what has been said, the Pharisees and chief priests saw that because of the magnitude of the wondrous powers that Jesus had performed, it was possible that all the Jewish people could be drawn to faith in him and, being thus drawn, might despise the physical Levitical and priestly worship in their place, so that this situation might become a pretext for the Romans to come and take away the so-called holy place and the entire Jewish nation, as the Jews themselves, no longer having the place, would not wish to retain their identity. Thus, since they preferred above all else the worship, the place, and the constitution of the nation, which they considered more important than these things, they plotted against Jesus, so that they might not let him live. And as I think, also for the purpose of destroying his glory, they said "This man"; for they disbelieved the things said previously about him being God, as when they wanted to stone him for blasphemy, saying to him, "You, being a man, make yourself God," when according to his philanthropy, he answered, teaching that everyone to whom the word of God came is called a god by God, as the prophetic scripture declaring this cannot be broken or destroyed. It is possible to understand from the words spoken by the Pharisees and the chief priests both their acknowledged wickedness and their blindness; acknowledged, because they testified that he had performed many signs and yet plotted against him who had done such signs, showing that they could achieve nothing for themselves in plotting against him; and blindness no less, for it was more fitting to release him who was doing many signs rather than to plot against him, unless they believed that he did the signs, but thought they did not come from divine power, and thus did not think he could do everything, nor that he could save himself from their plot against him. They indeed were observing not to let him go, thinking by this to obstruct the believers in him and the Romans, who are about to take away their place and their nation. But since “the Lord disperses the counsels of nations and nullifies the thoughts of peoples,” they did not cease and did not let him go, and God raised him and let him go, and all the nations served him, and coming the Romans took away their place. For where, they say, is their sanctuary? And they took away the nation, expelling them from the place and scarcely permitting them to be where they wished, even in the dispersion. And if indeed it is necessary to venture even into the interpretation of these words, we will say that the nations took the place of those of the circumcision; “for by their trespass salvation has come to the nations, to arouse them to jealousy”; and to the nations, the Romans were delivered, the ruled being called rulers. And the nation, too, was taken by those from the nations; for the people became no people, and those from Israel are no longer Israel, and the seed did not reach to make them children; and the cause of these things is the many signs of Jesus, and that the Father let him go, being greater than the conspiracy of the chief priests and Pharisees sitting against him. Chief priests and all carnal worship among the Jews and Pharisees and all teaching according to the letter of the law conspire against Jesus, the truth, and wish that the type, in order to subsist, obstruct the revelation of the truth, and as the flesh desires against the Spirit. But the Spirit desiring against the flesh, being stronger, and the true high priesthood of our Savior and his spiritual teaching dissolve the council of the chief priests and Pharisees conspiring against him. This must also be understood to be happening even now, which is to be seen in those of the constitution of carnal Judaism who wish to overthrow the spiritual teaching of Christ.

[John 11:49-52] One of them, named Caiaphas, who was high priest that year, said to them: "You know nothing at all, nor do you consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and not that the whole nation should perish." Now this he did not say on his own authority, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus would die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but also that he might gather together in one the children of God scattered abroad.

It is not the case that if someone prophesies, that person is necessarily a prophet. Thus, Caiaphas, being high priest that year, prophesied that Jesus would die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but also that he might gather together the children of God who were scattered abroad, although he was not a prophet. If Balaam also prophesied what is recorded in Numbers, saying: “The word that God puts in my mouth, that I will speak,” and said from “Balak the king of Moab brought me from Aram,” and what follows, it is clear that he was not a prophet; for he is recorded as being a diviner. Thus, if anyone is a prophet, he certainly prophesies; but if anyone prophesies, he is not necessarily a prophet. Just as in the case of another superior, one might say: if someone is righteous, he pursues justice; but if someone pursues justice, that person is not necessarily righteous, as you will understand from the phrase "Pursue justice righteously," since "righteously" is prefixed to "pursue justice" not in vain. For it is possible, I think, to pursue justice, but not righteously; for those who do what is appropriate, for example, distribute to the poor to be praised by people, have done something just, but not from the habit of justice, but out of vanity. And I think it may be analogous to say "Pursue temperance temperately," and "Pursue courage courageously," and "Pursue wisdom wisely," and similarly with the other virtues. These things were said in order to draw a parallel similar to prophesying something but not being a prophet. For this reason, I think it is consistently said in the prophecies regarding the prophets, “Jeremiah the prophet said,” and similar expressions. Those skillful in names say that if someone performs a medical task or something conducive to health, that person is not necessarily a physician, nor if someone builds something, that person is necessarily a builder. From what is recorded about Caiaphas, who prophesied about the Savior, it can be made clear that even a wicked soul sometimes receives the gift of prophecy. For the wickedness of Caiaphas, who was the high priest of that year when our Savior accomplished His dispensation in suffering for mankind, is accused by the evangelists. For Matthew says: "Then one of the twelve, called Judas Iscariot, went to the chief priests and said, 'What are you willing to give me, and I will deliver Him to you?' And they counted out to him thirty pieces of silver." And a little later: "Behold, Judas, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great multitude with swords and clubs, from the chief priests and elders of the people." In these texts, therefore, we understand Caiaphas to be among the chief priests, since he is attested to be the high priest of that year. Clearly after this, Matthew says: "And those who had laid hold of Jesus led Him away to Caiaphas the high priest, where the scribes and the elders were assembled." And a little further, he adds: "The chief priests and the whole council sought false testimony against Jesus to put Him to death, but found none, though many false witnesses came forward. Finally, two came forward and said, 'This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days.' And the high priest arose and said to Him, 'Do you answer nothing? What is it these men testify against you?' But Jesus kept silent. And the high priest said to Him, 'I put you under oath by the living God: Tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of God.' Jesus said to him, 'It is as you said. Nevertheless, I say to you, hereafter you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Power, and coming on the clouds of heaven.' Then the high priest tore his clothes, saying, 'He has spoken blasphemy! What further need do we have of

witnesses? Look, now you have heard His blasphemy! What do you think?' They answered and said, 'He is deserving of death.'" Then again, a little later: "And while He was being accused by the chief priests and elders, He answered nothing." And again, shortly thereafter: "The chief priests and elders persuaded the crowds that they should ask for Barabbas and destroy Jesus." Then after the resurrection of the Savior, with Mary Magdalene and the other Mary going, "Behold, some of the guard came into the city and reported to the chief priests all the things that had happened. When they had assembled with the elders and consulted together, they gave a large sum of money to the soldiers, saying, 'Tell them, His disciples came at night and stole Him away while we slept. And if this comes to the governor's ears, we will appease him and make you secure.'" Luke wrote that "Satan entered into Judas called Iscariot, who was of the number of the twelve, and he went away and conferred with the chief priests and officers, how he might betray him to them." Then a little later: "Jesus said to those who had come against him, the chief priests and officers of the temple and elders, 'Have you come out as against a robber, with swords and clubs?'" And a little later: "They seized him and led him away, bringing him into the high priest's house." And again a little later: "The chief priests and the scribes stood by, vehemently accusing him." And once more a little later: "When it was day, the council of the elders of the people, both chief priests and scribes, came together and led him into their council." Mark, however, says that "Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, went to the chief priests to betray him to them. And when they heard it, they were glad and promised to give him money." And a little later: "While Jesus was still speaking, Judas Iscariot, one of the twelve, came, and with him a great crowd with swords and clubs, from the chief priests and the scribes and the elders." And a little later: "They led Jesus to Caiaphas the high priest, and all the chief priests and the scribes and the elders were assembled." And again a little later: "The high priest arose and questioned Jesus, saying, 'Do you answer nothing? What is it that these testify against you?' But Jesus kept silent and answered nothing. Again the high priest asked him, 'Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' Jesus said, 'I am, and you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven.' The high priest tore his garments immediately." Then a little later: "Early in the morning, the chief priests with the elders and scribes and the whole council consulted together, bound Jesus, led him away, and delivered him to Pilate." And later: "The chief priests accused him of many things, but he answered nothing." John says that "They led Jesus from Caiaphas to the praetorium." We have set these things forth in detail to show, by many testimonies of all the evangelists, the malignity of Caiaphas, and that even as he strove against Jesus, he nonetheless prophesied; that he prophesied, John has clearly taught us. You may question whether, if anyone prophesies, it is by the Holy Spirit that he prophesies, even if what is said seems to the hearer to be of no significance. How, indeed, is it not worth questioning, seeing that David, after his sin with Uriah, feared to have the Holy Spirit taken from him, saying: "Do not take your Holy Spirit from me"? And some accept that even "the Holy Spirit of discipline will flee deceit and will withdraw from thoughts that are without understanding." It will seem to be clear enough that it flees from a soul that has been deceived, even if it happened to be there before deceit and sin, the Holy Spirit. Thus, it is worthy of investigation regarding the Holy Spirit, whether it can be in a sinful soul, so that someone might say that if indeed "No one can say Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit"; and many of the sinners regard Jesus as Lord, and among them, the Holy Spirit might be. Perhaps, since those who sin after having received it would not attain forgiveness, it is said concerning those who sin before receiving the Holy Spirit, “Every sin and blasphemy will be

forgiven the sons of men”; but concerning those who stumble after receiving the Holy Spirit, it is said, "Whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, neither in this age nor in the age to come.” For he sins against the present Holy Spirit by works and words of sin, even while it is present in the soul. Thus, someone might say the words written in this manner in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "For it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted the heavenly gift, and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the good word of God and the powers of the age to come, if they fall away, to renew them again to repentance, since they crucify again for themselves the Son of God and put Him to an open shame." Notice in these the phrase, "have become partakers of the Holy Spirit." On the other hand, it was said that, although Caiaphas prophesied, he did not have the Holy Spirit in him, told by the phrase, "For the Spirit had not yet come because Jesus was not yet glorified." And since there was no spirit even in the apostles before Jesus was glorified, how much more was it not in Caiaphas? But after rising, the Savior "breathed on the disciples and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit'" and so forth. Someone boldly might say that Caiaphas did not prophesy by the Holy Spirit; yet, it might be stated that even evil spirits can bear witness to Jesus and prophesy about Him or bear witness to Him, such as when they said, "We know who you are, the Holy One of God," and those calling upon Him not to command them to go into the abyss and saying, "Have you come to destroy us?" Also, in the Acts of the Apostles, it is written: "It happened as we were praying, a certain slave girl having a spirit of Python met us, who brought much profit to her masters by fortune-telling. This one followed Paul and us and cried out, saying, 'These men are the servants of the Most High God, who proclaim to us the way of salvation.'" So, someone interpreting these texts may say that the word of the spirit of Python does not lack prophecy, bearing witness to the apostles and inciting those who hear to believe in the proclaimed way of salvation. Since we have also introduced the case of Balaam, observe whether it can also be said about him that he did not speak from God, but from an angel: "For," it says, "the angel of God stood in the way to oppose him. And he was riding on his donkey, and his two servants were with him. And when the donkey saw the angel of God standing in the way, with his sword drawn in his hand, the donkey turned aside out of the way and went into the field. And Balaam struck the donkey to turn her onto the path; and the angel of God stood in the narrow path between the vineyards, with a wall on this side and a wall on that side." A little further on it says: "When the donkey saw the angel of God, she lay down under Balaam." And again, shortly after: "The angel of God said to him, 'Why have you struck your donkey these three times? Behold, I came to oppose you, because your way is perverse before me. And the donkey saw me and turned aside from me these three times. If she had not turned aside from me, surely just now I would have killed you and let her live.' And Balaam said to the angel, 'I have sinned, for I did not know that you stood in the way against me. Now, therefore, if it displeases you, I will turn back.' And the angel of God said to Balaam, 'Go with the men, but only the word that I speak to you, that you shall speak.'" Notice that it is the angel who says, "Only the word that I speak to you, that you shall speak." But you might say that a little later God appeared to Balaam and said to him, "I have prepared seven altars, and I have offered a bull and a ram on each altar." And God put a word in Balaam's mouth and said, "Return to Balak, and thus you shall speak." Consider how both are true: the one spoken by the angel, "Only the word that I speak to you, that you shall speak," and the one recorded in the scripture, "God put a word in Balaam's mouth and said." As for the phrase, "And the spirit of God came upon him," we have marked it with an obelus, not finding this or anything similar in the remaining versions. Again, a

little further on: "God met Balaam, put a word in his mouth, and said, 'Return to Balak and thus you shall speak.'" On all these matters, the bold one will say that it is also said about Saul, "An evil spirit from God oppressed him." But also, a lying spirit went out and became a lying spirit in the mouth of all the prophets of Ahab, as the Lord said, "Who will deceive Ahab?" And a lying spirit came out and said, "I will deceive him." These matters, therefore, should be examined in their places, as anyone is able to consider on their own how Caiaphas prophesied about these things following what has been set out. Perhaps these also should be referred to his prophecy, that since he was not holy, even if he prophesied, . Just as it is worthy of investigation how Caiaphas prophesied, so also in the first book of Kings you should examine how the messengers of Saul, sent to David, prophesied, and after them Saul himself. For it is written: "And it was reported to Saul, saying: Behold, David is in Naioth in Ramah. And Saul sent messengers to take David, and they saw the congregation of prophets, and Samuel standing as head over them. And the Spirit of the Lord came upon Saul's messengers, and they also prophesied. And it was reported to Saul, and he sent other messengers, and they also prophesied. And Saul was filled with wrath, and he himself went to Ramah, and came to the great well that is in Secu. And he asked and said, 'Where are Samuel and David?' And one said, 'Behold, they are in Naioth in Ramah.' And he went thither to Naioth in Ramah, and the Spirit of God came upon him also, and he went on and prophesied until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he stripped off his clothes, and also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Therefore they say: Is Saul also among the prophets?". It is necessary, I think, to include these passages to show how sinners prophesy, and whether it is from the Holy Spirit or from another power, as far as the witness to the truth is concerned, not lying. Again, in the first book of Kings, the idol diviners are found indicating concerning the ark, and that if cows that had never borne calves should take the road to Beth-shemesh, it would be a sign that the plague upon the Philistines was from God. Nor should we leave unmentioned what is said concerning the witch and Samuel in these passages, from which Saul learned that he and his sons would be slain the following day. Those who can distinguish concerning different powers, inferior and superior, and whether there are any intermediate ones, will see the precise meaning in these instances. Again, someone wishing to say that Caiaphas prophesied from an inferior power will say that it is not at all surprising for an evil power to have said these things, wherefore even the devil is found not completely ignorant, calling Jesus the Son of God, as is recorded by the Evangelists, when he speaks with the Lord. He will say that even there was some wickedness in the power at work to prophesy these things about the Savior; for its purpose was not to confirm the listeners but to provoke the high priests and Pharisees in the council against Jesus so they would kill him, which was not according to the Holy Spirit to accomplish. For see whether it is not to provoke the listeners, whether it is Caiaphas or the one causing him to prophesy to kill Jesus through the statement "You neither know anything nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." Is the one saying "It is expedient for us," which was part of his prophecy, speaking truth or falsehood? For if he speaks the truth, Caiaphas and those in the council who struggled against Jesus are saved, with Jesus having died for the people, and they attain the expediency; but if it is absurd to say that Caiaphas and those in the council against Jesus are saved and attained the expediency with Jesus having died, it is clear that it was not the Holy Spirit who accomplished these sayings; for the Holy Spirit does not lie. And the one wanting to say that even in this Caiaphas was induced to speak the truth, I mean by saying, "It is expedient for us that

one man should die for the people," will understand more deeply the "It is expedient for us" because of the discourse about the end and will associate it with "So that by the grace (or without) of God he should taste death for every one," and will consider the "For every one" or the "Without God for every one." He will also associate it with "Who is the Savior of all men, especially of those who believe;" for hearing He is "the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world" in particular, and not of a part of it. The one saying it is true "It is expedient for us that one man should die" will assert that all the prophecies concerning the place are true, starting from "You know nothing at all;" for they did not know anything, the Pharisees and high priests who did not recognize Jesus, who was truth and wisdom and righteousness and peace. "For he himself is our peace." Nor did they consider how it was expedient even for them that this one man, insofar as he was a man, should die for the people; for the man Jesus died. Therefore he also says, "But now you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth." And since the one who died was a man, but truth and wisdom and peace and righteousness were not a man, and concerning Him it is written, "The Word was God," the divine Word and truth and wisdom did not die; for the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation, is incapable of death. For the people, this man died, the purest of all living beings, who took away our sins and weaknesses, being able to take upon himself all the sin of the entire world and to dissolve, consume, and obliterate it, since he committed no sin, nor was deceit found in his mouth, nor did he know sin. Paul, I believe, spoke of it this way: “He who knew no sin was made to be sin for us, so that we might become the righteousness of God in him.” For he was made to be sin, though he knew no sin, by taking up the sins of all, and, if I may so bold to say, he became much more than the apostles the purification and refuse of the world, those apostles saying: “We have become as the refuse of the world, the scum of all things, up to this point.” Concerning the often prevailing severe calamities within the human race, such as plagues or damaging calms or famines, stories abound among the Greeks and barbarians that these things are resolved, as if the active evil spirit causing them is nullified, due to someone offering themselves for the common good, and they do not reject or repudiate the concept. Whether these things are true or not is not the present time to examine. Nevertheless, the one able to take up on behalf of the whole world, so that the whole world may be cleansed, by taking upon himself to die for it, lest it perish, has never been recorded nor could be recorded, except Jesus alone who took upon himself the burden of all sin in the cross without God for the sake of all, able to bear it by his great strength. For this one alone was knowledgeable to bear infirmity, as the prophet Isaiah says: “A man accustomed to suffering and knowing how to bear infirmity.” And this one indeed took our sins and was weakened for our transgressions, and the punishment for our learning and peace fell upon him. So I hear it as: “The correction of our peace was upon him.” Perhaps because “by his bruises we are healed,” we should, as those healed from the cross by the coming bruise, say: “But may it never be that I boast except in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, through whom the world is crucified to me and I to the world.” This Jesus the Father gave for our sins, and for them “he was led like a sheep to slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is silent.” In his humility, which “he humbled himself becoming obedient to death, even death on a cross,” judgment was lifted. So I hear it as: “In his humility, his judgment was lifted.” So it follows: In his humility, his judgment was lifted. He was led to death because of the iniquities of the people of God. So this man died for the people, and through him, the whole nation was not destroyed. Consider if you can take the name "people" to mean those of circumcision and "nation" to mean the rest. For this man died not only for the people but also so that the whole nation would not

perish, as if he said the reigning nation and all Gentiles would perish. Next to this is the saying, "He did not say this on his own authority." From which I think we learn that some things we humans say on our own, with no power working in us to speak, while other things are as if some power echoes and suggests to us what is to be spoken, and even if we do not stand back and keep ourselves absolutely away, but seem to be following what we say. It is possible, while we follow ourselves in saying something, not to follow the intention of the words spoken; just as now Caiaphas the high priest did not say from himself and did not understand what he said as a prophecy. And with Paul also there are some teachers of the law "not understanding what they are saying or the things about which they make confident assertions." But the wise is not like this, concerning whom Solomon says in Proverbs, "A wise person will understand from his own mouth, and on his lips will carry discernment." Thus I think that sometimes circumstances cause prophecy, just as now the being a high priest for Caiaphas that year, in which Jesus was about to die for the people so that the whole nation might not perish; for although there were other high priests, as is clear from what we have discussed earlier, none prophesied except the high priest of the year in which Jesus was about to suffer. Circumstances also made Saul's angels who were sent to David, and Saul himself, prophesy; for seeking David caused the prophecy, but of the kind recorded. Similarly, Balaam would not have taken up his oracle and said, “From Aram Balaam has brought me,” and following words, had he not seen Israel encamped; and always, seeing another part of the camp he was moved to speak about Israel. Jesus was therefore about to die for the nation, which was different from the scattered children of God, as is evident from the “Jesus was about to die, not for the nation only, but also to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad.” But who the scattered children of God are now is timely to seek. Concerning these things, those who introduce the natures will claim that their spiritual ones are the children of God, spiritually not judging all things; for this follows what the nature believers say, and it is contrary to the will of the apostle to understand the spiritual ones, teaching that "The spiritual man judges all things, and he is judged by no one." From this it follows that the one who does not judge all things is not spiritual or not yet spiritual. Moreover, if someone is judged by anyone, since the spiritual person is judged by no one, he is not spiritual or not yet spiritual. Therefore, isn't it better to say that someone becomes spiritual, not previously being so, who already and truly is a son of God? What then are the so-called children of God now, if they are not those the nature introducers call spiritual, should be considered; and see if you can understand the children of God scattered as different from the nation, those already righteous in God at the time these were spoken, whether the patriarchs who have passed away or prophets or any other chosen ones of God, or also those who were already strong at that time; for, as it is said of those being strong and not sick, "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick," and as there are righteous ones, he says, "I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Jesus was about to die for the nation so that it would not perish, but for the children of God who are scattered, so that they might be gathered into one and in him become one flock, one shepherd; which, I think, fulfills the prayer of the Savior, saying, "As I and you are one, that they also may be one in us." But if there is something deeper concerning Israel, not of nature but of race, about which it is written, "Israel is my firstborn son," being in dispersion, you will understand that these are the children of God who are scattered, for whom Jesus was about to die, so that he might gather them into one.

[John 11:53] From that day forward, they planned to put him to death. The chief priests and Pharisees, gathering a council, deliberated about our Savior what should be done to him. Caiaphas, the high priest, having previously spoken, they, provoked by his words, planned to kill the Lord. Therefore, you inquire from which spirit he prophesied that Jesus was to die for the nation, and whether the Holy Spirit acted even in such a man and was the cause of the counsel against Jesus, or whether it was something else that could speak even in the godless and stir up those like him against Jesus. Just as we had previously examined, anyone wishing to apologize regarding the Holy Spirit seeming to be the cause for them to counsel to kill Jesus due to the words of Caiaphas, the chief priests and Pharisees say that such a work is not alien to holiness, since Jesus made no unworthy action of Himself for the fall and rise of many in Israel, saying: "For judgment I have come into this world, that those who do not see may see, and those who see may become blind." For just as we need a wise word to answer how He who confessed to have come for judgment into this world did not make an unworthy action of Himself, likewise regarding the fact that from the words of Caiaphas the Holy Spirit counseled the chief priests and Pharisees to kill Jesus. Concerning "For judgment I have come into this world," we have said much as we could in the appropriate context. But concerning the present matter, it may be said similarly that just as the sacred mind of the scriptures, said for the benefit of those seeking to benefit from it, is misinterpreted by those inclined to the worse, so as to provide material for the construction of impious teaching by those preaching injustice to the heights, they misrepresent it. Likewise, the prophecy made by Caiaphas concerning our Savior, being true for our benefit that one man should die for the people, lest the whole nation perish, was not rightly understood by the Pharisees and chief priests. Rather, thinking it to be a different intention of Caiaphas’s counsel, from that day forward they planned to kill Jesus. I say these things following the understanding that the spirit which prophesied through Caiaphas was holy, but not absolutely asserting this to be the case. Rather, I leave it to those engaging with it to judge either way regarding Caiaphas and as moved by the spirit.

[John 11:54] So Jesus no longer walked openly among the Jews, but went from there to the region near the wilderness, to a town called Ephraim, and there he stayed with the disciples.

These and similar things, I think, are recorded with the intention that we turn away from more impetuously and irrationally striving unto death in defense of the truth and witnessing for it. For it is indeed good, having fallen into the contest concerning confessing Jesus, not to recant the confession, nor to delay regarding dying for the truth. But it is no less good to avoid giving occasion to such a great trial, and to evade it by every means, not only because the outcome of it for us is uncertain, but also so that we may not become a pretext for those becoming more sinful and impious, who would not have been guilty of shedding our blood if we had not done what was in our power to avoid those plotting against us unto death, but who will be in greater and graver punishment than us if, out of love for self and without considering those, we give ourselves to being killed when necessity has not forced us into this. For if even the one who becomes an occasion of sin by having incited the sinner to it will pay the penalty for the offenses committed by someone because of him, how shall not also the one who had the opportunity to turn aside, so that someone should not become a betrayer of Christians and a plotter against the piety towards Jesus, but did not turn aside and thereby provoked him, give account also for that one's sin, even if, as far as the zeal for witnessing and the courage for it is concerned, he is worthy of honor and

acceptance by the God who is worshipped and confessed as savior? But that such things were written for our sake, so that we, having Jesus as an example, may become imitators of him also in such matters, will be demonstrated by the saying scripture: "So they were seeking to arrest him, but no one laid a hand on him, because his hour had not yet come." For just as, according to this saying, for this reason no one laid a hand on him, being present and not fleeing, since his hour had not yet come, neither would we have been detained without taking our leave, in the time when his hour had not yet arrived. Therefore, we must listen not only to the command "If they persecute you in this city, flee to another," and what follows, but also to the fact that when the chief priests and the Pharisees took counsel to kill Jesus, He, observing what was reasonable, no longer walked openly among the Jews, but did not retire to another city full of people. Instead, He withdrew to a secluded place. For it is written: "Jesus therefore no longer walked openly among the Jews, but went away from there to the countryside near the desert, to a town called Ephraim." And He did not go there alone, but without giving any opportunity to those seeking Him, He took the disciples with Himself and "there He stayed with the disciples." This is also the case with what is written in the Gospel of Matthew, when "Hearing that John was delivered up, He withdrew into Galilee; and leaving Nazareth, He came and dwelt in Capernaum by the sea, in the borders of Zebulon and Naphtali." And when the time came for Him to be seized, He took care not to be found either in Jerusalem or in the temple, where He often taught, or in another such place. "For He went out with His disciples over the brook Kidron, where there was a garden, into which He entered, along with His disciples." Thus, He withdrew at that time and did not make it public, so much so that the chief priests and the Pharisees, wanting to seize Him, needed Judas because of his familiarity with Him and his knowledge of His places of retreat. Therefore, at that time, "Judas, having received a cohort and from the chief priests and the Pharisees servants, comes there with lanterns and torches and weapons." From this point of the gospel, it is clear that if He had wanted not to be seized, He would not have been. But He was seized, humbling Himself and being obedient to those who took Him, even unto the cross. Therefore, when He went out and said to those who came to the garden, "Whom do you seek?" they answered Him, "Jesus the Nazarene." And when He said to them, "I am He," they withdrew and fell to the ground. Then, after this, because He wished to take on the economy of suffering, He asked them again, "Whom do you seek?" And they said, "Jesus the Nazarene." And shortly after, "The cohort and the commander and the servants of the Jews seized Jesus" willingly and "bound Him," offering Himself to the bonds. For if He had not wished to suffer, He would have said again, "I am He," and all these would have withdrawn and fallen to the ground. Just as He teaches us by these examples to withdraw in persecutions and plots against us, so in other cases you will find Him withdrawing even from what are considered good things in the world, to teach us through these to flee worldly honors and preeminence. For once Jesus, "knowing that they meant to come and seize Him to make Him king, withdrew to the mountain," but not with the disciples, but alone, giving no occasion even to them, loving Him and perhaps wishing to side with those who wanted to make Him king so that He might become their worldly king. These things pertain to the stated and the teaching on departure from the letter of the Gospel. Concerning the allegorical interpretation, it might be said as follows: Jesus once walked openly among the Jews when the word of God through the prophets was with them; for Jesus’ bold proclamation was “Thus says the Lord.” But now, Jesus no longer walks openly among the Jews, and He has departed from them, and there is no word of God among the Jews. And having departed from them (I mean from the Jews), He went to the region near the desert, about which it

is said: “Many are the children of the desolate more than of her who has a husband,” and to which it is said: “Rejoice, O barren one who does not give birth; break forth and cry aloud, you who are not in labor.” Now, the city near the desert is Ephraim, to which Jesus went, no longer walking openly among the Jews. Ephraim is interpreted as "fruitfulness," being the brother of Manasseh, who is the elder of the "people of forgetfulness." After the people left "in oblivion," the fruitfulness of the nations arose, when God "turned rivers in Israel into desert and the watercourses there into thirst and their fruitful land into brine, due to the wickedness of those who dwelled there." But from among the nations, "He turned the desert into lakes of water, and their dry land into watercourses." And He settled there the hungry, and they established a city for habitation, the church. There He sowed fields according to the fallen seed into good and rich land yielding a hundredfold, and planted vineyards. For the vines are the disciples of the Lord, who also bore fruit of birth. And He blessed them and they multiplied greatly. But the Lord, who saves both humans and animals, did not deem the smallest among them to be insignificant; for it is written: "And He did not diminish their cattle." And the Jews "diminished and were afflicted by troubles, evil, and pain; and contempt spread over them because of the leaders on account of Abraham, and He led them astray in a pathless place, not on a way." After them, God helped the poor people from the nations out of poverty and "set them as a flock." The righteous angels will see them and rejoice, and all iniquity will stop its mouth. To those mystically prophesied in the hundred and sixth Psalm it applies: "Who is wise and will observe these things, and they will understand the mercies of the Lord?" For since the Lord shows mercy to the nations, the wise observe these things, understanding the mercies of the Lord. Therefore, Jesus no longer walked openly among the Jews, but went from there to the land of the whole world, "near the desert church," to a city called Ephraim, the fruitful, and there He stayed with His disciples. And until now, Jesus is with His disciples near the desert, in the city called Ephraim; for He is present with fruitfulness. And on the birth of this Ephraim, our Lord, who humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross, would say: "God made me fruitful in the land of my affliction."

[John 11:55-56] Now the Passover of the Jews was near, and many went up from the country to Jerusalem before the Passover to purify themselves. So they were looking for Jesus and were saying to one another as they stood in the temple: "What do you think? Will he not come to the festival?"

It is not the same to consider the Passover of the Lord and the Passover of the Jews as the same; for one is according to the law, the Passover of the Lord, but the other is the Passover of the Jews, who are lawless. Therefore, it must be observed when the Passover of the Lord and other days are mentioned, and when it is not of the Lord but of those accused of sins. For example, in Exodus, it is written after other things in the first account of the Passover: "And you shall eat it in haste; it is the Passover of the Lord," and in the second account: "If your sons say to you: What is this service to you? You shall say: It is the Passover sacrifice of the Lord, who protected the houses of the sons of Israel in Egypt." But in Isaiah, the Lord says that the new moons, Sabbaths, fasting, and holidays are not his, but of those who sin. And if the holidays, it is clear that also the Passover, for it is one of the holidays. It is written thus: "Your new moons and your Sabbaths and the great day I cannot endure; fasting and feasting, and your new moons and your feasts my soul hates." And in one of the twelve [prophets], it is written: "I hate, I despise your festivals." Therefore, according to the presented word, the Passover was not "of the Lord" but "of the Jews"; for our

Savior was plotted against during it. And for this reason, I think the Passover is said about them prophetically, "I hate, I despise your festivals"; for they did not celebrate the feast of God but committed an abomination in it by killing Jesus. However, before this Passover of the Jews, many went up from the country to Jerusalem to purify themselves. But I would say beforehand that many did not understand how to purify themselves; therefore, thinking they were offering their celebration to God, they lacked so much purification that they became more unclean than they were before purifying themselves. For those who were delivering Jesus to Pilate said, "It is not lawful for us to kill anyone." To whom he said to the Savior, "Am I a Jew? Your own nation and the chief priests have delivered you to me." And they who claimed to go up in order to purify themselves cried out, saying to Pilate, "Do not release this man, but Barabbas." Barabbas was a robber. And again, "The Jews answered, 'We have a law, and according to the law he ought to die, because he made himself the Son of God.'" And again, "The Jews cried out, saying to Pilate, 'If you release this man, you are not Caesar's friend; everyone who makes himself a king opposes Caesar.'" And again, "The Jews cried out, 'Take him away, take him away, crucify him.'" And those who went up before the Passover to purify themselves said within the Passover, "We have no king but Caesar." But as the Savior said, prophesying to the disciples, "The hour is coming when everyone who kills you will think he is offering service to God," this has been fulfilled starting from him. For those who deemed him worthy of death thought they were offering service to God, and they had gone up to Jerusalem before the Passover to purify themselves. But the true purification was not before the Passover, but in the Passover, when Jesus died for those being purified as the Lamb of God, and took away the sin of the world. And these Jews sought Jesus, not to benefit from him, but to kill him, to whom he might say, "Now you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth which I heard from God." And standing in the temple, they said to one another concerning Jesus, "What do you think? That he will not come to the feast?" But Jesus was not celebrating where they were standing, but in the large upper room, having been prepared and decorated, where he earnestly desired to eat the Passover with the disciples before suffering. You might say that even now they are standing in the temple seeking Jesus, relying on the Scriptures as priests, but seeking him because they do not know the one who has come. They dishonor this one, yet confess another Christ. But consider if you can also call other Jews who are going up to Jerusalem and coming to the city of God from the region outside Jerusalem, and coming to purify themselves, so that they might, when Christ the Passover is sacrificed, celebrate not with "old leaven," not with the "leaven of malice and wickedness," but with the unleavened bread of "sincerity and truth." And such ones will seek Jesus standing in the temple of the Scriptures and will wonder among themselves if Jesus will come to the feast.

[John 11:57] The chief priests and the Pharisees had given orders that if anyone knew where he was, they should inform them, so that they might seize him.

See how it has been testified that he had withdrawn, so that we also might learn to do the same in due time. And take note that neither the chief priests nor the Pharisees knew where he was, and not knowing, they gave orders that if anyone should know where he was, they should inform them so they might arrest him. And otherwise you would say that those plotting against Jesus did not know where he was. Therefore, they gave orders other than those of God, "teaching as doctrines the commandments of men." And their orders, which the Pharisees and chief priests gave, who belonged to the physical Jews, were against Jesus; for they wished that some might inform them

about Jesus, so that having taken him into their power, they might betray him. And you might say that everyone who is meddling with matters concerning Christianity for the purpose of overturning it and accusing it is a kind of Pharisee and not a good chief priest, giving other commands by which he thinks he might instruct himself about matters concerning Jesus, so that having informed him, he might catch and, after insulting, kill him. But indeed, since it has obtained an adequate description from both the eighth and the twenty-seventh volumes of the exegesis on the Gospel according to John, we will end our discourse here, beginning the next, God willing, in the twenty-ninth.

Commentary on John - Book 32

Volume 32 of the Commentaries on the Gospel of John (Origen), Translated by ChatGPT from Migne's Patrologia Graeca From God through Jesus Christ, being guided, we venture upon the great and living path of the gospel. We are encouraged to know and walk upon it, as if to reach its end. But now indeed we attempt to embark, as it were, on the thirty-second stage, on the things to be said. And may the pillar of the shining cloud, Jesus, be with us, leading us when necessary, and stopping when required, until we thoroughly and with the dictation of the gospel, O holy brother and man of God, Ambrose, may traverse the gospel, not fainting because of the length of the journey or wearying because of our weakness, but forcing ourselves to walk in the footprints of the pillar of truth. Whether he wills to complete our minds' journey through the dictations of the entire writing of John's gospel or not, God himself might know. Only, whether being at home in the body or away from it in order to be at home with the Lord, let us not go outside the gospel, so that we might partake of the works and words bearing the blessings in the paradise of God's delight.

[John 13:2-5] And during supper, the devil had already put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, to betray him. Knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he had come from God and was going back to God, he rose from supper, laid aside his garments, and took a towel and girded himself. Then he poured water into the basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel with which he was girded. In the homilies on the Gospel according to Luke, we compared the parables to one another, and sought to understand what the best means according to the divine scriptures, and what the dinner signifies according to them. And now, therefore, let it be said that the best is the first and before the completion of the spiritual day in this life, the food that is suitable for those who are being initiated; the dinner, however, is the last and provided according to reason for those who have already advanced further. And otherwise one might say that the best is the meaning of the old writings, and the dinner is the hidden mysteries in the New Testament. These things have been said as a preface, examining how Jesus, during supper, rose from the supper, and after pouring water into the basin, he began to wash the disciples' feet. For I think that those who dine with Jesus and partake of food with him on the day at the end of this life need some kind of purification, not concerning the primary part of the soul's body, if I may so call it, but, as one might say, they need to wash away the last and the lowest parts that necessarily come into contact with the earth. And this purification can first of all happen by no one but Jesus alone, and secondly [also by] his disciples, to whom he said: "You also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you also should do as I have done to you." And the evangelist seems to me in these matters to be arousing our mind to the spiritual understanding of the spatial things, not having retained the bodily sequence concerning the washing, when before the supper and the reclining at the meal, those who needed to wash their feet washed. But in passing over that time, he speaks that Jesus, already reclining at the supper, rose from the dinner, so that, having dined, the teacher and the Lord would begin to wash the disciples' feet. For before the supper they had been washed, and having become wholly clean according to the saying, “Wash yourselves, be clean, remove the

evils from your souls from before my eyes," and the like; but after that washing they needed a second water only for the feet, that is, the lower parts of the body. For it is impossible, I think, that the soul can be fouled in nothing, not even in its last and lower parts, even if one seems to be perfect as among men. Therefore many, even after washing, are filled with the dust of sins up to the head, or a little lower; but those genuinely taught by Jesus, so as even to reach dining together with Him, have need only of the washing of their feet by the Logos. Observing differences in sins and considering what to the exact and strong Logos are sins, but to the many are not even considered sins, you will see which are those things for which the feet need washing by Jesus. And if such are the defilements concerning the feet, what shall we do who have never arrived to supping with Jesus, and who are defiled not only in the feet? Jesus says to Peter, who did not then understand but would know after the mystery of the washing of the feet that are cleansed by Jesus, "If I do not wash you, you have no part with Me." Which you should ask what it means; whether that you have no part at all if I do not wash you with good, or not with Me the teacher and Lord but with lesser than Me, among whom are those who, after washing, have neither dined with Me nor been washed by Me, or have dined but not been washed. But I attenuate due to "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man opens the door, I will come in to him and dine with him, and he with Me," perhaps Jesus neither dines with someone (for He does not need introduction and first teachings), nor does anyone dine with Him, but the one eating with Him only banquets; "For greater than Solomon is here," about whom it is written, "And the feast of Solomon was this," which is cited in the third of the Kings. And this I would dare to say as consistent with "If I do not wash you, you have no share with me," that he did not wash the feet of Judas, because the devil had already put it into his heart to betray the teacher and lord, finding him not clothed with the whole armor of God and not having the shield of faith, with which one can extinguish all the flaming darts of the evil one. For having written "The devil has already put it in," I hear as also the seventh Psalm of scripture teaches about this, the archer and having prepared flaming weapons for those who do not guard their hearts with all vigilance. And the wording of the Psalm is thus: "If you do not turn back, he will sharpen his sword; he has bent his bow and made it ready; he prepared his deadly weapons against the burning arrows he has made. Behold, he labored with iniquity, and conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood." Thus everyone will confess that "Behold, he labored with iniquity, conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood" can be referred to the devil; but it is absurd not to think that these words are equally said for him: "If you do not turn back, he will sharpen his sword; he has bent his bow and made it ready; he prepared his deadly weapons." For no one else has prepared deadly weapons in his bow with which he has bent back, except the one whose jealousy brought death into the world. Now from these arrows, which the devil prepared for the burning ones, he shot into the heart of Judas, Simon Iscariot, already at the supper, not, however, so as to please him, since the food of this supper and the wine therein could not be in a heart that had received a dart from the devil about to betray his host, as it is not clearly stated who the host was even though it says, "They made him a supper there, and Martha served, but Lazarus was one of those reclining with him." But concerning Judas, it is written, "The devil had already put it into the heart of Judas, Simon Iscariot to betray him." And similarly, you might say this about each of those pierced in heart by the devil: the devil has already put it into his heart to commit fornication, or to rob someone, or to embrace idolatry in his exaltation, or other remaining sins which the devil casts into a heart that is not shielded by the shield of faith; with the shield of faith, one can extinguish not one or two but all the flaming arrows of the evil one. As the

arrangement of the passion was drawing near, on which Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot, wounded by the devil, was about to betray him, while the supper was already taking place, it says, "Knowing, Jesus, that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he had come from God and was going to God, rose from the supper." Therefore, the things that were not previously in the hands of Jesus are given by the Father into his hands, and not some but all; which David also seeing in spirit says, "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool." For the enemies of Jesus were part of all those whom he knew, as far as foreknowledge goes, to be given by the Father to Jesus. To understand more clearly what it means that "The Father has given all things into his hands," let us consider, "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all shall be made alive." But even though the Father has given all things into his hands, and all shall be made alive in Christ, God's justice is not confused and each is governed according to merit; this is made clear by following "Thus in Christ all shall be made alive" with "Each in his own order." And again you will understand the different orders of those made alive in Christ when it is fulfilled that "The Father has given all things into his hands," with "Christ the firstfruits, afterward those who are Christ's at his coming, then the end," which end will come after Christ's coming when "He will deliver the kingdom to God the Father," having first abolished all rule and all authority and power. These I believe are against which the struggle exists, so no longer there will be rule, authority, or power, and thus there will no longer be a struggle, with all rule and authority and power abolished. I am moved to think that the abolishing of "all rule and all authority and power" is against which the struggle is referenced by Paul saying, "For he must reign until he has put all enemies under his feet." Then, "The last enemy to be abolished is death." And this agrees with "the Father has given all things into his hands," which the apostle more clearly expounds: "When he says all things are put under him, it is evident that he who put all things under him is excepted." If all things are put under him, it is also clear that "All things are put under him except him who put all things under him"; and the one about whom it is written, "Before the Lord Almighty he shall prostrate himself," will be among those who are subjected to him, defeated in yielding to the word and subjected to the image of God, becoming a footstool for Christ's feet. Thus, seeing the plan progressing toward its good end on account of the "already having put into the heart by the devil that Judas Iscariot, son of Simon, should betray him," knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands and had given all things into his functioning hands so that everything might be subject to him, or the Father had given everything into his hands, that is, into his actions and noble deeds; for "My Father," he said, "is working until now, and I am working." Because what came out from God came out from God, having been outside God and not having wished previously to come out from the Father, so that what came out might come into the hands through the way and order of Jesus, and might be managed to follow God, following him, on account of those to follow him shall be towards God. Peter indeed had once been told, "Where I am going, you cannot follow me now, but you shall follow afterward" (for Peter still had what did not permit him to follow the Word at that time); but you should understand the similar in a just proportion, it being said to each of those to whom the Father had given all things into the Son’s hands; to each of all it will be said, "But you shall follow me afterward." But if they do not follow at the same time, it refers not to the same moment the fitting "afterward" in "But you shall follow afterward" of each of the followers. Understand this also concerning all rulers, whether when he shall put down all rule, all authority, all power, simply "until he put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy to be destroyed is death." Knowing then that Jesus, "the Father had given all things

into his hands, and that he had come from God and was going to God," and knowing † concerning which we have been moved, as we have related presenting what seemed evident to us in "He had come from God" and in "He was going to God," "he rises from the supper," he says, which we must understand next according to what follows. And see if you can say in these things that it brought him joy in a detached manner to dine with the disciples; in a specific and necessary manner for the disciples, he rises from the supper, and desists from dining for a time until he cleanses the disciples' feet, who could have no part with him unless he washes them. After "He rises from the supper," what then follows we must understand. "He lays aside his garments, and taking a towel, girded himself." And in these we might say to those not wishing to rise from the literal and intellectually perceive the things set before them as nourishment of the soul: for what harm was there in washing the feet of his disciples while he was clothed? But perhaps if we rightly consider the garments of Jesus, which he was wearing while dining and rejoicing with his disciples, we might understand what sort of adornment the Word made flesh is clothed in. This, being comprised of a certain fabric of words woven together with words and sounds woven together with sounds, is laid aside, and being more naked, he becomes as one with a servant's form, which is signified by "He took a towel and girded himself," so that he might not be entirely naked and might, after washing, dry the feet of his disciples with a more familiar fabric. And see how in these matters the great and glorified Word, made flesh, humbles himself to wash the feet of his disciples; "For, it says, he pours water into the basin." Therefore Abraham, when "He looked up and saw, and behold, three men stood before him; and when he saw them, he ran to meet them from the door of the tent and bowed down to the ground, and said, Lord, if I have found favor in your sight, do not pass your servant by," did not himself carry water or promise to wash their feet as strangers who came to him, but said, "Let a little water be fetched, and wash your feet." Nor did Joseph bring water to wash the feet of his eleven brothers, but the man over Joseph's house "brought Simeon out to them, and brought water to wash their feet." But he who said, "I have come not to be served but to serve," and rightly said, "Learn from me, for I am meek and humble in heart," he himself pours water into the basin; for he knew that no one could wash the feet of the disciples so that they might have a share with him, as he himself. As for the water, it seems to me to be such a word that, washing the feet of the disciples, brought them upon the basin set by Jesus for them. Then I inquire why it is not written that "he washed the feet of the disciples," but it is said, "And he began to wash the feet of the disciples." Is this perhaps a common way of expression in the Scriptures, by which it seems not reasonable beforehand, according to the customs of many, to prefix "he began"? Or is it that Jesus then "began to wash the feet of the disciples," but did not cease washing their feet? For later he did wash and complete the washing, since they were defiled according to "You will all be scandalized in me this night," and the saying to Peter, "The cock will not crow, till you have denied me three times." For after these sins happened, the defiled feet of the disciples needed washing again, those whom he began to wash when he rose from the supper, and he completed the washing by cleansing them so that they would no longer be defiled. Thus at that time, he began to wipe the feet of his disciples, and completed wiping, when he also completed washing.

[John 13:6-11] He comes therefore to Simon Peter; Peter says to him, “Lord, do you wash my feet?” Jesus answered and said to him, “What I am doing you do not understand now, but you shall know hereafter.” Peter says to him, “You shall never wash my feet.” Jesus answered him, “If I do not wash you, you have no part with me.” Simon Peter says to him, “Lord, not my feet only, but

also my hands and my head.” Jesus says to him, “He who is washed needs only to wash his feet, but is clean every whit; and you are clean, but not all.” For he knew who would betray him; therefore he said, “You are not all clean.”

We will use Peter's present words in time as an example, if ever there is need, that it is possible for someone, despite a very good intention, to say things due to ignorance that are not at all beneficial to themselves. For if it was beneficial towards having a part with Jesus to have one's feet washed by him, and Peter, not knowing that this was beneficial, first said almost baffled in supplication the “Lord, do you wash my feet?” then the second “You shall never wash my feet,” the things being said were hindering the act which brought him to have the part with the savior. It is clear that even if he spoke this with a good and reverent intention towards the teacher, he was speaking harmfully to himself. Life is filled with such kinds of errors from those who, while believing, propose the better things, but due to ignorance, say or even do things leading to the opposite result. Such as those who say, “Touch not, taste not, handle not” concerning all things meant for human consumption and use, through some doctrine far below the divine teaching of “As a man dies.” What need is there to speak of those tossed and carried about by the waves in heresies, blown around by every wind, according to the sleight of men, proclaiming as salvific things destructive, and as venerating Jesus things false concerning him? Often the scripture has marked Peter such as this, more fervent in promising what seemed to him better; just as in the unexamined and contradictory words concerning Jesus' prophecy about the disciples: “All of you will be offended because of me this night,” and presenting the cause in “For it is written: I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.” For without examination and contradicting Jesus' prediction, he said, “Though all shall be offended because of you, I will never be offended.” And this, being still rash in his soul at that time, I think became the cause of him sinning beyond the measure of the scandalizing of the others, as he denied Jesus three times before the rooster crowed. Therefore, knowing his former rashness, he was greatly benefited, so as to become most stable and patient; which is shown by Paul saying to him in front of everyone, "If you, being a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how do you compel the Gentiles to live as Jews?" and the following things. And he, after that path, kept silent and did not present anything reasonably or most patiently, about which someone would more familiarly discuss in the letter to the Galatians. And in the Acts of the Apostles, his established condition, transformed into the same image, will appear to those who oversee and heed each. And here, then, when Jesus rose from the supper, and laid aside his garments, and took a towel, and girded himself, and poured water into a basin, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded, all indeed offered their feet, observing concurrently in regard to Jesus that such a great one would not wash their feet uselessly, as most would say, wishing to burden the disciples, but accomplishing something useful which they expected to know later, contemplating whether perhaps these things were done as a symbol. But Peter alone, seeing beforehand unfavorably and not attributing any other reasoning to that, revering Jesus, did not offer his feet for washing, but first tried to dissuade him with "Lord, you wash my feet?" After that, when he had to be persuaded by "What I do you do not know now, but you will understand later," he said "You will never wash my feet." Besides, with the other disciples entrusting themselves to Jesus and not contradicting him at all, he, through what he says, even if it seemed healthy to prefer, not only blames Jesus, as if starting to wash their feet without reason, but also his fellow students. For if he thought that he did the proper thing in wanting to prevent, the others not seeing

it, he accused them of not doing their proper duty by offering their feet to Jesus; and if he thought logically that it was not right to contradict and he considered it reasonable to be done in Jesus washing the disciples' feet, he would not have contradicted the act. It therefore appears to be absurd not to consider the intention concerning Jesus washing the disciples' feet as reasonable. But if it is necessary to scrutinize the Scripture even in the minutest details, one might ask why Peter, who was counted first among the twelve, perhaps as more esteemed than the others, while Judas, truly the last of all, was cast to the last place by his wicked disposition. When Jesus began to wash the feet of the disciples and to wipe them with the towel with which he was girded, he did not begin with Peter. And it must be said on this point that just as a physician, ministering to many sick persons according to medical art, begins treatment with the most urgent and those suffering worse, so he who washes the dirty feet of the disciples begins with those more soiled, and perhaps came to Peter last, as needing the washing of the feet the least of all. Perhaps even the close-to-clean state of his feet contributed to his reaction of seeming to object. Considering what Jesus said, "He who has bathed does not need to wash, except for his feet, but is completely clean; and you are clean, but not every one of you," perhaps this would suggest the meaning that the disciples, already having had their feet washed by Jesus, and thus no longer needing to wash, with even Peter already being clean before Jesus washed his feet. If someone were to ask, regarding this, "He who has bathed does not need to wash, except for his feet, but is completely clean," why Jesus would wash their feet when the disciples needed no washing, it must be said to him, "To everyone who has, more will be given, and he will have an abundance." Since the disciples had the quality of being clean, Jesus adds to their cleanliness by washing their feet. He would not wash the feet of those not bathed or not completely clean, but so as to speak of those pure in such a way; for even if one is perfect among the sons of men, without the cleanliness from Jesus, he will not be considered clean. And I expound on this later, after what was previously commanded, maintaining also the order of the thoughts interjected, as first he saw the soiled feet of the disciples needing cleansing from Jesus, now because he washed their feet since they were, as among men, clean but not before God; for without Jesus, no one is clean before God, even if previously thought to have made themselves clean through some care. But to those who already have been made pure as humans, and have washed in the baptism of Jesus, and have had their feet washed by Him, the Holy Spirit and the power from on high can dwell within them. Thus, Peter, not understanding the word of Jesus’ purpose, when he began to wash the disciples' feet and to wipe them with the towel with which He was girded, said to Him, “Lord, are You washing my feet?” speaking doubtfully and imploringly. But Jesus answered and said to him, teaching that this was a mystery, "What I am doing you do not understand now, but you will know after this." What then was Jesus doing by washing the disciples' feet? Was He making them beautiful by washing their feet and wiping them with the towel with which He was girded, as they were about to preach the good news? For when Jesus washed the feet of the disciples, then, I think, the prophetic saying about His apostles was fulfilled: "How beautiful are the feet of those who announce the good news." If by washing the disciples' feet He makes them beautiful, what shall we say of the true beauty that comes to those who have been baptized by Jesus in the Holy Spirit and fire? Then the feet of those who announce the good news become beautiful, so that, being washed, cleansed, and wiped by Christ’s hands, they may be able to tread the holy path and to follow the one who said, "I am the Way." Only he who has had his feet washed by Jesus can tread this living path that leads to the Father, for this path does not permit polluted and still unclean feet. Moses

was told to remove the sandals from his feet because the place where he stood was holy ground; and likewise for Joshua, the son of Nun. But for the disciples of Jesus, to tread the living and lively path, it was not enough to be without sandals on the way, as Jesus had commanded His apostles, but it was also necessary for them to have their feet washed by Jesus, who had laid aside His garments. Perhaps this was to cleanse their feet even more thoroughly, or perhaps to take the dirt of their feet into His own body through the towel with which He was girded. For He Himself bears our weaknesses. Notice, then, that when He was about to wash the disciples' feet, He chose no other time than when the devil had already put it into the heart of Judas, Simon’s son Iscariot, to betray Him, and when the divine plan for humanity was about to unfold. Before this, it was not the right time for Jesus to wash the disciples' feet. For who would have washed off the dirt of their feet accumulated until the time of His passion? And not during the time of His passion either, for there was no other Jesus to wash their feet. But not even after the dispensation; for the hour had already come when the Holy Spirit had visited the disciples, having been made pure and having washed their feet, and were now ready and beautiful to preach the good news in the spirit. Such is the "What I am doing you do not understand now, but you will understand after this." It is a symbol of the washing of your feet by me, to cleanse the bases of your souls, so that they may become beautiful, as you are about to preach the good news and tread the souls of men with clean feet. This mystery you do not understand now, as you are not yet capable of comprehending it, but it will become clearer to you when I have washed your feet; after this, you shall understand it as your understanding is illuminated by the knowledge of something neither insignificant nor brief. As Jesus said these things to Peter, the disciple answered not with a knowledgeable reply but with a response giving rise to an unverified imagination aimed at honoring and revering Jesus. Therefore, since Peter’s response was not advantageous to him, He who appropriately prevents harmful truths with His own goodness did not allow it to become real. For Peter says, "You shall never wash my feet," and he declared, since Jesus decided to wash his feet, that he shall not be washed by Him and not be washed for all eternity. But Jesus, seeing that it was more beneficial for Peter to be proven false in this than to be proven true, indicated the benefit of not letting this utterance be true, saying, "If I do not wash you, you have no part with me." Therefore, if Peter would have, after declaring "You shall never wash my feet," and this being true, not have a part with Jesus, but would have a part by not being truthful, driven to a hasty statement, what else was there for him to do but not to be truthful? So that being truthful in this would make him not have a part with Jesus, who showed him to be false in washing his feet. For it is written, "Every man is a liar," and sometimes we will appropriately use this saying for those who rashly and incoherently declare that they will do something not beneficial to them, adhering to a poorly judged statement. For, showing them that they will not have a share with Jesus if they adhere to their rash promise, they will be able to keep good hope if the aforementioned is annulled. We will separate them from persisting in wrongly decided matters, even if at some time through much rashness this happens with an oath. And we will say that just as Peter, when he said, "You shall never wash my feet," was prevented from persisting in the stated confession so that he might have a share with Jesus, so also you, O someone who has sinned, rashly and indiscriminately promising this, would do better to change and act more reasonably rather than persist in the wrongly decided matter. And addressing "What I am doing you do not understand now, but afterward you will understand," and "If I do not wash you, you have no share with me," those who are not willing to adapt this and similar things out of reverence should receive this kind of evangelical examination; or those who are not willing should

show how it is reasonable for someone, as they would say, out of reverence for Jesus, to hear from the teacher that he will not have a share with the Son of God as a result of the greatest sin of not wanting to have his feet washed by Him. For the statement "If you commit this fault, you will have no share with me" would have fit if spoken of obvious sins; but "If I do not wash you, you have no share with me" has no reasonable case against one who did not want Peter to wash his physical feet. But when He was washing the feet, the teacher answering his honoring disciple most calmly (something it is not lawful to speak), which is most absurd. Therefore, let us also now give our feet to Jesus rising from the supper, laying aside his garments, taking a towel and girding himself, and pouring water into the basin, and beginning to wash our feet as His disciples, and to dry them with the towel with which He girds Himself for serving us. For if we do not do this, we will not have a share with Him, neither will our feet be lovely, especially when desiring the higher gifts we wish to be among those who preach the good news. But because Peter is rash, hearing "If I do not wash you, you have no share with me," asking in providing his feet to Jesus, he wishes exceedingly beyond the measure of his request, and he provided to be washed by Jesus not only his feet any longer, but now also his hands, which Jesus did not intend to wash, whenever they eat bread, disregarding the saying that "Your disciples do not wash their hands when they eat bread," and besides his hands, his head, which Jesus no longer wished to cover, upon which the image and glory of God already was. For it is enough for us, when we come to the same time as the disciples of Jesus, to provide only the feet to him who washes and wipes them: "For he who has bathed has no need to wash, but is completely clean"; if anyone is not completely clean, he has not bathed. One might ask, if he who has bathed has no need to wash but is clean, and the disciples of Jesus were clean, as if they had bathed, why did Jesus pour water into the basin and begin to wash the disciples' feet? To this, we have partly already said in advance and now will add these things to those. The saying "We need" applies to the necessary things, without which one cannot live, set forth; so that, if in bodily matters man needs not many, but only these, about which Paul says: "But having food and covering, with these we shall be content"; things that contribute to wealth and luxury accrue to the luxurious from abundance, not as necessary and indispensable, but as surplus; so also in divine matters, we need those that lead to life and ensure being in the one who says: "I am the life"; what is beyond these, about which it is said: "Delight yourself in the Lord, and he will give you the desires of your heart," and what is understood concerning the paradise of delight and wealth and glory, in the left hand of wisdom, according to the one who says: "Length of days is in her right hand, in her left hand are riches and honor," could be said to be beyond need. And perhaps such is the washing of the feet after bathing by such a great teacher and savior; for the gift of God surpasses need, just as being in the glory of the sun or moon or stars in the holy resurrection of the dead. Therefore, the clean and bathed one has no need to wash; but he is washed, according to the prior offering, since "To everyone who has, more will be given"; and as John says: "Let the one who is clean become cleaner still, and the holy become more holy." The phrase "You are clean" refers to the eleven, to whom it is said "Not all" because of the Iscariot; for he knew the one betraying him, already not clean, first because he did not care for the poor, but because he was a thief and having the money box he used to take what was put in it; and later, "During the supper, the devil having already put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot, son of Simon, to betray him," he did not reject what was put. Therefore, the bathed and clean eleven became still cleaner, having had their feet washed by Jesus; but Judas, already not clean ("Let the filthy still be filthy"), became filthier and unclean when, after the morsel, Satan

entered into him.

[John 13:12-15] When therefore he had washed their feet, and taken his garments, and reclined again, he said to them: Do you understand what I have done to you? You call me Teacher and Lord, and you are right, for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you also should do just as I have done to you.

It is fitting for those who understand the greatness of Jesus' power and have comprehended what he did by washing the disciples' feet, that he might cleanse also their last and accidental defilements, washing away even those worldly physical impurities, of which their bodies were a symbol, to marvel at the act of washing and would not dare to themselves do such a great thing, thinking themselves too inferior to wash the feet of the inner and hidden man, or of those who embrace the same doctrines of God, unless Jesus by performing this act encouraged them to do so, taking the form of the one dining, when he was about to teach them having dined about the things said. Very persuasively and inviting towards understanding what was done he has spoken the words "Do you understand what I have done to you?" which should either be read questioningly, to show the greatness of what was done, or commandingly, to awaken their minds to comprehend the act and gain knowledge of it. And very instructively together with the persuasive he said "You call me Teacher and Lord, and you are right for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet." Jesus then washed the disciples' feet, as their teacher, and the feet of the servants, as their Lord. For by teaching, the dust and dirt from earthly matters, reaching only the less significant and lower parts of the disciples, are wiped away, but also by the authority of the ruler, having power over those who still have the spirit of servitude and still accept any pollution, the things polluting the feet are removed. And no one with right mind would say that Jesus, as the door, or as the shepherd, or as the physician, washed the feet of the disciples and servants. But I think that the feet of the disciples, which still haven't received sufficient cleansing, but are still short of the “It is enough for the disciple that he should be as his teacher” require the washing from the teacher. And this is the end which pertains to the teacher’s student, as a teacher, to make the student like himself, so that he no longer needs the teacher, as a teacher, even if he otherwise needs him. For just as the end of the doctor, whom those in poor health need, but those who are healthy do not need a doctor, is to stop the sick from being ill, so that they no longer need him, thus the end of the teacher is to make the student sufficient, in the sense of "It is sufficient for the student to become like his teacher." But regarding the Savior, being a Lord, it is vastly more evident than with other lords, who do not wish their slave to become like their lord. Such indeed is the son of the Father’s goodness and his love; for being Lord, he worked to make the slaves to become like their Lord, when they will no longer have the spirit of slavery again to fear, but will receive the spirit of adoption, in which they cry out, “Abba, Father.” Therefore, before they become like the teacher and the Lord, they need the washing of their feet, as needing the washing like the students, and still having the spirit of slavery unto fear; but when any of them, according to the “It is sufficient for the student to become like his teacher, and the slave like his lord” becomes like their teacher and their lord, then they may imitate the one who washed the feet of the disciples, and wash the feet of the disciples like the teacher, who God has placed in the church after those who have taken the first place in it, apostles and secondly prophets. But if the “You will serve your brother” can apply

to the lesser, and “Be the lord of your brother” to the greater like Jacob, it is clear that becoming the slave like the Lord washes the feet of those who serve the teaching given by him, since the “You call me ‘Teacher’ and ‘Lord,’ and you speak rightly, for so I am” does not claim to hold anything deeper and beyond what is understood by the many; for not everyone who says “Lord, Lord” will hear from Jesus the “You call me ‘Lord’ and you speak rightly.” Thus, those who say on that day “Lord, Lord, did we not eat in your name, and drink in your name, and cast out demons in your name, and do mighty works?” will not say rightly “Lord.” Therefore, Jesus will say to them, “Depart from me, for I never knew you, workers of iniquity.” Thus, the “Depart from me” will be told rightly to those. And also, the “Not everyone who says to me, ‘Lord, Lord,’ will enter the kingdom of heaven” shows that not everyone who says “Lord, Lord” would be testified by him as the apostles now are, to whom he said, “You speak rightly, for so I am.” Indeed, their wickedness was no longer sovereign, but the word, and simply the Lord, was the whole living and animate virtue. But also, if "No one can say: Jesus is Lord, except by the Holy Spirit," we understand by this what it means to say: "Jesus is Lord"; the one who says "Jesus is Lord" in the Holy Spirit says it well. And if the one who says it well necessarily says it in the Holy Spirit, you seek through the now "And you speak well" jointly examined with "For the Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus was not yet glorified." Therefore, it is the work of serving the word genuinely to say well: "Jesus is Lord," and for the disciple who corresponds to this, to say well to the Savior, "The teacher"; to whom it would be said "I am," which would not be said by the word to the one who serves sin and is a disciple of lies. Yet even the holy one might need the washing of the feet, since the widow appointed to ecclesiastical honor is examined among other good deeds, and by the "If she has washed the saints' feet"; for I think it ridiculous that one who has all the marks of the holy widow and lacks this alone should not be included in ecclesiastical honor, having often treated servants and handmaids kindly, during the time she had resources, the strangers or those simply in need who sought some charitable work from her. And do not marvel if it leads you to the "If she has washed the feet of the saints," where it is commanded that the older women be employed as elders and good teachers. But see if it is not laborious for anyone learning from Christ, wishing to fulfill the commandment that says: "You also should wash each other's feet," to want to do this as a due work, washing the physical and perceptible feet of the brothers, so that the believers in any condition of life do this, whether those seeming to be in ecclesiastical office, bishops and elders, or in other worldly positions; so that in this way, even the master comes to wash the feet of the believing servant, and the parents for the child; a custom which either does not take place or is extremely rare and among the very simplest and most rustic. But it is necessary to remember also what was said regarding "If I do not wash you, you have no part with me," as well as "Do you know what I have done to you?" For indeed, it is fitting that Jesus has given us an example of washing feet, corresponding to the things said allegorically by the bride in the Song of Songs with "I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?" Attend also to "So that as I have done to you, you should do also," examining it in connection with "If I do not wash you, you have no part with me." But if someone says concerning these things that even if allegorized, it has still happened literally, it must be said, along with the allegory and the literal word: "If then I, the Lord and Master, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that you should do as I have done to you." It must be said to such a person: "Since it has happened literally regarding what was said to Peter, who said, 'You shall never wash my feet,' 'If I do not wash you, you have no part with me'; and we will also literally say to those who, out of piety,

do not present their feet to us for washing, 'If I do not wash you, you have no part with me.'" And if it does not persuade you here, consider what you must say regarding the investigation of whether it is necessary to observe the word in every way. For indeed, at some time, it will be appropriate to wash the feet of a certain disciple of Jesus, and for another to offer them to be washed by him, and I myself would admit that it is out of love and goodwill that one should do this and another should present them. But if we shall say that each of those who are not conscious of having done this, and have thus washed the feet of the saints, has not fulfilled a certain owed commandment, the one stating "You ought to wash one another's feet," it is perhaps time to say that nearly everyone is in debt to this commandment.

[John 13:16-18] Truly, truly, I say to you, a servant is not greater than his master, nor is a messenger greater than the one who sent him. If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them. I do not speak of all of you; I know whom I have chosen. But the scripture will be fulfilled: 'He who eats my bread has lifted his heel against me.'

Besides this, it seems to me necessary to interpret the washing of feet in this manner: for the statement, 'If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them,' pertains to the washing of feet. To understand how the disciples' feet are soiled after they have bathed, and in what way they are washed, as the word intends, and to do as Jesus wishes, is truly the work of the blessed. For it would not be fitting to use the term “blessed” lightly, or to say that a servant washing the feet of his master is blessed by this deed alone, and thus a flatterer or hypocrite; for what we do in washing the feet of the disciples is something great and truly blessed, as it is having Jesus within oneself. This must be known, that similar words are placed alongside: in Matthew, 'The disciple is not above the teacher, nor the servant above his master. It is enough for the disciple to be like his teacher, and the servant like his master;' and in Luke, 'A disciple is not above his teacher, but everyone who is fully trained will be like his teacher.' Next, it is required to consider the statement 'I do not speak of all of you' to what it refers. Some will say it refers to 'Blessed are you if you do them;' for Judas was not blessed. But I do not think this is the correct interpretation. The statement 'Blessed are you if you do them' is true of Judas and anyone else, no matter how wicked, for if they act rightly, they are blessed. Just as I might say to a profligate person, even if he will not listen to what is said or act prudently: 'Blessed are you if you act prudently;' and to someone who despises wisdom, even if he remains in his choice: 'Blessed are you if you embrace wisdom and instruction.' Therefore, the statement 'I do not speak of all of you' perhaps refers to 'A servant is not greater than his master.' For since "Everyone who commits sin is a slave to sin," and Judas committed sin, as the devil had cast into his heart to betray the Savior, Judas was a slave of sin. And being a slave of sin, he was not a servant of the word of God. Thus, he was no longer an apostle of Jesus; for he belonged already to the devil, who had cast into his heart to betray the Savior. Therefore, the Savior, denying him as His servant and apostle, said after "A servant is not greater than his master, nor is a messenger greater than the one who sent him," "I am not speaking of all of you." After this, let us examine "I know whom I have chosen," which in simpler terms means, I know who each of those I have chosen is; so I also know who Judas is and he does not escape me, as the devil had already cast into his heart things against me. And the meaning is confirmed by certain usages of the scripture about the "I know" and similar expressions; such as "I knew". The Savior says somewhere to those who will say, "We ate and drank in your name, and cast out demons," "I never knew you" and "I do not know where you come from"; if this is understood simply, we might

think it contrary to the dignity of the Savior. But perhaps, as "The Lord knows those who are His", those who are not His, He has not known, and about some, He says, "I never knew you," thus He might also say about Judas, if indeed he was never known; but if he fell after being among His own, it might be said to him, "I do not know where you come from". And now, as the devil had already cast into his heart things against Jesus, Jesus did not know him. Thus, He did not say, "Now I know all who are present," but "I know whom I have chosen," as if saying "My elect". Therefore, the "I know whom I have chosen" does not apply to all who are present and what ensues by one of you betraying me, to fulfill the scripture that says, "He who eats bread with me has lifted up his heel against me". The quoted saying is paraphrased from the fortieth Psalm, thus stated: "And even the man of my peace, in whom I trusted, who ate my bread, has magnified against me his heel". Therefore the Savior says that this statement was made concerning Judas and Himself. In which you will ask, how was Judas a man of peace and the Savior had trusted him. It is shown through these things, I think, that he had genuinely once believed; for He would not have sent him, never having been a son of peace, along with the other apostles and said to him also: for it is written that He said to the twelve, “Say, ‘Peace be to this house.’ And if a son of peace is there, your peace will rest upon Him; but if not, it will return to you.” And although the devil had put so many things into his heart against the Savior, even shortly before he is testified to have been a thief. I do not think that he was trusted with the money box from the beginning being a thief; thus, being worthy to be trusted if he, although foreknown to fall, was trusted. And such a man of peace he was, that Jesus had once held good hopes in him, as a good apostle; for He says, “Upon whom I hoped.” And I think that he partook of the most secret words along with the apostles, having received them from Jesus, concerning which He said, “He who eats my bread.” And the phrase “He has lifted his heel against me” is translated to “He has raised his heel against me,” with the same meaning. And if it is necessary to explain the phrase “He has raised his heel against me,” we will say that this is said of one who strikes with the heel; and Judas was such a one, trampling the Son of God. And he was eating bread with Jesus, when Jesus took the piece of bread, dipped it, and gave it to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot. And Judas raised his heel against the teacher when, after the piece of bread, Satan entered into him. And if the phrase “The iniquity of my heel will surround me” can also be understood with “He has raised his heel against me” referring to Judas, being in the portion of Jesus, having been His property and an apostle, and being called a heel because of his final actions, he himself will examine it together.

[John 13:19] From now I tell you before it happens, so that when it happens you may believe that I am he. This phrase refers to what was previously said, "I am not speaking of all of you; I know whom I have chosen. But the scripture will be fulfilled, 'He who ate my bread has lifted his heel against me'; for this will happen so that the scripture concerning him who lifts his heel against me—who eats my bread with me—may be fulfilled. From now on I tell you, and I tell you before it happens, so that when the foretold prophecy in the scripture is fulfilled, you may believe that I am he about whom these prophecies were made—about the one who eats bread with him and lifts his heel against him." One might ask how Jesus could say to his disciples, whose feet he washed, that they had not yet believed that he himself was the Christ with the words, "From now I tell you before it happens, so that when it happens you may believe that I am he," referring to the prophesied Christ. And see if we can, without accusing such great disciples of Jesus as not yet believing, also hold the intention of the speaker to save: "So that you may believe when it happens that I am he." The one who receives visions of wisdom sometimes, upon previous matters through which he is

already wise, perceives further things upon which he was not previously wise, and becomes wiser. It is also said, "For hearing these things, the wise will become wiser." Just as if someone were saying to a wise person certain things and adding, "These will make you wise;" we would not certainly understand this to mean making the unwise wise, but rather making the wise wiser, progressing towards perfection. Understand, then, that the believer can become more faithful. For the apostles, approaching the Lord not accusing themselves of disbelief, said to him, "Lord, increase our faith." For in the word "increase" it is clearly indicated that they had faith capable of receiving addition. If we understand this, then understand that the additions of those who believed after previously believing add to faith; thus the disciples, who had faith, also received this seeing of the scripture being fulfilled—"He who eats my bread has lifted his heel against me"—indicating that he about whom this was prophesied was he. And listen to the "So that you may believe" as being equivalent to "So that by believing you may act," remaining steadfast in faith and having no pretext for being moved away. And if indeed faith was not great in magnitude or numerous in quantity, Paul would not have said, "Even if I have all faith." For just as he who is perfect and possesses all virtues, having acquired each perfectly, has perfect wisdom and perfect prudence, and likewise piety and the rest, thus one might speak of having all faith as being perfect in the virtue of believing. But I say these things because incomplete wisdom or prudence or piety or the rest of the virtues would not properly be called perfect, but only in a figurative sense, and those advancing in each virtue are named in likeness to the perfect. For thus someone is called wise who errs in some respect as needing correction, yet not hating those who correct but rather loving them, as it is written: "Rebuke a wise man, and he will love you." Thus also a wise man is said, who being receptive to other insights of wisdom and not yet having even the second insights, as it is also said: "Give instruction to a wise man, and he will be still wiser." But we have come this far, showing that it is possible for one who already believes to learn something more, so that he may believe again, and by the addition of teachings to add to faith. And if we wish to know who has all faith, let us take by example those things in believing that save the believer, let’s say being numbered at one hundred, and let us say that the one who accepts without hesitation the aforementioned one hundred and firmly believes in each of them has all faith; but the one who falls short in some number of those saving beliefs, or in the certainty concerning what is believed, falls short of having all faith by the number he lacks belief or by as much as he falls short in certainty about the beliefs, whether in all or in some: so that for the present it is given for some to be able to believe something firmly, and for others to believe but not firmly. Nevertheless, it is commonly agreed that it is impossible to prove that he who is deficient in one thing has certainty in nothing, because not everyone has the same degree of falling short in certainty about what is believed, so that we may call as the Scripture names them, the little-faith ones who have not yet grasped certainty about the things believed. To these things is added due to "According to your faith be it done to you" and due to "Your faith has saved you", each will receive a reward according to the just judgment of God, proportionate to such faith and salvation. For if there is any difference among those being saved, as in "With the measure you use, it will be measured to you" applies both to the measures of faith and to the measures of reward and salvation from God. The one who understands this reasoning will perceive how it is reasonably said to men, as they are not able to judge: "Do not judge so that you will not be judged" and "Do not judge anything before the time until the Lord comes". Again, since I spoke by way of example, of a hundred being saved in the faith, some may indeed believe completely with the faith of the hundred, but some may be

deficient in their faith towards some of the hundred or in their certainty towards what is believed, and thus do not have the whole faith. Let me set forth for clarity such examples. "First of all, believe that there is one God, who created and arranged everything, making all things from non-being into being". One must also believe that Lord Jesus Christ, in all truths concerning Him in His divinity and humanity. One must also believe in the Holy Spirit, and that being free agents, we are punished for what we sin, and honored for what we do right. So if someone seems to believe in Jesus but does not believe that the God of the law and the Gospel is one, whose glory the heavens declare as being made by Him, and the firmament proclaims His handiwork, he would lack the chief article of faith. Or again, if someone believing that He who was crucified under Pontius Pilate was a sacred and saving thing for the world, but does not accept that He was born from the Virgin Mary and the Holy Spirit, but from Joseph and Mary, this one too would lack the essentials of full faith. Again, if someone accepts His divinity but, stumbling at His humanity, does not believe that He took on anything human or a human nature, he would lack full faith not in trivial matters. Or if someone conversely accepts the human aspects about Him, but denies the substance of the only-begotten and firstborn of all creation, he also would not be able to claim to have the whole faith. And thus follow me in understanding, so that we may see how great it is to hold the entire faith unfailingly and firmly, being so powerful when it is entirely within a person's soul, that they can move mountains, whatever mountains there may be. For all people are capable of moving the mountain demonstrated by Jesus, and those shown to him; but if anyone lacks the entire faith, they lack the power to move mountains. And I shall use a similar example for this: just as those with such power, first of all, drag a ship into the sea, but if they lack even one helper or some strength, the ship would not be dragged; thus many as if it were so are moving the mountains with the complete faith; they lack the power to move the mountains to the extent that they lack complete faith. And observe if not everything has been usefully examined for the sake of the disciples whose feet Jesus washed, to whom he said, just as one might assume without having examined, as not yet believing what he said, "From now I tell you before it happens, so that when it happens you may believe that I am he"; at the same time the explanation shows how great the virtue is according to complete faith, and that it is rarely found; and to what extent each of us lacks having complete faith, so as to move mountains. Yet it is not easily considered for doing or believing, according to the present matters, that the prophets foretold the things concerning Jesus, and according to their word, they were fulfilled in the Savior regarding what was foretold.

[John 13:20] Amen, amen I say to you, whoever receives anyone I send receives me, and whoever receives me receives the one who sent me.

Jesus sends not only saints, but also saints and angels; and he sends those who are called apostles because they are sent by him. Now, of these, some are humans, and others are greater powers. For we will not err in calling them apostles, concerning whom it is written: "All are ministering spirits, sent for service on behalf of those about to inherit salvation." For if apostles are sent, all are sent for ministry by the one who makes "his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire." Being ministering spirits, they too would be apostles of the one sending them. And each of those being sent by someone, is an apostle of the one sending them. Therefore, it is also said in the higher statement, after "A servant is not greater than his master, nor an apostle greater than the one who sent him." In this regard, one does not err in calling even John an apostle of God because "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John," and even Isaiah for "Whom

shall I send, and who will go for us?" when he answered saying, "Here I am, send me." What am I saying concerning these, when even in the Epistle to the Hebrews, our great savior is called an apostle of the Father? For it is written: "Having then a great high priest and apostle Jesus Christ." And now then, whoever the savior sends to minister for the salvation of some, the one being sent is an apostle of Jesus Christ. But the apostle, just as he is an apostle of the one sending, is only an apostle to certain ones to whom he is sent. Paul, considering this, used to say: "Even if I am not an apostle to others, yet doubtless I am to you; for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord." It is possible, therefore, for someone to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, sent to only one person, if he has ministered the word by the providence of God to that one person. And we say these things to again point out the superiority of those who were accounted apostles of Jesus Christ: "For," he says, "they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go to the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision." Therefore, Paul was an apostle to the Gentiles only, and Peter to the entire circumcision. If any one of us is deemed worthy to become an apostle to one or a few, as the apostle declared, let him become an apostle. And if he becomes one, let him not be lifted up, remembering "Moreover, it is required in stewards that one be found faithful"; for not necessarily because a thing is sought, it is found. These things are said because of "He who receives whomever I send"; for as many as can be sent by Jesus, even if not, those whom we are accustomed to call apostles, if they are such, and since it is also possible for one who is superior to human nature to be sent by Jesus. Therefore, the one who receives whom Jesus sends, receives Jesus who was sent; and he who receives Jesus receives the Father; thus, he who receives whom Jesus sends receives the Father who sent Jesus. And this word can also be understood in this way: The one who receives whomever I send receives me, and he reaches unto receiving me; but the one who receives me not through some apostle of mine, but comes directly to me not ministered by men nor through men, but revealed to the souls of those prepared for my reception, receives the Father who sent me, as not only I, the Christ, may be in him but also the Father. From these things also we may understand what is contrary to it: For the one who receives whomever the son of the evil one sends, receives the antichrist; and he who receives the son of the evil one and accepts the word of the antichrist, pretending to be truth and falsely professing to be righteousness, receives the evil one himself. Therefore, let us be careful, so that as good bankers we may examine the true servant and reject the false one. Here indeed, "He who receives whoever I send, receives me; and he who receives me, receives him who sent me," and "He who sees me, sees him who sent me"; but neither is it said, "He who believes in you, believes in me," nor "He who sees you, sees me." For he desires us to receive his apostles, but not to believe in them. Therefore, let us receive those sent to us by the word and the very word of God; but let us never receive an apostle of the antichrist and a false word.

[John 13:21] Having said these things, Jesus was troubled in spirit and testified and said, "Truly, truly I say to you that one of you will betray me."

Earlier He had said, "Now my soul is troubled"; but now it is said, "Having said these things, Jesus was troubled in spirit." And I seek such things in the place: why in any way was it not said, corresponding to "Now my soul is troubled," that "the spirit of Jesus was troubled," or corresponding to "He was troubled in spirit" that "Now my soul is troubled"? And I ventured to ask these things moderately, having observed throughout all Scripture the difference between soul and spirit, and seeing that the soul is something intermediate and capable of virtue and vice, but the

spirit of man in him is incapable of the worse things; for the best fruits are said to be of the spirit, not as one might suppose, of the Holy Spirit, but of the human spirit. For in contrast to this, the works of the flesh are said to be evident, all of which are blameworthy, since not a single work of the flesh is praiseworthy. But once even to this point I found the spirit of the wicked to be said to be hardened by the Lord God. For it is written thus in Deuteronomy: "And Sihon king of Heshbon would not allow us to pass through him, because the Lord your God hardened his spirit, and made his heart obstinate, in order to deliver him into your hands, as is the case this day." But these matters would be more fittingly examined in those concerning Deuteronomy. Now, however, it is intended to say how the previously mentioned "Having said these things, Jesus was troubled" is not concerning the soul nor the soul, nor yet spirit, but "in spirit." Therefore, so that the observation concerning the spirit does not escape, it must be said that in "Now my soul is troubled," the trouble was a passion of the soul, but in "Jesus was troubled in spirit," which is the human, the passion was coming upon the dominance of the spirit. For just as the holy man lives by the Spirit, which comes before all things in life, every action, every prayer, and every hymn to God, so too does everything he does, he does by the Spirit. But even if he suffers, he suffers by the Spirit. And if this is true of a holy man, how much more should these things be said about Jesus, the leader of the saints, whose human spirit, in being fully human, moved and shook the rest of his human parts within him? Therefore, "he was troubled in spirit" so that he might bear witness and say with a kind of divine oath of "Amen" that "One of you will betray me." For the Spirit, I think, seeing that what had already been cast into the heart of Judas, son of Simon Iscariot, by the devil, to betray the teacher, became troubled, enlightened by what was about to happen. And since the disturbance was due to the knowledge in the Spirit, that also happened in the disturbance, it is said, "Jesus was troubled in spirit." Perhaps also according to one interpretation "The flesh is weak" and the flesh was troubled. But this was Jesus, about whom Gabriel spoke to Mary, "And behold, you will conceive in your womb, and you shall call his name Jesus. He will be great, and called Son of the Most High." Note also in what way the examination of "One of you will betray me" is referred to as a testimony. For this prophecy concerning Judas, one of them, was a testimony like, I think, the one about bearing witness and dying for godliness. For I do not think the same things are signified in the "He bore witness," when the word is disclosed, from which the term "martyr" is formed of God and His Christ, and now when referring to "One of you will betray me". Still, to the best of my ability, I apply myself also to the phrase "One of you," referring to Judas, in case it means what is from the apostolic order, in which he too exalted himself at one time, having a disposition similar to the remaining apostles, but fell away. For thus I heard also the phrase "Behold, Adam has become like one of us," since it is not said there "like us" or "like me," but because one fell from blessedness, "like one of us"; the phrase "like one" also seems to align with the phrase "You shall die like men," and "And like one of the princes you shall fall." For since many princes were made, one fell, imitating whose fall the sinners fall. For as he, possessing deity, fell, thus also those to whom the word says "I said, You are gods, and all of you are children of the Highest," having fallen from blessedness, not being men before, die as men and fall like one of the princes. I also think it is wondrously spoken with such a thought: the one betraying me is not a stranger from my disciples, but neither is he one of the many disciples, but one of those apostles honored by me in selection. Many, indeed, condemning Jesus, say, "Crucify, crucify him" and "Remove such a one from the earth." But to betray him was a deed of one who had seen and understood him; for knowing him as a teacher of such and so many lessons, which he had heard privately with the

apostles, and knowing him as the Lord, surrendering him, what greatness he knew, he surrendered, which no one having not observed his greatness would have done. For he surrendered the great one, not as he is great, since he did not see as he is great; but he who also learned how great he was and became a listener of the greatness of the wisdom and word and grace in him and betrayed him, surrendered him entirely as he saw greatness. Therefore, it would have been better for him if he had not been born, whether one hears this as the generation of regeneration, as someone might more deeply understand it, or even as the more commonly understood generation; concerning which the one wanting to be rid of things for himself, and having sought out that for which he would be benefited, knowing for whom it is beneficial, also suspecting that it would not have benefited him if he had not existed, descending into the second narrative, will accept that one more.

[John 13:22] The disciples were looking at one another, unsure of whom he was speaking about.

If the evil of Judas had been obvious to Jesus' disciples, it would have been known when the Savior said, "One of you will betray me," who it was that would betray the teacher. But now the disciples were looking at one another, unsure of whom he was speaking about. For indeed, perhaps Judas had previously appeared righteous to the apostles so as to prevent them from suspecting anything evil about him; perhaps also, though, the devil had already entered into his heart, that Judas, son of Simon Iscariot, would betray him, yet he was not entirely wicked; for with a remnant of a good intention remaining in him, seeing that he was condemned, when "they bound him, led him away, and handed him over to Pilate the governor," "he repented and returned the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, 'I have sinned by betraying innocent blood'; but they said, 'What is that to us? See to it yourself.' And throwing down the silver pieces in the temple, the avaricious Judas went and hanged himself," not even waiting to see the end of the judgment concerning Jesus before Pilate. His repentance was neither pure of sin nor was his wickedness entirely turned to something better. For if he had repented purely, then like the thief who said, "Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom," he would have approached the Savior to do what was necessary to appease Him for the betrayal he had committed. But if entirely he had driven out the notion of good from his own soul, neither would he have regretted seeing that Jesus was condemned; but he would have also added words accusing Him related to the betrayal; but also enjoying as a lover of money the thirty pieces of silver he received, "the price of the esteemed one," he neither would have resolved to reject the silver nor turned them over to the chief priests and elders, nor would he have confessed over those very ones, accusing himself and praising the teacher by saying, "I have sinned by betraying innocent blood." Moreover, no one but himself could have brought about the hanging of himself, having cast into his heart the act of betraying the savior; and he provided a place for the devil on both sides. These things I have elaborated to the best of my ability, both showing to those who think him by nature unfit for salvation that he was not such, and narrating that the disciples reasonably looked at each other, being at a loss regarding whom He spoke. It suffices to also present the prophetic word from the fortieth Psalm, showing that though he was holy, he fell away, for it is written: "And indeed the man of my peace, in whom I hoped, who eats my bread, has lifted his heel against me." But also the statement "If an enemy had reviled me, I could have endured it" referring to him indicates that he was not an enemy from the beginning. But also the statement "If he who hates me had spoken greatly against me, I would have hidden from him" shows that he once loved Jesus, having even

reached the point of being of one mind with Him, for it is written: "But you, a man of like soul, my guide, and my acquaintance." You could find countless other such things from which you would understand that it was reasonable for the disciples to look at each other, puzzled about whom He spoke. And Luke records that the savior said: "But behold, the hand of the one betraying me is with me on the table." The Son of Man indeed goes as it is determined for him, but woe to that man through whom he is betrayed. The disciples began to question among themselves who it might be among them who was going to do this. For they were discussing and wondering about whom he was speaking. But according to Luke, it does not appear that each was suspecting himself. However, according to Matthew and Mark, this is depicted. For Matthew says: "And being very sorrowful, they began to say to him, each one, 'Is it I, Lord?'" And Mark says: "They began to be sorrowful and to say to him one by one, 'Is it I?' and another, 'Is it I?'" For they remembered, I suppose, being human, that the inclination of those still advancing is variable and subject to wanting the opposite of what was previously intended. Perhaps also, having learned what our struggle is against, they were cautious because of the uncertainty in humans, lest being overcome they might also accept the betrayal of the teacher. For Peter too had the intention when he emphatically said, "Even if all are offended because of you, I will never be offended," not to deny Jesus; but being overcome by the spirit of cowardice, he denied him three times before the rooster crowed. From such words, indeed, we are taught: "Let the one who stands be careful not to fall," and "Do not boast about tomorrow, for you do not know what a day may bring forth." Perhaps also the saying "The disciples were looking at one another" along with the simpler meaning, signifies something like this, that each, as much as human nature allows, was looking into the intention of the other, wondering if a soul capable of doing such things and being so disposed towards the truthful teacher, who has testified by saying, "Truly, truly, I say to you, one of you will betray me," could so much deviate and forget the teacher's lessons, as to reach the point of betraying him. For the saying about the disciples "wondering whom he spoke of" is indeed emphatic; for they were not able to easily grasp about whom it had been said, but were perplexed about this and found nothing clear to understand or say.

[John 13:23-29] One of His disciples, whom Jesus loved, was reclining on Jesus' bosom. Simon Peter therefore gestured to him and said to him, "Tell us who it is of whom He speaks." Leaning back on Jesus' breast, he said to Him, "Lord, who is it?" Jesus then answered, "It is he to whom I shall give a piece of bread when I have dipped it." And having dipped the bread, He gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. Now after the piece of bread, Satan entered him. Then Jesus said to him, "What you do, do quickly." But no one at the table knew for what reason He said this to him. For some thought, because Judas had the money box, that Jesus had said to him, "Buy those things we need for the feast," or that he should give something to the poor. The one reclining on Jesus' bosom, one of the disciples whom Jesus loved, appears to be John, the writer of the Gospel; for at the end of the Gospel it is written how "Peter, turning around, saw the disciple whom Jesus loved following, who also had leaned on His breast at the supper, and said, 'Lord, who is the one who betrays You?'" When Peter saw him, he said to Jesus, "But Lord, what about this man?" Jesus said to him, "If I will that he remain till I come, what is that to you? You follow Me." Then this saying went out among the brethren that this disciple would not die. Yet Jesus did not say to him that he would not die, but, "If I will that he remain till I come, what is that to you?" It is clear that this disciple who wrote the Gospel is John from what is brought forward, stating, "This is the disciple who testifies of these things, and wrote these things." Note in both places of the Gospel how Peter,

trusting and leaning more on himself, where "He gestured to him and said, 'Tell us who it is of whom He speaks,'" and when he saw him following, as concerned more about him than the rest said to Jesus about him, "But Lord, what about this man?" wanting to learn about John's end similarly to having known about his own, that when he grows old he will stretch out his hands, and another will gird him and carry him where he does not wish. If what Jesus spoke are words that are spirit and not letter, they are life through and through and in no way death. And the disciple whom He loved, imitating Him, writes spirit and life. To hear "One of His disciples was lying close to the breast of Jesus" is worthy of the honor that should be given to the Son of God and received by the one loved by Him. And I think that even if symbolically, at that time John was lying on the breast of Jesus, being deemed worthy of this privilege due to the exceptional love shown to him by the teacher, this symbolically indicates that John, lying on the Word and resting in the most mystical things, was lying in the bosom of the Word, which corresponds to him being also in the bosom of the Father, according to "The only begotten deity, who is in the bosom of the Father, has made Him known." If we do not hear more humbly also the "The poor man died and was carried by the angels to Abraham's bosom," we shall understand something similar about the bosom of Abraham. If this were so, we would resolve the perplexity regarding the scripture as mentioned by the one who wished to cancel the story about the rich man and the poor man. For if Lazarus was carried to Abraham's bosom, then another before leaving this life would have been in Abraham's bosom, and before him another. But also, when another righteous person departs, the poor man will rise up; one who questions this matter fails to see that it is possible for countless people to rest simultaneously in Abraham's bosom, sharing in the revelations given to him. If we need to provide another scriptural passage on the topic of the bosom, let's examine how the Lord said to Moses, "Again put your hand into your bosom." And he put his hand into his bosom, and when he took it out, behold, his hand was leprous like snow. And He said, "Put your hand back into your bosom." And he put his hand back into his bosom, and when he took it out, it was restored like the rest of his flesh." It is difficult even for us to see what might be the symbol of this sign. But since we must not stop seeking and should deliver what occurs to us as suitable for judgment to the reader, we will say that the hand is often a symbol of actions; the bosom of Moses has two powers, the former according to the apparent meanings of the letter, making the action of the doer like snow as far as the Hebrew speech goes, possibly even leprous; the latter according to the spiritual law, showing the way of life clean and being restored to the intention of the nature of the Word. And keep in mind that it is added to these, "If they do not believe you or listen to the voice of the first sign, they will believe the voice of the second sign," for the one who did not believe in the interpretation of the letter, through pride, believes in the spiritual narration of the law. And if someone does not believe the two signs, the first that makes the action leprous, and the second that restores it to its natural state, for this person the water becomes blood. For it is written, "And if they do not believe you with these two signs or listen to your voice, you shall take water from the river and pour it on the dry land, and the water which you take from the river will become blood on the dry land." And notice that in this sign it does not say "they will believe you" or they will not believe. For it is shown that to the one who does not believe the two signs, the water taken from the river becomes blood, not able to taste the word because of disbelief. But let us return, having gone further than necessary into the bosom of Jesus, and knowing that the one whom Jesus loved was reclining in the bosom of Jesus, let us do all things to be approved by his exceptional love; for thus we too shall recline in the bosom of Jesus. Peter signals to the beloved disciple, and not being content with the signal, he

says to him, "Tell who it is about whom he speaks." Since signaling is interpreted maliciously in the Proverbs; for the wicked "winks with his eye, signals with his feet, teaches with his fingers, with a perverse heart he devises evil," and "He who winks with his eyes maliciously gathers bitterness for men," it must be said that wickedness is not in signaling but in winking with the eye, that is, in squinting and not looking straight, and malicious signaling is blameworthy; but signaling eagerly was Peter's task, and accordingly, saying to his companion, as having more confidence with the teacher, "Tell who it is about whom he speaks." For he perhaps wished to see the mystery about the betrayal that Judas delivers Jesus, which to learn Peter, John, reclining in the bosom of Jesus, leaned back and lay on the chest. And perhaps, if he had not reclined on the breast, but had remained in the bosom, John or Peter would not have handed over the word that he desired to learn. Even though reclining, therefore, he was previously in the bosom of Jesus, later he reclined on the breast of Jesus, by the latter in the latter part of the gospel is characterized as the genuine and distinguished disciple of Jesus. For it is written that "Turning around, Peter sees the disciple whom Jesus loved following, who also had leaned on his breast at the supper and said, 'Lord, who is it that will betray you?'" For it does not say, "who was reclining in the bosom of Jesus." What the Lord answered, let us consider. "He," he says, "is to whom I will give the morsel after I have dipped it." So Jesus said this, and having dipped the morsel, he takes it and gives it to Judas, son of Simon Iscariot. And after the morsel, then Satan entered into him, being unable to enter before, nor immediately upon his having put it into the heart that Judas, son of Simon Iscariot, should betray him. For it was necessary, I think, through the giving of the morsel to take it away from the unworthy, to have the better thing that he seemed to have; for from the one who does not have, even what he seems to have will be taken away from him. Therefore Judas, being deprived as unworthy of the better thing he received, gave place for Satan to enter into him. And as an example, so that it may be understood how the Lord gave the morsel to Judas, and then he cast off the better thing that was in him, and perhaps peace, retreating from the one who heard and did not accept it to the one who spoke, according to what is said, "If a son of peace is there, your peace will rest upon him; but if not, it will return to you." Additionally, we relate these words from the second epistle to the Corinthians: "Your abundance for their need, that their abundance may also supply your need." For considering the exchange of earthly things for spiritual, you will be able to see how he gave the morsel to the unworthy of bread, that through the morsel he might take away from him, as unworthy to hear still; "For the man of my peace," peace ("let the filthy be filthy still"), when taken away from him, the observer of times for the entrance into the soul, and the one giving him place to enter, Satan entered into Judas. And also observe that previously Satan did not enter into Judas, but merely cast into his heart "that Judas, son of Simon Iscariot, should betray the teacher"; but now under review, after the morsel, Satan entered into him. Therefore, let us also be on guard, lest the devil ever cast any of his fiery darts into our hearts; for if he casts, he then watches for an opportunity to enter himself. But one might ask why it is not written: "He to whom I shall give the morsel," but rather with the addition of "I dip": "I shall dip the morsel and give it." And "after dipping the morsel, he took it and gave it to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot." In such contexts, notice if you can assert that the sincere bread is undipped and nourishing in itself; but what is given to Judas was neither bread nor an undipped morsel, but one dipped in what could detach from his soul the dye that had come upon it through reason, so that after the morsel Satan might enter into him. As for myself, I would seek something akin to this from what is written in Matthew: "He who has dipped his hand with me in the dish, he will betray me," and from Mark:

"The one dipping with me in the dish," and from Luke, even though it does not name the "dipping," it does say: "But behold the hand of him who betrays me is with me on the table." The true word about this might be found among those much wiser than I am; but I conjecture that Judas' shamelessness may be displayed even in this, for not honoring the teacher in dining nor allowing him the dipping in the dish, as the rest allowed. Thus, none of them dipped their hands in the dish with him; but he, not deeming it worthy to dip with them, dipped with him, wanting to have equality with him, ought to have yielded to his superiority. So perhaps this also pertains to the saying, "But behold the hand of him who betrays me is with me on the table." And at one time, jesting to encourage young men about the reverence due to elders at a feast, he used the phrase, so that they would not crush the hand of the [two] elders. For it is also written, "Do not crush with him 'in the dish'." However, they did not ignore the reputation of a meticulous investigation which cannot persuade the listener and receive a defense from those who hear these things. We dared these, considering it better to test everything than to pass by any of the written things untested. When, however, Satan entered Judas, Jesus said to him, "What you are doing, do quickly." To whom "to him" is ambiguous, since it can mean either to Judas himself or to Satan: "What you are doing, do quickly," prompting the adversary to the struggle, or urging the traitor to a service that was to bring about the world's salvation, which should not delay or procrastinate, but hasten as much as possible. Jesus did not fear, as some of those who did not understand the way He said, "Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass from me," but courageously undressed for the struggle, so to speak. And I think that the twenty-sixth Psalm is prophesied from the perspective of the Savior at the time of passion, and the evil one fought against Him with all his forces. Seeing them armed against Him and scattering when "The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers gathered together against the Lord and against His Christ," He says, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid? When the wicked come against me to eat up my flesh, my enemies and my foes, they stumbled and fell. Though an army encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war rise against me, in this I will be confident." However, the saying "What you are doing, do quickly," whether spoken to Satan or to Judas by Jesus, none of those reclining knew for what purpose it was said. For some thought, because the Passover feast was imminent, that He told the one who had the money box of the expenses and the giving to the necessities of the poor that he would buy what was needed for the feast, or that he would give something from the collected money to the poor. But Jesus was not saying this, but seeing both the one who entered and the one who received him, and all the plot against Him, stripping for the struggle and to excel for the salvation of men against the evil one, He said, "What you are doing, do quickly."

[John 13:30] So after receiving the morsel, he went out immediately; and it was night. The Savior said to Judas, "What you do, do quickly," and the traitor obeyed his teacher for the first time in this alone. For having received the morsel, he did not delay nor linger, but as it is written, "He went out immediately", to quickly accomplish the deed of betrayal according to the command of Jesus. And indeed "he went out": not only did he go out of the house where the supper was taking place, but he completely left Jesus, corresponding to "They went out from us." I think that even Satan, who entered into Judas after the morsel, could not bear to be in the same place with Jesus; for there is no concord of Christ with Belial. If, however, we do not scrupulously investigate why the phrase "And he ate" is not added to "having received the morsel", you will discern it yourself. For where it is intended, the text adds also the eating to the receiving; as it is written concerning the bread of

blessing, Jesus said to the disciples, "Take, eat." So, did Judas not eat the morsel when he took it? Therefore, if something seems not to agree with what has been previously said, let us analyze the passage, and let the reader judge which interpretation to accept. "Having dipped the morsel," says Jesus, and it is clear that he left it in the dish and took it again; for thus you should understand the phrase "having dipped the morsel" so as not to confuse it with taking. Then it is said, "He gives it to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot. And after the morsel, Satan then entered into him." "After the morsel" then, perhaps not eaten by Judas, Satan who entered into Judas beforehand prevented the use of the morsel, so that Judas would not benefit from the giving of the bread by Jesus. For it had beneficial power for the one who used it; but he who had once resolved in his heart to betray the teacher, fearing that the resolved might fall apart through the use of the bread, Satan anticipated and entered into Judas along with his receiving the morsel, when it was said, "What you do, do quickly", and having taken the morsel, Judas immediately went out. And thus it might not be unlikely to say in that place: just as the one who eats the bread of the Lord or drinks His cup unworthily eats and drinks judgment upon himself, because of the singular greater power found in the bread and in the cup, which when conditioned to a better disposition produces good, but when taken with a worse disposition, creates judgment; so the bread from Jesus was identical to that given to the other apostles in the phrase "Take, eat," but for them it was for salvation, while for Judas it was for judgment, as Satan entered into him after the bread. Let the bread and the cup be understood by the simpler ones according to the common interpretation concerning the Eucharist, but by those who have learned to listen more deeply according to the more divine promise concerning the food of truth; as if, by way of example, one might say that physical food, when received with a fever present, increases it, but leads to health and well-being when received healthily. Therefore, often a true word given to a sick soul not in need of such food distresses it and becomes an occasion for worse; and thus it is dangerous to speak the truth. These things I have said about the bread which, after dipping, He "gave to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot," and we have touched upon the matter regarding both possibilities, whether he took it and then ate it, or was interrupted by Satan entering into Judas. But if it is necessary to investigate the phrase "It was night" as not having been cast carelessly by the evangelist, it must be said that at that time it was literally night, symbolizing the night that occurred in the soul of Judas, when the darkness descending upon the abyss, Satan, entered into him. For God called the darkness "night," of this night Paul says, we are not children of the night nor of the darkness, saying, "We are not of the night nor of the darkness;" but "Let us who are of the day be sober." Therefore, it was not night for those whose feet were being washed by Jesus, but the clearest of days for those being cleansed and rid of the filth on the feet of their soul. And moreover, it was not night for the one reclining in the bosom of Jesus, for Jesus loved him and dispelled all darkness with his love. Nor was it night for Peter, who confessed, "You are the Christ, the Son of the living God," which had been revealed to him by the heavenly Father. But while denying, it was night for him. And now, when Judas took the bread and went out immediately, at that moment it was night for him. For the man called Dawn was no longer with him, having left the sun of righteousness in his departure. And Judas pursued Jesus, filled with darkness, but the darkness and the one who took it up could not grasp the light pursued. Therefore, even when he said, as a word of righteousness, "I have sinned in betraying innocent blood," and then went and hanged himself, Satan in him had guided him to the noose and hung him on it, and then grasped his soul, unlike with Job as the Lord said to Satan, "But do not touch his soul."

[John 13:31-32] When Jesus had gone out, he said, "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in him. If God is glorified in him, God will also glorify him in himself, and immediately glorify him." The beginning of the glorification of the Son of Man after the glories through signs and wonders and the glory at the Transfiguration is Judas leaving, with Satan having entered into him, from the place where Jesus was. Therefore, the Lord said, "Now is the Son of Man glorified." And also the saying, "When I am lifted up from the earth, I will draw all people to myself," was said by the Savior, signifying by what kind of death he would glorify God; for he also glorified God in his dying. Therefore, when the beginning of the economy of the eventual death of Jesus was being set in motion, Judas having gone out after receiving the morsel to make plans against Jesus, it was said, "Now is the Son of Man glorified." Then, as it is impossible for Christ to be glorified without the Father also being glorified in him, it is added to "Now is the Son of Man glorified" the phrase "and God is glorified in him." However, the glory due to the death for mankind is not that of the only-begotten Word, wisdom, and truth, and the other divine aspects attributed to Jesus, but that of the man who was also the Son of Man, descended from the seed of David according to the flesh. Thus, he previously said, "Now you seek to kill me, a man who has told you the truth," and in the examination he says, "Now is the Son of Man glorified." This one, I believe, was also highly exalted by God, being obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; for the Word, in the beginning with God, the God-Word, did not accept being highly exalted. The exaltation of the Son of Man, accomplished by him glorifying God in his own death, was this: no longer to be distinct from the Word but to be the same as it. For if "The one who is joined to the Lord is one spirit" so that in this case neither could it be said "They are two," how could we not rather say that the human nature of Jesus became one with the Logos, with the exaltation of the one who did not consider "being equal to God" a thing to be grasped, remaining in his own exaltation or even being restored to the Logos, when again he was with God, being God and man at once? And if by the death of Jesus, glorifying God, both "He disarmed the principalities and powers and made a public spectacle of them, triumphing over them in the cross," and "He made peace through the blood of his cross, whether things on earth or things in heaven," for in all these things was the Son of Man glorified, and God was glorified in him. Since the one who is glorified is glorified by someone, you will ask in "The Son of Man was glorified" by whom? Similarly, you will ask in "God was glorified in him" by whom? For the sake of the clarity of these words, let us first consider the saying "Now the Son of Man was glorified"; second, "And God was glorified in him"; third, what is joined to this, "If God was glorified in him, God will also glorify him in himself"; fourth, "And immediately glorify him." Unless someone wishes to take this phrase to refer to the context of the concluding part of the clause, so that the clause begins with "God was glorified in him" and ends with "And God will glorify him in himself, and immediately glorify him," we must necessarily consider the name of glory, not as it lies in the middle premise of the Greeks, according to which they define glory as the praise from many, evidently it lies on a different premise from this, from the one spoken in Exodus; "And the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle. And Moses was not able to enter the tent of meeting because the cloud overshadowed it and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle." And in the third book of Kings, it is written in this way, "And it came to pass, when the priests came out of the holy place, the cloud filled the house of the Lord." "And the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord filled the house." And concerning the glory of Moses in Exodus, it is said thus: "As Moses descended from the mountain, and the two tablets of the covenant were in Moses' hands; as he descended from the mountain, Moses did not know that the

skin of his face shone because he had spoken with Him. And Aaron and all the sons of Israel saw Moses, and the skin of his face shone, and they were afraid to come near him." This concerning the glory is also indicated in the Gospel according to Luke through the following: "And as he was praying, the appearance of his face was altered, and his clothing became dazzling white. And behold, two men were talking with him, who were Moses and Elijah, who appeared in glory and spoke of his departure, which he was about to accomplish at Jerusalem." And Paul also, see to whom he attributes the name of glory; for where he says, "But if the ministry of death, engraved in letters on stones, came with glory, so that the sons of Israel could not look at Moses' face because of the glory of his face, which was fading, how much more will the ministry of the Spirit be in glory? For if there was glory in the ministry of condemnation, the ministry of righteousness must far exceed it in glory. Indeed, in this case, what once had glory has come to have no glory at all, because of the surpassing glory. For if what was being brought to an end came with glory, much more will what is permanent have glory." And again, "And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another. For this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit." And a little further on: "And even if our gospel is veiled, it is veiled to those who are perishing. In their case, the god of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God." And again after a little: "For God, who said, 'Light will shine out of darkness,' is the one who shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of God's glory in the face of Jesus Christ." Now the present narrative of the evangelical word does not demand a detailed explanation of each of these things; however, it must be said briefly: Insofar as a more divine manifestation happened in the tent and in the temple and in the face of Moses, who conversed with the divine nature; and insofar as, by means of an understanding that is especially pure, the things about God that are known accurately and seen in the understanding that is suitable to consider by the extraordinary purity, this might be called the glory of God seen. Since the mind purified and ascended above all material things, in order to understand the vision of God, is deified in what it beholds. It must be said that such is the face that has glorified, which has seen God and conversed with Him and spent time with such a sight, that this is metaphorically the glorified face of Moses, whose mind was deified by Him. On this account, the Apostle also said, "But we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image." And just as the light of the night fades away when the sun has risen, so too the glory in the presence of Moses is overshadowed by that in Christ. For the distinction between the transcendent glory in Christ, knowing the Father, glorified Him concerning Himself, compared to that known by Moses and glorifying the countenance of his soul, did not hold the comparison. Therefore, the glory in Moses was said to be abolished by the surpassing glory in Christ. Having said these things of ours briefly to the extent that we set forth, let us return to the "Now the Son of Man is glorified, and God is glorified in Him." Knowing then the Father through the Son, by the very act of knowing Him, which is the greatest good and leads to the perfect knowledge, the Son was glorified. I also think that in knowing Himself—which also itself falls not far from the former case—He was glorified from knowing Himself. If indeed the knowledge of all things completes the magnitude of His glory, revealing both hidden and visible things, we might inquire whether this could be the essence of wisdom, or in what way the Son of Man might be said to be glorified from being united with wisdom. And all this glory with which the Son of Man was glorified, being a gift from the Father, He was glorified. Among the many things completing all of the glory of man, God

is the most preeminent of all, who, in being known by the Son, is not only simply glorified but is glorified in the Son. Therefore, it is indeed daring and greater than our capacity to undertake the examination of a discourse of such magnitude; yet, nevertheless, one must dare to attempt what is possible to investigate in this place. I seek to determine whether it is possible for God to be glorified other than through being glorified in the Son, as we have indicated, more magnificently glorified in Himself, when He is in His own highest regard, through His own knowledge and His own contemplation, which is greater than the contemplation in the Son, as one must conceive such things concerning God, to say that He delights in some unspeakable satisfaction and joy and gladness, delighting in Himself and rejoicing. I use these terms not as they could be properly spoken of God but being at a loss for words, if I may so call them, for the ineffable expressions, which He alone can say or think about Himself, and, after Him, His only-begotten Son can say or think properly about Him. Since we have reached the point of glorifying God in Christ, we may appropriately inquire how He might be glorified also in the Holy Spirit and in all those where the glory of the Lord has been seen or will be seen. I think, therefore, that the entire glory of God radiates from the Son, according to Paul who said, "He being the radiance of the glory", yet from this radiance partial rays of the entire glory may reach the remaining rational creation; for I do not think that anyone can encompass the full radiance of the entire glory of God except His Son. Thus now, the economy of the suffering of the Son of Man for all is not without God, "for which reason God greatly exalted Him." "The Son of Man was glorified," it says, "not alone"; and "God was glorified in Him," and thus one might recount the things according to the place. It is written, "No one knows the Son except the Father," and it was said, "Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah, for flesh and blood did not reveal it to you, but my Father who is in heaven." Therefore, as much as the Son was not known to the world ("He was in the world, and the world was made through Him, yet the world did not know Him"), He was not yet glorified in the world, and the loss of not glorifying Him in the world was not of the one not glorified but of the world not glorifying Him. But when the Heavenly Father revealed the knowledge of Jesus to those who were revealed to them from the world, then the Son of Man was glorified among those who knew him, and through the glory by which he was glorified among those who knew him, he granted glory to those who knew him; for those who, with unveiled faces, contemplating the glory of the Lord, are being transformed into the same image. Notice from where "from glory" he says, and to where "to glory"; from the glory of the one being glorified, to the glory of those glorifying. Therefore, when he came to the dispensation, from which he was about to rise on the world and be glorified by being known among those who glorified him, he said, "Now the Son of Man is glorified" and also "No one knows the Father except the Son and anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him"; the Son was about to reveal the Father through the dispensation, for this reason: "And God is glorified in him." Or you may consider the statement "And God is glorified in him" together with "He who has seen me has seen the Father who sent me"; for the Father who begot him is seen in the word, being God and the image of the invisible God, able to be directly perceived in the image of the invisible God, and to the primary model of the image, the Father. Additionally, thus the words in this passage may be taken more clearly; just as the name of God is blasphemed among the nations because of some, so through the saints, whose good works are plainly seen before men, the name of the Father who is in the heavens is glorified. Then in whom was he so glorified as in Jesus, since he committed no sin nor was deceit found in his mouth, nor did he know sin? Therefore, the Son, being such, was glorified, and God was glorified in him. If God was glorified in him, the Father reciprocates to him

the greater thing for which the Son of Man has done; for it is greater for the one glorifying God than for the lesser one, according to "The Father who sent me is greater than I am," the Son of Man being glorified in God, the lesser in the greater. And indeed the glory exceeds much in the Son when the Father glorifies him, than in the Father when the Father was glorified in the Son. And it was fitting that the greater one, repaying the glory that the Son glorified him with, would grant to the Son to glorify him in himself, so that the Son may be glorified in God. Then since it was about to happen shortly (I mean the glorification of the Son in God), for this reason, he adds "And immediately he will glorify him." We do not ignore that these things are far less than what this examined place can hold, revealing of God, and his word dwelling in to make known the glory of God, and to whom the Father bestows the grace to be known the entire glory of God. Therefore, being far shorter and much less worthy than the merit of these matters, we confess our thanks to God for the things spoken, which are much greater than our worth.

[John 13:33] Little children, I am with you a little while longer; you will seek me, and as I said to the Jews, 'Where I am going, you cannot come,' so now I say to you.

Gathering from the Gospels the sayings of our Savior, spoken as if by a father to his children, take courage in saying that the Savior is the father of some; for to the paralytic he says, 'Take courage, child; your sins are forgiven,' and to the woman with the hemorrhage, 'Daughter, your faith has saved you,' and now to the disciples he says, 'Little children,' implying, I think, something affectionate and also teaching the still immature state of the apostles' souls at that time. But if anyone should ask, 'Was the paralytic, hearing "child," more complete than those to whom the word says "little children?"' he will hear that if anyone is a little child, he is certainly a child; therefore, it does not preclude the paralytic, called 'child,' from being also a little child; hence, it is not necessary that the one called 'child,' the paralytic, be more complete than those to whom the word said 'little children.' But one should know that just as among men a child cannot later become a brother of one who once was a child, so it is impossible for one to change from being a child of Jesus to becoming his brother. Therefore, those to whom he said ‘little children’ after the resurrection of the Savior, as if changed from the resurrection of Jesus, become brothers to the one who formerly said ‘little children.’ Thus, it is written, 'Go to my brothers and say to them, ‘I ascend to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God.’ And perhaps just as it is possible to change from being a slave of Jesus—they were slaves before being little children, evident from 'You call me Teacher and Lord, and you are right, for so I am' and from 'A slave is not greater than his master,’ which was written before ‘Little children, I am with you a little while longer,’—you may understand whether a slave first becomes a disciple, then a little child, then a brother of Christ and a son of God. Disciples in this case should be considered those who, by their presence, partake in the comprehension of the word, learning the wisdom of God from such a teacher. The expression 'I am with you a little while longer,’ in its simplest understanding, means that he would soon no longer be with the disciples; first, he was arrested by the cohort and the tribune and the Jewish servants, who bound him and led him to Annas first; after this he was handed over to Pilate and subsequently condemned to the crucifixion; then he spent three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. But regarding the deeper searches, perhaps after the "little while", he was no longer with them; not because he wasn't present with them in the flesh and because his soul had descended into Hades (for on this account he was not prevented from being with his disciples, the one who said, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there I am in

the midst of them" and "Behold, I am with you all the days until the end of the age"), but since the saying, "You will all fall away because of me this night; for it is written, 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered"', had been fulfilled, he was no longer with them, who is present with those worthy only. To this one might bring up, "In your midst stands one whom you do not know," saying that he was also with those not recognizing him. But see if it is not the same to be with someone, which is given as a promise to those worthy, as it is to be standing and unrecognized in the midst of those who do not know him. For in the promise he says, "Where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them," and "Behold, I am with you all the days until the completion of the age"; but not like this is the one who says, "In your midst stands one whom you do not know." And in the passage now under consideration, the one who says, "Behold, I am with you," says also, "Yet a little while I am with you." The one saying, "Yet a little while I am with you," would not have said to Judas, present to the senses and now having the devil cast into his heart to betray the Savior, "I am with you" (for he was no longer with him), nor when he dipped the bread and gave it to him, but when after the bread Satan entered into him, much more was Christ not with Judas, who distanced himself from the Savior; "For what accord has Christ with Belial?" And even though the father Jesus was still to be with the little children for a little while, it must be known that after that little while, even if he was not with them, they would still be seeking Jesus, just as Peter, after his denial, wept bitterly, I think, seeking Jesus. Now then, the phrase "A little while longer I am with you" has been spoken, and shortly after: "A little while, he says, and you will not see me, and again a little while and you will see me," when the disciples were saying, "What is this he says, 'a little while'? We do not know what he means." Jesus, knowing they wanted to ask him, said to them, "Are you inquiring among yourselves about what I said, 'A little while and you will not see me, and again a little while and you will see me'? Truly, truly, I say to you that you will weep and lament, but the world will rejoice; you will be sorrowful, but your sorrow will be turned into joy." For that "little while" in which they did not see him, they sought Jesus; therefore, they wept and lamented, their sorrow turning into joy when the saying was fulfilled, "And again a little while and you will see me." In the matters of examination, if one does not see him in a little while, whether he will see him thereafter, he will surely see him soon, understanding the saying, "And again a little while and you will see me." Seeking Jesus is seeking the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Righteousness, and the Truth, and the Power of God, all of which are Christ. Some seek him having seen signs, and having received bread from him and eaten, the reason for seeking him being that they were nourished by the Word; "You seek me, he says, not because you saw signs, but because you ate of the loaves and were filled." Then, since he had previously said to the Jews, "I go away and you will seek me, and you will die in your sin; where I go you cannot come," referring to that preceding statement, he says, "And as I said to the Jews, 'Where I go you cannot come,' so now I say to you." For as he said this to them, so too to you; but I say this to you not for a longer time. Thus, I hear the saying, "And I say to you now," which is not the same as "And I say to you" without the addition of "now." For the Jews, whom he foresaw would die in their own sin, could not come where Jesus was going for a short time; but the disciples, after whom he would no longer be with them for a little while, because of the things previously spoken, could not follow the Word departing to his own arrangements. And if it had not been prefaced with "Where I am going, you cannot come," the phrase "As I said to the Jews" might have seemed simpler, referring to the departure of the soul of Jesus from life; but now both the Jews were about to die, and Jesus, having died, was about to descend into Hades. How is it that

where Jesus was going, they could not go? But someone might say, since he was also going to be in the paradise of God, where those who were dying in their sins were not going to be, but the disciples of Jesus then indeed could not be there, later for this reason it was said to those dying in their sins, the Jews, "Where I am going, you cannot come," but to the disciples, "Where I am going, you cannot come now." For the following statement is of this kind: "As I said to the Jews, so I say to you now: Where I am going, you cannot come now." And yet this passage carries no small difficulty because of "The Son of Man will be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights." For how will he be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights, who at the same time of his departure was to be in the paradise of God, according to "Today you will be with me in the paradise of God"? Thus what was said troubled some because it seemed contradictory, so much so that they dared to suspect the addition to the gospel by certain schemers of the very phrase "Today you will be with me in the paradise of God." But we say more simply that perhaps before going into the so-called heart of the earth, he restored the one who said to him, "Remember me when you come into your kingdom," into the paradise of God. And more profoundly, we say that the "today" in Scripture often extends over the entire present age, just as in "This word has been spread among the Jews to this day," and "He is the father of the Moabites to this day," and "Today if you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts." The promise is made to him on this day, to the one worthy of being remembered in the kingdom of God, that he would be made to be with him in the kingdom of God in the present age before the future. But this is said in passing as a parenthesis to the aforementioned matter. To the disciples, wishing to follow Jesus, not as the simpler ones might assume, physically, but as it is indicated, "Whoever does not take up their cross and follow me is not worthy to be my disciple," the Lord now says, "Where I go, you cannot come now." For if they wished to follow the word and confess him without being scandalized by him, but they could not yet do this, "for the Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus had not yet been glorified," and "No one can say, 'Jesus is Lord,' except by the Holy Spirit." The word goes on its own ways, and the one who follows it does so, but the one who is not prepared cannot follow, in order to walk earnestly in its footsteps, the word leading to its own Father those who do all things so that they may be able to follow it and do follow it, until they say to Christ, "My soul clings to you." Having now taken a sufficient account of the thirty-two chapters of the exegesis of the Gospel of John, we shall here conclude the discourse.

Commentary on John - Book 4

Fragments of the Fourth Book1 (Three Leaves from the Beginning.) [Then, After Speaking of the Rudeness of Style of the Gospel, He Proceeds:] Fragments of the Fourth Book1 (Three Leaves from the Beginning.)

1. He who distinguishes in himself voice and meaning and things for which the meaning stands, will not be offended at rudeness of language if, on enquiry, he finds the things spoken of to be sound. The more may this be so when we remember how the holy men acknowledge their speech and their preaching to be not in persuasion of the wisdom of words, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power....

[Then, After Speaking of the Rudeness of Style of the Gospel, He Proceeds:]

2. The Apostles are not unaware that in some things they give offence, and that in some respects their culture is defective, and they confess themselves2 accordingly to be rude in speech but not in knowledge; for we must consider that the other Apostles would have said this, too, as well as Paul. As for the text,3 "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us," we interpret it in this way. By "treasures" we understand here, as in other passages, the treasure of knowledge (gnosis) and of hidden wisdom. By "earthen vessels" we understand the humble diction of the Scriptures, which the Greek might so readily be led to despise, and in which the excellency of God's power appears so clearly. The mystery of the truth and the power of the things said were not hindered by the humble diction from travelling to the ends of the earth, nor from subduing to the word of Christ, not only the foolish things of the world, but sometimes its wise things, too. For we see our calling,4 not that no wise man according to the flesh, but that not many wise according to the flesh. But Paul, in his preaching of the Gospel, is a debtor5 to deliver the word not to Barbarians only, but also to Greeks, and not only to the unwise, who would easily agree with him, but also to the wise. For he was made sufficient6 by God to be a minister of the New Covenant, wielding the demonstration of the spirit and of power, so that when the believers agreed with him their belief should not be in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. For, perhaps, if the Scripture possessed, like the works the Greeks admire, elegance and command of diction, then it would be open to suppose that not the truth of them had laid hold of men, but that the apparent sequence and splendour of language had carried off the hearers, and had carried them off by guile.

1: From the Philocalia.

2: 2 Cor. xi. 6.

3: 2 Cor. iv. 7.

4: 1 Cor. i. 26, 27.

5: Rom. i. 14.

6: 2 Cor. iii. 6.

Commentary on John - Book 5

From the Fifth Book. From the Preface.1 2. How Scripture Warns Us Against Making Many Books.

3. The Apostles Wrote Little.4 From the Fifth Book. From the Preface.1

You are not content to fulfil the office, when I am present with you, of a taskmaster to drive me to labour at theology; even when I am absent you demand that I should spend most of my time on you and on the task I have to do for you.2 I, for my part, am inclined to shrink from toil, and to avoid that danger which threatens from God those who give themselves to writing on divinity; thus I would take shelter in Scripture in refraining from making many books. For Solomon says in Ecclesiastes,3 "My son, beware of making many books; there is no end of it, and much study is a weariness of the flesh." For we, except that text have some hidden meaning which we do not yet perceive, have directly transgressed the injunction, we have not guarded ourselves against making many books.

[Then, after saying that this discussion of but a few sentences of the Gospel have run to four volumes, he goes on:] 2. How Scripture Warns Us Against Making Many Books.

For, to judge by the words of the phrase, "My son, beware of making many books," two things appear to be indicated by it: first, that we ought not to possess many books, and then that we ought not to compose many books. If the first is not the meaning the second must be, and if the second is the meaning the first does not necessarily follow. In either case we appear to be told that we ought not to make many books. I might take my stand on this dictum which now confronts us, and send you the text as an excuse, and I might appeal in support of this position to the fact that not even the saints found leisure to compose many books; and thus I might cry off from the bargain we made with each other, and give up writing what I was to send to you. You, on your side, would no doubt feel the force of the text I have cited, and might, for the future, excuse me. But we must treat Scripture conscientiously, and must not congratulate ourselves because we see the primary meaning of a text, that we understand it altogether. I do not, therefore, shrink from bringing forward what excuse I think I am able to offer for myself, and to point out the arguments, which you would certainly use against me, if I acted contrary to our agreement. And in the first place, the Sacred History seems to agree with the text in question, inasmuch as none of the saints composed several works, or set forth his views in a number of books. I will take up this point: when I proceed to write a number of books, the critic will remind me that even such a one as Moses left behind him only five books.

3. The Apostles Wrote Little.4 But he who was made fit to be a minister of the New Covenant, not of the letter, but of the spirit, Paul, who fulfilled the Gospel from Jerusalem round about to Illyricum,5 did not write epistles to all the churches he taught, and to those to whom he did write he sent no more than a few lines. And Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail6 left only one epistle of acknowledged genuineness. Suppose we allow that he left a second; for this is doubtful. What are we to say of him who leaned on Jesus'

breast, namely, John, who left one Gospel, though confessing7 that he could make so many that the world would not contain them? But he wrote also the Apocalypse, being commanded to be silent and not to write the voices of the seven thunders.8 But he also left an epistle of very few lines. Suppose also a second and a third, since not all pronounce these to be genuine; but the two together do not amount to a hundred lines.

[Then, after enumerating the prophets and Apostles, and showing how each wrote only a little, or not even a little, he goes on:]9

4. I feel myself growing dizzy with all this, and wonder whether, in obeying you, I have not been obeying God, nor walking in the footsteps of the saints, unless it be that my too great love to you, and my unwillingness to cause you any pain, has led me astray and caused me to think of all these excuses. We started from the words of the preacher, where he says: "My son, beware of making many books." With this I compare a saying from the Proverbs of the same Solomon,10 "In the multitude of words thou shall not escape sin; but in sparing thy lips thou shalt be wise." Here I ask whether speaking many words of whatever kind is a multitude of words (in the sense of the preacher), even if the many words a man speaks are sacred and connected with salvation. If this be the case, and if he who makes use of many salutary words is guilty of "multitude of words," then Solomon himself did not escape this sin, for "he spoke11 three thousand proverbs, and five thousand songs, and he spoke of trees from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall, he spoke also of beasts and of fowl, and of creeping things and of fishes." How, I may ask, can any one give any course of instruction, without a multitude of words, using the phrase in its simplest sense? Does not Wisdom herself say to those who are perishing,12 "I stretched out my words, and ye heeded not"? Do we not find Paul, too, extending his discourse from morning to midnight,13 when Eutychus was borne down with sleep and fell down, to the dismay of the hearers. who thought he was killed? If, then, the words are true, "In much speaking thou wilt not escape sin," and if Solomon was yet not guilty of great sin when he discoursed on the subjects above mentioned, nor Paul when he prolonged his discourse till midnight, then the question arises, What is that much speaking which is referred to? and then we may pass on to consider what are the many books. Now the entire Word of God, who was in the beginning with God, is not much speaking, is not words; for the Word is one, being composed of the many speculations (theoremata), each of which is a part of the Word in its entirety. Whatever words there be outside of this one, which promise to give any description and exposition, even though they be words about truth, none of these, to put it in a somewhat paradoxical way, is Word or Reason, they are all words or reasons. They are not the monad, far from it; they are not that which agrees and is one in itself, by their inner divisions and conflicts unity has departed from them, they have become numbers, perhaps infinite numbers. We are obliged, therefore, to say that whoever speaks that which is foreign to religion is using many words, while he who speaks the words of truth, even should he go over the whole field and omit nothing, is always speaking the one word. Nor are the saints guilty of much speaking, since they always have the aim in view which is connected with the one word. It appears, then, that the much speaking which is condemned is judged to be so rather from the nature of the views propounded, than from the number of the words pronounced. Let us see if we cannot conclude in the same way that all the sacred books are one book, but that those outside are the "many books" of the preacher. The proof of this must be drawn from Holy Scripture, and it will be most satisfactorily established if I am

able to show that it is not only one book, taking the word now in its commoner meaning, that we find to be written about Christ. Christ is written about even in the Pentateuch; He is spoken of in each of the Prophets, and in the Psalms, and, in a word, as the Saviour Himself says, in all the Scriptures. He refers us to them all, when He says:14 "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and these are they which testify of Me." And if He refers us to the Scriptures as testifying of Him, it is not to one that He sends us, to the exclusion of another, but to all that speak of Him, those which, in the Psalms, He calls the chapter of the book, saying,15 "In the chapter of the book it is written of Me." If any one proposes to take these words, "In the chapter of the book it is written of Me," literally, and to apply them to this or that special passage where Christ is spoken of, let him tell us on what principle he warrants his preference for one book over another. If any one supposes that we are doing something of this kind ourselves. and applying the words in question to the book of Psalms, we deny that we do so, and we would urge that in that case the words should have been, "In this book it is written of Me." But He speaks of all the books as one chapter, thus sum-ruing up in one all that is spoken of Christ for our instruction. In fact the book was seen by John,16 "written within and without, and sealed; and no one could open it to read it, and to loose the seals thereof, but the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, who has the key of David,17 he that openeth and none shall shut, and that shutteth and none shall open." For the book here spoken of means the whole of Scripture; and it is written within (lit. in front), on account of the meaning which is obvious, and on the back, on account of its remoter and spiritual sense. Observe, in addition to this, if a proof that the sacred writings are one book, and those of an opposite character many. may not be found in the fact that there is one book of the living from which those who have proved unworthy to be in it are blotted out, as it is written:18 "Let them be blotter out of the book of the living," while of those who are to undergo the judgment, there are books in the plural, as Daniel says:19 "The judgment was set, and the books were opened." But Moses also bears witness to the unity of the sacred book, when he says:20 "If Thou forgive the people their sins, forgive, but if not, then wipe me out of the book which Thou hast written." The passage in Isaiah,21 too, I read in the same way. It is not peculiar to his prophecy that the words of the book should be sealed, and should neither be read by him who does not know letters, because he is ignorant of letters, nor by him who is learned, because the book is sealed. This is true of every writing, for every written work needs the reason (Logos) which closed it to open it. "He shall shut, and none shall open,"22 and when He opens no one can cast doubt on the interpretation He brings. Hence it is said that He shall open and no man shall shut. I infer a similar lesson from the book spoken of in Ezekiel,23 in which was written lamentation, and a song, and woe. For the whole book is full of the woe of the lost, and the song of the saved, and the lamentation of those between these two. And John, too, when he speaks of his eating the one roll,24 in which both front and back were written on, means the whole of Scripture, one book which is, at first, most sweet when one begins, as it were, to chew it, but bitter in the revelation of himself which it makes to the conscience of each one who knows it. I will add to the proof of this an apostolic saying which has been quite misunderstood by the disciples of Marcion, who, therefore, set the Gospels at naught. The Apostle says:25 "According to my Gospel in Christ Jesus; "he does not speak of Gospels in the plural, and, hence, they argue that as the Apostle only speaks of one Gospel in the singular, there was only one in existence. But they fail to see that, as He is one of whom all the evangelists write, so the Gospel, though written by several hands, is, in effect, one. And, in fact, the Gospel, though written by four, is one. From these considerations, then, we learn

what the one book is, and what the many books, and what I am now concerned about is, not the quantity I may write, but the effect of what I say, lest, if I fail in this point, and set forth anything against the truth itself, even in one of my writings, I should prove to have transgressed the commandment, and to be a writer of "many books." Yet I see the heterodox assailing the holy Church of God in these days, under the pretence of higher wisdom, and bringing forward works in many volumes in which they offer expositions of the evangelical and apostolic writings, and I fear that if I should be silent and should not put before our members the saving and true doctrines, these teachers might get a hold of curious souls, which, in the absence of wholesome nourishment, might go after food that is forbidden, and, in fact, unclean and horrible. It appears to me, therefore, to be necessary that one who is able to represent in a genuine manner the doctrine of the Church, and to refute those dealers in knowledge, falsely so-called, should take his stand against historical fictions, and oppose to them the true and lofty evangelical message in which the agreement of the doctrines, found both in the so-called Old Testament and in the so-called New, appears so plainly and fully. You yourself felt at one time the lack of good representatives of the better cause, and were impatient of a faith which was at issue with reason and absurd, and you then, for the love you bore to the Lord, gave yourself to composition from which, however, in the exercise of the judgment with which you are endowed, you afterwards desisted. This is the defence which I think admits of being made for those who have the faculty of speaking and writing. But I am also pleading my own cause, as I now devote myself with what boldness I may to the work of exposition; for it may be that I am not endowed with that habit and disposition which he ought to have who is fitted by God to be a minister of the New Covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit.

1: From the Philocalia.

2: This is addressed to Ambrose, who was at the time absent from Alexandria. Cf. book i. chap. 6, p. 299.

3: This is addressed to Ambrose, who was at the time absent from Alexandria. Cf. book i. chap. 6, p. 299.

4: From Eusebius, Hist Eccl vi 25

5: Rom. xv. 19.

6: Matt. xvi. 18.

7: John i. 20, 25.

8: Apoc. x. 4.

9: The following fragments is found in Philocalia, pp. 27-30.

10: x. 19.

11: 1 Kings iv. 32.

12: Prov. i. 24.

13: Acts xx. 7-9.

14: John v. 39.

15: xl. 7.

16: Apoc. v. 1-5.

17: Apoc. iii. 7.

18: Ps. lxix. 28.

19: Dan. vii. 10.

20: Exod. xxxii. 32.

21: xxix. 11, 12.

22: Isa. xxii. 22.

23: ii 10.

24: Apoc. x. 9, 10.

25: Rom. ii. 16.

Commentary on John - Book 6

Sixth Book

1. The Work is Taken Up After a Violent Interruption, Which Has Driven the Writer from Alexandria. He Addresses Himself to It Again, with Thanks for His Deliverance, and Prayer for Guidance.

2. How the Prophets and Holy Men of the Old Testament Knew the Things of Christ.

3. "Grace and Truth Came Through Jesus Christ." These Words Belong to the Baptist, Not the Evangelist. What the Baptist Testifies by Them.

4. John Denies that He is Elijah or "The" Prophet. Yet He Was "A" Prophet.

5. There Were Two Embassies to John the Baptist; The Different Characters of These.

6. Messianic Discussion with John the Baptist.

7. Of the Birth of John, and of His Alleged Identity with Elijah. Of the Doctrine of Transcorporation.

8. John is a Prophet, But Not the Prophet.

9. John I 22.

10. Of the Voice John the Baptists is.

11. Of the Way of the Lord, How It is Narrow, and How Jesus is the Way.

12. Heracleon's View of the Voice, and of John the Baptist.

13. John I 24, 25. Of the Baptism of John, that of Elijah, and that of Christ.

14. Comparison of the Statements of the Four Evangelists Respecting John the Baptist, the Prophecies Regarding Him, His Addresses to the Multitude and to the Pharisees, Etc.

15. How the Baptist Answers the Question of the Pharisees and Exalts the Nature of Christ. Of the Shoe-Latchet Which He is Unable to Untie.

16. Comparison of John's Testimony to Jesus in the Different Gospels.

17. Of the Testimony of John to Jesus in Matthew's Gospel, 18. Of the Testimony in Mark. What is Meant by the Saviour's Shoes and by Untying His Shoe-Latchets.

19. Luke and John Suggest that One May Loose the Shoe-Latchets of the Logos Without Stooping Down.

20. The Difference Between Not Being "Sufficient" And Not Being "Worthy."

21. The Fourth Gospel Speaks of Only One Shoe, the Others of Both. The Significance of This.

22. How the Word Stands in the Midst of Men Without Being Known of Them.

23. Heracleon's View of This Utterance of John the Baptist, and Interpretation of the Shoe of Jesus.

24. The Name of the Place Where John Baptized is Not Bethany, as in Most Copies, But Bethabara. Proof of This. Similarly "Gergesa" Should Be Read for "Gerasa," In the Story of the Swine. Attention is to Be Paid to the Proper Names in Scripture, Which are Often Written Inaccurately, and are of Importance for Interpretation.

25. Jordan Means "Their Going Down." Spiritual Meanings and Application of This.

26. The Story of Israel Crossing Jordan Under Joshua is Typical of Christian Things, and is Written for Our Instruction.

27. Of Elijah and Elisha Crossing the Jordan.

28. Naaman the Syrian and the Jordan. No Other Stream Has the Same Healing Power.

29. The River of Egypt and Its Dragon, Contrasted with the Jordan.

30. Of What John Learned from Jesus When Mary Visited Elisabeth in the Hill Country.

31. Of the Conversation Between John and Jesus at the Baptism, Recorded by Matthew Only.

32. John Calls Jesus a "Lamb." Why Does He Name This Animal Specially? of the Typology of the Sacrifices, Generally.

33. A Lamb Was Offered at the Morning and Evening Sacrifice. Significance of This.

34. The Morning and Evening Sacrifices of the Saint in His Life of Thought.

35. Jesus is a Lamb in Respect of His Human Nature.

36. Of the Death of the Martyrs Considered as a Sacrifice, and in What Way It Operates to the Benefit of Others.

37. Of the Effects of the Death of Christ, of His Triumph After It, and of the Removal by His Death of the Sins of Men.

38. The World, of Which the Sin is Taken Away, is Said to Be the Church. Reasons for Not Agreeing with This Opinion.

Sixth Book

1. The Work is Taken Up After a Violent Interruption, Which Has Driven the Writer from Alexandria. He Addresses Himself to It Again, with Thanks for His Deliverance, and Prayer for Guidance. When a house is being built which is to be made as strong as possible, the building takes place in fine weather and in calm, so that nothing may hinder the structure from acquiring the needed solidity. And thus it turns out so strong and stable that it is able to withstand the rush of the flood. and the dashing of the river, and all the agencies accompanying a storm which are apt to find out what is rotten in a building and to show what parts of it have been properly put together. And more particularly should that house which is capable of sheltering the speculations of truth,

the house of reason, as it were, in promise or in letters, be built at a time when God can add His free co-operation to the projector of so noble a work, when the soul is quiet and in the enjoyment of that peace which passes all understanding, when she is turned away from all disturbance and not buffeted by any billows. This, it appears to me, was well understood by the servants of the prophetic spirit and the ministers of the Gospel message; they made themselves worthy to receive that peace which is in secret from Him who ever gives it to them that are worthy and who said,1 "Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth give I unto you." And look if some similar lesson is not taught under the surface with regard to David and Solomon in the narrative about the temple. David, who fought the wars of the Lord and stood firm against many enemies, his own and those of Israel, desired to build a temple for God. But God, through Nathan, prevents him from doing so, and Nathan says to him,2 "Thou shalt not build me an house, because thou art a man of blood." But Solomon, on the other hand, saw God in a dream, and in a dream received wisdom, for the reality of the vision was kept for him who said, "Behold a greater than Solomon is here." The time was one of the profoundest peace, so that it was possible for every man to rest under his own vine and his own fig-tree, and Solomon's very name was significant of the peace which was in his days, for Solomon means peaceful; and so he was at liberty to build the famous temple of God. About the time of Ezra, also, when "truth conquers wine and the hostile king: and women,"3 the temple of God is restored again. All this is said by way of apology to you, reverend Ambrosius. It is at your sacred encouragement that I have made up my mind to build up in writing: the tower of the Gospel; and I have therefore sate down to count the cost,4 if I have sufficient to finish it, lest I should be mocked by the beholders, because I laid the foundation but was not able to finish the work. The result of my counting, it is true, has been that I do not possess what is required to finish it; yet I have put my trust in God, who enriches us5 with all wisdom and all knowledge. If we strive to keep His spiritual laws we believe that He does enrich us; He will supply what is necessary so that we shall get on with our building, and shall even come to the parapet of the structure. That parapet it is which keeps from falling those who go up on the house of the Word; for people only fall off those houses which have no parapet, so that the buildings themselves are to blame for their fall and for their death. We proceeded as far as the fifth volume in spite of the obstacles presented by the storm in Alexandria, and spoke what was given us to speak, for Jesus rebuked the winds and the waves of the sea. We emerged from the storm, we were brought out of Egypt, that God delivering us who led His people forth from there. Then, when the enemy assailed us with all bitterness by his new writings, so directly hostile to the Gospel, and stirred up against us all the winds of wickedness in Egypt, I felt that reason called me rather to stand fist for the conflict, and to save the higher part in me, lest evil counsels should succeed in directing the storm so as to overwhelm my soul, rather to do this than to finish my work at an unsuitable season, before my mind had recovered its calm. Indeed, the ready writers who usually attended me brought my work to a stand by failing to appear to take down my words. But now that the many fiery darts directed against me have lost their edge, for God extinguished them, and my soul has grown accustomed to the dispensation sent me for the sake of the heavenly word, and has learned from necessity to disregard the snares of my enemies, it is as if a great calm had settled on me, and Idefer no longer the continuation of this work. I pray that God will be with me, and will speak as a teacher in the porch of my soul, so that the building I have begun of the exposition of the Gospel of John may arrive at completion. May God hear my prayer and grant that the body of the whole work may now be brought together, and that no interruption may

intervene which might prevent me from following the sequence of Scripture. And be assured that it is with great readiness that I now make this second beginning and enter on my sixth volume, because what I wrote before at Alexandria has not, I know not by what chance, been brought with me. I feared I might neglect this work, if I were not engaged on it at once, and therefore thought it better to make use of this present time and begin without delay the part which remains. I am not certain if the part formerly written will come to light, and would be very unwilling to waste time in waiting to see if it does. Enough of preamble, let us now attend to our text.

2. How the Prophets and Holy Men of the Old Testament Knew the Things of Christ.

"And this is the witness of John."6 This is the second recorded testimony of John the Baptist to Christ. The first begins with "This was He of whom I said, He that cometh after me," and goes down to "The only-begotten Son of God who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared him." Heracleon supposes the words, "No one has seen God at any time," etc., to have been spoken, not by the Baptist, but by the disciple. But in this he is not sound. He himself allows the words, "Of his fulness we all received, and grace for grace; for the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ," to have been spoken by the Baptist. And does it not follow that the person who received of the fulness of Christ, and a second grace in addition to that he had before, and who declared the law to have been given by Moses, but grace and truth to have come through Jesus Christ, is it not clear that this is the person who understood, from what he received from the fulness of Christ, how "no one hath seen God at any time," and how "the only-begotten who is in the bosom of the Father" had delivered the declaration about God to him and to all those who had received of His fulness? He was not declaring here for the first time Him that is in the bosom of the Father, as if there had never before been any one fit to receive what he told His Apostles. Does he not teach us that he was before Abraham, and that Abraham rejoiced and was glad to see his day? The words "Of his fulness all we received," and "Grace for grace," show, as we have already made clear, that the prophets also received their gift from the fulness of Christ and received a second grace in place of that they had before; for they also, led by the Spirit, advanced from the introduction they had in types to the vision of truth. Hence not all the prophets, but many of them,7 desired to see the things, which the Apostles saw. For if there was a difference among the prophets, those who were perfect and more distinguished of them did not desire to see what the Apostles saw, but actually beheld them, while those who rose less fully than these to the height of the Word were filled with longing for the things which the Apostles knew through Christ. The word "saw" we have not taken in a physical sense, and the word "heard" we have taken to refer to a spiritual communication; only he who has ears is prepared to hear the words of Jesus-a thing which does not happen too frequently. There is the further point, that the saints before the bodily advent of Jesus had an advantage over most believers in their insight into the mysteries of divinity, since the Word of God was their teacher before He became flesh, for He was always working , in imitation of His Father, of whom He says, "My father worketh hitherto." On this point we may adduce the words He addresses to the Sadducees, who do not believe the doctrine of the resurrection. "Have you not read," He says,8 "what is said by God at the Bush, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; He is not the God of the dead but of the living." If, then, God is not ashamed to be called the God of these men, and if they are counted by Christ among the living, and if all believers are sons of Abraham,9 since all the Gentiles are blessed with faithful Abraham, who is appointed by God to be a father of the Gentiles, can we

hesitate to admit that those living persons made acquaintance with the learning of living men, and were taught by Christ who was born before the daystar,10 before He became flesh? And for this cause they lived, because they had part in Him who said, "I am the life," and as the heirs of so great promises received the vision, not only of angels, but of God in Christ. For they saw, it may be, the image of the invisible God,11 since he who hath seen the Son hath seen the Father, and so they are recorded to have known God, and to have heard God's words worthily, and, therefore, to have seen God and heard Him. Now, I consider that those who are fully and really sons of Abraham are sons of his actions, spiritually understood, and of the knowledge which was made manifest to him. What he knew and what he did appears again in those who are his sons, as the Scripture teaches those who have ears to hear,12 "If ye were the children of Abraham, ye would do the works of Abraham." And if it is a true proverb13 which says, "A wise man will understand that which proceeds from his own mouth, and on his lips he will bear prudence," then we must at once repudiate some things which have been said about the prophets, as if they were not wise men, and did not understand what proceeded from their own mouths. We must believe what is good and true about the prophets, that they were sages, that they did understand what proceeded from their mouths, and that they bore prudence on their lips. It is clear indeed that Moses understood in his mind the truth (real meaning) of the law, and the higher interpretations of the stories recorded in his books. Joshua, too, understood the meaning of the allotment of the land after the destruction of the nine and twenty kings, and could see better than we can the realities of which his achievements were the shadows. It is clear, too, that Isaiah saw the mystery of Him who sat upon the throne, and of the two seraphim, and of the veiling of their faces and their feet, and of their wings, and of the altar and of the tongs. Ezekiel, too, understood the true significance of the cherubim and of their goings, and of the firmament that was above them, and of Him that sat on the throne, than all which what could be loftier or more splendid? I need not enter into more particulars; the point I aim at establishing is clear enough already, namely, that those who were made perfect in earlier generations knew not less than the Apostles did of what Christ revealed to them, since the same teacher was with them as He who revealed to the Apostles the unspeakable mysteries of godliness. I will add but a few points, and then leave it to the reader to judge and to form what views he pleases on this subject. Paul says in his Epistle to the Romans,14 "Now, to him who is able to establish you according to my Gospel, according to the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but is now made manifest by the prophetic Scriptures and the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ." For if the mystery concealed of old is made manifest to the Apostles through the prophetic writings, and if the prophets, being wise men, understood what proceeded from their own mouths, then the prophets knew what was made manifest to the Apostles. But to many it was not revealed, as Paul says,15 "In other generations it was not made known to the sons of men as it hath now been revealed unto His holy Apostles and prophets by the Spirit, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs and members of the same body." Here an objection may be raised by those who do not share the view we have propounded; and it becomes of importance to define what is meant by the word "revealed." It is capable of two meanings: firstly, that the thing in question is understood, but secondly, if a prophecy is spoken of, that it is accomplished. Now, the fact that the Gentiles were to be fellow-heirs and members of the same body, and partakers of the promise, was known to the prophets to this extent, that they knew the Gentiles were to fellow-heirs and members of the same body, and partakers of the promise in Christ. When this should be, and why, and what Gentiles were spoken of, and how, though

strangers from the covenants. and aliens to the promises, they were yet to be members of one body and sharers of the blessings; all this was known to the prophets, being revealed to them. But the things prophesied belong to the future, and are not revealed to those who know them, but do not witness their fulfilment, as they are to those who have the event before their eyes. And this was the position of the Apostles. Thus, I conceive. they knew the events no more than the fathers and the prophets did; and yet it is truly said of them that "what to other generations was not revealed was now revealed to the Apostles and prophets, that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs and members of the same body, and partakers in the promise of Christ." For, in addition to knowing these mysteries, they saw the power at work in the accomplished fact. The passage, "Many prophets and righteous men desired to see the things ye see and did not see them; and to hear the things ye hear and did not hear them," may be interpreted in the same way. They also desired to see the mystery of the incarnation of the Son of God, and of His coming down to carry out the design of His suffering for the salvation of many, actually put in operation. This may be illustrated from another quarter. Suppose one of the Apostles to have understood the "unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter,"16 but not to witness the glorious bodily appearing of Jesus to the faithful. which is promised, although He desired to see it and suppose another had not only not17 marked and seen what that Apostle marked and saw, but had a much feebler grasp of the divine hope, and yet is present at the second coming of our Saviour, which the Apostle, as in the parallel above, had desired, but had not seen. We shall not err from the truth if we say that both of these have seen what the Apostle, or indeed the Apostles, desired to see, and yet that they are not on that account to be deemed wiser or more blessed than the Apostles. In the same way, also, the Apostles are not to be deemed wiser than the fathers, or than Moses and the prophets, than those in fact who, for their virtue, were found worthy of epiphanies and ofdivine manifestations and of revelations of mysteries.

3. "Grace and Truth Came Through Jesus Christ." These Words Belong to the Baptist, Not the Evangelist. What the Baptist Testifies by Them.

We have lingered rather long over these discussions, but there is a reason for it. There are many who, under the pretence of glorifying the advent of Christ, declare the Apostles to be wiser than the fathers or the prophets; and of these teachers some have invented a greater God for the later period, while some, not venturing so far, but moved, according to their own account of the matter, by the difficulty connected with doctrine, cancel the whole of the gift conferred by God on the fathers and the prophets, through Christ, through whom all things were made. If all things were made through Him, clearly so must the splendid revelations have been which were made to the fathers and prophets, and became to them the symbols of the sacred mysteries of religion. Now the true soldiers of Christ must always be prepared to do battle for the truth, and must never, so far as lies with them, allow false convictions to creep in. We must not, therefore, neglect this matter. It may be said that John's earlier testimony to Christ is to be found in the words. "He who cometh after me exists before me, for He was before me," and that the words, "For of His fulness we all received, and grace for grace," are in the mouth of John the disciple. Now, we must show this exposition to be a forced one, and one which does violence to the context; it is rather a strong proceeding to suppose the speech of the Baptist to be so suddenly and, as it were, inopportunely interrupted by that of the disciple, and it is quite apparent to any one who can judge, in whatever small degree, of a context, that the speech goes on continuously after the words, "This is He of

whom I spoke, He that cometh after me exists before me, for He was before me." The Baptist brings a proof that Jesus existed before him because He was before him, since He is the first-born of all creation; he says, "For of His fulness all we received." That is the reason why he says, "He exists before me, for He was before me." That is how I know that He is first and in higher honour with the Father, since of His fulness both I and the prophets before me received the more divine prophetic grace instead of the grace we received at His hands before in respect of our election. That is why I say, "He exists before me, for He was before me," because we know what we have received from His fulness; namely, that the law was given through Moses, not by Moses, while grace and truth not only were given but came into existence18 through Jesus Christ. For His God and Father both gave the law through Moses, and made grace and truth through Jesus Christ, that grace and truth which came to man. If we give a reasonable interpretation to the words, "Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ," we shall not be alarmed at the possible discrepancy with them of that other saying, "I am the way and the truth and the life." If it is Jesus who says, "I am the truth," then how does the truth come through Jesus Christ, since no one comes into existence through himself? We must recognize that this very truth, the essential truth, which is prototypal, so to speak, of that truth which exists in souls endowed with reason, that truth from which, as it were, images are impressed on those who care for truth, was not made through Jesus Christ, nor indeed through any one, but by God;-just as the Word was not made through any one which was in the beginning with the Father;-and as wisdom which God created the beginning of His ways was not made through any one, so the truth also was not made through any one.That truth, however, which is with men came through Jesus Christ, as the truth in Paul and the Apostles came through Jesus Christ. And it is no wonder, since truth is one, that many truths should flow from that one. The prophet David certainly knew many truths, as he says,19 "The Lord searcheth out truths," for the Father of truth searches out not the one truth but the many through which those are saved who possess them. And as with the one truth and many truths, so also with righteousness and righteousnesses. For the very essential righteousness is Christ, "Who was made to us of God wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption." But from that righteousness is formed the righteousness which is in each individual. so that there are in the saved many righteousnesses, whence also it is written,20 "For the Lord is righteous, and He loved righteousnesses." This is the reading in the exact copies, and in the other versions besides the Septuagint, and in the Hebrew. Consider if the other things which Christ is said to be in a unity admit of being multiplied in the same way and spoken of in the plural. For example, Christ is our life as the Saviour Himself says,21 "I am the way and the truth and the life." The Apostle, too, says,22 "When Christ our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with Him in glory." And in the Psalms again we find,23 "Thy mercy is better than life; "for it is on account of Christ who is life in every one that there are many lives. This, perhaps, is also the key to the passage,24 "If ye seek a proof of the Christ that speaketh in me." For Christ is found in every saint, and so from the one Christ there come to be many Christs, imitators of Him and formed after Him who is the image of God; whence God says through the prophet,25 "Touch not my Christs." Thus we have explained in passing the passage which we appeared to have omitted from our exposition, viz.: "Grace and truth came through Jesus Christ; "and we have also shown that the words belong to John the Baptist and form part of his testimony to the Son of God.

4. John Denies that He is Elijah or "The" Prophet. Yet He Was "A" Prophet.

Now let us consider John's second testimony. Jews from Jerusalem,26 kindred to John the Baptist, since he also belonged to a priestly race, send priests and levites to ask John who he is. In saying, "I am not the Christ," he made a confession of the truth. The words are not, as one might suppose, a negation; for it is no negation to say, in the honour of Christ, that one is not Christ. The priests and levites sent from Jerusalem, having there heard in the first place that he is not the expected Messiah, put a question about the second great personage whom they expected, namely, Elijah, whether John were he, and he says he is not Elijah, and by his "I am not" makes a second confession of the truth. And, as many prophets had appeared in Israel, and one in particular was looked for according to the prophecy of Moses, who said,27 "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up to you of your brethren, like unto me, him shall ye hear; and it shall come to pass that every soul that shall not hear that prophet shall be destroyed from among the people," they, therefore, ask a third question, not whether he is a prophet, but whether he is the prophet. Now, they did not apply this name to the Christ, but supposed the prophet to be a second figure beside the Christ. But John, on the contrary, who knew that He whose forerunner he was was both the Christ and the prophet thus foretold, answered "No; "whereas, if they had asked if he was a prophet, he would have answered "Yes; "28 for he was not unconscious that he was a prophet. In all these answers John's second testimony to Christ was not yet completed; he had still to give his questioners the answer they were to take back to those who sent them, and to declare himself in the terms of the prophecy of Isaiah, which says, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord."

5. There Were Two Embassies to John the Baptist; The Different Characters of These.

Here the enquiry suggests itself whether the second testimony is concluded, and whether there is a third, addressed to those who were sent from the Pharisees. They wished to know why he baptized, if he was neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet; and he said:29 "I baptize with water; but there standeth one among you whom you know not, He that cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose." Is this a third testimony, or is this which they were to report to the Pharisees a part of the second? As far as the words allow me to conjecture I should say that the word to the emissaries of the Pharisees was a third testimony. It is to be observed, however, that the first testimony asserts the divinity of the Saviour, while the second disposes of the suspicion of those who were in doubt whether John could be the Christ, and the third declares one who was already present with men although they saw Him not, and whose coming was no longer in the future. Before going on to the subsequent testimonies in which he points out Christ and witnesses to Him, let us look at the second and third, word for word, and let us, in the first place, observe that there are two embassies to the Baptist, one "from Jerusalem" from the Jews, who send priests and levites, to ask him, "Who art thou? "the second sent by the Pharisees,30 who were in doubt about the answer which had been made to the priests and levites. Observe how what is said by the first envoys is in keeping with the character of priests and levites, and shows gentleness and a willingness to learn. "Who art thou? "they say, and "What then? art thou Elijah? "and "Art thou that prophet? "and then, "Who art thou, that we may give an answer to them that sent us? What sayest thou of thyself? "There is nothing harsh or arrogant in the enquiries of these men; everything agrees well with the character of true and careful servants of God; and they raise no difficulties about the replies made to them. Those, on the contrary, who are sent from the Pharisees assail the Baptist, as it were, with arrogant and unsympathetic words:

"Why then baptizest thou if thou be not the Christ nor Elijah nor the prophet? "This mission is sent scarcely for the sake of information, as in the former case of the priests and levites, but rather to debar the Baptist from baptizing, as if it were thought that no one was entitled to baptize but Christ and Elijah and the prophet. The student who desires to understand the Scripture must always proceed in this careful way; he must ask with regard to each speech, who is the speaker and on what occasion it was spoken. Thus only can we discern how speech harmonizes with the character of the speaker, as it does all through the sacred books.

6. Messianic Discussion with John the Baptist.

Then the Jews sent priests and levites from Jerusalem to ask him, Who art thou And he confessed and denied not; and he confessed, I am not the Christ.31 What legates should have been sent from the Jews to John, and where should they have been sent from? Should they not have been men held to stand by the election of God above their fellows, and should they not have come from that place which was chosen out of the whole of the earth, though it is all called good, from Jerusalem where was the temple of God? With such honour, then, do they enquire of John. In the case of Christ nothing of this sort is reported to have been done by the Jews; but what the Jews do to John, John does to Christ, sending his own disciples to ask him,32 "Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another? "John confesses to those sent to him, and denies not, and he afterwards declares, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness; "but Christ, as having a greater testimony than John the Baptist, makes His answer by words and deeds, saying. "Go and tell John those things which ye do hear and see; the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." On this passage I shall, if God permit, enlarge in its proper place. Here, however, it might be asked reasonably enough why John gives such an answer to the question put to him. The priests and levites do not ask him, "Art thou the Christ? "but "Who art thou? "and the Baptist's reply to this question should have been, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness." The proper reply to the question, "Art thou the Christ? "is, "I am not the Christ; "and to the question, "Who art thou? "-"The voice of one crying in the wilderness." To this we may say that he probably discerned in the question of the priests and levites a cautious reverence, which led them to hint the idea in their minds that he who was baptizing might be the Christ, but withheld them from openly saying so, which might have been presumptuous. He quite naturally, therefore, proceeds in the first place to remove any false impressions they might have taken up about him, and declares publicly the true state of the matter, "I am not the Christ." Their second question, and also their third, show that they had conceived some such surmise about him. They supposed that he might be that second in honour to whom their hopes pointed, namely, Elijah, who held with them the next position after Christ; and so when John had answered, "I am not the Christ," they asked, "What then? Art thou Elijah? "And he said, "I am not." They wish to know, in the third place, if he is the prophet, and on his answer," No," they have no longer any name to give the personage whose advent they expected, and they say, "Who art thou, then, that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself? "Their meaning is: "You are not, you say, any of those personages whose advent Israel hopes and expects, and who you are, to baptize as you do, we do not know; tell us, therefore, so that we may report to those who sent us to get light ripen this point." We add, as it has some bearing on the context, that the people were moved by the thought that the period of Christ's advent was near. It was in a manner imminent in the years from the birth of Jesus and a

little before, down to the publication of the preaching. Hence it was, in all likelihood, that as the scribes and lawyers had deduced the time from Holy Scripture and were expecting the Coming One, the idea was taken up by Theudas, who came forward as the Messiah and brought together a considerable multitude, and after him by the famous Judas of Galilee in the days of the taxing.33 Thus the coming of the Messiah was more warmly expected and discussed, and it was natural enough for the Jews to send priests and levites from Jerusalem to John, to ask him, "Who art thou? "and learn if he professed to be the Christ.

7. Of the Birth of John, and of His Alleged Identity with Elijah. Of the Doctrine of Transcorporation.

"And34 they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? and he said, I am not." No one can fail to remember in this connection what Jesus says of John,35 "If ye will receive it, this is Elijah which is to come." How, then, does John come to say to those who ask him, "Art thou Elijah? "-"I am not." And how can it be true at the same time that John is Elijah who is to come, according to the words of Malachi,36 "And behold I send unto you Elijah the Tishbite, before the great and notable day of the Lord come, who shall restore the heart of the father to the Sod, and the heart of a man to his neighbour, lest I come, and utterly smite the earth." The words of the angel of the Lord, too, who appeared to Zacharias, as he stood at the right hand of the altar of incense, are somewhat to the same effect as the prophecy of Malachi: "And37 thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John." And a little further on:38 "And he shall go before His face in the spirit and power of Elijah to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him." As for the first point, one might say that John did not know that he was Elijah. This will be the explanation of those who find in our passage a support for their doctrine of transcorporation, as if the soul clothed itself in a fresh body and did not quite remember its former lives. These thinkers will also point out that some of the Jews assented to this doctrine when they spoke about the Saviour as if He was one of the old prophets, and had risen not from the tomb but from His birth. His mother Mary was well known, and Joseph the carpenter was supposed to be His father, add it could readily be supposed that He was one of the old prophets risen from the dead. The same person will adduce the text in Genesis.39 "I will destroy the whole resurrection," and will thereby reduce those who give themselves to finding in Scripture solutions of false probabilities to a great difficulty in respect of this doctrine. Another, however, a churchman, who repudiates the doctrine of transcorporation as a false one, and does not admit that the soul of John ever was Elijah, may appeal to the above-quoted words of the angel, and point out that it is not the soul of Elijah that is spoken of at John's birth, but the spirit and power of Elijah. "He shall go before him," it is said, "in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children." Now it can be shown from thousands of texts that the spirit is a different thing from the soul, and that what is called the power is a different thing from both the soul and the spirit. On these points I cannot now enlarge; this work must not be unduly expanded. To establish the fact that power is different from spirit. it will be enough to cite the text,40 "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." As for the spirits of the prophets, these are given to them by God, and are spoken of as being in a manner their property (slaves), as "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets."41 and "The spirit of Elijah rested upon Elisha."42 Thus, it is said, there is nothing absurd in supposing that John, "in the spirit and power of Elijah," turned the hearts of the fathers to the children, and that it was on account of this spirit that he was called "Elijah who was to come."

And to reinforce this view it may be argued that if the God of the universe identified Himself with His saints to such an extent as to be called the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, much more might the Holy Spirit so identify Himself with the prophets as to be called their spirit, so that when the spirit is spoken of it might be the spirit of Elijah or the spirit of Isaiah. Our churchman, to go on with his views, may further say that those who supposed Jesus to be one of the prophets risen from the dead were probably misled, partly by the doctrine above mentioned, and partly by supposing Him to be one of the prophets, and that as for this misconception that He was one of the prophets, these persons probably fell into their error from not knowing about Jesus' supposed father and actual mother, and considering that He had risen from the tombs. As for the text in Genesis about the resurrection, the churchman will rejoin with a text to an opposite effect, "God hath raised up for me another seed in place of Abel whom Cain slew; "43 showing that the resurrection occurs in Genesis. As for the first difficulty which was raised, our churchman will meet the view of the believers in transcorporation by saying that John is no doubt, in a certain sense, as he has already shown, Elijah who is to come; and that the reason why he met the enquiry of the priests and levites with "I am not," was that he divined the object they had in view in making it. For the enquiry laid before John by the priests and levites was not intended to bring out whether the same spirit was in both, but whether John was that very Elijah who was taken up, and who now appeared according to the expectation of the Jews without being born (for the emissaries, perhaps, did not know about John's birth); and to such all enquiry he naturally answered, "I am not; "for he who was called John was not Elijah who was taken up, and had not changed his body for his present appearance. Our first scholar, whose view of transcorporation we have seen based upon our passage, may go on with a close examination of the text, and urge against his antagonist, that if John was the son of such a man as the priest Zacharias, and if he was born when his parents were both aged, contrary to all human expectation, then it is not likely that so many Jews at Jerusalem would be so ignorant about him, or that the priests and levites whom they sent would not be acquainted with the facts of his birth. Does not Luke declare44 that "fear came upon all those who lived round about,"-clearly round about Zacharias and Elisabeth-and that "all these things were noised abroad throughout the whole hill country of Judaea"? And if John's birth from Zacharias was a matter of common knowledge, and the Jews of Jerusalem yet sent priests and levites to ask, "Art thou Elijah? "then it is clear that in saying this they assumed the doctrine of transcorporation to be true, and that it was a current doctrine of their country, and not foreign to their secret teaching. John therefore says, I am not Elijah, because he does not know about his own former life. These thinkers, accordingly, entertain an opinion which is by no means to be despised. Our churchman, however, may return to the charge, and ask if it is worthy of a prophet, who is enlightened by the Holy Spirit, who is predicted by Isaiah, and whose birth was foretold before it took place by so great an angel, one who has received of the fulness of Christ, who shares in such a grace, who knows truth to have come through Jesus Christ, and has taught such deep things about God and about the only-begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, is it worthy of such a one to lie, or even to hesitate, out of ignorance of what he was. For with respect to what was obscure, he ought to have refrained from confessing, and to have neither affirmed nor denied the proposition put before him. If the doctrine in question really was widely current, ought not John to have hesitated to pronounce upon it, lest his soul had actually been in Elijah? And here our churchman will appeal to history, and will bid his antagonists ask experts of the secret doctrines of the Hebrews, if they do really entertain such a belief. For if it should appear that they do not, then

the argument based on that supposition is shown to be quite baseless. Our churchman, however, is still free to have recourse to the solution given before, and to insist that attention be paid to the meaning with which the question was put. For if, as I showed, the senders knew John to be the child of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and if the messengers still more, being men of priestly race, could not possibly be ignorant of the remarkable manner in which their kinsman Zacharias had received his son, then what could be the meaning of their question, "Art thou Elijah? "Had they not read that Elijah had been taken up into heaven, and did they not expect him to appear? Then, as they expect Elijah to come at the consummation before Christ, and Christ to follow him, perhaps their question was meant less in a literal than in a tropical sense: Are you he who announces beforehand the word which is to come before Christ, at the consummation? To this he very properly answers, "I am not." The adversary, however, tries to show that the priests could not be ignorant that the birth of John had taken place in so remarkable a manner, because "all these things had been much spoken of in the hill country of Judaea; "and the churchman has to meet this. He does so by showing that a similar mistake was widely current about the Saviour Himself; for "some said that He was John the Baptist, others Elijah, others Jeremiah or one of the prophets."45 So the disciples told the Lord when He was in the parts of Caesarea Philippi, and questioned them on that subject. And Herod, too, said,46 "John whom I beheaded, he is risen from the dead; "so that he appears not to have known what was said about Christ, as reported in the Gospel,47 "Is not this the son of the carpenter, is not His mother called Mary, and His brothers James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas? And His sisters, are they not all with us? "Thus in the case of the Saviour, while many knew of His birth from Mary, others were under a mistake about Him; and so in the case of John, there is no wonder if, while some knew of his birth from Zacharias, others were in doubt whether the expected Elijah had appeared in him or not. There was not more room for doubt about John, whether he was Elijah, than about the Saviour, whether He was John. Of the two, the question of the outward form of Elijah could be disposed of from the words of Scripture, though not from actual observation, for we read,48 "He was a hairy man, and girt with a leather girdle about his loins." John's outward appearance, on the contrary, was well known, and was not like that of Jesus; and yet there were those who surmised that John had risen from the dead, and taken the name of Jesus. As for the change of name, a thing which reminds us of mysteries, I do not know how the Hebrews came to tell about Phinehas, son of Eleazar, who admittedly prolonged his life to the time of many of the judges, as we read in the Book of Judges,49 to tell about him what I now mention. They say that he was Elijah, because he had been promised immortality (in Numbers50), on account of the covenant of peace granted to him because he was jealous with a divine jealousy, and in a passion of anger pierced the Midianitish woman and the Israelite, and stayed the wrath of God as it is called, as it is written, "Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them." No wonder, then, if those who conceived Phinehas and Elijah to be the same person, whether they judged soundly in this or not. for that is not now the question, considered John and Jesus also to be the same. This, then, they doubted, and desired to know if John and Elijah were the same. At another time than this, the point would certainly call for a careful enquiry, and the argument would have to be well weighed as to the essence of the soul, as to the principle of her composition, and as to her entering into this body of earth. We should also have to enquire into the distributions of the life of each soul, and as to her departure from this life, and whether it is possible for her to enter into a second life in a body or

not, and whether that takes place at the same period, and after the same arrangement in each case, or not; and whether she enters the same body, or a different one, and if the same, whether the subject remains the same while the qualities are changed, or if both subject and qualities remain the same, and if the soul will always make use of the same body or will change it. Along with these questions, it would also be necessary to ask what transcorporation is, and how it differs from incorporation, and if he who holds transcorporation must necessarily hold the world to be eternal. The views of these scholars must also be taken into account, who consider that, according to the Scriptures, the soul is sown along with the body, and the consequences of such a view must also be looked at. In fact the subject of the soul is a wide one, and hard to be unravelled, and it has to be picked out of scattered expressions of Scripture. It requires, therefore, separate treatment. The brief consideration we have been led to give to the problem in connection with Elijah and John may now suffice; we go on to what follows in the Gospel.

8. John is a Prophet, But Not the Prophet.

"Art thou that prophet? And he answered No."51 If the law and the prophets were until John,52 what can we say that John was but a prophet? His father Zacharias, indeed, says, filled with the Holy Ghost and prophesying,53 "And thou, child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest, for thou shalt go before the Lord to prepare His ways." (One might indeed get past this passage by laying stress on the word called: he is to be called, he is not said to be, a prophet.) And still more weighty is it that the Saviour said to those who considered John to be a prophet,54 "But what went ye out to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet." The words, Yea, I say unto you, manifestly affirm that John is a prophet, and that is nowhere denied afterwards. If, then, he is said by the Saviour to be not only a prophet but "more than a prophet," how is it that when the priests and levites come and ask him, "Art thou the Prophet? "he answers No! On this we must remark that it is not the same thing to say, "Art thou the Prophet? "and "Art thou a prophet? "The distinction between the two expressions has already been observed, when we asked what was the difference between the God and God, and between the Logos and Logos.55 Now it is written in Deuteronomy,56 "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, like me; Him shall ye hear, and it shall be that every soul that will not hear that prophet shall be cut off from among His people," There was, therefore, an expectation of one particular prophet having a resemblance to Moses in mediating between God and the people and receiving a new covenant from God to give to those who accepted his teaching; and in the case of each of the prophets, the people of Israel recognized that he was not the person of whom Moses spoke. As, then, they doubted about John, whether he were not the Christ,57 so they doubted whether he could not be the prophet. And there is no wonder that those who doubted about John whether he were the Christ, did not understand that the Christ and the prophet are the same person; their doubt as to John necessarily implied that they were not clear on this point. Now the difference between "the prophet" and "a prophet" has escaped the observation of most students; this is the case with Heracleon, who says, in these very words: "As, then, John confessed that he was not the Christ, and not even a prophet, nor Elijah." If he interpreted the words before us in such a way, he ought to have examined the various passages to see whether in saying that he is not a prophet nor Elijah he is or is not saying what is true. He devotes no attention, however, to these passages, and in his remaining commentaries he passes over such points without any enquiry. In the sequel, too, his remarks, of which we shall have to speak directly, are very scanty, and do not testify to careful study.

9. John I 22.

"They said therefore unto him, Who art thou? that we may give an answer to them that sent us. What sayest thou of thyself? "This speech of the emissaries amounts to the following: We had a surmise what you were and came to learn if it was so, but now we know that you are not that. It remains for us, therefore. to hear your account of yourself, so that we may report your answer to those who sent us.

10. Of the Voice John the Baptists is.

"He said, I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness: Make straight the way of the Lord, as said Isaiah the prophet." As He who is peculiarly the Son of God, being no other than the Logos, yet makes use of Logos (reason)-for He was the Logos in the beginning, and was with God, the Logos of God-so John, the servant of that Logos, being, if we take the Scripture to mean what it says, no other than a voice, yet uses his voice to point to the Logos. He, then, understanding in this way the prophecy about himself spoken by Isaiah the prophet, says he is a voice, not crying in the wilderness, but "of one crying in the wilderness," of Him, namely, who stood and cried,58 "If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink." He it was. too, who said,59 "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight. Every valley shall be filled and every mountain and hill shall be brought low; and all the crooked shall be made straight." For as we read in Exodus that God said to Moses,60 "Behold I have given thee for a God to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet; "so we are to understand-the cases are at least analogous if not altogether similar-it is with the Word in the beginning, who is God, and with John. For John's voice points to that word and demonstrates it. It is therefore a very appropriate punishment that falls on Zacharias on his saying to the angel,61 "Whereby shall I know this? For I am an old man and my wife well stricken in years." For his want of faith with regard to the birth of the voice, he is himself deprived of his voice, as the angel Gabriel says to him, "Behold, thou shall be silent and not able to speak until the day that these things shall come to pass, because thou hast not believed my words, which shall be fulfilled in their season." And afterwards when he had "asked for a writing tablet and written, His name is John; and they all marvelled," he recovered his voice; for "his mouth was opened immediately and his tongue, and he spake, blessing God." We discussed above how it is to be understood that the Logos is the Son of God, and went over the ideas connected with that; and a similar sequence of ideas is to be observed at this point. John came for a witness; he was a man sent from God to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe; he was that voice, then, we are to understand, which alone was fitted worthily to announce the Logos. We shall understand this aright if we call to mind what was adduced in our exposition of the texts: "That all might believe through Him," and "This is he of whom it is written, Behold I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee."62 There is fitness, too, in his being said to be the voice, not of one saying in the wilderness, but of one crying in the wilderness. He who cries, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord," also says it; but he might say it without crying it. But he cries and shouts it, that even those may hear who are at a distance from the speaker, and that even the deaf may understand the greatness of the tidings, since it is announced in a great voice; and he thus brings help, both to those who have departed from God and to those who have lost the acuteness of their hearing. This, too, was the reason why "Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink." Hence, too,63 "John beareth witness of Him, and cried, saying," "Hence also God commands Isaiah to cry, with the voice of one saying, Cry. And I said, What shall

I cry? "The physical voice we use in prayer need not be great nor startling; even should we not lift up any great cry or shout, God will yet hear us. He says to Moses,64 "Why criest thou unto Me? "when Moses had not cried audibly at all. It is not recorded in Exodus that he did so; but Moses had cried mightily to God in prayer with that voice which is heard by God alone. Hence David also says,65 "With my voice I cried unto the Lord, and He heard me." And one who cries in the desert has need of a voice, that the soul which is deprived of God and deserted of truth-and what more dreadful desert is there than a soul deserted of God and of all virtue, since it still goes crookedly and needs instruction-may be exhorted to make straight the way of the Lord. And that way is made straight by the man who, far from copying the serpent's crooked journey: while he who is of the contrary disposition perverts his way. Hence the rebuke directed to a man of this kind and to all who resemble him, "Why pervert ye the right ways of the Lord? "66 11. Of the Way of the Lord, How It is Narrow, and How Jesus is the Way.

Now the way of the Lord is made straight in two fashions. First, in the way of contemplation, when thought is made clear in truth without any mixture of falsehood; and then in the way of conduct, after the sound contemplation of what ought to be done, when action is produced which harmonizes with sound theory of conduct. And that we may the more clearly understand the text, "Make straight the way of the Lord," it will be well to compare with it what is said in the Proverbs,67 "Depart not, either to the right hand or to the left." For he who deviates in either direction has given up keeping his path straight, and is no longer worthy of regard, since he has gone apart from the straightness of the journey, for "the Lord68 is righteous, and loves righteousness, and His face beholds straightness." Hence he who is the object of regard, and receives the benefit that comes from this oversight, says,69 "The light of Thy countenance was shown upon us, O Lord." Let us stand, then, as Jeremiah70 exhorts, upon the ways, and let us see and ask after the ancient ways of the Lord, and let us see which is the good way, and walk in it. Thus did the Apostles stand and ask for the ancient ways of the Lord; they asked the Patriarchs and the Prophets, enquiring into their writings, and when they came to understand these writings they saw the good way, namely, Jesus Christ, who said, "I am the way." and they walked in it. For it is a good way that leads the good man to the good father, the man who, from the good treasure of his heart, brings forth good things, and who is a good and faithful servant. This way is narrow, indeed, for the many cannot bear to walk in it and are lovers of their flesh; but it is also hard-pressed71 by those who use violence72 to walk in it, for it is not called afflicting, but afflicted.73 For that way which is a living way, and feels the qualities of those who tread it, is pressed and afflicted, when he travels on it who has not taken off his shoes from off his feet.74 nor truly realized that the place on which he stands. or indeed treads, is holy ground. And it will lead to Him who is the life, and who says, "I am the life." For the Saviour, in whom all virtues are combined, has many aspects. To him who, though by no means near the end, is yet advancing, He is the way; to him who has put off all that is dead He is the life. He who travels on this way is told to take nothing with him on it, since it provides bread and all that is necessary for life, enemies are powerless on it, and he needs no staff, and since it is holy, he needs no shoes.

12. Heracleon's View of the Voice, and of John the Baptist. The words, however, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness," etc., may be taken as equivalent to "I am He of whom the 'voice in the wilderness' is written." Then John would be the person crying, and his voice would be that crying in the wilderness, "Make straight the way of the Lord." Heracleon, discussing John and the

prophets, says, somewhat slanderously, that "the Word is the Saviour; the voice, that in the wilderness which John interpreted; the sound is the whole prophetic order." To this we may reply by reminding him of the text,75 "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle," and that which says that though a man have knowledge of mysteries, or have prophecy but wants love, he is a sounding or a tinkling cymbal.76 If the prophetic voice be nothing but sound, how does our Lord come to refer us to it as where He says,77 "Search the Scriptures, for in them you think you have eternal life, and these are they which bear witness," and78 "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe Me," and79 "Well did Isaiah prophesy concerning you, saying, This people honours me with their lips"? I do not know if any one can reasonably admit that the Saviour thus spoke in praise of an uncertain sound, or that there is any preparation to be had from the Scriptures to which we are referred as from the voice of a trumpet, for our war against opposing powers, should their sound give an uncertain voice. If the prophets had not love, and if that is why they were sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal, then how does the Lord send us to their sound, as these writers will have it, as if we could get help from that? He asserts, indeed, that a voice, when well fitted to speech, becomes speech, as if one should say that a woman is turned into a man; and the assertion is not supported by argument. And, as if he were in a position to put forth a dogma on the subject and to get on in this way, he declares that sound can be changed in a similar way into voice, and the voice, which is changed into speech, he says, is in the position of a disciple, while sound passing into voice is in that of a slave. If he had taken any kind of trouble to establish these points we should have had to devote some attention to refuting them; but as it is, the bare denial is sufficient refutation. There was a point some way back which we deferred taking up, that, namely, of the motive of John's speeches. We may now take it up. The Saviour, according to Heracleon, calls him both a prophet and Elijah, but he himself denies that he is either of these. When the Saviour, Heracleon says, calls him a prophet and Elijah, He is speaking not of John himself, but of his surroundings; but when He calls him greater than the prophets and than those who are born of women, then He is describing the character of John himself. When John, on the other hand, is asked about himself, his answers relate to himself, not to his surroundings. This we have examined as carefully as possible, comparing each of the terms in question with the statements of Heracleon, lest he should not have expressed himself quite accurately. For how it comes that the statements that he is Elijah and that he is a prophet apply to those about him, but the statement that he is the voice of one crying in the wilderness, to himself, no attempt whatever is made to show Heracleon only gives an illustration, namely, this: His surroundings were, so to speak, his clothes, and other than himself, and when he was asked about his clothes, if he; were his clothes, he could not answer "Yes." Now that his being Elijah, who was to come, was his clothes, is scarcely consistent, so far as I can see, with Heracleon's views; it might consist, perhaps, with the exposition we ourselves gave of the words, "In the spirit and power of Elijah; "it might, in a sense, be said that this spirit of Elijah is equivalent to the soul of John. He then goes on to try to determine why those who were sent by the Jews to question John were priests and levites, and he answers by no means badly, that it was incumbent on such persons, being devoted to the service of God, to busy themselves and to make enquiries about such matters. When he goes on, however, to say that it was "because John was of the levitical tribe, this is less well considered. We raised the question ourselves above, and saw that if the Jews who were sent knew John's birth, it was not open to them to ask if he was Elijah. Then, again, in dealing with the question, "Art thou the prophet? "Heracleon does not regard the addition of the article as having

any special force, and says, "They asked him if he were a prophet, wishing to know this more general fact." Again, not Heracleon alone, but, so far as I am informed, all those who diverge from our views, as if they had not been able to deal with a trifling ambiguity and to draw the proper distinction, suppose John to be greater than Elijah and than all the prophets. The words are, "Of those born of women there is none greater than John; "but this admits of two mean-lugs, that John is greater than they all, or again, that some of them are equal to him. For though many of the prophets were equal to him, still it might be true ill respect of the grace bestowed on him, that none of them was greater than he. He regards it as confirming the view that John was greater, that "he is predicted by Isaiah; "for no other of all those who uttered prophecies was held worthy by God of this distinction. This, however, is a venturesome statement anti implies some disrespect of what is called the Old Testament, and total disregard of the fact that Elijah himself was the subject of prophecy. For Elijah is prophesied by Malachi, who says,80 "Behold, I send unto you Elijah, the Tishbite, who shall restore the heart of the father to the son." Josiah, too, as we read in third Kings,81 was predicted by name by the prophet who came out of Judah; for he said, Jeroboam also being present at the altar, "Thus saith the Lord, Behold a son is born to David, his name is Josiah." There are some also who say that Samson was predicted by Jacob, when he said,82 "Dan shall judge his own people, he is as one tribe in Israel," for Samson who judged Israel was of the tribe of Dan. So much by way of evidence of the rashness of the statement that John alone was the subject of prophecy, made by Heracleon in his attempted explanation of the words, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness."

13. John I 24, 25. Of the Baptism of John, that of Elijah, and that of Christ. And they that were sent were of the Pharisees. And they asked him, and said unto him,83 "Why baptizest thou then, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet? "Those who sent from Jerusalem the priests and levites who asked John these questions, having learned who John was not, and who he was, preserve a decent silence, as if tacitly assenting and indicating that they accepted what was said, and saw that baptism was suited to a voice crying in the wilderness for the preparing of the way of the Lord. But the Pharisees being, as their name indicates, a divided and seditious set of people, show that they do not agree with the Jews of the metropolis and with the ministers of the service of God, the priests and levites. They send envoys who deal in rebukes, and so far as their power extends debar him from baptizing; their envoys ask, Why baptizest thou, then, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet? And if we were to stitch together into one statement what is written in the various Gospels, we should say that at this time they spoke as is here reported, but that at a later time, when they wished to received baptism, they heard the address of John:84 "Generations of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance." This is what the Baptist says in Matthew, when he sees many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, without, it is clear, having the fruits of repentance, and pharisaically boasting in themselves that they had Abraham for their father. For this they are rebuked by John, who has the zeal of Elijah according to the communication of the Holy Spirit. For that is a rebuking word, "Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for our father," and that is the word of a teacher, when he speaks of those who for their stony hearts are called unbelieving stones, and says that by the power of God these stones may be changed into children of Abraham; for they were present to the eyes of the prophet and did not shrink from his divine glance. Hence his words: "I say unto you that God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham." And since they came to his baptism without having done fruits meet for

repentance, he says to them most appropriately, "Already is the axe laid to the root of the tree; every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." This is as much as to say to them: Since you have come to baptism without having done fruits meet for repentance, you are a tree that does not bring forth good fruit and which has to be cut down by the most sharp and piercing axe of the Word which is living and powerful and sharper than every two-edged sword. The estimation in which the Pharisees held themselves is also set forth by Luke in the passage:85 "Two men went up to the temple to pray, the one a Pharisee and the other a publican. And the Pharisee stood and prayed thus with himself: God, I thank Thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." The result of this speech is that the publican goes down to his house justified rather than the Pharisee, and the lesson is drawn, that every one who exalts himself is abased. They came, then, in the character in which the Saviour's reproving words described them, as hypocrites to John's baptism, nor does it escape the Baptist's observation that they have the poison of vipers under their tongue and the poison of asps, for "the poison of asps is under their tongue,"86 The figure of serpents rightly indicates their temper, and it is plainly revealed in their better question: "Why baptizest thou then, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet? "To these I would fain reply, if it be the case that the Christ and Elijah and the prophet baptize, but that the voice crying in the wilderness has no authority to do so, "Most harshly, my friends, do you question the messenger sent before the face of Christ to prepare His way before Him. The mysteries which belong to this point are all hidden to you; for Jesus being, whether you will or not, the Christ, did not Himself baptize but His disciples, He who was Himself the prophet. And how have you come to believe that Elijah who is to come will baptize? "He did not baptize the logs upon the altar in the times of Ahab,87 though they needed such a bath to be burned up, what time the Lord appeared in fire. No, he commands the priests to do this for him, and that not only once; for he says, "Do it a second time," upon which they did it a second time, and "Do it a third time," and they did it a third time. If, then, he did not at that time himself baptize but left the work to others, how was he to baptize at the time spoken of by Malachi? Christ, then, does not baptize with water, but His disciples. He reserves for Himself to baptize with the Holy Spirit and with fire. Now Heracleon accepts the speech of the Pharisees as distinctly implying that the office of baptizing belonged to the Christ and Elijah and to every prophet, for he uses these words, "Whose office alone it is to baptize." He is refuted by what we have just said, and especially by the consideration that he takes the word "prophet" in a general sense;88 for he cannot show that any of the prophets baptized. He adds, not incorrectly, that the Pharisees put the question from malice, and not from a desire to learn.

14. Comparison of the Statements of the Four Evangelists Respecting John the Baptist, the Prophecies Regarding Him, His Addresses to the Multitude and to the Pharisees, Etc.

We deem it necessary to compare with the expression of the passage we are considering the similar expressions found elsewhere in the Gospels. This we shall continue to do point by point to the end of this work, so that terms which appear to disagree may be shown to be in harmony, and that the peculiar meanings present in each may be explained. This we shall do in the present passage. The words, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord," are placed by John, who was a disciple, in the mouth of the Baptist. In Mark, on the other hand, the same words are recorded at the beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, in accordance with the Scripture of Isaiah, as thus: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as it is written in

Isaiah the prophet, Behold, I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight." Now the words, "Make straight the way of the Lord," added by John, are not found in the prophet.Perhaps John was seeking to compress the "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God," and so wrote, "Make straight the way of the Lord; "while Mark combined two prophecies spoken by two different prophets in different places, and made one prophecy out of them, "As it is written in Isaiah the prophet, Behold I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way. The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight." The words, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness," are written immediately after the narrative of Hezekiah's recovery from his sickness,89 while the words, "Behold I send My messenger before thy face," are written by Malachi.90 What John does here, abbreviating the text he quotes, we find done by Mark also at another point. For while the words of the prophet are, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God," Mark writes, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight." And John practises a similar abbreviation in the text, "Behold I send My messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee," when he does not add the words "before thee," as in the original. Coming now to the statement, "They were sent from the Pharisees and they asked Him,"91 we have been led by our examination of the passage to prefix the enquiry of the Pharisees-which Matthew does not mention-to the occurrence recorded in Matthew, when John saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, and said to them, "Ye generations of vipers," etc. For the natural sequence is that they should first enquire and then come. And we have to observe how, when Matthew reports that there went out to John Jerusalem and all Judaea, and all the region round about Jordan, to be baptized by him in Jordan, confessing their sins, it was not these people who heard from the Baptist any word of rebuke or refutation, but only those many Pharisees and Sadducees whom he saw coming. They it was who were greeted with the address, "Ye offspring of vipers," etc.92 Mark, again, does not record any words of reproof as having been used by John to those who came to him, being all the country of Judaea and all of them of Jerusalem, who were baptized by him in the Jordan and confessed their sins. This is because Mark does not mention the Pharisees and Sadducees as having come to John. A further circumstance which we must mention is that both Matthew and Mark state that, in the one case, all Jerusalem and all Judaea, and the whole region round about Jordan, in the other, the whole land of Judaea and all they of Jerusalem, were baptized, confessing their sins; but when Matthew introduces the Pharisees and Sadducees as coming to the baptism, he does not say that they confessed their sins, and this might very likely and very naturally be the reason why they were addressed as "offspring of vipers." Do not suppose, reader, that there is anything improper in our adducing m our discussion of the question of those who were sent from the Pharisees and put questions to John, the parallel passages from the other Gospels too. For if we have indicated the proper connection between the enquiry of the Pharisees, recorded by the disciple John, and their baptism which is found in Matthew, we could scarcely avoid inquiring into the passages in question, nor recording the observations made on them. Luke, like Mark, remembers the passage, "The voice of one crying in the wilderness," but lie for his part treats it as follows:93 "The word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. And he came into all the region round about Jordan preaching the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins; as it is written in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet, The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His

paths straight." Luke, however, added the continuation of the prophecy: "Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall become straight, and the rough ways smooth, and all flesh shall see the salvation of God." He writes, like Mark, "Make His ways straight; "curtailing, as we saw before, the text, "Make straight the ways of our God." In the phrase, "And all the crooked shall become straight," he leaves out the "all," and the word "straight" he converts from a plural into a singular. Instead of the phrase, moreover, "The rough laud into a plain," he gives, "The rough ways into smooth ways," and he leaves out "And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed," and gives what follows, "And all flesh shall see the salvation of God." These observations are of use as showing how the evangelists are accustomed to abbreviate the sayings of the prophets. It has also to be observed that the speech, "Offspring of vipers," etc., is said by Matthew to have been spoken to the Pharisees and Sadducees when coming to baptism, they being a different set of people from those who confessed their sins, and to whom no words of this kind were spoken. With Luke, on the contrary, these words were addressed to the multitudes who came out to be baptized by John, and there were not two divisions of those who were baptized, as we found in Matthew. But Matthew, as the careful observer will see, does not speak of the multitudes in the way of praise, and he probably means the Baptist's address, Offspring of vipers, etc., to be understood as addressed to them also. Another point is, that to the Pharisees and Sadducees he says, "Bring forth a fruit," in the singular, "worthy of repentance," but to the multitudes he uses the plural, "Bring forth fruits worthy of repentance." Perhaps the Pharisees are required to yield the special fruit of repentance, which is no other than the Son and faith in Him, while the multitudes, who have not even a beginning of good things, are asked for all the fruits of repentance, and so the plural is used to them. Further, it is said to the Pharisees, "Think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham for our father." For the multitudes now have a beginning, appearing as they do to be introduced into the divine Word, and to approach the truth; and thus they begin to say within themselves, "We have Abraham for our father." The Pharisees, on the contrary, are not beginning to this, but have long held it to be so. But both classes see John point to the stones aforesaid and declare that even from these children can be raised up to Abraham, rising up out of unconsciousness and deadness. And observe how it is said to the Pharisees,94 according to the word of the prophet,95 "Ye have eaten false fruit," and they have false fruit,-" Every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire," while to the multitudes which do not bear fruit at all,96 "Every tree which bringethnot forth fruit is hewn down." For that which has no fruit at all has not good fruit, and, therefore, it is worthy to be hewn down. But that which bears fruit has by no means good fruit, whence it also calls for the axe to lay it low. But, if we look more closely into this about the fruit, we shall find that it is impossible that that which has just begun to be cultivated, even should it not prove fruitless, should bear the first good fruits. The husbandman is content that the tree just coming into cultivation should bear him at first such fruits as it may; afterwards, when he has pruned and trained it according to his art, he will receive, not the fruits it chanced to bear at first, but good fruits. The law itself favours this interpretation, for it says97 that the planter is to wait for three years, having the trees pruned and not eating the fruit of them. "Three years." it says, "the fruit shall be unpurified to you, and shall not be eaten, but in the fourth year all the fruit shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord." This explains how the word "good" is omitted from the address to the multitudes, "Every tree, therefore, which bears not fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire." The tree which goes on bearing such fruit as it did at first, is a tree which does not bear good fruit, and is, therefore, cut down, and cast

into the fire, since, when the three years have passed and the fourth comes round, it does not bear good fruit, for praise unto the Lord. In thus adducing the passages from the other Gospels I may appear to be digressing, but I cannot think it useless, or without bearing on our present subject. For the Pharisees send to John, after the priests and levites who came from Jerusalem, men who came to ask him who he was, and enquire, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet? After making this enquiry they straightway come for baptism, as Matthew records, and then they hear words suited to their quackery and hypocrisy. But the words addressed to them were very similar to those spoken to the multitudes, and hence the necessity to look carefully at both speeches, and to compare them together. It was while we were so engaged that various points arose in the sequence of the matter, which we had to consider. To what has been said we must add the following. We find mention made in John of two orders of persons sending: the one, that of the Jews from Jerusalem sending priests and levites; the other, that of the Pharisees who want to know why he baptizes. And we found that, after the enquiry, the Pharisees present themselves for baptism. May it not be that the Jews, who had sent the earlier mission from Jerusalem, received John's words before those who sent the second mission, namely, the Pharisees, and hence arrived before them? For Jerusalem and all Judaea, and, in consequence, the whole region round about Jordan, were being baptized by him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins; or, as Mark says. "There went out to him the whole land of Judaea, and all they of Jerusalem, and were baptized of him in the river Jordan, confessing their sins." Now, neither does Matthew introduce the Pharisees and Sadducees, to whom the words, "Offspring of vipers," etc., are addressed; nor does Luke introduce the multitudes who meet with the same rebuke, as confessing their sins. And the question may be raised how, if the whole city of Jerusalem, and the whole of Judaea, and the whole region round about Jordan, were baptized of John in Jordan, the Saviour could say,98 "John the Baptist came neither eating nor drinking, and ye say he hath a devil; "and how could He say to those who asked Him,99 "By what authority doest thou these things? I also will ask you one word, which if ye tell me, I also will tell you by what authority I do these things. The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven or of men? And they reason, and say, If we shall say, From heaven, He will say, Why did ye not believe him? "The solution of the difficulty is this. The Pharisees, addressed by John, as we saw before, with his "Offspring of vipers," etc., came to the baptism, without believing in him, probably because they feared the multitudes, and, with their accustomed hypocrisy towards them, deemed it right to undergo the washing, so as not to appear hostile to those who did so. Their belief was, then, that he derived his baptism from men, and not from heaven, but, on account of the multitude, lest they should be stoned, they are afraid to say what they think. Thus there is no contradiction between the Saviour's speech to the Pharisees and the narratives in the Gospels about the multitudes who frequented' John's baptism. It was part of the effrontery of the Pharisees that they declared John to have a devil, as, also, that they declared Jesus to have performed His wonderful works by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils.

15. How the Baptist Answers the Question of the Pharisees and Exalts the Nature of Christ. Of the Shoe-Latchet Which He is Unable to Untie.

John100 answered them, saying, "I baptize with water, but in the midst of you standeth one whom ye know not, even He who cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose." Heracleon considers that John's answers to those sent by the Pharisees refer not to

what they asked, but to what he wished, not observing that he accuses the prophet of a want of manners, by making him, when asked about one thing, answer about another; for this is a fault to be guarded against in conversation. We assert, on the contrary, that the reply accurately takes up the question. It is asked," Why baptizest thou then, if thou art not the Christ? "And what other answer could be given to this than to show that his baptism was in its nature a bodily thing? I, he says, "baptize with water; "this is his answer to, "Why baptizest thou." And to the second part of their question, "If thou art not the Christ," he answers by exalting the superior nature of Christ, that He has such virtue as to be invisible in His deity, though present to every man and extending over the whole universe. This is what is indicated in the words, "There standeth one among you." The Pharisees, moreover, though expecting the advent of Christ, saw nothing in Him of such a nature as John speaks of; they believed Him to be simply a perfect and holy man. John, therefore, rebukes their ignorance of His superiority, and adds to the words, "There standeth one among you," the clause, "whom ye know not." And, lest any one should suppose the invisible One who extends to every man, or, indeed, to the whole world, to be a different person from Him who became man, and appeared upon the earth and con versed with men, he adds to the words, "There standeth one among you whom you know not," the further words, "Who cometh after me," that is, He who is to be manifested after me. By whose surpassing excellence he well understood that his own nature was far surpassed, though some doubted whether he might be the Christ; and, therefore, desiring to show how far he is from attaining to the greatness of the Christ, that no one should think of him beyond what he sees or hears of him, he goes on: "The latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose." By which lie conveys, as in a riddle, that he is not fit to solve and to explain the argument about Christ's assuming a human body, an argument tied up and hidden (like a shoe-tie) to those who do not understand it,-so as to say anything worthy of such an advent, compressed, as it was, into so short a space.

16. Comparison of John's Testimony to Jesus in the Different Gospels.

It may not be out of place, as we are examining the text, "I baptize with water," to compare the parallel utterances of the evangelists with this of John. Matthew reports that the Baptist, when he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming to his baptism, after the words of rebuke which we have already studied, went on:101 "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." This agrees with the words in John, in which the Baptist declares himself to those sent by the Pharisees, on the subject of his baptizing with water. Mark, again, says,102 "John preached, saying, There cometh after me He that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose. I baptized you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost." And Luke says103 that, as the people were in expectation, and all were reasoning in their hearts concerning John, whether haply he were the Christ, John answered them all, saying. "I indeed baptize you with water; but there cometh one mightier than I, whose shoe-latchet I am not worthy to unloose; He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire."

17. Of the Testimony of John to Jesus in Matthew's Gospel,

These, then, are the parallel passages of the four; let us try to see as clearly as we can what is the purport of each and wherein they differ from each other. And we will begin with Matthew, who is

reported by tradition to have published his Gospel before the others, to the Hebrews, those, namely, of the circumcision who believed. I, he says, baptize you with water unto repentance, purifying you, as it were, and turning you away from evil courses and calling you to repentance; for I am come to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him, and by my baptism of repentance to prepare the ground for Him who is to come after me, and who will thus benefit you much more effectively and powerfully than my strength could. For His baptism is not that of the body only; He fills the penitent with the Holy Ghost, and His diviner fire does away with everything material and consumes everything that is earthy, not only from him who admits it to his life, but even from him who hears of it from those who have it. So much stronger than I is He who is coming after me, that I am not able to bear even the outskirts of the powers round Him which are furthest from Him (they are not open and exposed, so that any one could see them), nor even to bear those who support them. I know not of which I should speak. Should I speak of my own great weakness, which is not able to bear even these things about Christ which in comparison with the greater things in Him are least, or should I speak of His transcendent Deity, greater than all the world? If I who have received such grace, as to be thought worthy of prophecy predicting my arrival in this human life, in the words," The voice of one crying in the wilderness," and "Behold I send my messenger before thy face; "if I whose birth Gabriel who stands before God announced to my father so advanced in years, so much against his expectation, I at whose name Zacharias recovered his voice and was enabled to use it to prophesy, I to whom my Lord bears witness that among them that are born of women there is noble greater than I, I am not able so much as to bear His shoes l And if not His shoes, what can be said about His garments? Who is so great as to be able to guard His coat? Who can suppose that He can understand the meaning contained in His tunic which is without seam from the top because it is woven throughout? It is to be observed that while the four represent John as declaring himself to have come to baptize with water. Matthew alone adds the words "to repentance," teaching that the benefit of baptism is connected with the intention of the baptized person; to him who repents it is salutary, but to him who comes to it without repentance it will turn to greater condemnation. And here we must note that as the wonderful works done by the Saviour in the cures He wrought, which are symbolical of those who at any time are set free by the word of God from ally sickness or disease, though they were done to the body and brought a bodily relief, yet also called those who were benefited by them to an exercise of faith, so the washing with water which is symbolic of the soul cleansing herself from every stain of wickedness, is no less in itself to him who yields himself to the divine power of the invocation of the Adorable Trinity, the beginning and source of divine girls; for "there are diversities of gifts." This view receives confirmation from the narrative recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, which shows the Spirit to have descended so manifestly on those who receive baptism, after the water had prepared the way for him in those who properly approached the rite. Simon Magus, astonished at what he saw, desired to receive from Peter this gift, but though it was a good thing he desired, he thought to attain it by the mammon of unrighteousness. We next remark in passing that the baptism of John was inferior to the baptism of Jesus which was given through His disciples. Those persons in the Acts104 who were baptized to John's baptism and who had not heard if there was any Holy Ghost are baptized over again by the Apostle, Regeneration did not take place with John, but with Jesus through His disciples it does so, and what is called the layer of regeneration takes place with renewal of the Spirit; for the Spirit now comes in addition since it comes from God and is over and above the water and does not come to all after the water. So hr,

then, our examination of the statements in the Gospel according to Matthew.

18. Of the Testimony in Mark. What is Meant by the Saviour's Shoes and by Untying His Shoe-Latchets.

Now let us consider what is stated by Mark. Mark's account of John's preaching agrees with the other. The words are, "There cometh after me He that is mightier than I," which amounts to the same thing as "He that cometh after me is mightier than I." There is a difference, however, in what follows, "The latchets of His shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and untie." For it is one thing to bear a person's shoes,-they must, it is evident, have been untied already from the feet of the wearer,-and it is another thing to stoop down and untie the latchet of his shoes. And it follows, since believers cannot think that either of the Evangelists made any mistake or misrepresentation, that the Baptist must have made these two utterances at different times and have meant them to express different things. It is not the case, as some suppose. that the reports refer to the same incident and turned out differently because of a loose-ness of memory as to some of the facts or words. Now it is a great thing to bear the shoes of Jesus, a great thing to stoop down to the bodily features of His mission, to that which took place in some lower region, so as to contemplate His image in the lower sphere, and to untie each difficulty connected with the mystery of His incarnation, such being as it were His shoe-latchets. For the fetter of obscurity is one as the key of knowledge also is one; not even He who is greatest among those born of women is sufficient of Himself to loose such things or to open them, for He who tied and locked at first, He also grants to whom He will to loose His shoe-latchet and to unlock what He has shut. If the passage about the shoes has a mystic meaning we ought not to scorn to consider it. Now I consider that the inhumanisation when the Son of God assumes flesh and bones is one of His shoes, and that the other is the descent to Hades, whatever that Hades be, and the journey with the Spirit to the prison. As to the descent into Hades, we read in the sixteenth Psalm, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades," and as for the journey in prison with the Spirit we read in Peter in his Catholic Epistle,105 "Put to death," he says, "in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit; in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which at one time were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God once waited in the days of Noah while the ark was a preparing." He, then, who is able worthily to set forth the meaning of these two journeys is able to untie the latchet of the shoes of Jesus; he, bending down in his mind and going with Jesus as He goes down into Hades, and descending from heaven and the mysteries of Christ's deity to the advent He of necessity made with us when He took on man (as His shoes). Now He who put on man also put on the dead, for106 "for this end Jesus both died and revived, that He might be Lord both of dead and living." This is why He put on both living and dead, that is, the inhabitants of the earth and those of Hades, that He might be the Lord of both dead and living. Who, then, is able to stoop down and untie the latchet of such shoes, and having untied them not to let them drop, but by the second faculty he has received to take them up and bear them, by bearing the meaning of them in his memory?

19. Luke and John Suggest that One May Loose the Shoe-Latchets of the Logos Without Stooping Down.

We must not, however, omit to ask how it comes that Luke and John give the speech without the phrase "to stoop down." He, perhaps, who stoops down may be held to unloose in the sense which we have stated. On the other hand, it may be that one who fixes his eyes on the height of

the exaltation of the Logos, may find the loosing of those shoes which when one is seeking them seem to be bound, so that He also looses those shoes which are separable from the Logos, and beholds the Logos divested of inferior things, as He is, the Son of God.

20. The Difference Between Not Being "Sufficient" And Not Being "Worthy."

John records that the Baptist said he was not worthy, Mark that he was not sufficient, and these two are not the same. One who was not worthy might yet be sufficient, and one who was worthy might not be sufficient. For even if it be the case that gifts are bestowed to profit withal and not merely according to the proportion of faith, yet it would seem to be the part of a God who loves men and who sees before what harm must come from the rise of self-opinion or conceit, not to bestow sufficiency even on the worthy. But it belongs to the goodness of God by conferring bounties to conquer the object of His bounty, taking in advance him who is destined to be worthy, and adorning him even before he becomes worthy with sufficiency, so that after his sufficiency he may come to be worthy; he is not first to be worthy and then to anticipate the giver and take His gifts before the time and so arrive at being sufficient. Now with the three the Baptist says he is not sufficient, while in John he says he is not worthy. But it may be that he who formerly declared that he was not sufficient became sufficient afterwards, even though perhaps he was not worthy, or again that while he was saying he was not worthy, and was in fact not worthy, he arrived at being worthy, unless one should say that human nature can never come to perform worthily this loosing or this bearing, axed that John, therefore, says truly that he never became sufficient to loose the latchets of the Saviour's shoes, nor worthy of it either. However much we take into our minds there are still left things not yet understood; for, as we read in the wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach,107 "When a man hath done, then he beginneth, and when he leaveth off, then he shall he doubtful."

21. The Fourth Gospel Speaks of Only One Shoe, the Others of Both. The Significance of This. As to the shoes, too, which are spoken of in the three Gospels, we have a question to consider; we must compare them with the single shoe named by the disciple John. "I am not worthy," we read there, "to untie the latchet of His shoe." Perhaps he was conquered by the grace of God, and received the gift of doing that which of himself he would not have been worthy to do, of untying, namely, the latchet of one of the shoes, namely, after he had seen the Saviour's sojourn among men, of which he bears witness. But he did not know the things which were to follow, namely, whether Jesus was to come to that place also, to which he was to go after being beheaded in prison, or whether he was to look for another; and hence he alludes enigmatically to that doubt which was afterwards cleared up to us, and says, "I am not worthy to untie His shoe-latchet." If any one considers this to be a superfluous speculation, he can combine in one the speech about the shoes and that about the shoe, as if John said, I am by no means worthy to loose His shoestring, not even at the beginning, the string of one of His shoes. Or the following may be a way to combine what is said in the Four. If John understands about Jesus sojourn here, but is in doubt about the future, then he says with perfect truth that he is not worthy to loose the latchet of His shoes; for though he loosed that of one shoe, he did not loose both. And on the other hand, what he says about the latchet of the shoe is quite true also; since as we saw he is still in doubt whether Jesus is He that was to come, or whether another is to be looked for, in that other region.

22. How the Word Stands in the Midst of Men Without Being Known of Them. As for the saying, "There standeth one among you whom you know not," we are led by it to consider the Son of God,

the Word, by whom all things were made, since He exists in substance throughout the underlying nature of things, being the same as wisdom. For He permeated, from the beginning, all creation, so that what is made at any time should be made through Him, and that it might be always true of anything soever, that "All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made; "and this saying also, "By wisdom didst thou make them all." Now, if He permeates all creation, then He is also in those questioners who ask, "Why baptizest thou, if thou art not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet? "In the midst of them stands the Word, who is the same and steadfast, being everywhere established by the Father. Or the words, "There standeth among you," may he understood to say, In the midst of you men, because you are reasonable beings, stands He who is proved by Scripture to be the sovereign principle in the midst of every body, and so to be present in your heart. Those, therefore, who have the Word in the midst of them, but who do not consider His nature, nor from what spring and principle He came, nor how He gave them the nature they have,108 these, while having Him in the midst of them, know Him not. But John knew Him: for the words, "Whom you know not," used in reproach to the Pharisees, show that he well knew the Word whom they did not know. And the Baptist, therefore, knowing Him, saw Him coming after himself, who was now in the midst of them, that is to say, dwelling after him and the teaching he gave in his baptism, in those who, according to reason (or the Word), submitted to that purifying rite. The word "after," however, has not the same meaning here as it has when Jesus commands us to come "after" Him; for in this case we are bidden to go after Him, so that, treading in His steps, we may come to the Father; but in the other case, the meaning is that after the teachings of John (since "He came in order that all men through Him might believe"), the Word dwells with those who have prepared themselves, purified as they are by the lesser words for the perfect Word. Firstly, then, stands the Father, being without any turning or change; and then stands also His Word, always carrying on His work of salvation, and even when He is in the midst of men, not comprehended, and not even seen. He stands, also, teaching, and inviting all to drink from His abundant spring, for109 "Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto Me and drink."

23. Heracleon's View of This Utterance of John the Baptist, and Interpretation of the Shoe of Jesus. But Heracleon declares the words, "There standeth one among you," to be equivalent to "He is already here, and He is in the world and in men, and He is already manifest to you all." By this He does away with the meaning which is also present in the words, that the Word had permeated the whole world. For we must say to him, When is He not present, and when is He not in the world? Does not this Gospel say, "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not." And this is why those to whom the Logos is He "whom you know not," do not know Him: they have never gone out of the world, but the world does not know Him. But at what time did He cease to be among men? Was He not in Isaiah, when He said,110 "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath anointed me," and111 "I became manifest to those who sought me not." Let them say, too, if He was not in David when he said, not from himself,112 "But I was established by Him a king in Zion His holy hill," and the other words spoken in the Psalms in the person of Christ. And why should I go over the details of this proof, truly they are hard to be numbered, when I can show quite clearly that He was always in men? And that is enough to show Heracleon's interpretation of "There standeth in the midst of you," to be unsound, when he says it is equivalent to "He is already here, and He is in the world and in men." We are disposed to agree with him when he says that the words, "Who cometh after me," show John to be the forerunner of

Christ, for he is in fact a kind of servant running before his master. The words, however, "Whose shoe-latchet I am not worthy to unloose," receive much too simple an interpretation when it is said that "in these words the Baptist confesses that he is not worthy even of the least honourable ministration to Christ." After this interpretation he adds, not without sense, "I am not worthy that for my sake He should come down from His greatness and should take flesh as His footgear, concerning which I am not able to give any explanation or description, nor to unloose the arrangement of it." In understanding the world by his shoe, Heracleon shows some largeness of mind, but immediately after he verges on impiety in declaring that all this is to be understood of that person whom John here has in his mind. For he considers that it is the demiurge of the world who confesses by these words that he is a lesser person than the Christ; and this is the height of impiety. For the Father who sent Him, He who is the God of the living as Jesus Himself testifies, of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, and He who is greater than heaven and earth for the reason that He is the Maker of them, He also alone is good and is greater than He who was sent by Him. And even if, as we said, Heracleon's idea was a lofty one, that the whole world was the shoe of Jesus, yet I think we ought not to agree with him. For how can it be harmonized with such a view, that "Heaven is My throne and the earth My footstool," a testimony which Jesus accepts as said of the Father?113 "Swear not by heaven," He says, "for it is God's throne, nor by the earth, for it is the footstool of His feet." How, if he takes the whole world to be the shoe of Jesus, can he also accept the text,114 "Do not I fill heaven and earth? "saith the Lord. It is also worth while to enquire, whether as the Word and wisdom permeated the whole world, and as the Father was in the Son, the words are to be understood as above or in this way, that He who first of all was girded about with the whole creation, in addition to the Son's being in Him, granted to the Saviour, as being second after Him and being God the Word, to pervade the whole creation. To those who have it in them to take note of the uninterrupted movement of the great heaven, how it carries with it from East to West so great a multitude of stars, to them most of all it will seem needful to enquire what that force is, how great and of what nature, which is present in the whole world. For to pronounce that force to be other than the Father and the Son, that perhaps might be inconsistent with piety.

24. The Name of the Place Where John Baptized is Not Bethany, as in Most Copies, But Bethabara. Proof of This. Similarly "Gergesa" Should Be Read for "Gerasa," In the Story of the Swine. Attention is to Be Paid to the Proper Names in Scripture, Which are Often Written Inaccurately, and are of Importance for Interpretation.

"These things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing."115 We are aware of the reading which is found in almost all the copies, "These things were done in Bethany." This appears, moreover, to have been the reading at an earlier time; and in Heracleon we read "Bethany." We are convinced, however, that we should not read "Bethany," but "Bethabara." We have visited the places to enquire as to the footsteps of Jesus and His disciples, and of the prophets. Now, Bethany, as the same evangelist tells us,116 was the town of Lazarus, and of Martha and Mary; it is fifteen stadia from Jerusalem, anti the river Jordan is about a hundred and eighty stadia distant from it. Nor is there any other place of the same name in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, but they say that Bethabara is pointed out on the banks of the Jordan, and that John is said to have baptized there. The etymology of the name, too, corresponds with the baptism of him who made ready for the Lord a people prepared for Him; for it yields the meaning "House of preparation," while Bethany means "House of obedience." Where else was it fitting that he should

baptize, who was sent as a messenger before the face of the Christ, to prepare His way before Him, but at the House of preparation? And what more fitting home for Mary, who chose the good part,117 which was not taken away from her, and for Martha, who was cumbered for the reception of Jesus, and for their brother, who is called the friend of the Saviour, than Bethany, the House of obedience? Thus we see that he who aims at a complete understanding of the Holy Scriptures must not neglect the careful examination of the proper names in it. In the matter of proper names the Greek copies are often incorrect, and in the Gospels one might be misled by their authority. The transaction about the swine, which were driven down a steep place by the demons and drowned in the sea, is said to have taken place in the country of the Gerasenes.118 Now, Gerasa is a town of Arabia, and has near it neither sea nor lake. And the Evangelists would not have made a statement so obviously and demonstrably false; for they were men who informed themselves carefully of all matters connected with Judaea. But in a few copies we have found, "into the country of the Gadarenes; "and, on this reading, it is to be stated that Gadara is a town of Judaea, in the neighbourhood of which are the well-known hot springs, and that there is no lake there with overhanging banks, nor any sea. But Gergesa, from which the name Gergesenes is taken, is an old town in the neighbourhood of the lake now called Tiberias, and on the edge of it there is a steep place abutting on the lake, from which it is pointed out that the swine were cast down by the demons. Now, the meaning of Gergesa is "dwelling of the casters-out," and it contains a prophetic reference to the conduct towards the Saviour of the citizens of those places, who "besought Him to depart out of their coasts." The same inaccuracy with regard to proper names is also to be observed in many passages of the law and the prophets, as we have been at pains to learn from the Hebrews, comparing our own copies with theirs which have the confirmation of the versions, never subjected to corruption, of Aquila and Theodotion and Symmachus. We add a few instances to encourage students to pay more attention to such points. One of the sons of Levi,119 the first, is called Geson in most copies, instead of Gerson. His name is the same as that of the first-born of Moses;120 it was given appropriately in each case, both children being born, because of the sojourn in Egypt, in a strange land. The second son of Juda,121 again, has with us the name Annan, but with the Hebrews Onan, "their labour." Once more, in the departures of the children of Israel in Numbers,122 we find, "They departed from Sochoth and pitched in Buthan; "but the Hebrew, instead of Buthan, reads Aiman. And why should I add more points like these, when any one who desires it can examine into the proper names and find out for himself how they stand? The place-names of Scripture are specially to be suspected where many of them occur in a catalogue, as in the account of the partition of the country in Joshua, and in the first Book of Chronicles from the beginning down to, say, the passage about Dan,123 and similarly in Ezra. Names are not to be neglected, since indications may be gathered from them which help in the interpretation of the passages where they occur. We cannot, however, leave our proper subject to examine in this place into the philosophy of names.

25. Jordan Means "Their Going Down." Spiritual Meanings and Application of This.

Let us look at the words of the Gospel now before us. "Jordan" means "their going down." The name "Jared" is etymologically akin to it, if I may say so; it also yields the meaning "going down; "for Jared was born to Maleleel, as it is written in the Book of Enoch-if any one cares to accept that book as sacred-in the days when the sons of God came down to the daughters of men.Under this descent some have supposed that there is an enigmatical reference to the descent of souls into

bodies, taking the phrase "daughters of men" as a tropical expression for this earthly tabernacle. Should this be so, what river will "their going down" be, to which one must come to be purified, a river going down, not with its own descent, but "theirs," that, namely, of men, what but our Saviour who separates those who received their lots from Moses from those who obtained their own portions through Jesus (Joshua)? His current, flowing in the descending stream, makes glad, as we find in the Psalms,124 the city of God, not the visible Jerusalem-for it has no river beside it-but the blameless Church of God, built on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ Jesus our Lord being the chief corner-stone. Under the Jordan, accordingly, we have to understand the Word of God who became flesh and tabernacled among us, Jesus who gives us as our inheritance the humanity which He assumed, for that is the head corner-stone, which being taken up into the deity of the Son of God, is washed by being so assumed, and then receives into itself the pure and guileless dove of the Spirit, bound to it and no longer able to fly away from it. For "Upon whomsoever," we read, "thou shall see the Spirit descending and abiding upon Him, the same is He that baptizeth with the Holy Spirit." Hence, he who receives the Spirit abiding on Jesus Himself is able to baptize those who come to him in that abiding Spirit. But John baptizes beyond Jordan, in the regions verging on the outside of Judaea, in Bethabara, being the forerunner of Him who came to call not the righteous but sinners, and who taught that the whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick. For it is for forgiveness of sins that this washing is given.

26. The Story of Israel Crossing Jordan Under Joshua is Typical of Christian Things, and is Written for Our Instruction.

Now, it may very well be that some one not versed in the various aspects of the Saviour may stumble at the interpretation given above of the Jordan; because John says, "I baptize with water, but He that cometh after me is stronger than I; He shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit." To this we reply that, as the Word of God in His character as something to be drunk is to one set of men water, and to another wine, making glad the heart of man, and to others blood, since it is said,125 "Except ye drink My blood, ye have no life in you," and as in His character as food He is variously conceived as living bread or as flesh, so also He, the same person, is baptism of water, and baptism of Holy Spirit and of fire, and to some, also, of blood. It is of His last baptism, as some hold, that He speaks in the words,126 "I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished? "And it agrees with this that the disciple John speaks in his Epistle127 of the Spirit, and the water, and the blood, as being one. And again He declares Himself to be the way and the door, but clearly He is not the door to those to whom He is the way, and He is no longer the way to those to whom He is the door. All those, then, who are being initiated in the beginning of the oracles of God, and come to the voice of him who cries in the wilderness, "Make straight the way of the Lord," the voice which sounds beyond Jordan at the house of preparation, let them prepare themselves so that they may be in a state to receive the spiritual word, brought home to them by the enlightenment of the Spirit. As we are now, as our subject requires, bringing together all that relates to the Jordan, let us look at the "river." God, by Moses, carried the people through the Red Sea, making the water a wall for them on the right hand and on the left, and by Joshua He carried them through Jordan. Now, Paul deals with this Scripture, and his warfare is not according to the flesh of it, for he knew that the law is spiritual in a spiritual sense. And he shows us that he understood what is said about the passage of the Red Sea; for he says in his first Epistle to the Corinthians,128 "I would not, brethren, have you ignorant,

how that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and did all eat the same spiritual meat, and drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of the spiritual rock which followed them, and the rock was Christ." In the spirit of this passage let us also pray that we may receive from God to understand the spiritual meaning of Joshua's passage through Jordan. Of it, also, Paul would have said, "I would not, brethren, have you ignorant, that all our fathers went through Jordan, and were all baptized into Jesus in the spirit and in the river." And Joshua, who succeeded Moses, was a type of Jesus Christ, who succeeds the dispensation through the law, and replaces it by the preaching of the Gospel. And even if those Paul speaks of were baptized in the cloud and in the sea, there is something harsh and salt in their baptism. They are still in fear of their enemies, and crying to the Lord and to Moses, saying,129 "Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou brought us forth to slay us in the wilderness? Why hast thou dealt thus with us, to bring us forth out of Egypt? "But the baptism to Joshua, which takes place in quite sweet and drinkable water, is in many ways superior to that earlier one, religion having by this time grown clearer and assuming a becoming order. For the ark of the covenant of the Lord our God is carried in procession by the priests and levites, the people following the ministers of God, it, also, accepting the law of holiness. For Joshua says to the people,130 "Sanctify yourselves against tomorrow; the Lord will do wonders among you." And he commands the priests to go before the people with the ark of the covenant, wherein is plainly showed forth the mystery of the Father's economy about the Son, which is highly exalted by Him who gave the Son this office; "That at the name of Jesus131 every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." This is pointed out by what we find in the book called Joshua,132 "In that day I will begin to exalt thee before the children of Israel." And we hear our Lord Jesus saying to the children of Israel,133 "Come hither and hear the words of the Lord your God. Hereby ye shall know that the living God is in (among) you; "for when we are baptized to Jesus, we know that the living God is in us. And, in the former case, they kept the passover in Egypt, and then began their journey, but with Joshua, after crossing Jordan on the tenth day of the first month they pitched their camp in Galgala; for a sheep had to be procured before invitations could be issued to the banquet after Joshua's baptism. Then the children of Israel, since the children of those who came out of Egypt had not received circumcision, were circumcised by Joshua with a very sharp stone; the Lord declares that He takes away the reproach of Egypt on the day of Joshua's baptism, when Joshua purified the children of Israel. For it is written:134 "And the Lord said to Joshua, the son of Nun, This day have I taken away the reproach of Egypt from off you." Then the children of Israel kept the passover on the fourteenth day of the month, with much greater gladness than in Egypt, for they ate unleavened bread of the corn of the holy land, and fresh food better than manna. For when they received the land of promise God did not entertain them with scantier food, nor when such a one as Joshua was their leader do they get inferior bread. This will be plain to him who thinks of the true holy land and of the Jerusalem above. Hence it is written in this same Gospel:135 Your fathers did eat bread in the wilderness, and are dead; he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever. For the manna, though it was given by God, yet was bread of travel, bread supplied to those still under discipline, well fitted for those who were under tutors and governors. And the new bread Joshua managed to get from corn they cut in the country, in the land of promise, others having laboured and his disciples reaping,-that was bread more full of life, distributed as it was to those who, for their

perfection, were able to receive the inheritance of their fathers. Hence, he who is still under discipline to that bread may receive death as far as it is concerned, but he who has attained to the bread that follows that, eating it, shall live for ever. All this has been added, not, I conceive, without appropriateness, to our study of the baptism at the Jordan, administered by John at Bethabara.

27. Of Elijah and Elisha Crossing the Jordan.

Another point which we must not fail to notice is that when Elijah was about to be taken up in a whirlwind, as if to heaven,136 he took his mantle and wrapped it together and smote the water, which was divided hither and thither, and they went over both of them, that is, he and Elisha. His baptism in the Jordan made him fitter to be taken up, for, as we showed before, Paul gives the name of baptism to such a remarkable passage through the water. And through this same Jordan Elisha receives, through Elijah, the gift he desired, saying, "Let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me." What enabled him to receive this gift of the spirit of Elijah was, perhaps, that he had passed through Jordan twice, once with Elijah, and the second time, when, after receiving the mantle of Elijah, he smote the water and said, "Where is the God of Elijah, even He? And he smote the waters, and they were divided hither and thither."

28. Naaman the Syrian and the Jordan. No Other Stream Has the Same Healing Power. Should any one object to the expression "He smote the water," on account of the conclusion we arrived at above with respect to the Jordan, that it is a type of the Word who descended for us our descending, we rejoin that with the Apostle the rock is plainly said to be Christ, and that it is smitten twice with the rod, so that the people may drink of the spiritual rock which follows them. The "smiting" in this new difficulty is that of those who are fond of suggesting something that contradicts the conclusion even before they have learned what the question is which is in hand. From such God sets us free, since, on the one hand, He gives us to drink when we are thirsty, and on the other He prepares for us, in the immense and trackless deep, a road to pass over, namely, by the dividing of His Word, since it is by the reason which distinguishes (divides) that most things are made plain to us. But that we may receive the right interpretation about this Jordan, so good to drink, so full of grace, it may be of use to compare the cleansing of Naaman the Syrian from his leprosy, and what is said of the rivers of religion of the enemies of Israel. It is recorded of Naaman137 that he came with horse and chariot, and stood at the door of the house of Elisha. And Elisha sent a messenger to him, saying, "Go, wash seven times in the Jordan, and thy flesh shall come again unto thee, and thou shalt be cleansed." Then Naaman is angry; he does not see that our Jordan is the cleanser of those who are impure from leprosy, from that impurity, and their restorer to health; it is the Jordan that does this, and not the prophet; the office of the prophet is to direct to the healing agency. Naaman then says, not understanding the great mystery of the Jordan, "Behold, I said that he will certainly come out to me, and will call upon the name of the Lord his God, and lay his hand upon the place, and restore the leper." For to put his hand on the leprosy138 and cleanse it is a work belonging to our Lord Jesus only; for when the leper appealed to Him with faith, saying, "If Thou wilt Thou canst make me clean," He not only said, "I will, be thou clean," but in addition to the word He touched him, and he was cleansed from his leprosy. Naaman, then, is still in error, and does not see how far inferior other rivers are to the Jordan for the cure of the suffering; he extols the rivers of Damascus, Arbana, and Pharpha, saying, "Are not Arbana and Pharpha, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? Shall I not wash in them and be clean? "For as none is good139 but one, God the Father, so among rivers none is

good but the Jordan, nor able to cleanse from his leprosy him who with faith washes his soul in Jesus. And this, I suppose, is the reason why the Israelites are recorded to have wept when they sat by the rivers of Babylon and remembered Zion; those who are carried captive, on account of their wickedness, when they taste other waters after sacred Jordan, are led to remember with longing their own river of salvation. Therefore it is said of the rivers of Babylon, "There we sat down," clearly because they were unable to stand, "and wept." And Jeremiah rebukes those who wish to drink the waters of Egypt, and desert the water which comes down from heaven, and is named from its so coming down-namely, the Jordan. He says,140 "What hast thou to do with the way of Egypt, to drink the water of Geon, and to drink the water of the river," or, as it is in the Hebrew, "to drink the water of Sion."Of which water we have now to speak.

29. The River of Egypt and Its Dragon, Contrasted with the Jordan. But that the Spirit in the inspired Scriptures is not speaking mainly of rivers to be seen with the eyes, may be gathered from Ezekiel's prophecies against Pharaoh, king of Egypt:141 "Behold I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon, seated in the midst of rivers, who sayest, Mine are the rivers, and I made them. And I will put traps in thy jaws, and I will make the fishes of the river to stick to thy fins, and I will bring thee up from the midst of thy river, and all the fish of the river, and I will cast thee down quickly and all the fish of the river; thou shalt fall upon the face of thy land, and thou shalt not be gathered together, and thou shalt not be adorned." For what real bodily dragon has ever been reported as having been seen in the material river of Egypt? But consider if the river of Egypt be not the dwelling of the dragon who is our enemy, who was not even able to kill the child Moses. But as the dragon is in the river of Egypt, so is God in the river which makes glad the city of God; for the Father is in the Son. Hence those who come to wash themselves in Him put away the reproach of Egypt, and become more fit to be restored. They are cleansed from that foulest leprosy, receive a double portion of spiritual gifts, and are made ready to receive the Holy Spirit, since the spiritual dove does not light on any other stream. Thus we have conside

Commentary on Matthew - Book 1

From the First Book of the Commentary on Matthew163

Concerning the four Gospels which alone are uncontroverted in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the Gospel according to Matthew, who was at one time a publican and afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ, was written first; and that he composed it in the Hebrew tongue and published it for the converts from Judaism. The second written was that according to Mark, who wrote it according to the instruction of Peter, who, in his General Epistle, acknowledged him as a son, saying, "The church that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my son."164 And third, was that according to Luke, the Gospel commended by165 Paul, which he composed for the converts from the Gentiles. Last of all, that according to John.

163: This fragment is found in Eusebius, H. E. vi. 25.

164: 1 Pet. v. 13.

165: Or, who is commended by Paul.

Commentary on Matthew - Book 10

Book X.

1. The Parable of the Tares: the House of Jesus.

2. Exposition of the Parable.

3. The Shining of the Righteous. Its Interpretation.

4. Concerning the Parable of the Treasure Hidden in the Field. The Parable Distinguished from the Similitude.

5. The Field and the Treasure Interpreted.

6. The Exposition Continued.

7. The Parable of the Pearl of Great Price. The Formation and Difference of Pearls.

8. The Parable Interpreted is the Light of These Views.

9. Christ the Pearl of Great Price.

10. The Pearl of the Gospel in Relation to the Old Testament.

11. The Parable of the Drag-Net.

12. The Divine Scriptures Compared to a Net.

13. Relation of Men to Angels.

14. The Disciples as Scribes.

15. The Householder and His Treasury.

16. Parables in Relation to Similitudes, Jesus in His Own Country 17. The Brethren of Jesus.

18. Prophets in Their Country.

19. Relation of Faith and Unbelief to the Supernatural Powers of Jesus.

20. Different Conceptions of John the Baptist.

21. Herod and the Baptist.

22. The Dancing of Herodias. The Keeping of Oaths.

23. The Withdrawal of Jesus.

24. The Diverse Forms of Spiritual Sickness.

25. Healing Precedes Papticipation in the Loaves of Jesus.

Book X.

1. The Parable of the Tares: the House of Jesus.

"Then He left the multitudes and went into His house, and His disciples came unto Him saying, Declare to us the parable of the tares of the field"1 When Jesus then is with the multitudes, He is not in His house, for the multitudes are outside of the house, and it is an act which springs from His love of men to leave the house and to go away to those who are not able to come to Him. Now, having discoursed sufficiently to the multitudes in parables, He sends them away and goes to His own house, where His disciples, who did not abide with those whom He had sent away, come to Him. And as many as are more genuine hearers of Jesus first follow Him, then having inquired about His abode, are permitted to see it, and, having come, see and abide with Him, all for that day, and perhaps some of them even longer. And, in my opinion, such things are indicated in the Gospel according to John in these words, "On the morrow again John was standing and two of his disciples.2 And in order to explain the fact that of those who were permitted to go with Jesus and see His abode, the one who was more eminent becomes also an Apostle, these words are added: "One of the two that heard John speak and followed him was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother."3 And if then, unlike the multitudes whom He sends away, we wish to hear Jesus and go to the house and receive something better than the multitudes, let us become friends of Jesus, so that as His disciples we may come to Him when He goes into the house, and having come may inquire about the explanation of the parable, whether of the tares of the field, or of any other. And in order that it may be more accurately understood what is represented by the house of Jesus, let some one collect from the Gospels whatsoever things are spoken about the house of Jesus, and what things were spoken or done by Him in it; for all the passages collected together will convince any one who applies himself to this reading that the letters of the Gospel are not absolutely simple as some suppose, but have become simple to the simple by a divine concession;4 but for those who have the will and the power to hear them more acutely there are concealed things wise and worthy of the Word of God.

2. Exposition of the Parable.

"After these things He answered and said to them, He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man."5 Though we have already, in previous sections, according to our ability discussed these matters, none the less shall we now say what is in harmony with them, even if there is reasonable ground for another explanation. And consider now, if in addition to what we have already recounted, you can otherwise take the good seed to be the children of the kingdom, because whatsoever good things are sown in the human soul, these are the offspring of the kingdom of God and have been sown by God the Word who was in the beginning with God,6 so that wholesome words about anything are children of the kingdom. But while men are asleep who do not act according to the command of Jesus, "Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation,"7 the devil on the watch sows what are called tares-that is, evil opinions-over and among what are called by some natural conceptions, even the good seeds which are from the Word. And according to this the whole world might be called a field, and not the Church of God only, for in the whole world the Son of man sowed the good seed, but the wicked one tares,-that is, evil words,-which, springing from wickedness, are children of the evil one. And at the end of things, which is called "the consummation of the age,"8 there will of necessity be a harvest, in order that the angels of

God who have been appointed for this work may gather up the bad opinions that have grown upon the soul, and overturning them may give them over to fire which is said to burn, that they may be consumed. And so the angels and servants of the Word will gather from all the kingdom of Christ all things that cause a stumbling-block to souls and reasonings that create iniquity, which they will scatter and cast into the burning furnace of fire. Then those who become conscious that they have received the seeds of the evil one in themselves, because of their having been asleep, shall wail and, as it were, be angry against themselves; for this is the "gnashing of teeth."9 Wherefore, also, in the Psalms it is said, "They gnashed upon me with their teeth."10 Then above all "shall the righteous shine," no longer differently as at the first, but all "as one sun in the kingdom of their Father."11 Then, as if to indicate that there was indeed a hidden meaning, perhaps, in all that is concerned with the explanation of the parable, perhaps most of all in the saying, "Then shall the righteous shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father," the Saviour adds, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,"12 thereby teaching those who think that in the exposition, the parable has been set forth with such perfect clearness that it can be understood by the vulgar,13 that even the things connected with the interpretation of the parable stand in need of explanation.

3. The Shining of the Righteous. Its Interpretation. But as we said above in reference to the words, "Then shall the righteous shine as the sun," that the righteous will shine not differently as formerly, but as one sun, we will, of necessity, set forth what appears to us on the point. Daniel, knowing that the intelligent are the light of the world, and that the multitudes of the righteous differ in glory, seems to have said this, "And the intelligent shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and from among the multitudes of the righteous as the stars for ever and ever."14 And in the passage, "There is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star differeth from another star in glory: so also is the resurrection of the dead,"15 the Apostle says the same thing as Daniel, taking this thought from his prophecy. Some one may inquire how some speak about the difference of light among the righteous, while the Saviour on the contrary says, "They shall shine as one sun." I think, then, that at the beginning of the blessedness enjoyed by those who are being saved (because those who are not such are not yet purified), the difference connected with the light of the saved takes place: but when, as we have indicated, he gathers from the whole kingdom of Christ all things that make men stumble, and the reasonings that work iniquity are cast into the furnace of fire, and the worse elements utterly consumed, and, when this takes place, those who received the words which are the children of the evil one come to self-consciousness, then shall the righteous having become one light of the sun shine in the kingdom of their Father. For whom will they shine? For those below them who will enjoy their light, after the analogy of the sun which now shines for those upon the earth? For, of course, they will not shine for themselves. But perhaps the saying," Let your light shine before men,"16 can be written "upon the table of the heart,"17 according to what is said by Solomon, in a threefold way; so that even now the light of the disciples of Jesus shines before the rest of men, and after death before the resurrection, and after the resurrection "until all shall attain unto a full-grown man,"18 and all become one sun. Then shall they shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

4. Concerning the Parable of the Treasure Hidden in the Field. The Parable Distinguished from the Similitude.

"Again the kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in the field, which a man found and hid."19 The former parables He spoke to the multitudes; but this and the two which follow it, which

are not parables but similitudes in relation to the kingdom of heaven, He seems to have spoken to the disciples when in the house. In regard to this and the next two, let him who "gives heed to reading"20 inquire whether they are parables at all. In the case of the latter the Scripture does not hesitate to attach in each case the name of parable; but in the present case it has not done so; and that naturally. For if He spoke to the multitudes in parables, and "spake all these things in parables, and without a parable spake nothing to them,"21 but on going to the house He discourses not to the multitudes but to the disciples who came to Him there, manifestly the things spoken in the house were not parables: for, to them that are without. even to those to whom "it is not given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven,"22 He speaks in parables. Some one will then say, If they are not really parables, what are they? Shall we then say in keeping with the diction of the Scripture that they are similitudes (comparisons)? Now a similitude differs from a parable; for it is written in Mark, "To what shall we compare the kingdom of God, or in what parable shall we set it forth? "23 From this it is plain that there is a difference between a similitude and a parable. The similitude seems to be generic, and the parable specific. And perhaps also as the similitude, which is the highest genus of the parable, contains the parable as one of its species, so it contains that particular form of similitude which has the same name as the genus. This is the case with other words as those skilled in the giving of many names have observed; who say that "impulse"24 is the highest genus of many species, as, for example, of "disinclination"25 and "inclination." and say that, in the case of the species which has the same name as the genus, "inclination" is taken in opposition to and in distinction from "disinclination."

5. The Field and the Treasure Interpreted. And here we must inquire separately as to the field, and separately as to the treasure hidden in it, and in what way the man who has found this hidden treasure goes away with joy and sells all that he has ill order to buy that field; and we must also inquire-what are the things which he sells. The field, indeed, seems to me according to these things to be the Scripture, which was planted with what is manifest in the words of the history, and the law, and the prophets, and the rest of the thoughts; for great an

Commentary on Matthew - Book 11

Book XI.

1. Introduction to the Feeding of the Five Thousand.

2. Exposition of the Details of the Miracle.

3. The Exposition of Details Continued. The Sitting Down on the Grass. The Division into Companies.

4. The Multitudes and the Disciples Contrasted.

5. The Disciples in Conflict. Jesus Walks Upon the Waters.

6. Interpretation of the Details in the Narrative. Application Thereof to All Disciples.

7. The Healing of the Sick on the Other Side. The Method of Healing.

8. Concerning the Pharisees and Scribes Who Came and Inquired, Why Do Thy Disciples Transgress the Tradition of the Elders?

9. Explanation of "Corban."

10. The Traditions of the Elders in Collision with Divine Law.

11. Exposition of the Prophecy of Isaiah Quoted by Jesus.

12. Things Clean and Unclean According to the Law and the Gospel.

13. The Offence of the Pharisees.

14. Why the Pharisees Were Not a Plant of God. Teaching of Origen on the "Bread of the Lord."

15. Eating with Unwashed Heart Defiles the Man.

16. Concerning the Canaanitish Woman. Meaning of the "Borders of Tyre and Sidon."

17. Exposition of the Details in the Narrative.

18. Concerning the Multitudes Who Were Healed. Comparison of the Mountain Where Jesus Sat to the Church.

19. Concerning the Seven Loaves. The Narrative of the Feeding of the Four Thousand Compared with that of the Five Thousand.

Book XI.

1. Introduction to the Feeding of the Five Thousand.

"And when even was come His disciples came to Him, "1 that is, at the consummation of the age in regard to which we may fitly say what is found in the Epistle of John, "It is the last hour."2 They, not yet understanding what the Word was about to do, say to Him, "The place is desert,"3 seeing the desert condition of the masses in respect of God and the Law and the Word; but they say to Him, "The time is past,"4 as if the fitting season of the law and prophets had passed. Perhaps they spoke this saying, in reference to the word of Jesus, that because of the beheading of John both the law and the prophets who were until John had ceased.5 "The time is past," therefore they say, and no food is at hand, because the season of it is no longer present, that those who have followed Thee in the desert may serve the law and the prophets. And, further, the disciples say, "Send them away,"6 that each one may buy food, if he cannot from the cities, at least from the villages,-places more ignoble. Such things the disciples said, because, after the letter of the law had been abrogated and prophecies had ceased, they despaired of unexpected and new food being found for the multitudes. But see what Jesus answers to the disciples though He does not cry out and plainly say it: "You suppose that, if the great multitude go away from Me in need of food, they will find it in villages rather than with Me, and among bodies of men, not of citizens but of villagers, rather than by abiding with Me. But I declare unto you, that in regard to that of which you suppose they are in need they are not in need, for they have no need to go away; but in regard to that of which you think they have no need-that is, of Me-as if I could not feed them, of this contrary to your expectation they have need. Since, then, I have trained you, and made you fit to give rational food to them who are in need of it, give ye to the crowds who have followed Me to eat; for ye have the power, which ye have received from Me, of giving the multitudes to eat; and if ye had attended to this, ye would have understood that I am far more able to feed them, and ye would not have said, 'Send the multitudes away that they may go and buy food for themselves.'"7
2. Exposition of the Details of the Miracle.

Jesus, then, because of the power which He gave to the disciples, even the power of nourishing others, said, Give ye them to eat.8 But (not denying that they can give loaves, but thinking that there were much too few and not sufficient to feed those who followed Jesus, and not considering that when Jesus takes each loaf-the Word-He extends it as far as He wills, and makes it suffice for all whomsoever He desires to nourish), the disciples say, We have here but five loaves and two fishes.9 Perhaps by the five loaves they meant to make a veiled reference to the sensible words of the Scriptures, corresponding in number on this account to the five senses, but by the two fishes either to the word expressed10 and the word conceived,11 which are a relish, so to speak, to the sensible things contained in the Scriptures; or, perhaps, to the word which had come to them about the Father and the Son. Wherefore also after His resurrection He ate of a broiled fish,12 having taken a part from the disciples, and having received that theology about the Father which they were in part able to declare to Him. Such is the contribution we have been able to give to the exposition of the word about the five loaves and the two fishes; and probably those, who are better able than we to gather together the five loaves and the two fishes among themselves, would be able to give a fuller and better interpretation of their meaning. It must be observed, however, that while in Matthew, Mark, and Luke,13 the disciples say that they have the five loaves and the two fishes, without indicating whether they were wheaten or of barley, John alone says, that the loaves were barley loaves.14 Wherefore, perhaps, in the Gospel of John the disciples do not acknowledge that the loaves are with them, but say in John, "There is a lad here who has five barley loaves and two fishes."15 And so long as these five loaves and two fishes were not carried

by the disciples of Jesus, they did not increase or multiply, nor were they able to nourish more; but, when the Saviour took them, and in the first placed looked up to heaven, with the rays of His eyes, as it were, drawing down from it power which was to be mingled with the loaves and the fishes which were about to feed the five thousand; and after this blessed the five loaves and the two fishes, increasing and multiplying them by the word and the blessing; and in the third place dividing and breaking He gave to the disciples that they might set them before the multitudes, then the loaves and the fishes were sufficient, so that all ate and were satisfied, and some portions of the loaves which had been blessed they were unable to eat. For so much remained over to the multitudes, which was not according to the capacity of the multitudes but of the disciples who were able to take up that which remained over of the broken pieces, and to place it in baskets filled with that which remained over, which were in number so many as the tribes of Israel. Concerning Joseph, then, it is written in the Psalms, "His hands served in the basket,"16 but about the disciples of Jesus that they took up that which remained over of the broken pieces twelve baskets, twelve baskets, I take it, not half-full but filled. And there are, I think, up to the present time, and will be until the consummation of the age with the disciples of Jesus, who are superior to the multitudes, the twelve baskets, filled with the broken pieces of living bread which the multitudes cannot eat. Now those who ate of the five loaves which existed before the twelve baskets that remained over, were kindred in nature to the number five; for those who ate had reached the stage of sensible things, since also they were nourished by Him who looked up to heaven and blessed and brake them, and were not boys nor women, but men. For there are, I think, even in sensible foods differences, so that some of them belong to those who "have put away childish things,"17 and some to those who are still babes and carnal in Christ.

3. The Exposition of Details Continued. The Sitting Down on the Grass. The Division into Companies.

We have spoken these things because of the words, "They that did eat were five thousand men, beside children and women, "18 which is an ambiguous expression; for either those who ate were five thousand men, and among those who ate there was no child or woman; or the men only were five thousand, the children and the women not being reckoned. Some, then, as we have said by anticipation, have so understood the passage that neither children nor women were present, when the increase and multiplication of the five loaves and the two fishes took place. Bat some one might say that, while many ate and according to their desert and capacity participated in the loaves of blessing, some worthy to be numbered, corresponding to the men of twenty years old who are numbered in the Book of Numbers,19 were Israelitish men, but others who were not worthy of such account and numbering were children and women. Moreover, interpret with me allegorically the children in accordance with the passage, "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, as unto babes in Christ; "20 and the women in accordance with the saying, "I wish to present you all as a pure virgin to Christ; "21 and the men according to the saying, "When I am become a man I have put away childish things."22 Let us not pass by without exposition the words, "He commanded the multitudes to sit down on the grass, and He look the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven, He blessed, and brake, and gave the loaves to the disciples, and the disciples to the multitudes. And they did all eat."23 For what is meant by the words, "And He commanded all the multitudes to sit down on the grass? "And what are we to understand in the passage worthy of the command of Jesus? Now, I think that He commanded the

multitudes to sit down on the grass because of what is said in Isaiah, "All flesh is grass; "24 that is to say, He commanded them to put the flesh under, and to keep in subjection "the mind of the flesh,"25 that so any one might be able to partake of the loaves which Jesus blesses. Then since there are different orders of those who need the food which Jesus supplies and all are not nourished by equal words, on this account I think that Mark has written, "And He commanded them that they should all sit down by companies upon the green grass; and they sat down in ranks by hundreds and by fifties; "26 but Luke, "And He said unto His disciples, Make them sit down in companies about fifty each."27 For it was necessary that those who were to find rest in the food of Jesus should either be in the order of the hundred-the sacred number-which is consecrated to God, because of the unit, (in it) or in the order of the fifty-the number which embraces the remission of sins, in accordance with the mystery of the Jubilee which took place every fifty years, and of the feast at Pentecost. And I think that the twelve baskets were in the possession of the disciples to whom it was said "Ye shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."28 And as the throne of him who judges the tribe of Reuben might be said to be a mystery, and the throne of him who judges the tribe of Simeon, and another of him who judges the tribe of Judah, and so on with the others; so there might be a basket of the food of Reuben, and another of Simeon, and another of Levi. But it is not in accordance with our present discourse now to digress so far from the subject in hand as to collect what is said about the twelve tribes, and separately what is said about each of them, and to say what each tribe of Israel may signify.

4. The Multitudes and the Disciples Contrasted.

"And straightway He constrained the disciples to enter into the boat, and to go before Him unto the other side, till He should send the multitudes away."29 It should be observed how often in the same passages is mentioned the word, "the multitudes," and another word, "the disciples," so that by observing and bringing together the passages about this matter it may be seen that the aim of the Evangelists was to represent by means of the Gospel history the differences of those who come to Jesus; of whom some are the multitudes and are not called disciples, and others are the disciples who are better than the multitudes. It is sufficient, however, for the present, for us to set forth a few sayings, so that any one who is moved by them may do the like with the whole of the Gospels. It is written then-as if the multitudes were below, but the disciples were able to come to Jesus when He went up into the mountain, where the multitudes were not able to be-as follows: "And seeing the multitudes He went up into the mountain, and when He had sat down His disciples came unto Him; and He opened His mouth and taught them saying, Blessed are the poor in spirit," etc.30 And again in another place, as the multitudes stood in need of healing, it is said, "Many multitudes followed Him and He healed them."31 We do not find any healing recorded of the disciples; since if any one is already a disciple of Jesus he is whole, and being well he needs Jesus not as a physician but in respect of His other powers. Again in another place, when He was speaking to the multitudes, His mother and His brethren stood without, seeking to speak to Him; this was made known to Him by some one to whom He answered, stretching forth His hand not towards the multitudes but towards the disciples, and said, "Behold My mother and My brethren."32 and bearing testimony to the disciples as doing the will of the Father which is in heaven, He added, "He is My brother and sister and mother."33 And again in another place it is written, "All the multitude stood on the beach and He spake to them many things in parables."34 Then after the parable of the Sowing, it was no longer the multitudes but the disciples who came

and said to Him, not "Why speakest thou to us in parables," but, "Why speakest thou to them in parables."35 Then also He answered and said, not to the multitudes but to the disciples, "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to the rest in parables."36 Accordingly; of those who come to the name I of Jesus some, who know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, would be called disciples; but those to whom such a privilege is not given would be called multitudes, who would be spoken of as inferior to the disciples. For observe carefully that He said to the disciples, "To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," but about the multitudes, "To them it is not given."37 And in another place He dismisses the multitudes indeed, and goes into the house,38 but He does not dismiss the disciples; and there came to Him into His house, not the multitudes but His disciples, saying, "Declare to us the parable of the tares of the field."39 Moreover, also, in another place when Jesus heard the things concerning John and withdrew in a boat to a desert place apart, the multitudes followed Him; when He came forth and saw a great multitude He had compassion on them and healed their sick-the sick of the multitudes, not of the disciples.40 "And when even was come there came to Him," not the multitudes, but the disciples, as being different from the multitudes, saying, "Send the multitudes away that they may go into the villages and buy themselves food."41 And, further, when Jesus took the five loaves and the two fishes, and looking up to heaven He blessed and brake the loaves, He gave not to the multitudes but to the disciples,42 that the disciples might give to the multitudes who were not able to take from Him, but received with difficulty at the hands of the disciples the loaves of the blessing of Jesus, and did not eat even all these; for the multitudes were filled and left that which remained over in twelve baskets which were full.

5. The Disciples in Conflict. Jesus Walks Upon the Waters. The reason why we have taken up this subject is the passage under discussion which tells that Jesus separated the disciples from the multitudes, and constrained them to enter into the boat and to go before Him unto the other side until He Himself should send the multitudes away;43 for the multitudes were not able to go away to the other side, as they were not in the mystic sense Hebrews, which are by interpretation, "dwelling on the other side." But this was the work of the disciples of Jesus-I mean togo away to the other side, and to pass beyond things seen and material, as temporal, and to go on to things unseen and eternal. To be dismissed by Jesus was a sufficient act of kindness bestowed on the multitudes by Jesus; for just because they were multitudes they were not able to go away to the other side; and this kind of dismissal no one has the power to effect save Jesus only, and it is not possible for any one to be dismissed unless he has first eaten of the loaves which Jesus blesses. Nor is it possible for any one to eat of the loaves of blessing of Jesus unless he has done as Jesus commanded and sat down upon the grass as we have told. Nor again was it possible for the multitudes to do this unless they had followed Jesus from their own cities, when He withdrew into a desert place apart. And at first, when He was asked by the disciples to send away the multitudes, He did not send them away until He had fed them with the loaves of blessing; but now He sends them away, having first constrained the disciples to enter into the boat; and He sends them away, while they were somewhere below,-for the desert was below,-but He Himself went up into the mountain to pray.44 And you must observe this, that immediately after the five thousand had been fed, Jesus constrained the disciples to embark into the boat, and to go before Him unto the other side. Only, the disciples were not able to go before Jesus to the other side; but, when they had got as far as the middle of the sea, and the boat was distressed "because the wind was contrary to them,"45 they were afraid when about the fourth watch of the night Jesus came to them. And if

Jesus had not gone up into the boat neither would the wind which was contrary to the disciples who were sailing have ceased, nor would those who were sailing have gone across and come to the other side. And, perhaps, wishing to teach them by experience that it was not possible apart from Him to go to the other side He constrained them to enter into the boat and go before Him to the other side; but, when they were not able to advance farther than the middle of the sea, He appeared to them, and did what is written,46 and showed that he who arrives at the other side reaches it because Jesus sails along with him. But what is the boat into which Jesus constrained the disciples to enter? Is it perhaps the conflict of temptations and difficulties into which any one is constrained by the Word, and goes unwillingly, as it were, when the Saviour wishes to train by exercise the disciples in this boat which is distressed by the waves and the contrary wind? But since Mark has made a slight change in the reading, and for "Straightway He constrained the disciples to enter lute the boat and to go before Him to the other side," has written, "And straightway He constrained His disciples to enter into the boat and to go before Him unto the other side unto Bethsaida,"47 we must attend to the word, "He constrained," when first we have seen to the slight variation in Mark who indicates something more definite by the addition of the pronoun; for the same thing is not expressed by the words, straightway "He constrained the disciples." Something more than "the" disciples simply is written in Mark, namely, "His" disciples. Perhaps, therefore, to attend to the expression, the disciples who found it hard to tear themselves away from Jesus, and could not be separated from Him by any ordinary cause, wished to be present with Him; but He having judged that they should make trial of the waves and of the contrary wind, which would not have been contrary if they had been with Jesus, put on them the necessity of being separated from Him and entering into the boat. The Saviour then compels the disciples to enter into the boat of temptations and to go before Him to the other side, and through victory over them to go beyond critical difficulties; but when they had come into the midst of the sea, and of the waves in the temptations, and of the contrary winds which prevented them from going away to the other side, they were not able, struggling as they were without Jesus, to overcome the waves and the contrary wind and reach the other side. Wherefore the Word, taking compassion upon them who had done all that was in their power to reach the other side, came to them walking upon the sea, which for Him had no waves or wind that was able to oppose if He so willed; for it is not written, "He came to them walking upon the waves," but, "upon the waters; "48 Just as Peter, who at first when Jesus said to him, "Come," went down from the boat and walked not upon "the waves," but upon "the waters"49 to come to Jesus; but when he doubted he saw that the wind was strong, which was not strong to him who laid aside his little faith and his doubting. But, when Jesus went up with Peter into the boat, the wind ceased, as it had no power to energise against the boat when Jesus had gone up into it.

6. Interpretation of the Details in the Narrative. Application Thereof to All Disciples. And then the disciples "having crossed over came to the land Gennesaret, "50 of which word, if we knew the interpretation, we might gain some assistance in the exposition of the present passage. And observe, since God is faithful, and will not suffer the multitudes to be tempted above that they are able,51 in what way the Son of God constrained the disciples to enter into the boat, as being stronger and able to get as far as the middle of the sea, and to endure the trials by the waves, until they became worthy of divine assistance, and saw Jesus and heard Him when He had gone up, and to cross over and come to the land Gennesaret; but as for the multitudes who, because they were weaker, did not make trial of the boat and the waves and the contrary wind, them He sent

away, and went up into the mountain apart to pray.52 To pray for whom? Was it perhaps to pray for the multitudes that, when they were dismissed after the loaves of blessing, they might do nothing opposed to their dismissal by Jesus? And for the disciples that, when they were constrained by Him to enter into the boat and to go before Him unto the other side, they might suffer nothing in the sea nor from the contrary wind? And I would say with confidence, that, because of the prayer of Jesus to the Father for the disciples, they suffered nothing when sea and wave and contrary wind were striving against them. The simpler disciple, then, may be satisfied with the bare narrative; but let us remember, if ever we fall into distressful temptations, that Jesus has constrained us to enter into their boat, wishing us to go before Him unto the other side; for it is not possible for us to reach the other side, unless we have endured the temptations of waves add contrary wind. Then when we see many difficulties besetting us, and with moderate struggle we have swum through them to some extent, let us consider that our boat is in the midst of the sea, distressed at that time by the waves which wish us to make shipwreck concerning faith or some one of the virtues; but when we see the spirit of the evil one striving against us, let us conceive that then the wind is contrary to us. When then in such suffering we have spent three watches of the night-that is, of the darkness which is in the temptations-striving nobly with all our might and watching ourselves so as not to make shipwreck concerning the faith or some one of the virtues,-the first watch against the father of darkness and wickedness, the second watch against his son "who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God or thing that is worshipped,"53 and the third watch against the spirit54 that is opposed to the Holy Spirit, then we believe that when the fourth watch impendeth, when "the night is far spent, and the day is at hand,"55 the Son of God will come to us, that He may prepare the sea for us, walking upon it. And when we see the Word appearing unto us we shall indeed be troubled before we clearly understand that it is the Saviour who has come to us, supposing that we are still beholding an apparition, and for fear shall cry out; but He Himself straightway will speak to us saying, "Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid."56 And if, warmly moved by His "Be of good cheer," any Peter be found among us, who is on his way to perfection but has not yet become perfect, having gone down from the boat, as if coming out of that temptation in which he was distressed, he will indeed walk at first, wishing to come to Jesus upon the waters; but being as yet of little faith, and as yet doubting, will see that the wind is strong and will be afraid and begin to sink; but he will not sink because he will call upon Jesus with loud voice, and will say to Him, "Lord, save me; "57 then immediately while such a Peter is yet speaking and saying, "Lord save me," the Word will stretch forth His hand, holding out assistance to such an one, and will take hold of him when he is beginning to sink, and will reproach him for his little faith and doubting.58 Only, observe that He did not say, "O thou without faith," but, "O thou of little faith," and that it was said, "Wherefore didst thou doubt." as he had still a measure of faith, but also had a tendency towards that which was opposed to faith.

7. The Healing of the Sick on the Other Side. The Method of Healing. But after this both Jesus and Peter will go up into the boat, and the wind will cease; and those in the boat, perceiving the great dangers from which they have been saved, will worship Him, saying, not simply, "Thou art the Son of God," as also the two demoniacs said, but, "Of a truth, Thou art the Son of God."59 This the disciples in the boat say, for I do not think that others than the disciples said so. And when we have undergone all these experiences, having crossed over, we shall come to the land where Jesus commanded us to go before Him. And perhaps, also, some secret and occult mystery with

reference to some who were saved by Jesus is indicated by the words, "And when the men of that place knew Him,"-plainly of the place on the other side,-"they sent into all that region round about,"-round about the other side, not on the other side itself, but round about it,-"and they brought unto Him all that were sick."60 And here observe that they brought unto Him not only many that were sick, but all in that region round about; and the sick who were brought to Him besought Him that they might touch if it were only the border of His garment,61 beseeching this grace from Him, since they were not like "the woman who had an issue of blood twelve years, and who came behind Him and touched the border of His garment, saying within herself, If I do but touch His garment, I shall be made whole."62 For observe in what is said about the border of His garment, on account of what the flowing of her blood ceased at once. But those from the country round the land of Gennesaret, to which Jesus and His disciples crossed over and came, did not come of themselves to Jesus, but were brought by those who had sent the tidings, inasmuch as they were not able because of their extreme weakness to come of themselves. Nor did they merely touch the garment, like the woman who had an issue of blood, but they touched after that they had besought Him. Only, of these, "as many as touched were made whole."63 And whether there be any difference between the "They were made whole,"64 which is said in their case, and the "being saved,"65 -for it was said to the woman with the issue of blood, "Thy faith hath saved thee,"66 you may yourself consider.

8. Concerning the Pharisees and Scribes Who Came and Inquired, Why Do Thy Disciples Transgress the Tradition of the Elders?

"Then there came to Him from Jerusalem Pharisees and scribes, saying, Why do Thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? For they wash not their hands when they eat bread."67 He who observes at what time the Pharisees and scribes came from Jerusalem to Jesus, saying, "Why do Thy disciples transgress the tradition of the eiders," etc., will perceive that Matthew of necessity wrote not simply that Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem came to the Saviour to inquire of Him the matters before us, but put it thus, "Then come to Him from Jerusalem." What time, therefore, are we to understand by "then"? At the time when Jesus and His disciples crossed over and came in the boat to the land of Gennesaret, when the wind ceased from the time that Jesus entered into the boat, and when "the men of that place knowing Him sent into all that region round about, and brought unto Him all that were sick, and besought Him that they might touch if it were only the border of His garment, and as many as touched were made whole."68 At that time came to Him from Jerusalem Pharisees and scribes, not struck with admiration at the power which was in Jesus, which healed those who only touched even the border of His garment, but in a censorious spirit, accusing the disciples before their Teacher, not concerning the transgression of a commandment of God, but of a single tradition of the Jewish elders. And it is probable that this very charge of these censorious persons is a proof of the piety of the disciples of Jesus, who gave to the Pharisees and scribes no opportunity of censure with reference to the transgression of the commandments of God, as they would not have brought the charge of transgression against the disciples, as transgressing the commandment of the elders, if they had had it in their power to censure those whom they accused, and to show that they were transgressing a commandment of God. But do not suppose that these things go to establish the necessity of keeping the law of Moses according to the letter, because the disciples of Jesus up to that time kept it; for not before He suffered did He "redeem us from the curse of the law,"69 who in suffering for men "became a

curse for us." But just as fittingly Paul became a Jew to the Jews that he might gain Jews,70 what strange thing is it that the Apostles, whose way of life was passed among the Jews, even though they understood the spiritual things in the law, should have used a spirit of accommodation, as Paul also did when he circumcised Timothy,71 and offered sacrifice in accordance with a certain legal vow, as is written in the Acts of the Apostles?72 Only, again, they appear fond of bringing accusations, as they have no charge to bring against the disciples of Jesus with reference to a commandment of God, but only with reference to one tradition of the elders. And especially does this love of accusation become manifest in this, that they bring the charge in presence of those very persons who had been healed from their sickness; in appearance against the disciples, but in reality purposing to slander their Teacher, as it was a tradition of the elders that the washing of hands was a thing essential to piety. For they thought that the hands of those who did not wash before eating bread were defiled and unclean, but that the hands of those who had washed them with water became pure and holy, not in a figurative sense, in due relation to the law of Moses according to the letter. But let us, not according to the tradition of the elders among the Jews, but according to sound reason, endeavour to purify our own actions and so to wash the hands of our souls, when we are about to eat the three loaves which we ask from Jesus, who wishes to be our friend;73 for with hands that are defiled and unwashed and impure, we ought not to partake of the loaves.

9. Explanation of "Corban."

Jesus, however, does not accuse them with reference to a tradition of the Jewish elders, but with regard to two most imperative commandments of God, the one of which was the fifth in the decalogue, being as follows: "Honour thy father and thy mother, that it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long on the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee; "74 and the other was written thus in Leviticus, "If a man speak evil of his father or his mother, let him die the death; he has spoken evil of his father or mother, he shall be guilty."75 But when we wish to examine the very letter of the words as given by Matthew, "He that speaketh evil of father or mother, let him die the death,"76 consider whether it was taken from the place where it was written, "Whoso striketh his father or mother, let him die the death; and he that speaketh evil of father or mother let him die the death."77 For such are the exact words taken from the Law with regard to the two commandments; but Matthew has quoted them in part and in an abridged form, and not in the very words. But what the nature of the charge is which the Saviour brings against the Pharisees and scribes from Jerusalem, when He says that they transgress the commandment of God because of their tradition we must consider. And God said, "Honour thy father and thy mother,"78 teaching that the child should pay the honour which is due to his parents. Of this honour to parents one part was to share with them the necessaries of life, such as food and clothing, and if there was any other thing in which it was possible for them to show favour towards their own parents. But the Pharisees and scribes promulgated in opposition to the law a tradition which is found rather obscurely in the Gospel, and which we ourselves would not have thought of, unless one of the Hebrews had given to us the following facts relating to the passage. Sometimes, he says, when money-lenders fell in with stubborn debtors who were able but not willing to pay their debts, they consecrated what was due to the account of the poor, for whom money was cast into the treasury by each of those who wished to give a portion of their goods to the poor according to their ability. They, therefore, said sometimes to their debtors in their own tongue, "That which you owe to me is

Corban,"-that is, a gift-"for I have consecrated it to the poor, to the account of piety towards God." Then the debtor, as no longer in debt to men but to God and to piety towards God, was shut up, as it were, even though unwilling, to payment of the debt, no longer to the money-lender, but now to God for the account of the poor, in name of the money-lender. What then the money-lender did to the debtor, that sometimes some sons did to their parents and said to them, "That wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me, father or mother, know that you will receive this from Corban,"79 from the account of the poor who are consecrated to God. Then the parents, hearing that that which should have been given to them was Corban,-consecrated to God,-no longer wished to take it from their sons, even though they were in extreme need of the necessaries of life. The elders, then, declared to the people a tradition of this kind, "Whosoever said to his father or mother, that which should be given to any of them is Corban and a gift, that man was no longer a debtor to his father or mother in respect of giving to them the necessaries of life." The Saviour censures this tradition, as not being sound but opposed to the commandment of God. For if God says, "Honour thy father and thy mother," but the tradition said, he is not bound to honour his father or mother by a gift, who has consecrated to God, as Corban, that which would have been given to his parents, manifestly the commandment of God concerning the honour due to parents was made void by the tradition of the Pharisees and scribes which said, that he was no longer bound to honour his father or mother, who had, once for all, consecrated to God that which the parents would have received. And the Pharisees, as lovers of money, in order that under pretext of the poor they might receive even that which would have been given to the parents of any one, gave such teaching. And the Gospel testifies to their love of money, saying, "But the Pharisees who were lovers of money heard these things and they scoffed at Him."80 If, then, any one of those who are called elders among us, or of those who are in any way rulers of the people, profess to give to the poor under the name of the commonweal, rather than to be of those who give to their kindred if they should chance to be in need of the necessaries of life, and those who give cannot do both, this man might with justice be called a brother of those Pharisees who made void the word of God through their own tradition, and were accused by the Saviour as hypocrites. And as a very powerful deterrent to any one from being anxious to take from the account of the poor, and from thinking that "the piety of others is a way of gain,"81 we have not only these things, but also that which is recorded about the traitor Judas, who in appearance championed the cause of the poor, and said with indignation, "This ointment might have been sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor,"82 but in reality "was a thief, and having the bag took away what was put therein."83 If, then, any one in our time who has the bag of the Church speaks likes Judas on behalf of the poor, but takes away what is put therein, let there be assigned to him the portion along with Judas who did these things; on account of which things eating like a gangrene into his soul, the devil cast it into his heart to betray the Saviour; and, when he had received the "fiery dart,"84 with reference to this end, the devil afterwards himself entered into his soul and took full possession of him. And perhaps, when the Apostle says, "The love of money is a root of all evils,"85 he says it because of Judas' love of money, which was a root of all the evils that were committed against Jesus.

10. The Traditions of the Elders in Collision with Divine Law. But let us return to the subject before us, in which the Saviour abridged and expounded two commandments from the law, the one from the decalogue from Exodus, and the other from Leviticus, or the other from some one of the books of the Pentateuch. Then since we have explained in what way they made void the word of God

which said, "Honour thy father and thy mother," by saying, "Thou shalt not honour thy father or thy mother," whosoever shall say to his father or mother, "It is a gift that wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me," some one may inquire whether the words, "He that speaketh evil of father or mother, let him die the death,"86 are not extraneous. For, granted that he does not honour his father and mother, who consecrates to what is called Corban that which would have been given in honour of father and mother, in what way, therefore, does the tradition of the Pharisees make void the word which said, "He that speaketh evil of father or mother, let him die the death.? But, perhaps, when any one said to his father or his mother, "It is a gift, that wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me,"87 he, as it were, casts abuse on his father or mother as if he were calling his parents sacrilegious, in taking that which was consecrated to Corban from him who had consecrated it to Corban. The Jews then punish their sons88 according to the law, as speaking evil of father or mother, when they say to their father or mother, "It is a gift, that wherewith thou mightest have been profited by me," but you by one of your traditions make void two commandments of God. And then you are not ashamed to accuse My disciples who transgress no commandment; for they walk "in all His commandments and ordinances blamelessly,"89 but transgress a tradition of the elders, so as not to transgress a commandment of God. And if you had held this aim before you, you would have kept the commandment about the honour due to father and mother, and that which said, "He that speaketh evil of father and mother, let him die the death; "but the tradition of the elders which is opposed to these commandments you would not have kept.

11. Exposition of the Prophecy of Isaiah Quoted by Jesus.

And, after this, wishing to refute completely from the words of the prophets all these traditions of the elders among the Jews, He brought before them a saying, from Isaiah, which in the exact words is as follows: "And the Lord said, This people draws nigh to Me with their mouth," etc.;90 and, as we said before, Matthew has not written out the prophetical saying in the very words. And, if it be necessary because of its use in the Gospel to interpret it according to our ability, we will take in addition the preceding passage which is, in my judgment, noted with advantage by us for the exposition of that passage in the Gospel which was taken from the prophet. The passage in Isaiah from the beginning is thus. "Be ye faint, and be maddened: be ye drunken, but not with strong drink nor with wine: for the Lord hath given you to drink of the spirit of stupor, and He will close their eyes, both of their prophets, and of their rulers who see things secret. And all these sayings shall be to you as the words of the book, which has been sealed, which if they give to a man who knows letters, saying, Read this, he shall answer, I cannot read, for it is sealed. And this book will be given into the hands of a man who does not know letters, and one will say to him, Read this, and he will say, I know not letters. And the Lord said, This people is nigh to Me," etc., down to the words, "Woe unto them that form counsel in secret, and their works shall be in darkness."91 Taking up then the passage before us in the Gospel, I have put some of the verses which come before it, and some which follow it, in order to show in what way the Word threatens to close the eyes of those of the people who are astonished and drunken, and have been made to drink of the spirit of deep sleep. And it threatens also to close the eyes of their prophets and their rulers who profess to see things secret,-which things, I think, took place after the advent of the Saviour among that people; for all the words of the whole of the Scriptures, and of Isaiah also, have become to them as the words of a sealed book. Now the expression "sealed" is used of a

book closed in virtue of its obscurity and not open in virtue of its lucidity, which is equally obscure to those who are not able to read it at all because they do not know letters, and to those who profess to know letters but do not understand the meaning in the things which have been written. Well, then, does he add to this, that when the people, fainting because of their sins and being in a state of madness rage against Him through those sins wherewith they shall be drunken against Him with the spirit of stupor, which shall be given to them to drink by the Lord when He closes their eyes, as unworthy to see, and the eyes of their prophets and of their rulers who profess to see the hidden things of the mysteries in the Divine Scriptures; and, when their eyes are closed, then shall the prophetic words be sealed to them and hidden, as has been the case with those who do not believe in Jesus as the Christ. And when the prophetic sayings have become as the words of a sealed book, not only to those who do not know letters but to those who profess to know, then the Lord said, that the people of the Jews draw nigh to God with their mouth only, and He says that they honour Him with their lips, because their heart by reason of their unbelief in Jesus is far from the Lord. And now, especially, from the time at which they denied our Saviour, it might be said about them by God, "But in vain do they worship Me; "92 for they no longer teach the precepts of God but of men, and doctrines which are human and no longer of the Spirit of wisdom. Wherefore, when these things happen to them, God has removed the people of the Jews, and has caused to perish the wisdom of the wise men among them; for there is no longer wisdom among them, just as there is no prophecy; but God has utterly destroyed the prudence of the prudent and concealed it,93 and no longer is it splendid and conspicuous. Wherefore, although they may seem to form some counsel in a deep fashion, because they do it not through the Lord they are called miserable; and even though they profess to tell some secrets of the Divine counsel they lie, since their works are not works of light, but of darkness and night.94 I have thought it right briefly to set forth the prophecy, and to a certain extent elucidate its meaning, seeing that Matthew made mention of it. And Mark also made mention of it, from whom we may usefully set down the following words in the place, with reference to the transgression of the elders who held that it was necessary to wash hands when the Jews ate bread, "For the Pharisees and all the Jews, except they wash their hands diligently, eat not, holding the tradition of the elders; and when they come from the market-place except they wash themselves they eat not. And there are some other things which they have received to hold, washings of cups and pots and brazen vessels and couches."95

12. Things Clean and Unclean According to the Law and the Gospel.

"And He called to Him the multitude and said unto them, Hear and understand, " etc.96 We are clearly taught in these words by the Saviour that, when we read in Leviticus and Deuteronomy the precepts about meat clean and unclean, for the transgression of which we are accused by the material Jews and by the Ebionites who differ little from them, we are not to think that the scope of the Scripture is found in any superficial understanding of them. For if "not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man, but that which proceedeth out of the mouth,"97 and especially when, according to Mark, the Saviour said these things "making all meats clean,"98 manifestly we are not defiled when we eat those things which the Jews who desire to be in bondage to the letter of the law declare to be unclean, but we are then defiled when, whereas our lips ought to be bound with perception and we ought "to make for them what we call a balance and weight,"99 we speak offhand and discuss matters we ought not, from which there comes to us the spring of sins. And it is indeed becoming to the law of God to forbid those things which arise from wickedness, and to enjoin those things which tend to virtue, but as for things which are in their own nature indifferent

to leave them in their own place, as they may, according to our choice and the reason which is in us, be done ill if we sin in them, but if rightly directed by us be done well. And any one who has carefully thought on these matters will see that, even in those things which are thought to be good, it is possible for a man to sin who has taken them up in an evil way and under the impulse of passion, and that these things called impure may be considered pure, if used by us in accordance with reason. As, then, when the Jew sins his circumcision shall be reckoned for uncircumcision, but when one of the Gentiles acts uprightly his uncircumcision shall be reckoned for circumcision,100 so those things which are thought to be pure shall be reckoned for impure in the case of him who does not use them fittingly, nor when one ought, nor as far as he ought, nor for what reason he ought. But as for the things which are called impure, "All things become pure to the pure," for, "To them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure, since both their minds and their conscience are defiled."101 Andwhen these are defiled, they make all things whatsoever they touch defiled; as again on the contrary the pure mind and the pure conscience make all things pure, even though they may seem to be impure; for not from intemperance, nor from love of pleasure, nor with doubting which draws a man both ways, do the righteous use meats or drinks, mindful of the precept, "Whether ye eat or drink or whatsoever other thing ye do, do all to the glory of God."102 And if it be necessary to delineate the foods which are unclean according to the Gospel, we will say that they are such as are supplied by covetousness, and are the result of base love of gain, and are taken up from love of pleasure, and from deifying the belly which is treated with honour, when it, with its appetites, and not reason, rules our souls. But as for us who know that some things are used by demons, or if we do not know, but suspect, and are in doubt about it, if we use such things, we have used them not to the glory of God, nor in the name of Christ; for not only does the suspicion that things have been sacrificed to idols condemn him who eats, but even the doubt concerning this; for "he that doubteth," according to the Apostle, "is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin."103 He then eats in faith who believes that that which is eaten has not been sacrificed in the temples of idols, and that it is not strangled nor blood;104 but he eats not of faith who is in doubt about any of these things. And the man who knowing that they have been sacrificed to demons nevertheless uses them, becomes a communicant with demons, while at the same time, his imagination is polluted with reference to demons participating in the sacrifice. And the Apostle, however, knowing that it is not the nature of meats which is the cause of injury to him who uses them or of advantage to him who refrains from their use, but opinions and the reason which is in them, said, "But meat commendeth us not to God, for neither if we eat are we the better, nor if we eat not are we the worse."105 And since he knew that those who have a loftier conception of what things are pure and what impure according to the law, turning aside from the distinction about the use of things pure and impure, and superstition, I think, in respect of things being different, become indifferent to the use of meats,106 and on this account are condemned by the Jews as transgressors of law, he said therefore, somewhere, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink," etc.,107 teaching us that the things according to the letter are a shadow, but that the true thoughts of the law which are stored up in them are the good things to come, in which one may find what are the pure spiritual meats of the soul, and what are the impure foods in false and contradictory words which injure the man who is nourished in them, "For the law had a shadow of the good things to come."108 13. The Offence of the Pharisees. And as in many cases we have to consider the astonishment of the Jews at the words of the Saviour, because they were spoken with authority, so also in regard to the words in

this place. Having called the multitudes therefore, He said unto them, "Hear and understand,"109 etc. And He said this, the Pharisees being offended at this saying, as, because of their evil opinions and their worthless interpretation of the law, they were not the plant of his own Father in heaven, and on this account were being rooted up;110 for they were rooted up as they did not receive the true vine, which was cultivated by the Father, even Jesus Christ.111 For how could they be a plant of His Father who were offended at the words of Jesus, words which turn men away from the precept, "Handle not, nor taste, nor touch,-all which things were to perish in the using-after the precepts and doctrines of men,"112 but induce the intelligent hearer of them to seek in regard to them the things which are above and not the things upon the earth as the Jews do?113 And since, because of their evil opinions, the Pharisees were not the plant of His Father in heaven, on this account, as about such as were incorrigible, He says to the disciple, "Let them alone; "114 "Let them alone," He said for this reason, that as they were blind they ought to become conscious of their blindness and seek guides; but they, being unconscious of their own blindness, profess to guide the blind, not reckoning that they would fall into a pit, about which it is written in the Psalms, "He hath made a pit, and digged it, and will fall into the ditch which he hath marie."115 Again, elsewhere it is written, "And seeing the multitudes, He went up into the mountain, and when He had sat down His disciples came unto Him; "116 but here He stretches forth His hand to the multitude, calling them unto Him, and turning their thoughts away from the literal interpretation of the questions in the law, when He in the first place said to them, who did not yet understand what they heard, "Hear and understand," and thereafter as in parables said to them, "Not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man, but that which proceedeth out of the mouth."117 14. Why the Pharisees Were Not a Plant of God. Teaching of Origen on the "Bread of the Lord."

After this, it is worth while to look at the phrase which has been assailed in a sophistical way by those who say118 that the God of the law and the God of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is not the same; for they say that the heavenly Father of Jesus Christ is not the husbandman of those who think that they worship God according to the law of Moses. Jesus Himself said that the Pharisees, who were worshipping the God who created the world and the law, were not a plant which His heavenly Father had planted, and that for this reason it was being rooted up.119 But you might also say this, that even if it were the Father of Jesus who "brought in and planted the people," when it came out of Egypt, "to the mountain of His own inheritance, to the place which He had prepared for Himself to dwell in,"120 yet Jesus would have said, in regard to the Pharisees, "Every plant which My heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up." Now, to this we will say, that as many as on account of their perverse interpretation of the things in the law were not a plant of His Father in heaven, were blinded in their minds, as not believing the truth, but taking pleasure in unrighteousness,121 by him who is deified by the sons of this world, and on this account is called by Paul the god of this world.122 And do not suppose that Paul said that he was truly God; for just as the belly, though it is not the god of those who prize pleasure too highly, being lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God, is said by Paul to be their god,123 so the prince of this world, in regard to whom the Saviour says, "Now has the prince of this world been judged,"124 though he is not God, is said to be the god of those who do not wish to receive the spirit of adoption, in order that they may become sons of that world, and sons of the resurrection from the dead,125 and who, on this account, abide in the sonship of this world. I have deemed it necessary to introduce these matters, even though they may have been spoken by way of digression, because of the saying, "They are blind guides of the blind."126 Who are such? The Pharisees, whose minds the god of

this world hath blinded as they are unbelieving, because they have not believed in Jesus Christ; and he hath blinded them so that the "light of the Gospel of the glory of God in the face of Christ should not dawn upon them."127 But not only must we avoid being guided by those blind ones who are conscious that they are in need of guides, because they have not yet received the power of vision of themselves; but even in the case of all who profess to guide us in sound doctrine, we must hear with care, and apply a sound judgment to what is said, lest being guided according to the ignorance of those who are blind, and do not see the things that concern sound doctrine, we ourselves may appear to be blind because we do not see the sense of the Scriptures, so that both he who guides and he who is guided will fall into the ditch of which we have Spoken before. Next to this, it is written in what way Peter answered and said to the Saviour, as if he had not understood the saying, "Not that which cometh into the mouth defileth the man, but that which goeth out of the mouth," "Declare unto us the parable."128 To which the Saviour says, "Are ye also, even yet, without understanding? "129 As if He had said, "Having been so long time with Me, do ye not yet understand the meaning of what is said, and do ye not perceive that for this reason that which goeth into his month does not defile the man, because it passeth into the belly, and going out from it is cast into the draught? "130 It was not in respect of the law in which they appeared to believe, that the Pharisees were not a plant of the Father of Jesus, but in respect of their perverse interpretation of the law and the things written in it. For since there are two things to be understood in regard to the law, the ministration of death which was engraven in letters131 and which had no kinship with the spirit, and the ministration of life which is understood in the spiritual law. those who were able with a sincere heart to say, "We know that the law is spiritual,"132 and therefore "the law is holy, and the commandment holy and righteous and good,"133 were the plant which the heavenly Father planted; but those who were not such, but guarded with care the letter which killeth only, were not a plant of God but of him who hardened their heart, and put a veil over it, which veil had power over them so long as they did not turn to the Lord; "for if any one should turn to the Lord, the veil is taken away, and the Lord is the Spirit."134 Now some one when dealing with the passage might say, that just as "not that which entereth into the mouth defileth the man,"135 of even though it may be thought by the Jews to be defiled, so not that which entereth into the mouth sanctifieth the man, even though what is called the bread of the Lord may be thought by the simpler disciples to sanctify. And the saying is I think, not to be despised, and on this account, demands clear exposition, which seems to me to be thus; as it is not the meat but the conscience of him who eats with doubt which defiles him that eateth, for "he that doubteth is condemned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith,"136 and as nothing is pure to him who is defiled and unbelieving, not in itself, but because of his defilement and unbelief, so that which is sanctified through the word of God and prayer137 does not, in its own nature, sanctify him who uses it, for, if this were so, it would sanctify even him who eats unworthily of the bread of the Lord, and no one on account of this food would become weak or sickly or asleep for something of this kind Paul represented in saying, "For this cause many among you are weak and sickly and not a few sleep."138 And in the case of the bread of the Lord, accordingly, there is advantage to him who uses it, when with undefiled mind and pure conscience he partakes of the bread. And so neither by not eating, I mean by the very fact that we do not eat of the bread which has been sanctified by the word of God and prayer, are we deprived of any good thing, nor by eating are we the better by any good thing; for the cause of our lacking is wickedness and sins, and the cause of our abounding is righteousness and right actions; so that such is the meaning of what is said by

Paul, "For neither if we eat are we the better, nor if we eat not are we the worse."139 Now, if "everything that entereth into the mouth goes into the belly and is cast out into the drought,"140 even the meat which has been sanctified through the word of God and prayer, in accordance with the fact that it is material, goes into the belly and is cast out into the draught, but in respect of the prayer which comes upon it, according to the proportion of the faith, becomes a benefit and is a means of clear vision to the mind which looks to that which is beneficial, and it is not the material of the bread but the word which is said over it which is of advantage to him who eats it not unworthily of the Lord. And these things indeed are said of the typical and symbolical body. But many things might be said about the Word Himself who became flesh,141 and true meat of which he that eateth shall assuredly live for ever, no worthless person being able to eat it; for if it were possible for one who continues worthless to eat of Him who became flesh. who was the Word and the living bread, it would not have been written, that "every one who eats of this bread shall live for ever."142 15. Eating with Unwashed Heart Defiles the Man.

Next to this let us see how the things which proceed out and defile the man do not defile the man because of their proceeding out of the mouth, but have the cause of their defilement in the heart, when there come forth out of it, before those things which proceed through the mouth, evil thoughts, of which the species are-murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness. railings.143 For these are the things which defile the man, when they come forth out of the heart, and going out from it proceed through the mouth; so that, if they did not come out of the heart, but were retained there somewhere about the heart, and were not allowed to be spoken through the mouth, they would very quickly disappear, and a man would be no more defiled. The spring and source, then, of every sin are evil thoughts; for, unless these gained the mastery, neither murders nor adulteries nor any other such thing would exist. Therefore, each man must keep his own heart with all watchfulness;144 for when the Lord comes in the day of judgment. "He will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts,"145 "all the thoughts of men meanwhile accusing or else excusing them,"146 "when their own devices have beset them about."147 But of such a nature are the evil thoughts that sometimes they make worthy of censure even those things which seem good, and which, so far as the judgment of the masses is concerned, are worthy of praise. Accordingly, if we do alms before men, having in our thoughts the design of appearing to men philanthropic, and of being honoured because of philanthropy, we receive the reward from men;148 and, universally, everything that is done with the consciousness in the doer that he will be glorified by men, has no reward from Him who beholds in secret, and renders the reward to those who are pure, in secret. So, too, therefore, is it with apparent purity if it is influenced by considerations of vain glory or love of gain; and the teaching which is thought to be the teaching of the Church, if it becomes servile through the word of flattery, either when it is made the excuse for covetousness, or when any one seeks glory from men because of his teaching, is not reckoned to be the teaching of those "who have been set by God in the Church: first, apostles; secondly, prophets; and thirdly, teachers."149 And you will say the like in the case of him who seeks the office of a bishop for the sake of glory with men, or of flattery from men, or for the sake of the gain received from those who, coming over to the word, give in the name of piety; for a bishop of this kind at any rate does not "desire a good work,"150 nor can he be without reproach, nor temperate, nor sober-minded, as he is intoxicated with glory and intemperately satiated with it. And the same also you will say about the elders and deacons. And if we seem to some to have made a digression in speaking of these things, consider if it were

not necessary that they should be said, because that evil thoughts are the spring of all sins, and can pollute even those actions which, if they were done apart from evil thoughts, would have justified the man who did them. We have thus investigated according to our ability what are the things which defile; but to eat with unwashed hands does not defile the man; but if we must say it with boldness, with unwashed heart to eat anything whatsoever which is the natural food of our reason, defileth the man.

16. Concerning the Canaanitish Woman. Meaning of the "Borders of Tyre and Sidon."

"And Jesus went out thence and withdrew into the parts of Tyre and Sidon. And behold a Canaanitish woman."151 Whence the "thence"? Was it from the land of Gennesaret, concerning which it was said before, "And when they had crossed over they came into the land of Gennesaret? "152 But He withdrew, perhaps because the Pharisees were offended when they heard that "not that which entereth in, but that which proceedeth out, defileth the man; "153 and that, because of their being suspected of plotting against Him, it is said, "He withdrew," is manifest from the passage, "And when He heard that John was delivered up He withdrew into Galilee."154 Perhaps also on this account, when describing the things in this place, Mark says that "He rose up and went into the borders of Tyre, and having entered into the house wished no man to know it."155 It is probable that He sought to avoid the Pharisees who were offended at His teaching, waiting for the time for His suffering, which was more fitting and rightly appointed. But some one might say that Tyre and Sidon are used for the Gentiles; accordingly when He withdrew from Israel He came into the parts of the Gentiles. Among the Hebrews, then, Tyre is called Sor, and it is interpreted "anguish." Sidon, which is also the Hebrew name, is rendered "hunters." And among the Gentiles likewise the hunters are the evil powers, and among them is great distress, the distress, namely, which exists in wickedness and passions. When Jesus, then, went out from Gennesaret He withdrew indeed from Israel and came, not to Tyre and Sidon, but into "the parts" of Tyre and Sidon, with the result that those of the Gentiles now believe in part; so that if He had visited the whole of Tyre and Sidon, no unbeliever would have been left in it. Now, according to Mark, "Jesus rose up and went into the borders of Tyre,"156 -that is, the distress of the Gentiles,-in order that they also from these borders who believe can be saved, when they come out of them; for attend to this: "And behold a Canaanitish woman came out from these borders and cried saying, Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David, my daughter is terribly vexed with a demon."157 And I think that if she had not come out from those borders she would not have been able to cry to Jesus with the great faith to which testimony was borne; and according to the proportion of faith one comes out from the borders among the Gentiles, which "when the Most High divided the nations He set up according to the number of the sons of Israel,"158 and prevented their further advance. Here, then, certain borders are spoken of as the borders of Tyre and Sidon, hut in Exodus the borders of Pharaoh,159 in which, they say, were formed the plagues against the Egyptians. And we must suppose that each of us when he sins is in the borders of Tyre or Sidon or of Pharaoh and Egypt, or some one of those which are outside the allotted inheritance of God; but when he changes from wickedness to virtue he goes out from the borders of evil, and comes to the borders of the portion of God, there being among these also a difference which will be manifest to those who are able to understand the things that concern the division and the inheritance of Israel, in harmony with the spiritual law. And allen d also to the meeting, so to speak, which took place between Jesus and the Canaanitish woman; for He comes as to the parts

of Tyre and Sidon, and she comes out of those parts, and cried, saying, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David."160 Now the woman was Canaanitish, which is rendered, prepared for humiliation. The righteous, indeed, are prepared for the kingdom of heaven and for the exaltation in the kingdom of God;161 but sinners are prepared for the humiliation of the wickedness which is in them, and of the deeds which flow from it and prepare them for it, and of the sin which reigns in their mortal body. Only, the Canaanitish woman came out of those borders and went forth from the state of being prepared for humiliation, crying and saying, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David."

17. Exposition of the Details in the Narrative.

Now bring together from the Gospels those who call Him Son of David, as she, and the blind men in Jericho;162 and who call Him Son of God, and that without the addition "truly" like the demoniacs who say, "What have we to do with Thee, Thou Son of God; "163 and who call Him so with the addition "truly," like those in the boat who worshipped Him saying, "Truly Thou art the Son of God."164 For the bringing together of these passages will, I think, be useful to you with a view to seeing the difference of those who come (to Jesus); some indeed come as to Him "who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh; "165 but others come to Him who "was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness; "166 and of these some with the "truly," and some without it. Further, observe, that the Canaanitish woman besought Him not about a son, whom she does not seem to have brought forth at all, but about a daughter who was terribly vexed with a demon; but another mother receives back alive her son who was being carried forth dead.167 And again the ruler of the synagogue makes supplication for a daughter twelve years old, as being dead,168 but the nobleman about a son as being still sick, and at the point of death.169 The daughter, accordingly, who was distressed by a demon, and the dead son sprang from two mothers; and the dead daughter, and the son who was sick unto death, sprang from two fathers, of whom the one was a ruler of the synagogue, and the other was a nobleman. And I am persuaded these things contain reasons concerning the verse kinds of souls which Jesus vivifies and heals. And all the cures that He works among the people, especially those recorded by the Evangelists, took place at that time, that those who would not otherwise have believed unless they saw signs and wonders might believe;170 for the things aforetime were symbols of the things that are ever being accomplished by the power of Jesus; for there is no time when each of the things which are written is not done by the power of Jesus according to the desert of each. The Canaanitish woman, therefore, because of her race was not worthy even to receive an answer from Jesus, who acknowledged that He had not been sent by the Father tor any other thing than to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,171 -a lost race of souls possessed of clear vision; but, because of her resolution and of having worshipped Jesus as Son of God, she obtains an answer, which reproaches her with baseness of birth and exhibits the measure of her worthiness, namely, that she was worthy of crumbs as the little dogs, but not of the loaves. But when she with intensified resolution, accepting the saying of Jesus, puts forth the claim to obtain crumbs even as a little dog, and acknowledges that the masters are of a nobler race, then she gets a second answer, which bears testimony to her faith as great, and a promise that it shall be done unto her as she wills.172 And corresponding, I think, "to the Jerusalem above, which is free, the mother"173 of Paul and those like to him, must we conceive of the Canaanitish woman, the mother of her who was terribly distressed with a demon, who was the symbol of the mother of such a soul. And

consider whether it is not according to sound reason that there are also many fathers and many mothers corresponding to the fathers of Abraham to whom the patriarch went away,174 and to Jerusalem the "mother," as Paul says, concerning himself and those like to him. And it is probable that she of whom the Canaanitish woman was a symbol came out of the borders of Tyre and Sidon, of which the places on earth were types, and came to the Saviour and besought Him and even now beseeches Him saying, "Have mercy on me, O Lord, Thou Son of David, my daughter is terribly vexed with a demon."175 Then also to those without and to the disciples when necessary He answers and says, "I was not sent; "176 teaching us that there are some lost souls pre-eminently intellectual and clear of vision, figuratively called sheep of the house of Israel; which things, I think, the simpler who are of opinion that they are spoken in regard to the Israel which is after the flesh will of necessity admit, namely, that our Saviour was sent by the Father to no others than to those lost Jews. But we, who can truthfully boast that "if we have once known Christ after the flesh, but now no longer do we know Him so,"177 are assured that it is pre-eminently the work of the Word to save the more intelligent, for these are more akin to Him than those who are duller. But since the lost sheep of the house of Israel, with the exception of "the remnant according to the election of grace,"178 disbelieved the Word, on this account "God chose the foolish things of the world,"179 namely, that which was not Israel, nor clear of vision, that He might put to shame the wise ones of Israel; and He called "the things which are not,"180 handing over to them an intelligent nation who were able to admit "the foolishness of the preaching,"181 and of His good pleasure saved those who believe in this, that He might refute "the things which are," having perfected praise for Himself, "out of the mouths of babes and sucklings,"182 when they became hostile to truth. Now, the Canaanitish woman, having come, worshipped Jesus as God, saying, "Lord, help me," but He answered and said, "It is not possible to take the children's bread and cast it to the little dogs."183 But some one might inquire also into the meaning of this saying, since,-inasmuch as there was a measure of loaves such that both the children and the dogs of the household could not eat loaves, unless the dogs ate other loaves than those which were well made,-it was not possible according to right reason for the well-made loaf of the children to be given as food to the little dogs. But no such thing appears in the case of the power of Jesus, for of this it was possible both for the children and those called little dogs to partake. Consider, then, whether perhaps with reference to the saying, "It is not possible to take the bread of children," we ought to say that, "He who emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant,"184 brought a measure of power such as the world was capable of receiving, of which power also He was conscious that a certain quantity went forth from Him as is plain from the words, "Some one did touch Me, for I perceived that power had gone forth from Me."185 From this measure of power, then, He dispensed, giving a larger portion to those who were pre-eminent and who were called sons, but a smaller portion to those who were not such, as to the little dogs. But though these things were so, nevertheless where there was great faith, to her, who because of her base birth in Canaanitish land was a little dog, He gave as to a child the bread of the children. And perhaps, also, of the words of Jesus there are some loaves which it is possible to give to the more rational, as to children only; and other words, as it were, crumbs from the great house and table of the wellborn and the masters, which may be used by some souls, like the dogs. And according to the law of Moses it is written about certain things, "Ye shall cast them to the dogs,"186 and it was a matter of care to the Holy Spirit to give instruction about certain foods that they should be left to the dogs. Let others, then, who are strangers to the doctrine of the Church, assume that souls

pass from the bodies of men into the bodies of dogs, according to their varying degree of wickedness; but we, who do not find this at all in the divine Scripture, say that the more rational condition changes into one more irrational, undergoing this affection in consequence of great slothfulness and negligence. But, also, in the same way, a will which was more irrational, because of its neglect of reason, sometimes turns and becomes rational, so that that which at one time was a dog, loving to eat of the crumbs that fell from the table of its masters, comes into the condition of a son. For virtue contributes greatly to the making of one a son of God, but wickedness, and mad fury in wanton discourses and shamelessness, contribute to the giving of a man the name of dog according to the word of the Scripture.187 And the like you will also understand in the case of the other names which are applied to animals without reason. Only, he who is reproached as a dog and yet is not indignant at being called unworthy of the bread of children and with all forbearance repeats the saying of that Canaanitish woman, "Yea, Lord, for even the little dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their masters'188 table," will obtain the very gentle answer of Jesus saying to him, "Great is thy faith,"-when he has received so great faith-and saying, "Be it done unto thee even as thou wilt,"189 so that he himself may be healed, and if he has produced any fruit which stands in need of healing, that this, too, may be cured.

18. Concerning the Multitudes Who Were Healed. Comparison of the Mountain Where Jesus Sat to the Church.

"And Jesus departed thence, "-manifestly, from what has been said before, from the parts of Tyre and Sidon,-"and came nigh unto the sea of Galilee."190 which is commonly called the Lake of Gennesaret, and again went up into the mountain where He went up and sat. We may say, then, that into this mountain where Jesus sits, not only the sound in health go up, but along with the sound, those also who were suffering from various disorders. And, perhaps, this mountain to which Jesus went up and sat is that which is more commonly called the Church, which has been set up through the word of God over the rest of the world and the men upon it; whither go not the disciples only, leaving the multitudes as in the case of the beatitudes, but great multitudes who were not accused themselves of being deaf or suffering from any affection, but who had such along with themselves. For you may see, along with the multitudes who come to this mountain where the Son of God sits, some who have become deaf to the things promised, and others blind in soul and not looking at the true light, and others who are lame and not able to walk according to reason, and others who are maimed and not able to work according to reason. Those, accordingly, who are suffering in soul from such things, though they go up along with the multitudes into the mountain where Jesus was, so long as they are outside of the feet of Jesus, are not healed by Him; but when, as men suffering from such disorders, they are cast by the multitude at His feet,191 and at the extremities of the body of Christ, not being worthy to obtain such things so far as they themselves are concerned, they are then healed by Him. And when you see in the congregation of what is more commonly called the church the catechumens cast behind those who are at the extreme end of it, and as it were at the feet of the body of Jesus-the church-coming to it with their own deafness and blindness and lameness and crookedness, and in time cured according to the Word, you would not err in saying that such having gone up with the multitudes of the church to the mountain where Jesus was, are cast at His feet and are healed; so that the multitude of the church is astonished at beholding transformations which have taken place from so great evils to that which is better, so that it might say, those who were formerly dumb afterwards

speak the word of God, and the lame walk, the prophecy of Isaiah being fulfilled, not only in things bodily but in things spiritual, which said, "Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of him that hath an impediment in his speech be plain."192 And there, unless the expression, "the lame man shall leap as an hart," is to be taken as accidental, we will say that those formerly lame, and who now through the power of Jesus leap as an hart are not without design compared to a hart, which is a clean animal, and hostile to serpents and cannot at all be injured by their poison. But also, in respect of the fact that the dumb are seen speaking is the prophecy fulfilled which said, "And the tongue of him that hath an impediment shall be plain," or rather that which said, "Hear ye deaf; "but the blind see according to the prophecy following, "Hear ye deaf, and ye blind look up that ye may see."193 Now the blind see, when they see the world and from the exceeding great beauty of the things created they contemplate the Creator corresponding in greatness and beauty to them; and when they see clearly "the invisible things of God Himself from the creation of the world, which are perceived through the things that are made; "194 that is, they see and understand with care and clearness. Now the multitudes seeing these things, glorified the God of Israel,195 and glorify Him in the persuasion that it is the same God, who is the Father of Him who healed those previously mentioned, and the God of Israel. For He is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles.196 Let us then cause to go up along with ourselves to the mountain where Jesus sits-His church-those who wish to go up to it along with us, the deaf, the blind, the lame, the maimed and many others, and let us cast them at the feet of Jesus that He may heal them, so that the multitudes are astonished at their healing; for it is not the disciples who are described as wondering at such things, although at that time they were present with Jesus, as is manifest from the words, "And Jesus called unto Him His disciples and said, I have compassion on the multitudes,"197 etc.; and perhaps if you attend carefully to the words, "There came unto Him great multitudes,"198 you would find that the disciples at that time did not come to Him, but had begun long ago to follow Him and followed Him into the mountain. But there came unto Him those who were inferior to the disciples, and were then for the first time approaching Him, who had not the same experience as those who had gone up with them. Observe, moreover, in the Gospel who are described as having followed Jesus, and who as having come to Him, and who as having been brought to Him, and the division between those who go before and of those who follow; and of those who came, who came to Him in the house, and who when He was elsewhere. For by observation, and by comparing things spiritual with spiritual, you would find many things worthy of the accurate wisdom in the Gospels.

19. Concerning the Seven Loaves. The Narrative of the Feeding of the Four Thousand Compared with that of the Five Thousand.

"And Jesus called unto Him His disciples and said."199 Above in the similar history to this about the loaves, before the loaves are spoken of, "Jesus came forth and saw a great multitude and had compassion upon them and healed their sick. And when even was come the disciples came to Him saying, The place is desert and the time is already past, send them away,"200 etc. But now after the healing of the deaf and the rest, He takes compassion on the multitude which had continued with Him now three days and had nothing to eat. And there the disciples make request concerning the five thousand;201 but here He speaks of His own accord about the four thousand.202 Those, too, are fed when it was evening after they had spent a day with Him; but these, who are testified to have continued with Him three days, partake of the loaves lest they

might faint by the way. And there the disciples say to Him when He was not inquiring, that they had only five loaves and two fishes; but here to Him making inquiry, they give answer about the seven loaves and the few small fishes. And there He commands the multitudes to sit down or lie upon the grass; for Luke also wrote, "Make them sit down,"203 and Mark says, "He commanded them all to sit down; "204 but here He does not command but proclaims205 to the multitude to sit down. Again, there, the three Evangelists say in the very same words that "He took the five loaves and the two fishes and looking up to heaven He blessed; "206 but here, as Matthew and Mark have written, "Jesus gave thanks and brake; "207 there, they recline upon the grass, but here they sit down upon the ground. You will moreover investigate in the accounts in the different places the variation found in John, who wrote in regard to that transaction that Jesus said, "Make the men sit down,"208 and that, having given thanks, He gave of the loaves to them that were set down, but he did not mention this miracle at all.209 Attending, then, to the difference of those things which are written in the various places in regard to the loaves, I think that these belong to a different order from those; wherefore these are fed in a mountain, and those in a desert place; and these after they had continued three days with Jesus, but those one day, on the evening of which they were fed. And further, unless it be the same thing for Jesus to do a thing of Himself and to act after having heard from the disciples, consider if those to whom Jesus shows kindness are not superior when He fed them on the spot with a view to showing them kindness. And, if according to John,210 they were barley loaves of which the twelve baskets remained over, but nothing of this kind is said about these, how are not these superior to the former? And the sick of those He healed,211 but here He heals these, along with the multitudes, who were not sick but blind, and lame, and deaf, and maimed; wherefore also in regard to these the four thousand marvel,212 but in regard to the sick no such thing is said. And these I think who ate of the seven loaves for which thanks were given, are superior to those who ate of the five which were blessed; and these who ate the few little fishes to those who ate of the two, and perhaps also these who sat down upon the ground to those who sat down on the grass. And those from fewer loaves leave twelve baskets, but these from a greater number leave seven baskets, inasmuch, as they were able to receive more. And perhaps these tread upon all earthly things and sit down upon them, but those upon the grass-upon their flesh only-for "all flesh is grass."213 Consider also after this, that Jesus does not wish to send them away fasting lest they faint on the way, as being without the loaves of Jesus, and while they were still on the way-the way to their own concerns-might suffer injury. Take note also of the cases where Jesus is recorded to have sent any one away, that you may see the difference of those who were sent away by Him after being fed, and those who had been sent away otherwise; and, as a pattern of one who was sent away otherwise, take "Woman, thou art loosed from thine infirmity."214 But further the disciples who are always with Jesus are not sent away by Him; but the multitudes after they have eaten are sent away. Likewise, again, the disciples who conceive nothing great about the Canaanitish woman say, "Send her away, for she crieth after us; "215 but the Saviour does not at all appear to send her away; for saying unto her, "O woman, great is thy faith, be it done to thee even as thou wilt,"216 He healed her daughter from that hour: it is not however written that He sent her away. So far at the present time have we been able to investigate and see into the passage before us.

213: Isa. xl. 6.

214: Luke xiii. 12, Literally `thou art sent away. 0' 215: Matt. xv. 23.

216: Matt. xv. 28.

Commentary on Matthew - Book 12

Book XII.

1. Concerning Those Who Asked Him to Show Them a Sign from Heaven.

2. Why the Pharisees Asked a Sign from Heaven.

3. The Answer of Jesus to Their Request.

4. Why Jesus Called Them an Adulterous Generation, the Law as Husband.

5. Concerning the Leaven of the Pharisees.

6. The Meaning of Leaven. Jesus' Knowledge of the Heart.

7. Relative Magnitude of Sins of the Heart and Actual Sins.

8. The Leaven Figurative Like the Water Spoken of by Jesus to the Woman of Samaria.

9. Concerning the Question of Jesus in Caesarea, Who Do Men Say that I Am? Different Conceptions of Jesus.

10. The Answer of Peter.

11. The Promise Given to Peter Not Restricted to Him, But Applicable to All Disciples Like Him.

12. Every Sin-Every False Doctrine is a "Gate of Hades."

13. The "Gates of Hades" And the "Gates of Zion" Contrasted.

14. In What Sense the "Keys" Are Given to Peter, and Every Peter. Limitations of This Power.

15. Relation of the Former Commission Given by Jesus to the Disciples, to His Present Injunction of Silence. Belief and Knowledge Contrasted.

16. Gradual Growth in Knowledge of the Disciples.

17. Reasons for that Gradual Knowledge.

18. Jesus Was at First Proclaimed by the Twelve as a Worker and a Teacher Only.

19. Importance of the Proclamation of Jesus as the Crucified.

20. Why Jesus Had to Go to Jerusalem.

21. The Rebuke of Peter and the Answer of Jesus.

22. Importance of the Expressions "Behind" And "Turned."

23. Peter as a Stumbling-Block to Jesus.

24. Self-Denial and Cross-Bearing.

25. Reference to the Saying of Paul About Crucifixion with Christ.

26. The Less of Life; And the Saving of It.

27. Life Lost to the World is Saved.

28. The Exchange for One's Life.

29. The Coming of the Son of Man in Glory.

30. The Word Appears in Different Forms; The Time of His Coming in Glory.

31. The Simpler Interpretation of the Promise About Not Tasting of Death.

32. Standing by the Saviour.

33. Interpretation of "Tasting of Death."

34. Meaning of "Until." No Limitation of Promise.

35. Scriptural References to Death.

36. Concerning the Transfiguration of the Saviour.

37. Force of the Words "Before Them."

38. The Garments White as the Light.

39. Jesus Was Transfigured-"As He Was Praying."

40. Discussion of the Saying of Peter.

41. Figurative Interpretation of the Same.

42. The Meaning of the "Bright Cloud."

43. Relation of Moses and Elijah to Jesus. The Injunction of Silence.

Book XII.

1. Concerning Those Who Asked Him to Show Them a Sign from Heaven.

"And the Sadducees and Pharisees came, and tempting Him kept asking Him to shew them a sign from heaven."1 The Sadducees and Pharisees who disagreed with each other in regard to the most essential truths,-for the Pharisees champion the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, hoping that there will be a world to come, while the Sadducees know nothing after this life in store for a man whether he has been advancing towards virtue, or has made no effort at all to come out from the mountains of wickedness,-these, I say, agree that they may tempt Jesus. Now, a similar thing, as Luke has narrated,2 happened in the case of Herod and Pilate, who became friends with one another that they might kill Jesus; for, perhaps, their hostility with one another would have prevented Herod from asking that He should be put to death, in order to please the people, who said, "Crucify Him, Crucify Him,"3 and would have influenced Pilate, who was somewhat inclined against His condemnation, his hostility with Herod giving fresh impulse to the inclination which he

previously cherished to release Jesus. But their apparent friendship made Herod stronger in his demand against Jesus with Pilate, who wished, perhaps, also because of the newly-formed friendship to do something to gratify Herod and all the nation of the Jews. And often even now you may see in daily life those who hold the most divergent opinions, whether in the philosophy of the Greeks or in other systems of thought, appearing to be of one mind that they may scoff at and attack Jesus Christ in the person of His disciples. And from these things I think you may go on by rational argument to consider, whether when forces join in opposition which are in disagreement with one another, as of Pharaoh with Nebuchadnezzar,4 and of Tirhakah, king of the Ethiopians, with Sennacherib,5 a combination then takes place against Jesus and His people. So perhaps, also, "The kings of the earth set themselves and the rulers were gathered together,"6 though not at all before at harmony with one another, that having taken counsel against the Lord and His Christ. they might slay the Lord of glory.

2. Why the Pharisees Asked a Sign from Heaven.

Now, to this point we have come in our discourse, because of the Pharisees and Sadducees coming together unto Jesus, who disagreed in matters relating to the resurrection, but came, as it were, to an agreement for the sake of tempting our Saviour, and asking Him to show them a sign froth heaven. For, not satisfied with the wonderful signs shown among the people in the healing of all forms of disease and sickness, and with the rest of the miracles which our Saviour had done in the knowledge of many, they wished Him to show to them also a sign from heaven. And I conjecture that they suspected that the signs upon earth might possibly not be of God; for they did not hesitate indeed to say, "Jesus casts out demons by Beelzebub the prince of the demons; "7 and it seemed to them that a sign from heaven could not spring from Beelzebub or any other wicked power. But they erred in regard to both, in regard to signs upon earth as well as to signs from heaven, not being "approved money-changers,"8 nor knowing how to distinguish between the spirits that are working, which kind are from God, and which have revolted from Him. And they ought to have known that even many of the portents wrought against Egypt in the time of Moses, though they were not from heaven, were clearly from God, and that the fire which fell from heaven upon the sheep of Job was not from God;9 for that fire belonged to the same one as he to whom belonged those who carried off, and made three bands of horsemen against, the cattle of Job. I think, moreover, that in Isaiah-as if signs could be shown both from the earth and from heaven, the true being from God, but "with all power and signs and lying wonders"10 those from the evil one-it was said to Ahaz, "Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God in the depth or in the height."11 For, unless there had been some signs in the depth or in the height which were not from the Lord God, this would not have been said, "Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God in the depth or in the height." But I know well that such an interpretation of the passage, "Ask for thyself a sign from the Lord thy God," will seem to some one rather forced; but give heed to that which is said by the Apostle about the man of sin, the son of perdition, that, "with all power and signs and lying wonders and with all deceit of unrighteousness,"12 he shall be manifested to them that are perishing, imitating all kinds of wonders, to-wit, those of truth. And as the enchanters and magicians of the Egyptians, as being inferior to the man of sin and the son of perdition, imitated certain powers, both the signs and wonders of truth, doing lying wonders so that the true might not be believed; so I think the man of sin will imitate signs and powers. And perhaps, also, the Pharisees suspected these things because of the prophecies concerning Him; but I inquire

whether also the Sadducees tempting Him asked Jesus to show them a sign from heaven. For unless we say that they suspected this, how shall we describe their relation to the portents which Jesus wrought, who continued hard-hearted and were not put to shame by the miraculous things that were done? But if any one supposes that we have given an occasion of defence to the Pharisees and Sadducees, both when they say that the demons were cast out by Jesus through Beelzebub, and when tempting Him, they ask Jesus about a heavenly sign, let him know that we plausibly say that they were drawn away to the end that they might not believe in the miracles of Jesus; but not as to deserve forgiveness; for they did not look to the words of the prophets which were being fulfilled in the acts of Jesus, which an evil power was not at all capable of imitating. But to bring back a soul which had gone out, so that it came out of the grave when already stinking and passing the fourth day,13 was the work of no other than Him who heard the word of the Father, "Let us make man after our image and likeness."14 But also to command the winds and to make the violence of the sea cease at a word, was the work of no other than Him through whom all things, both the sea itself and the winds, have come into being. Moreover also as to the teaching which stimulates men to the love of the Creator, in harmony with the law and the prophets, and which checks passions and moulds morals according to piety, what else did it indicate to such as were able to see. than that He was truly the Son of God who wrought works so mighty? In respect of which things He said also to the disciples of John, "Go your way and tell John what great things ye see and hear; the blind receive their sight," etc.15 3. The Answer of Jesus to Their Request.

Next let us remark in what way, when asked in regard to one sign, that He might show it from heaven, to the Pharisees and Sadducees who put the question, He answers and says, "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall be no sign given to it, but the sign of Jonah the prophet, " when also, "He left them and departed."16 But the sign of Jonah, in truth, according to their question, was not merely a sign but also a sign from heaven; so that even to those who tempted Him and sought a sign from heaven He, nevertheless, out of His own great goodness gave the sign. For if, as Jonah passed three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so the Son of man did in the heart of the earth, and after this rose up from it,-whence but from heaven shall we say that the sign of the resurrection of Christ came? And especially when, at the time of the passion, He became a sign to the robber who obtained favour from Him to enter into the paradise of God; after this, I think, descending into Hades to the dead, "as free among the dead."17 And the Saviour seems to me to conjoin the sign which was to come from Himself with the reason of the sign in regard to Jonah when He says, not merely that a sign like to that is granted by Him but that very sign; for attend to the words, "And there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah the prophet."18 Accordingly that sign was this sign, because that became indicative of this, so that the elucidation of that sign, which was obscure on the face of it, might be found in the fact that the Saviour suffered, and passed three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. At the same time also we learn the general principle that, if the sign signifies something, each of the signs which are recorded, whether as in actual history, or by way of precept, is indicative of something afterwards fulfilled; as for example, the sign of Jonah going out after three days from the whale's belly was indicative of the resurrection of our Saviour, rising after three days and three nights from the dead; and that which is called circumcision is the sign of that which is indicated by Paul in the words: "We are the circumcision."19 Seek you also every sign in the Old Scriptures as indicative of some passage in the New Scripture, and that which is named a sign in the New Covenant as indicative of something either in the age about to be, or even in the

subsequent generations after that the sign has taken place.

4. Why Jesus Called Them an Adulterous Generation, the Law as Husband. And He called them, indeed, "an evil generation," because of the quality arising from evil which had been produced in them, for wickedness is voluntary evil-doing, but "adulterous" because that when the Pharisees and Sadducees left that which is figuratively called man, the word of truth or the law, they were debauched by falsehood and the law of sin. For if there are two laws, the law in our members warring against the law of the mind, and the law of the mind,20 we must say that the law of the mind-that is, the spiritual-is man, to whom the soul was given by God as wife, that is, to the man who is law, according to what is written, "A wife is married to a man by God; "21 but the other is a paramour of the soul which is subject to it, which also on account of it is called an adulteress. Now that the law is husband of the soul Paul clearly exhibits in the Epistle to the Romans, saying, "The law hath dominion over a man for so long time as he liveth; for the woman that hath a husband is bound to the husband while he liveth, to the husband who is law,"22 etc. For consider in these things that the law hath dominion over the man so long time as the law liveth,-as a husband over a wife. "For the woman that hath a husband," that is, the soul under the law, "is bound to the husband while he liveth," to the husband who is the law; but if the husband-that is, the law die-she is discharged from the law, which is her husband. Now the law dies to him who has gone up to the condition of blessedness, and no longer lives under the law, but acts like to Christ, who, though He became under law for the sake of those under law, that He might gain those under law,23 did not continue under law, nor did He leave subject to law those who had been freed by Him; for He led them up along with Himself to the divine citizenship which is above the law, which contains, as for the imperfect and such as are still sinners, sacrifices for the remission of sins. He then who is without sin, and stands no longer in need of legal sacrifices, perhaps when he has become perfect has passed beyond even the spiritual law, and comes to the Word beyond it, who became flesh to those who live in the flesh, but to those who no longer at all war after the flesh, He is perceived as being the Word, as24 He was God in the beginning with God, and reveals the Father. Three things therefore are to be thought of in connection with this place-the woman that hath a husband, who is under a husband-the law; and the woman who is an adulteress, to-wit, the soul, which, while her husband, the law, liveth, has become joined to another husband, namely, the law of the flesh; and the woman who is married to the brother of the dead husband, to the Word who is alive and dies not, who "being raised from the dead dieth no more, for death hath no more dominion over Him."25 So far then because of the saying, "But if the husband die she is discharged from the law, the husband," and because of this, "so then, while her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress, if she be joined to another man," and because of this, "but if the husband die, she is free from the law, so that she is no adulteress though she be joined to another man."26 But this very saying, "So then while her husband liveth, she shall be called an adulteress," we have brought forward, wishing clearly to show why in answer to the Pharisees and Sadducees who were tempting Him and asking Him to show them a sign from heaven, He said not only "a wicked generation," but an "adulterous" generation.27 In a general way, then, the law in the members which wars against the law of the mind,28 as a man who is an adulterer, is an adulterer of the soul. But now also every power that is hostile, which gains the mastery over the human soul, and has intercourse with it, commits adultery with her who had a bridegroom given to her by God, namely, the Word. After these things it is written that "He left them and departed." For how was the bridegroom-the Word-not going to leave the adulterous generation and depart from it? But you

might say that the Word of God, leaving the synagogue of the Jews as adulterous, departed from it, and took a wife of fornication,29 namely, those from the Gentiles; since those who were "Sion, a faithful city,"30 have become harlots; but these have become like the harlot Rahab, who received the spies of Joshua, and was saved with all her house;31 after this no longer playing the harlot, but coming to the feet of Jesus, and wetting them with the tears of repentance, and anointing them with the fragrance of the ointment of holy conversation, on account of whom, reproaching Simon the leper,-the former people,-He spoke those things which are written.32 5. Concerning the Leaven of the Pharisees.

"And His disciples came to the other side and forgot to take loaves."33 Since the loaves which they had before they came to the other side were no longer useful to the disciples when they came to the other side, for they needed one kind of loaves before they crossed and a different kind when they crossed,-on this account, being careless of taking loaves when going to the other side, they forgot to take loaves with them. To the other side then came the disciples of Jesus who had passed over from things material to things spiritual, and from things sensible to those which are intellectual. And perhaps that He might turn back those who, by crossing to the other side, "had begun in spirit,"34 from running back to carnal things, Jesus said to them when on the other side, "Take heed and beware."35 For there was a certain lump of teaching and of truly ancient leaven,-that according to the bare letter, and on this account not freed from those things which arise from wickedness,-which the Pharisees and Sadducees offered, of which Jesus does not wish His own disciples any longer to eat, having made for them a new and spiritual lump, offering Himself to those who gave up the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees and had come to Him-"the living bread which came down from heaven and gives life to the world."36 But since, to him who is no longer going to use the leaven and the lump and the teaching of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, the first thing is to "see" and then to "beware," so that no one, by reason of not seeing and from want of taking heed, may ever partake of their forbidden leaven,-on this account He says to the disciples, first, "see," and then, "beware." It is the mark of the clear-sighted and careful to separate the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees and every food that is not of "the unleavened-bread of sincerity and truth"37 from the living bread, even that which came down from heaven, so that no one who eats may adopt the things of the Pharisees and the Sadducees, but by eating the living and true bread may strengthen his soul. And we might seasonably apply the saying to those who, along with the Christian way of life, prefer to live as the Jews, materially, for these do not see nor beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees, but, contrary to the will of Jesus who forbade it, eat the bread of the Pharisees. Yea and also all, who do not wish to understand that the law is spiritual, and has a shadow of the good things to come,38 and is a shadow of the things to come,39 neither inquire of what good thing about to be each of the laws is a shadow, nor do they see nor beware of the leaven of the Pharisees; and they also who reject the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead are not on their guard against the leaven of the Sadducees. And there are many among the heterodox who, because of their unbelief in regard to the resurrection of the dead, are imbued with the leaven of the Sadducees. Now, while Jesus said these things, the disciples reasoned, saying not aloud, but in their own hearts, "We took no loaves."40 And something like this was what they said, "If we had loaves we would not have had to take of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees; but since, from want of loaves, we run the risk of taking from their leaven, while the Saviour does not wish us to run back to their teaching, therefore He said to us, "Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the

Sadducees."41 And these things then they reasoned; Jesus, while looking to that which was in their hearts, and hearing the reasons in them, as the true overseer of hearts, reproves them because they did not see nor remember the loaves which they received from Him; on account of which, even when they appeared to be in want of loaves, they did not need the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

6. The Meaning of Leaven. Jesus' Knowledge of the Heart.

Then expounding clearly and representing to them, who were being distracted because of the equivocal meaning of loaf and leaven, in an undisguised fashion, that He was not speaking to them about sensible bread but about the leaven in the teaching, He subjoins, "How is it that ye do not perceive that I spake not you concerning bread? But beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the Sadducees."42 And though He had not laid bare the interpretation, but still continued to use metaphorical language, the disciples would have understood that the discourse of the Saviour was about the teaching, figuratively called leaven, which the Pharisees and Sadducees were teaching. So long, then, as we have Jesus with us fulfilling the promise which runs, "Lo, I am with you always unto the consummation of the age,"43 we cannot fast nor be in want of food, so that, because of want of it we should desire to take and eat the forbidden leaven, even from the Pharisees and Sadducees. Now there may sometimes be a time, when He is with us, that we are without food, as is spoken of in the passage above, "They continue with me now three days and have nothing to eat; "44 but, even though this should happen, being unwilling to send us away fasting lest we faint on the way, He gives thanks over the loaves which were with the disciples, and causes us to have the seven baskets over from the seven loaves, as we have recorded. And moreover this also is to be observed, in view of those who think that the divinity of the Saviour is not at all demonstrable from the Gospel of Matthew, that the fact that, when the disciples were reasoning among themselves and saying, "We have no loaves," Jesus knew their reasonings and said, "Why reason ye among yourselves, O ye of little faith, because ye took no loaves,"45 was beyond the power of man; for the Lord alone, as Solomon says in the third Book of Kings, knows the hearts of men.46 But since the disciples understood, when Jesus said, "Beware of the leaven,"47 that He did not tell them to beware of the loaves but of the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees, you will understand that whenever leaven is named it is put figuratively for teaching, whether in the law, or in the Scriptures which come after the law; and so perhaps leaven is not offered upon the altar; for it is not right that prayers should take the form of teaching, but should only be supplications of good things from God. But one might inquire, on account of what has been said about disciples who came to the other side, if any one who has reached the other side can be reproached as one of little faith, and as not yet understanding nor remembering what was done by Jesus. But it is not difficult, I think, to say to this, that in relation to that which is perfect, on the coming of which "that which is in part shall be done away,"48 all our faith here is little faith, and in regard to that, we who know in part do not yet know nor remember; for we are not able to obtain a memory which is sufficient and able to attain to the magnitude of the nature of the speculations.

7. Relative Magnitude of Sins of the Heart and Actual Sins. But we may also learn from this, that in respect of the reasonings only which we reason within ourselves, we are sometimes convicted and reproached as being of tittle faith. And I think that just as a man commits adultery in his heart only, though not proceeding altogether to the overt act, so he commits in his heart the rest of the things

which are forbidden. As then he who has committed adultery in his heart will be punished proportionately to adultery of this kind, so also he who has done in his heart any one of the things forbidden, for example, who has stolen in his heart only, or borne false witness in his heart only, will not be punished as he who has stolen in fact, or who has completed the very act of false testimony, but only as he who has done such things in his heart. There is also the case of the man who while he did not arrive at the evil action, came short of it in spite of his own will. For if, in addition to willing it, he has attempted it, but not carried it out, he will be punished not as one who has sinned in his heart alone but in deed. To questions of this sort one might ask, whether any one commits adultery in his heart, even if he does not do the deed of adultery, but lacks self-control in heart only. And the like also you will say concerning the rest of things which are deserving of praise. But the passage possibly contains a plausible fallacy which must be cleared away, I think, in this manner: adultery which takes place in the heart is a less sin, than if one were also to add to it the act. But it is impossible that there can be chastity in the heart, hindering the chaste action-unless indeed one brings forward for an illustration of this the case of the virgin who according to the law was violated in solitude;49 for it may be granted that the heart of any one may be most pure,50 but that force in a matter of licentiousness has caused the corruption of the body of her who was chaste. In truth she seems to me to be altogether chaste in secret heart, hut no longer to be pure in body such as she was before the act of violence; but though she is not pure outwardly, is she therefore now also unchaste? I have said these things because of the words, "They reasoned among themselves saying, We took no loaves," to which is added, "And Jesus perceiving it, said, O ye of little faith, why reason ye among yourselves,"51 etc.; for it was necessary that investigation should be made in regard to the censure of things in secret and correlatively to the praise of things in secret.

8. The Leaven Figurative Like the Water Spoken of by Jesus to the Woman of Samaria. But I wonder if the disciples thought, before the saying was explained to them by Jesus, that their Teacher and Lord was forbidding them to beware of the sensible leaven of the Pharisees or the Sadducees as impure, and on this account forbidden, lest they might use that leaven because they had not taken loaves. And we might make a like inquiry in regard to other things; but by-way of illustration the narrative about the woman of Samaria sufficeth, "Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again; but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst."52 For there, also, so far as the mere form of expression is concerned, the Samaritan woman would seem to have thought that the Saviour was giving a promise about sensible water, when He said, "Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst." And those things then must be figuratively interpreted, and we must examine and compare the water of the spring of Jacob from which the woman of Samaria drew water with the water of Jesus; and here the like must be done; for perhaps the loaves were not baked, but a kind of raw leaven solely, the teaching, namely, of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

9. Concerning the Question of Jesus in Caesarea, Who Do Men Say that I Am? Different Conceptions of Jesus.

"Now when Jesus came into the parts of Coesarea Philippi, He asked His disciples."53 Jesus inquires of the disciples, "Who do men say that I am," that we may learn from the answer of the Apostles the different conceptions then held among the Jews in regard to our Saviour; and perhaps also that the disciples of Jesus might learn to be interested in knowing what is said by

men about them;54 because that will be an advantage to them who do it, by cutting off in every way occasions of evil if anything evil is spoken of, and by increasing the incitements to good, if anything good is spoken of. Only, observe how, on account of the different movements of opinion among the Jews about Jesus, some, under the influence of unsound theories, said that He was John the Baptist. like Herod the tetrarch who said to his servants, "This is John the Baptist, he is risen from the dead, and therefore do the powers work in him; "55 but others that He who was now called Jesus was Elijah, either having been born a second time, or living from that time in the flesh, and appearing at the present time. But those who said that Jesus was Jeremiah, and not that Jeremiah was a type of the Christ, were perhaps influenced by what is said in the beginning of Jeremiah about Christ, which was not fulfilled in the prophet at that time, but was beginning to be fulfilled in Jesus, whom "God set up over nations and kingdoms to root up, and to break down, and to destroy, and to build up, and to transplant,"56 having made Him to be a prophet to the Gentiles to whom He proclaimed the word. Moreover also those who said, "that he was a certain one of the prophets,"57 conceived this opinion concerning Him because of those things which had been said in the prophets as unto them, but which had not been fulfilled in their case. But also the Jews, as worthy of the veil which was upon their heart, held false opinions concerning Jesus; while Peter as not a disciple "of flesh and blood,"58 but as one fit to receive the revelation of the Father in heaven, confessed that He was the Christ. The saying of Peter to the Saviour, "Thou art the Christ," when the Jews did not know that He was Christ, was indeed a great thing, but greater that he knew Him not only to be Christ, but also "the Son of the living God,"59 who had also said through the prophets, "I live,"60 and "They have forsaken Me the spring of living water; "61 -and He is life also, as from the Father the spring of life, who said, "I am the Life; "62 And consider carefully, whether, as the spring of the river is not the same thing as the river, the spring of life is not the same as life. And these things we have added because to the saying, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of God," was subjoined the word "living; "63 for it was necessary to set forth something noteworthy in regard to that which is said about God and the Father of all things as living, both in relation to His absolute life, and in relation to those things which participate in it. But since we said that they were under the influence of unsound opinions who declared that Jesus was John the Baptist, or any one of those named, in saying this let us prove that if they had fallen in with Jesus as He was going away to John for baptism, or with John when he was baptizing Jesus, or if they had heard it from any one, they would not have said that Jesus was John. But also if they had understood the opinions under the influence of which Jesus said, "If ye are willing to receive it, this is Elijah which is to come."64 and had heard what was said, as men having ears, some would not have said that He was Elijah. And if those who said that He was Jeremiah had perceived that the most of the prophets took upon themselves certain features that were symbolical of Him, they would not have said that He was Jeremiah; and in like manner the others would not have said that He was one of the prophets.

10. The Answer of Peter. And perhaps that which Simon Peter answered and said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God, "65 if we say it as Peter, not by flesh and blood revealing it unto us, but by the light from the Father in heaven shining in our heart, we too become as Peter, being pronounced blessed as he was, because that the grounds on which he was pronounced blessed apply also to us, by reason of the fact that flesh and blood have not revealed to us with regard to Jesus that He is Christ, the Son of the living God, but the Father in heaven, from the very heavens, that our citizenship may be in heaven,66 revealing to us the revelation which carries up to heaven

those who take away every veil from the heart, and receive "the spirit of the wisdom and revelation" of God.67 And if we too have said like Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," not as if flesh and blood had revealed it unto us, but by light from the Father in heaven having shone in our heart, we become a Peter, and to us there might be said by the Word, "Thou art Peter," etc.68 For a rock69 is every disciple of Christ of whom those drank who drank of the spiritual rock which followed them,70 and upon every such rock is built every word of the church, add the polity in accordance with it; for in each of the perfect, who have the combination of words and deeds and thoughts which fill up the blessedness, is the church built by God.

11. The Promise Given to Peter Not Restricted to Him, But Applicable to All Disciples Like Him. But if you suppose that upon that one Peter only the whole church is built by God, what would you say about John the son of thunder or each one of the Apostles? Shall we otherwise dare to say, that against Peter in particular the gates of Hades shall not prevail, but that they shall prevail against the other Apostles and the perfect? Does not the saying previously made, "The gates of Hades shall not prevail against it,"71 hold in regard to all and in the case of each of them? And also the saying, "Upon this rock I will build My church"?72 Are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given by the Lord to Peter only, and will no other of the blessed receive them? But if this promise, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven,"73 be common to the others, how shall not all the things previously spoken of, and the things which are subjoined as having been addressed to Peter, be common to them? For in this place these words seem to be addressed as to Peter only, "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven,"74 etc; but in the Gospel of John the Saviour having given the Holy Spirit unto the disciples by breathing upon them said, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit,"75 etc. Many then will say to the Saviour, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God; "but not all who say this will say it to Him, as not at all having learned it by the revelation of flesh and blood but by the Father in heaven Himself taking away the veil that lay upon their heart, in order that after this "with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord"76 they may speak through the Spirit of God saying concerning Him, "Lord Jesus," and to Him, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."77 And if any one says this to Him, not by flesh and blood revealing it unto Him but through the Father in heaven, he will obtain the things that were spoken according to the letter of the Gospel to that Peter, but, as the spirit of the Gospel teaches, to every one who becomes such as that Peter was. For all bear the surname of "rock" who are the imitators of Christ, that is, of the spiritual rock which followed those who are being saved,78 that they may drink from it the spiritual draught. But these bear the surname of the rock just as Christ does. But also as members of Christ deriving their surname from Him they are called Christians, and from the rock, Peters. And taking occasion from these things you will say that the righteous bear the surname of Christ who is Righteousness, and the wise of Christ who is Wisdom.79 And so in regard to all His other names, you will apply them by way of surname to the saints; and to all such the saying of the Saviour might be spoken, "Thou art Peter," etc., down to the words, "prevail against it." But what is the "it"? Is it the rock upon which Christ builds the church, or is it the church? For the phrase is ambiguous. Or is it as if the rock and the church were one and the same? This I think to be true; for neither against the rock on which Christ builds the church, nor against the church will the gates of Hades prevail; just as the way of a serpent upon a rock, according to what is written in the Proverbs,80 cannot be found. Now, if the gates of Hades prevail against any one, such an one cannot be a rock upon which Christ builds the church, nor the church built by Jesus upon the rock; for the rock is inaccessible to the serpent, and it is

stronger than the gates of Hades which are opposing it, so that because of its strength the gates of Hades do not prevail against it; but the church, as a building of Christ who built His own house wisely upon the rock,81 is incapable of admitting the gates of Hades which prevail against every man who is outside the rock and the church, but have no power against it.

12. Every Sin-Every False Doctrine is a "Gate of Hades." But when we have understood how each of the sins through which there is a way to Hades82 is a gate of Hades, we shall apprehend that the soul, which has "spot or wrinkle or any such thing,"83 and because of wickedness is neither holy nor blameless, is neither a rock upon which Christ builds, nor a church, nor part of a church which Christ builds upon the rock. But if any one wishes to put us84 to shame in regard to these things because of the great majority of those of the church who are thought to believe, it must be said to him not only "Many are called, but few chosen; "85 but also that which was said by the Saviour to those who come to Him, as it is recorded in Luke in these words, "Strive to enter in by the narrow door, for many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in through the narrow door and shall not be able; "86 and also that which is written in the Gospel of Matthew thus, "For narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it."87 Now, if you attend to the saying, "Many, I say unto you, shall seek to enter in and shall not be able,"88 you will understand that this refers to those who boast that they are of the church, but live weakly and contrary to the word. Of those, then, who seek to enter in, those who are not able to enter will not be able to do so, because the gates of Hades prevail against them; but in the case of those against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, those seeking to enter in will be strong, being able to do all things, in Christ Jesus, who strengtheneth them.89 And in like manner each one of those who are the authors of any evil opinion has become the architect of a certain gate of Hades; but those who co-operate with the teaching of the architect of such things are servants and stewards, who are the bond-servants of the evil doctrine which goes to build up impiety. And though the gates of Hades are many and almost innumerable, no gate of Hades will prevail against the rock or against the church which Christ builds upon it. Notwithstanding, these gates have a certain power by which they gain the mastery over some who do not resist and strive against them; but they are overcome by others who, because they do not turn aside from Him who said, "I am the door,"90 have rased from their soul all the gates of Hades. And this also we must know that as the gates of cities have each their own names, in the same way the gates of Hades might be named after the species of sins; so that one gate of Hades is called "fornication," through which fornicators go, and another "denial," through which the deniers of God go down into Hades. And likewise already each of the heterodox and of those who have begotten any "knowledge which is falsely so called,"91 has built a gate of Hades-Marcion one gate, and Basilides another, and Valentinus another.

13. The "Gates of Hades" And the "Gates of Zion" Contrasted. In this place, then, the gates of Hades are spoken of; but in the Psalms the prophet gives thanks saying, "He who lifteth me up from the gates of death that I may declare all thy praises in the gates of the daughter of Zion."92 And from this we learn that it is never possible for any one to be fit to declare the praises of God, unless he has been lifted up from the gates of death, and has come to the gates of Zion. Now the gates of Zion may be conceived as opposed to the gates of death, so that there is one gate of death, dissoluteness, but a gate of Zion, self-control; and so a gate of death, unrighteousness, but a gate of Zion, righteousness, which the prophet shows forth saying, "This is the gate of the Lord,

the righteous shall enter into it."93 And again there is cowardice, a gate of death, but manly courage, a gate of Zion; and want of prudence, a gate of death, but its opposite, prudence, a gate of Zion. But to all the gates of the "knowledge which is falsely so called"94 one gate is opposed, the gate of knowledge which is free from falsehood. But consider if, because of the saying , "our wrestling is not against flesh and blood,"95 etc., you can say that each power and world-ruler of this darkness, and each one of the "spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places"96 is a gate of Hades and a gate of death. Let, then, the principalities and powers with which our wrestling is, be called gates of Hades, but the "ministering spirits"97 gates of righteousness. But as in the case of the better things many gates are first spoken of, and after the gates, one, in the passage, "Open to me the gates of righteousness, I will enter into them, and will make full confession to the Lord," and "this is the gate of the Lord, by it the righteous shall enter; "98 so also in the case of those gates which are opposed, many are the gates of Hades and death, each a power; but over all these the wicked one himself. And let us take heed in regard to each sin, as if we were descending into some gate of death if we sin; but when we are lifted up from the gates of death let us declare all the praises of the Lord in the gates of the daughter of Zion; as, for example, in one gate of the daughter of Zion-that which is called self-control-we will declare by our self-control the praises of God; and in another which is called righteousness, by righteousness we will declare the praises of God; and, generally, in all things whatsoever of a praiseworthy character with which we are; occupied, in these we are at some gate of the daughter of Zion, declaring at each gate some praise of God. But we must make inquiry whether in one of the Twelve99 it is said, "They hated him that reproveth in the gates, and they loathed the holy word."100 Perhaps, then, he who reproves in the gates is of the gates of the daughter of Zion, reproving those who are in sins which are opposed to this gate, even of the gates of Hades or death. But if ye do not so understand the words, "They hated him that reproveth in the gates," either the expression "in the gates" will be held to be superfluous, or investigate how that which is said can be worthy of the prophetic spirit.

14. In What Sense the "Keys" Are Given to Peter, and Every Peter. Limitations of This Power. And after this let us see in what sense it is said to Peter, and to every Peter, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."101 And, in the first place, I think that the saying, "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," is spoken in consistency with the words, "The gates of Hades shall not prevail against it."102 For he is worthy to receive from the same Word the keys of the kingdom of heaven, who is fortified against the gates of Hades so that they do not prevail against him, receiving, as it were, for a prize, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, because the gates of Hades had no power against him, that he might open for himself the gates that were closed to those who had been conquered by the gates of Hades. And he enters in, as a temperate man, through an opened gate-the gate of temperance-by the key which opens temperance; and, as a righteous man, by another gate-the gate of righteousness-which is opened by the key of righteousness; and so with the rest of the virtues. For I think that for every virtue of knowledge certain mysteries of wisdom corresponding to the species of the virtue are opened up to him who has lived according to virtue; the Saviour giving to those who are not mastered by the gates of Hades as many keys as there are virtues, which open gates equal in number, which correspond to each virtue according to the revelation of the mysteries. And perhaps, also, each virtue is a kingdom of heaven, and all together are a kingdom of the heavens; so that according to this he is already in the kingdom of the heavens who lives according to the virtues, so that according to this the saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand,"103 is to be referred, not to the time,

but to deeds and dispositions; for Christ, who is all virtue, has come, and speaks, and on account of this the kingdom of God is within His disciples, and not here or there.104 But consider how great power the rock has upon which the church is built by Christ, and how great power every one has who says, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," so that the judgments of this man abide sure, as if God were judging in him, that in the very act of judging the gates of Hades shall not prevail against him. But when one judges unrighteously, and does not bind upon earth according to the Word of God, nor loose upon earth according to His will, the gates of Hades prevail against him; but, in the case of any one against whom the gates of Hades do not prevail, this man judges righteously. Wherefore he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven, opening to those who have been loosed on earth that they may be also loosed in heaven, and free; and shutting to those who by his just judgment have been bound on earth that they also may be bound in heaven, and condemned. But when those who maintain the function of the episcopate make use of this word as Peter, and, having received the keys of the kingdom of heaven from the Saviour, teach that things bound by them, that is to say, condemned, are also bound in heaven, and that those which have obtained remission by them are also loosed in heaven, we must say that they speak wholesomely if they have the way of life on account of which it was said to that Peter, "Thou art Peter; "105 and if they are such that upon them the church is built by Christ, and to them with good reason this could be referred; and the gates of Hades ought not to prevail against him when he wishes to bind and loose. But if he is tightly bound with the cords of his sins,106 to no purpose does he bind and loose. And perhaps you can say that in the heavens which are in the wise man-that, is the virtues,-the bad man is bound; and again in these the virtuous man is loosed, and has received an indemnity for the sins which he committed before his virtue. But, as the man, who has not the cords of sins nor iniquities compared to a "long rope or to the strap of the yoke of a heifer,"107 not even God could bind, in like manner, no Peter, whoever he may be; and if any one who is not a Peter, and does not possess the things here spoken of, imagines as a Peter that he will so bind on earth that the things bound are bound in heaven, and will so loose on earth that the things loosed are loosed in heaven, he is puffed up, not understanding the meaning of the Scriptures, and, being puffed up, has fallen into the ruin of the devil.108

15. Relation of the Former Commission Given by Jesus to the Disciples, to His Present Injunction of Silence. Belief and Knowledge Contrasted.

"Then enjoined He His disciples that they should tell no man thai He was the Christ."109 It is written above that Jesus sent forth these twelve saying unto them, "Go not into any way of the Gentiles,"110 and the other words which are recorded to have been said to them when He sent them to the apostleship. Did He then wish them when they were already discharging the function of Apostles to proclaim that He was the Christ? For, if He wished it, it is fitting to inquire why He now at all commands the disciples that they should not say that He was the Christ? Or if He did not wish it, how can the things concerning the apostleship be safely maintained? And these things also one may inquire at this place,-whether, when He sent away the Twelve, He did not send them away with the understanding that He was the Christ? But if the Twelve had such understanding, manifestly Peter had it also; how, then, is he now pronounced blessed? For the expression here plainly indicates that now for the first time Peter confessed that Christ was the Son of the living God, Matthew then, according to some of the manuscripts, has written, "Then He commanded His disciples that they should tell no man that He was the Christ," but111 Mark says, "He charged

them that they should tell no man of Him; "112 and Luke, "He charged them and commanded them to tell this to no man."113 But what is the "this"? Was it that also according to him, Peter answered and said to the question, "Who say ye that I am."-"The Christ, the Son of the living God? "114 You must know, however, that some manuscripts of the Gospel according to Matthew have, "He charged."115 The difficulty thus started seems to me a very real difficulty; but let a solution which cannot be impugned be sought out, and let the finder of it bring it forward before all, if it be more credible than that which shall be advanced by us as a fairly temperate view.116 Consider, then, if you can say, that the belief that Jesus is the Christ is inferior to the knowledge of that which is believed. And perhaps also there is a difference in the knowledge of Jesus as the Christ, as every one who knows does not know Him alike. From the words in John, "If ye abide in My word, ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free,"117 it is plain that belief without knowledge is inferior to knowing; but that there is a difference in the knowledge of Jesus as the Christ, as all who know Him do not know Him equally, is a fact self-evident to any one who gives even a very little consideration to the matter. For who would not acknowledge, for example, that Timothy, though he knew that Jesus was the Christ, had not been enlightened to such an extent in the knowledge of Him as the Apostle had been enlightened? And who would not also admit this-that though many, speaking the truth, say about God, "He has given to me a true knowledge of things that are," yet they will not say this with equal insight and apprehension of the things known, nor as knowing the same number of things? But it is not only in respect of the difference of knowing that those who know do not know alike, bat also according to that which is the source of the knowledge; so that according to this he who knows the Son by the revelation of the Father,118 as Peter is testified to have known, has the highest beatitude. Now, if these views of ours are sound, you will consider whether the Twelve formerly believed but did not know; but, after believing, they gained also the rudiments of knowledge and knew a few things about Him; and afterwards they continued to advance in knowledge so that they were able to receive the knowledge from the Father who reveals the Son; in which position Peter was, when he was pronounced blessed; for also he is pronounced blessed not merely because he said, "Thou art the Christ," but with the addition, "the Son of the living God." Accordingly Mark and Luke who have recorded that Peter answered and said, "Thou art the Christ," but have not given the addition found in Matthew, have not recorded that he was declared blessed for what had been said, nor the blessing which followed the declaration of blessedness, "Thou art Peter,"119 etc.

16. Gradual Growth in Knowledge of the Disciples. But now we must first investigate the fact that they were declaring other things about Him as being great and wonderful, but did not yet proclaim that He was the Christ, lest the Saviour may not appear to take away from them the authority to announce that He was the Christ, which He had formerly bestowed upon them. And perhaps some one will support an argument of this kind, saying that on their introduction into the school of Christ the Jews were taught by the disciples glorious things about Jesus, so that in due season there might be built upon these as a foundation the things about Jesus being the Christ; and perhaps many of the things which were said to them were said to all who virtually believed; for not to the Apostles alone did the saying apply, "Before governors and kings also shall ye be brought for My sake for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles; "120 and perhaps also not to the Apostles absolutely, but to all who were about to believe the word, "And brother shall deliver up brother to death,"121 etc.; but, "Whosoever shall confess Me,"122 etc., is said not specially to the Apostles, but also to all believers. According to this, then, through that which was said to the Apostles an

outline was given beforehand of the teaching which would afterwards come to be of service both to them and to every teacher.

17. Reasons for that Gradual Knowledge. And likewise he who holds that the fact that He was Christ had been formerly proclaimed by the Apostles when they heard the saying, "What I tell you in the darkness, speak ye in the light, and what ye hear in the ear proclaim on the housetops,"123 will say, that He wished first to give catechetical instruction as it were to those of the Apostles who were to hear the name of Christ, then to permit this, so to speak, to be digested in the minds of the hearers, that, after there had been a period of silence in the proclamation of something of this kind about Him, at a more seasonable time there might be built up upon the former rudiments "Christ Jesus crucified and raised from the dead," which at the beginning not even the Apostles knew; for it is written in the passage now under consideration, "From that time began Jesus to show unto His disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem"124 and suffer this and that. But if now, for the first time, the Apostles learn from Jesus the things that were about to happen unto Him, namely, that the elders will plot against Him, and that He will be killed, and that after these things, on the third day, He will rise from the dead,-what necessity is there for supposing that those who had been taught by the Apostles concerning Jesus knew them before, or that although Christ was announced to them He was announced to them by way of an introduction which did not clearly elucidate the things concerning Him? For our Saviour wished, when He enjoined the disciples to tell no man that He was the Christ, to reserve the more perfect teaching about Him to a more fitting time, when to those who had seen Him crucified, the disciples who had seen Him crucified and risen could testify the things relating to His resurrection. For it the Apostles. who were always with Him and had seen all the wonderful things which He did, and who bore testimony to His words that they were words of eternal life,125 were offended on the night on which He was betrayed,-what do you suppose would have been the feelings of those who had formerly learned that He was the Christ? To spare them, I think, He gave this command.

18. Jesus Was at First Proclaimed by the Twelve as a Worker and a Teacher Only. But he who holds that the things spoken to the Twelve refer to the times subsequent to this, and that the Apostles had not as yet announced to their hearers that He was the Christ, will say that He wished the conception of the Christ which was involved in the name of Jesus to be reserved for that preaching which was more perfect, and which brought salvation, such as Paul knew of when he said to the Corinthians, "I determined not to know anything among yon save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."126 Wherefore, formerly they proclaimed Jesus as the doer of certain things, and the teacher of certain things; but now when Peter confesses that He was the Christ, the Son of the living God, as He did not wish it to be proclaimed already that He was the Christ, in order that He might be proclaimed at a more suitable time, and that as crucified, He commands His disciples that they should tell no man that He was the Christ. And that this was His meaning, when He forbade proclamation to be made that He was the Christ, is in a measure established by the words, "From that time began Jesus to show unto His disciples how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders," and what is annexed;127 for then, at the fitting time, He proclaims, so to speak, to the disciples who knew that Jesus was Christ, the Son of the living God, the Father having revealed it to them, that instead of believing in Jesus Christ who had been crucified, they were to believe in Jesus Christ who was about to be crucified. But also, instead of believing in Christ Jesus and Him risen from the dead, He teaches them to believe in

Christ Jesus and Him about to be risen from the dead. But since "having put off from Himself the principalities and the powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over in the cross,"128 if any one is ashamed of the cross of Christ, he is ashamed of the dispensation on account of which these powers were triumphed over; and it is fitting that he, who both believes and knows these things, should glory in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ,129 through which, when Christ was crucified, the principalities-among which, I think, was also the prince of this world-were made a show of and triumphed over before the believing world. Wherefore, when His suffering was at hand he said, "Now the prince of this world has been judged,"130 and, "Now shall the prince of this world be cast out," and, "I, if I be lifted from the earth, will draw all men unto Myself; "131 as he no longer had sufficient power to prevent those going to Jesus who were being drawn by Him.

19. Importance of the Proclamation of Jesus as the Crucified.

It is necessary, therefore, to the proclamation of Jesus as Christ, that He should be proclaimed as crucified; and the proclamation that Jesus was the Christ does not seem to me so defective when any of His other miracles is passed over in silence, as when the fact of His crucifixion is passed over. Wherefore, reserving the more perfect proclamation of the things concerning Him by the Apostles, He commanded His disciples that they should tell no man that He was the Christ; and He prepared them to say that He was the Christ crucified and risen from the dead, "when He began "not only to say, nor even to advance to the point of teaching merely, but "to show"132 to His disciples that He must go to Jerusalem, etc.; for attend to the expression "show"; because just as sensible things are said to be shown so the things spoken by Him to His disciples are said to be shown by Jesus. And i do not think that each of the things seen was shown to those who saw Him suffering many things in body from the elders of the people, with such clearness as was the rational demonstration about Him to the disciples.

20. Why Jesus Had to Go to Jerusalem.

"Then began He to show; "133 and probably afterwards when they were able to receive it He shewed more clearly, no longer beginning to show as to those who were learning the introduction, but already also advancing in the showing; and if it is reasonable to conceive that Jesus altogether completed what He began, then, some time, He altogether completed that which He began to show to His disciples about the necessity of His suffering the things which are written. For, when any one apprehends from the Word the perfect knowledge of these things, then it must be said that, from a rational exhibition (the mind seeing the things which are shown,) the exhibition becomes complete for him who has the will and the power to contemplate these things, and does contemplate them. But since "it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem,"134 -a perishing which corresponds to the words, "He that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."135 -on this account it was necessary for Him to go to Jerusalem, that having suffered many things in that Jerusalem, He might make "the first-fruits"136 of the resurrection from the dead in the Jerusalem above, doing away with and breaking up the city upon the earth with all the worship which was maintained in it. For so long as Christ "had not been raised from the dead. the first-fruits of them that are asleep,"137 and those who become conformed to His death and resurrection had not yet been raised along with Him, the city of God was sought for below, and the temple, and the purifications, and the rest; but when this took place, no longer were the things below sought for, but the things above; and, in order that these might be set up, it was necessary that He should go

unto the Jerusalem below, and there suffer many things from the elders in it, and the chief priests and scribes of the people, in order that He might be glorified by the heavenly elders who could receive his bounties, and by diviner high-priests who are ordained under the one High-Priest, and that He might be glorified by the scribes of the people who are occupied with letters "not written with ink"138 but made clear by the Spirit of the living God, and might be killed in the Jerusalem below, and having risen from the dead might reign in Mount Zion, and the city of the living God-the heavenly Jerusalem.139 But on the third day He rose from the dead.140 in order that having delivered them from the wicked one, and his son,141 in whom was falsehood and unrighteousness and war and everything opposed to that which Christ is, and also from the profane spirit who transforms himself into the Holy Spirit, He might gain for those who had been delivered the right to be baptized in spirit and soul and body, into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, which represent the three days eternally present at the same time to those who by means of them are sons of light.

21. The Rebuke of Peter and the Answer of Jesus.

"And Peter took Him and began to rebuke Him, saying, God be propitious to Thee. Lord, this shall never be unto thee."142 To whom He said, "Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block unto Me; for thou mindest not the things of God but the things of men."143 Since Jesus had begun to show unto His disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things, Peter up to this point learned the beginnings of those things which were shown.144 But since he thought that the sufferings were unworthy of Christ the Son of the living God, and below the dignity of the Father who had revealed to him so great things about Christ,-for the things that concerned His coming suffering had not been revealed to him,-on this account he took Him, and as one forgetful of the honour due to the Christ, and that the Son of the living God neither does nor says anything worthy of rebuke, he began to rebuke Him; and as to one who needed propitiation,-for he did not yet know that "God had set Him forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood,"145 he said, "God be propitious to thee, O Lord."146 Approving his purpose, indeed, but rebuking his ignorance, because of the purpose being right. He says to him, "Get thee behind Me,"147 as to one who, by reason of the things of which he was ignorant and spake not rightly, had abandoned the following of Jesus; but because of his ignorance, as to one who had something antagonistic to the things of God, He said, "Satan," which in the Hebrew means "adversary." But, if Peter had not spoken from ignorance, nor rebuked the Son of the living God, saying unto Him, "God be propitious to thee, Lord, this shall never be unto Thee," Christ would not have said to him, "Get thee behind Me," as to one who had given up being behind Him and following Him; nor would He have said as to one who had spoken things adverse to what He had said, "Satan." But now Satan prevailed over him who had followed Jesus and was going behind Him, to turn aside from following Him and from being behind the Son of God, and to make him, by reason of the words which he spoke in ignorance, worthy of being called "Satan" and a stumbling-block to the Son of God, and "as not minding the things of God but the things of men." But that Peter was formerly behind the Son of God, before he committed this sin, is manifest from the words, "Come ye behind Me, and I will make you fishers of men."148 22. Importance of the Expressions "Behind" And "Turned." But you will compare together His saying to Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan,"149 with that said to the devil (who said to Him, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me"),150 "get thee hence,"151 without the addition, "behind Me; "for to be behind Jesus is a good

tiling. Wherefore it was said, "Come ye behind Me and I will make you fishers of men."152 And to the same effect is the saying, "He that doth not take his cross and follow behind Me is not worthy of Me."153 And as a general principle observe the expression "behind"; because it is a good thing when any one goes behind the Lord God and is behind the Christ; but it is the opposite when any one casts the words of God behind him, or when he transgresses the commandment which says, "Do not walk behind thy lusts."154 And Elijah also, in the third Book of Kings, says to the people, "How long halt ye on both your knees? If God is the Lord, go behind Him, but if Baal is the Lord, go behind him."155 And Jesus says this to Peter when He "turned," and He does so by way of conferring a favour. And if therefore you will collect more illustrations of the "having turned," and especially those which are ascribed to Jesus, and compare them with one another, you would find that the expression is not superfluous. But it is sufficient at present to bring forward this from the Gospel according to John, "Jesus turned and beheld them-" clearly, Peter and Andrew-"following, and saith unto them, What seek ye? "156 For observe that, when He "turned," it is for the advantage of those to whom He turned.

23. Peter as a Stumbling-Block to Jesus.

Next we must inquire how He said to Peter, "Thou art a stumbling-block unto Me,"157 especially when David says, "Great peace have they that love Thy law, and there is no stumbling-block to them."158 For some one will say, if this is said in the prophet, because of the steadfastness of those who have love, and are incapable of being offended, for "love beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, love never faileth,"159 how did the Lord Himself, "who upholdeth all that fall, and raiseth up all that be bowed down,"160 say to Peter, "Thou art a stumbling-block unto Me"? But it must be said that not only the Saviour, but also he who is perfected in love, cannot be offended. But, so far as it depends on himself, he who says or does such things is a stumbling-block even to him who will not be offended; unless perhaps Jesus calls the disciple who sinned a stumbling-block even to Himself, as much more than Paul He would have said from love, "Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not? "161 In harmony with which we may put, "Who is made to stumble, and I am not made to stumble? "But if Peter, at that time because of the saying. "God be propitious to Thee, Lord, this shall not be unto Thee,"162 was called a stumbling-block by Jesus, as not minding the things of God in what he said but the things of men, what is to be said about all those who profess to be made disciples of Jesus, but do not mind the things of God, and do not look to things unseen and eternal, but mind the things of man, and look to things seen and temporal,163 but that such still more would be stigmatized by Jesus as a stumbling-block to Him, and because stumbling-blocks to Him, as stumbling-blocks to His brethren also? As in regard to them He says, "I was thirsty and ye gave Me no drink,"164 etc., so also He might say, "When I was running ye caused Me to stumble." Let us not therefore suppose that it is a trivial sin to mind the things of men, since we ought in everything to mind the things of God. And it will be appropriate also to say this to every one that has fallen away from the doctrines of God and the words of the church and a true mind; as, for example, to him who minds as true the teaching of Basilides, or Valentinus, or Marcion, or any one of those who teach the things of men as the things of God.

24. Self-Denial and Cross-Bearing.

"Then Jesus said to His disciples, If any man wills to follow after Me, " etc.165 He shows by these words that, to will to come after Jesus and to follow Him, springs from no ordinary manly courage, and that no one who has not denied himself can come after Jesus. And the man denies himself who wipes out by a striking revolution his own former life which had been spent in wickedness; as by way of illustration he who was once licentious denies his licentious self, having become self-controlled even abidingly. But it is probable that some one may put the objection, whether as he denied himself i so he also confesses himself, when he denied himself, the unjust, and confesses himself, the righteous one. But, if Christ i is righteousness, he who has received righteousness confesses not himself but Christ; so also he who has found wisdom, by the very possession of wisdom, confesses Christ. And such a one indeed as, "with the heart believes unto righteousness, and with the mouth maketh confession unto salvation,"166 arid bears testimony to the works of Christ, as making confession by all these things of Christ before men, will be confessed by Him before His Father in heaven.167 So also he who has not denied himself but denied the Christ will experience the saying, "I also will deny him."168 On this account let every thought and every purpose and every word and every action become a denial of ourselves, but a testimony about Christ and in Christ; for I am persuaded that every action of the perfect man is a testimony to Christ Jesus, and that abstinence from every sin is a denial of self, leading him after Christ. And such an one is crucified with Christ, and taking up his own cross follows Him who for our sakes bears His own cross, according to that which is said in John: "They took Jesus therefore and put it on Him," etc., down to the words, "Where they crucified Him."169 But the Jesus according to John, so to speak, bears the cross for Himself, and bearing it went out; but the Jesus according to Matthew and Mark and Luke, does not bear it for Himself, for Simon of Cyrene bears it.170 And perhaps this man refers to us, who because of Jesus take up the cross of Jesus, but Jesus Himself takes it upon Himself; for there are, as it were, two conceptions of the cross, the one which Simon of Cyrene bears, and the other which Jesus Himself bears for Himself.

25. Reference to the Saying of Paul About Crucifixion with Christ.

Moreover in regard to the saying, "Let him deny himself,"171 the following saying of Paul who denied himself seems appropriate, "Yet I live, and yet no longer I but Christ liveth in me; "172 for the expression, "I live, yet no longer I," was the voice of one denying himself, as of one who had laid aside his own life and taken on himself the Christ, in order that He might live in him as Righteousness, and as Wisdom, and as Sanctification, and as our Peace,173 and as the Power of God, who worketh all things in him. But further also, attend to this, that while there are many forms of dying, the Son of God was crucified, being hanged on a tree, in order that all who die unto sin may die to it, in no other way than by the way of the cross. Wherefore they will say, "I have been crucified with Christ," and, "Far be it from me to glory save hi the cross of the Lord, through which the world has been crucified unto me and I unto the world."174 For perhaps also each of those who have been crucified with Christ puts off from himself the principalities and the powers, and makes a show of them and triumphs over them in the cross;175 or rather, Christ does these things in them.

26. The Less of Life; And the Saving of It.

"For whosoever would save his own life shall lose it."176 The first expression is ambiguous; for it may be understood. in one way thus. If any one as being a lover of life, and thinking that the

present life is good, tends carefully his own life with a view to living in the flesh, being afraid to die, as through death going to lose it, this man, by the very willing to save in this way his own life will lose it, placing it outside of the borders of blessedness. But if any one despising the present life because of my word, which has persuaded him to strive in regard to eternal life even unto death for truth, loses his own life, surrendering it for the sake of piety to that which is commonly called death, this man, as for my sake he has lost his life, will save it rather, and keep it in possession. And according to a second way we might interpret the saying as follows. If any one, who has grasped what salvation really is, wishes to procure the salvation of his own life, let this man having taken farewell of this life, and denied himself and taken up his own cross, and following me, lose his own life to the world; for having lost it for my sake and for the sake of all my teaching, he will gain the end of loss of this kind-salvation.

27. Life Lost to the World is Saved. But at the same time also observe that at the beginning it is said, "Whosoever wills," but afterwards, "Whoso shall lose."177 If we then wish it to be saved let us lose it to the world, as those who have been crucified with Christ and have for our glorying that which is in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world is to be crucified unto us and we unto the world,178 that we may gain our end, even the salvation of our lives, which begins from the time when we lose it for the sake of the word. But if we think that the salvation of our life is a blessed thing, with reference to the salvation which is in God and the blessednesses with Him, then any loss of life ought to be a good thing, and, for the sake of Christ must prove to be the prelude to the blessed salvation. It seems to me, therefore, following the analogy of self-denial, according to what has been said, that each ought to lose his own life. Let each one therefore lose his own sinning life, that having lost that which is sinful, he may receive that which is saved by right actions; but a man will in no way be profited if he shall gain the whole world. Now he gains the world, I think, to whom the world is not crucified; and to whom the world is not crucified, to that man shall be the loss of his own life. But when two things are put before us, either by gaining one's life to forfeit the world, or by gaining the world to forfeit one's life, much more desirable is the choice, that we should forfeit the world and gain our life by losing it on account of Christ.

28. The Exchange for One's Life. But the saying, "What shall a man give in exchange for his own life, "179 if spoken by way of interrogation, will seem to be able to indicate that an exchange for his own life is given by the man who after his sins has given up his whole substance, that his property may feed the poor, as if he were going by that to obtain salvation; but, if spoken affirmatively, I think, to indicate that there is not anything in man by the giving of which in exchange for his own life which has been overcome by death. he will ransom it out of its hand. A man, therefore, could not give anything as an exchange for his own life, but God gave an exchange for the life of us all, "the precious blood of Christ Jesus,"180 according as "we were bought with a price,"181 "having been redeemed, not with corruptible things as silver or gold, but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot," even of Christ.182 And in Isaiah it is said to Israel. "I gave Ethiopia in exchange for thee, and Egypt and Syene for thee; from what time thou hast become honourable before Me thou wast glorified."183 For the exchange, for example, of the first-born of Israel was the first-born of the Egyptians, and the exchange for Israel was the Egyptians who died in the last plagues that came upon Egypt, and in the drowning which took place after the plagues. But, from these things, let him who is able inquire whether the exchange of the true Israel given by God, "who redeems Israel from all his transgressions,"184 is the true Ethiopia, and, so to speak,

spiritual Egypt. and Syene of Egypt; and to inquire with more boldness, perhaps Syene is the exchange for Jerusalem, and Egypt for Judaea, and Ethiopia for those who fear, who are different from Israel, and the house of Levi, and the house of Aaron.

29. The Coming of the Son of Man in Glory.

"For the Son of man shall come in the glory of His own Father with His angels."185 Now, indeed, the Son of man has not come in His glory; "for we saw Him, and He had no form nor beauty; but His form was dishonoured and defective compared with the sons of men; He was a man in affliction and toil, and acquainted with the enduring of sickness, because His face was turned away, He was dishonoured and not esteemed."186 And it was necessary that He should come in such form that He might bear our sins187 and suffer pain for us; for it did not become Him in glory to bear our sins and suffer pain for us. But He also comes in glory, having prepared188 the disciples through that epiphany of His which has no form nor beauty; and, having become as they that they might become as He, "conformed to the image of His glory,"189 since He formerly became conformed to "the body of our humiliation,"190 when He "emptied Himself and took upon Him the form of a servant,"191 He is restored to the image of God and also makes them conformed unto it.

30. The Word Appears in Different Forms; The Time of His Coming in Glory. But if you will understand the differences of the Word which by "the foolishness of preaching"192 is proclaimed to those who believe, and spoken in wisdom to them that are perfect, you will see in what way the Word has the form of a slave to those who are learning the rudiments, so that they say, "We saw Him and He had no form or beauty."193 But to the perfect He comes "in the glory of His own Father,"194 who might say, "and we beheld His glory, the glory as of the only-begotten from the Father, full of grace and truth."195 For indeed to the perfect appears the glory of the Word, and the only-begotten of God His Father, add the fulness of grace and likewise of truth, which that man cannot perceive who requires the "foolishness of the preaching," in order to believe. But "the Son of man shall come in the glory of His own Father" not alone, but "with His own angels." And if you can conceive of all those who are fellow-helpers in the glory of the Word, and in the revelation of the Wisdom which is Christ, coming along with Him, you will see in what way the Son of man comes in the glory of His own Father with His own angels. And consider whether you cad in this connection say that the prophets who formerly suffered in virtue of their word having "no form or beauty" had an analogous position to the Word who had "no form or beauty." And, as the Son of man comes in the glory of His own Father, so the angels, who are the words in the prophets, are present with Him preserving the measure of their own glory. But when the Word comes in such form with His own angels, He will give to each a part of His own glory and of the brightness of His own angels, according to the action of each. But we say these things not rejecting even the second coming of the Son of God understood in its simpler form. But when shall these things happen? Shall it be when that apostolic oracle is fulfilled which says, "For we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things dope in the body, according to what he has done, whether it be good or bad? "196 But if He will render to each according to his deed, not the good deed only, nor the evil apart from the good, it is manifest that He will render to each according to every evil, and according to every good, deed. But I suppose-in this also following the Apostle, but comparing also the sayings of Ezekiel, in which the sins of him who is a perfect convert are wiped out, and the former uprightness of him who has utterly fallen away is not

held of account-that in the case of him who is perfected, and has altogether laid aside wickedness, the sins are wiped out, but that, in the case of him who has altogether revolted from piety, if anything good was formerly done by him, it is not taken into account.197 But to us, who occupy a middle position between the perfect man add the apostate, when we stand before the judgment-seat of Christ,198 there is rendered what we have done, whether good or bad; for we have not been so pure that our evil deeds are not at all imputed unto us, nor have we fallen away to such an extent that our better actions are forgotten.

31. The Simpler Interpretation of the Promise About Not Tasting of Death.

"Verily I say unto you there be some of them that stand here that shall not taste of death."199 Some refer these things to the going up-six days after, or, as Luke says,200 eight days-of the three disciples into the high mountain with Jesus apart; and those who adopt this interpretation say that Peter and the remaining two did not taste of death before they saw the Son of man coining in His own kingdom and in His own glory. For when they saw Jesus transfigured before them so that "His face shone," etc., "they saw the kingdom of God coming with power."201 For even as some spear-bearers stand around a king, so Moses and Elijah appeared to those who had gone up into the mountains, talking with Jesus. But it is worth while considering whether the sitting on the right hand and on the left band of the Saviour in His kingdom refers to them, so that the words, "But for whom it is prepared," were202 spoken because of them. Now this interpretation about the three Apostles not tasting of death until they have seen Jesus transfigured, is adapted to those who are designated by Peter as "new-born babes longing for the reasonable milk which is without guile,"203 to whom Paul says, "I have fed you with milk, not with meat,"204 etc. Now, too, every interpretation of a text which is able to build up those who cannot receive greater truths might reasonably be called milk, flowing from the holy ground of the Scriptures, which flows with milk and honey. But he who has been weaned, like Isaac,205 worthy of the good cheer and reception which Abraham gave at the weaning of his son, would seek here and in every Scripture food which is different, I think, from that which is meat, indeed, but is not solid food, and from what are figuratively called herbs, which are food to one who has been weaned and is not yet strong but weak, according to the saying, "He that is weak eateth herbs."206 In like manner also he who has been weaned, like Samuel, and dedicated by his mother to God,207 -she was Hannah, which is, by interpretation, grace, -would be also a son of grace, seeking, like one nurtured in the temple, flesh of God, the holy food of those who are at once perfect and priests.

32. Standing by the Saviour. The reflections in regard to the passage before us that occur to us at the present time are these: Some were standing where Jesus was, having the footsteps of the soul firmly planted with Jesus, and the standing of their feet was akin to the standing of which Moses said in the passage, "And I stood on the mountain forty days and forty nights,"208 who was deemed worthy to have it said to him by God who asked him to stand by Him, "But stand thou here with Me."209 Those who really stand by Jesus-that is, by the Word of God-do not all stand equally; for among those who stand by Jesus are differences from each other. Wherefore, not all who stand by the Saviour, but some of them as standing better, do not taste of death until they shall have seen the Word who dwelt with men, and on that account called Son of man, coming in His own kingdom; for Jesus does not always come in His own kingdom when He comes, since to the newly initiated He is such that they might say, beholding the Word Himself not glorious nor great, but inferior to many among them, "We saw Him, and He had no form or beauty, but His form was

dishonoured, defective compared with all the sons of men."210 And these things will be said by those who beheld His glory in connection with their own former times, when at first the Word as understood in the synagogue had no form nor beauty to them. To the Word, therefore, who has assumed most manifestly the power above all words. there belongs a royal dignity which is visible to some of those who stand by Jesus, when they have been able to follow Him as He goes before them and ascends to the lofty mountain of His own manifestation. And of this honour some of those who stand by Jesus are deemed worthy if they be either a Peter against whom the gates of Hades do not prevail, or the sons of thunder,211 and are begotten of the mighty voice of God who thunders and cries aloud from heaven great things to those who have ears and are wise. Such at least do not taste death.

33. Interpretation of "Tasting of Death." But we must seek to understand what is meant by "tasting of death." And He is life who says, "I am the life,"212 and this life assuredly has been hidden with Christ in God; and. "when Christ our life shall be manifested, then along with Him"213 shall be manifested those who are worthy of being manifested with Him in glory. But the enemy of this life, who is also the last enemy of all His enemies that shall be destroyed, is death,214 of which the soul that sinneth dies, having the opposite disposition to that which takes place in the soul that lives uprightly, and in consequence of living uprightly lives. And when it is said in the law, "I have placed life before thy face,"215 the Scripture says this about Him who said, "I am the Life," and about His enemy, death; the one or other of which each of us by his deeds is always choosing. And when we sin with life before our face, the curse is fulfilled against us which says, "And thy life shall be hanging up before thee," etc., down to the words, "and for the sights of thine eyes which thou shall see."216 As, therefore, the Life is also the living bread which came down from heaven and gave life to the world,217 so His enemy death is dead bread. Now every rational soul is fed either on living bread or dead bread, by the opinions good or bad which it receives. As then in the case of more common foods it is the practice at one time only to taste them, and at another to eat of them more largely; so also, in the case of these loaves, one eats insufficiently only tasting them, but another is satiated,-he that is good or is on the way to being good with the living bread which came down from heaven, but he that is wicked with the dead bread, which is death; and some perhaps sparingly, and sinning a little, only taste of death; but those who have attained to virtue do not even taste of it, but are always fed on the living bread. It naturally followed then in the case of Peter, against whom the gates of Hades will not prevail, that he did not taste of death, since any one tastes of death and eats death at the time when the gates of Hades prevail against him; and one eats or tastes of death in proportion as the gates of Hades to a greater or less extent, more or fewer in number, prevail against him. But also for the sons of thunder who were begotten of thunder, which is a heavenly thing, it was impossible to taste of death, which is extremely far removed from thunder, their mother. But these things the Word prophesies to those who shall be perfected, and who by standing with the Word advanced so far that they did not taste of death, until they saw the manifestation and the glory and the kingdom and the excellency of the Word of God in virtue of which He excels every word, which by an appearance of truth draws away and drags about those who are not able to break through the bonds of distraction, and go up to the height of the excellency of the Word of truth.

34. Meaning of "Until." No Limitation of Promise. But since some one may think that the promise of the Saviour prescribes a limit of time to their not tasting of death, namely, that they will not taste of

death "until"218 they see the Son of man coming in His own kingdom. but after this will taste of it, let us show that according to the scriptural usage the word "until" signifies that the time concerning the thing signified is pressing, but is not so defined that after the "until," that which is contrary to the thing signified should at all take place. Now, the Saviour says to the eleven disciples when He rose from the dead, this among other things, "Lo, I am with you all the days, even until the consummation of the age."219 When He said this, did He promise that He was going to be with them until the consummation of the age, but that after the consummation of the age, when another age was at hand, which is "called the age to come," He would be no longer with them?-so that according to this, the condition of the disciples would be better before the consummation of the age than after the consummation of the age? But I do not think that any one will dare to say, that after the consummation of the age the Son of God will be no longer with the disciples, because the expression declares that He will be with them for so long, until the consummation of the age is at hand; for it is clear that the matter under inquiry was, whether the Son of God was forthwith going to be with His disciples before the age to come and the hoped for promises of God which were given as a recompense. But there might have been a question-it being granted that He would be with them-whether sometimes He was present with them, and sometimes not present. Wherefore setting us free from the suspicion that might have arisen from doubt, He declared that now and even all the days He would be with the disciples, and that He would not leave those who had become His disciples until the consummation of the age; (because He said "all the days" He did not deny that by night, when the sun set, He would be present with them.) But if such is the force of the words, "until the consummation of the age," plainly we shall not be compelled to admit that those who see the Son of man coming in His own kingdom shall taste of death, after being deemed worthy of beholding Him in such guise. But as in the case of the passage we brought forward, the urgent necessity was to teach us that "until the consummation of the age" He would not leave us but be with us all the days; so also in this case I think that it is clear to those who know how to look at the logical coherence of things that He who has seen once for all "the Son of man coming in His own kingdom," and seen Him "in His own glory," and seen "the kingdom of God come with power," could not possibly taste of death after the contemplation of things so good and great. But apart from the word of the promise of Jesus, we have conjectured not without reason that we would taste of death, so long as we were not yet held worthy to see "the kingdom of God come with power," and "the Son of man coming in His own glory and in His own kingdom."

35. Scriptural References to Death. But since here it is written in the three Evangelists, "They shall not taste of death,"220 but in other writers different things are written concerning death, it may not be out of place to bring forward and examine these passages along with the "taste." In the Psalms, then, it is said, "What man is he that shall live and not see death? "221 And again, in another place, "Let death come upon them and let them go down into Hades alive; "222 but in one of the prophets, "Death becoming mighty has swallowed them up; "223 and in the Apocalypse, "Death and Hades follow some."224 Now in these passages it appears to me that it is one thing to taste of death, but another thing to see death, and another thing for it to come upon some, and that a fourth thing, different from the aforesaid, is signified by the words, "Death becoming mighty has swallowed them up," and a fifth thing, different from these, by the words, Death and Hades follow them." And if yon were to collect them, you would perhaps find also other differences than those which we have mentioned, by a comparison of which with one another and right investigation, you would find the things signified in each place. But here I inquire whether it is a less evil to see

death, but a greater evil than seeing to taste of it, but still worse than this that death should follow any one, and not only follow him, but also now come upon him and seize him whom it formerly followed; but to be swallowed up seems to be more grievous than all the things spoken of. But giving heed to what is said, and to the differences of sins committed, you will not I think, be slow to admit that things of this kind were intended by the Spirit who caused these things to be written in the oracles of God. But, if it be necessary to give an exposition clearer than what has been said of what is signified by seeing the Son of man coming in His own kingdom, or in His own glory, and what is signified by seeing the kingdom of God come with power, these things-whether those that are made to shine in our hearts, or that are found by those who seek, or that enter gradually into our thoughts.-let each one judge as he wills-we will set forth. He who beholds and apprehends the excellency of the Word, as tie breaks down and refutes all the plausible forms of things which are truly lies but profess to be truths, sees the Son of man, (according to the word of John, "the Word of God,") coming in His own kingdom; but if such an one were to behold the Word, not only breaking down plausible oppositions, but also representing His own truths with perfect clearness, he would behold His glory in addition to His kingdom. And such an one indeed would see in Him the kingdom of God come with power; and he would see this, as one who is no longer now under the reign of "sin which reigns in the mortal body of those who sin,"225 but is ever under the orders of the king, who is God of all, whose kingdom is indeed potentially "within us,"226 but actually, and, as Mark has called it, "with power," and not at all in weakness within the perfect alone. These things, then, Jesus promised to the disciples who were standing, prophesying not about all of them, but about some.

36. Concerning the Transfiguration of the Saviour.

"Now after six days, " according to Matthew and Mark,227 "He taketh with him Peter and James and John his brother, and leads them up into a high mountain apart, and was transfigured before them." Now, also, let it be granted, before the exposition that occurs to us in relation to these things, that this took place long ago, and according to the letter. But it seems to me, that those who are led up by Jesus into the high mountain, and are deemed worthy of beholding His transfiguration apart, are not without purpose led up six days after the discourses previously spoken. For since in six days-the perfect number-the whole world,-this perfect work of art,-was made, on this account I think that he who transcends all the things of the world by beholding no longer the things which are seen, for they are temporal, but already the things which not seen, and only the things which are not seen, because that they are eternal, is represented in the words, "After six days days Jesus took up with Him" certain persons. If therefore any one of us wishes to be taken by Jesus, and led up by Him into the high mountain, and be deemed worthy of beholding His transfiguration apart, let him pass beyond the six days, because he no longer beholds the things which are seen, nor longer loves the world, nor the things in the world,228 nor lusts after any worldly lust, which is the lust of bodies, and of the riches of the body, and of the glory which is after the flesh, and whatever things whose nature it is to distract and drag away the soul from the things which are better and diviner, and bring it down and fix it fast to the deceit of this age, in wealth and glory, and the rest of the lusts which are the foes of truth. For when he has passed through the six days, as we have said, he will keep a new Sabbath, rejoicing in the lofty mountain, because he sees Jesus transfigured before him; for the Word has different forms, as He appears to each as is expedient for the beholder, and is manifested to no one beyond the capacity of the

beholder.

37. Force of the Words "Before Them." But you will ask if, when He was trans-figured before those who were led up by Him into the lofty mountain, He appeared to them in the form of God, in which He formerly was, so that He had to those below the form of a servant, but to those who had followed Him after the six days to the lofty mountain, He had not that form, but the form of God. But hear these things, if you can, at the same time giving heed spiritually, that it is not said simply, "He was trans-figured," but with a certain necessary addition, which Matthew and Mark have recorded; for, according to both, "He was transfigured before them."229 And according to this, indeed, you will say that it is possible for Jesus to be transfigured before some with this transfiguration, but before others at the same time not to be transfigured. But if you wish to see the transfiguration of Jesus before those who went up into the lofty mountain apart long with Him, behold with me the Jesus in the Gospels, as more simply apprehended, and as one might say, known "according to the flesh," by those who do not go up, through works and words which are uplifting, to the lofty mountain of wisdom, but known no longer after the flesh, but known in His divinity by menus of all the Gospels, and beholden in the form of God according to their knowledge; for before them is Jesus transfigured, and not to any one of those below. But when He is transfigured, His face also shines as the sun, that He may be manifested to the children of light, who have put off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light,230 and are no longer the children of darkness or night, but have become the sons of day, and walk honestly as in the day;231 and being manifested, He will shine unto them not simply as the sun, but as demonstrated to be the sun of righteousness.

38. The Garments White as the Light. And not only is He transfigured before such disciples, nor does He only add to the transfiguration the shining of His face as the sun; but further also to those who were led up by Him into the high mountain apart, His garments appear white as the light.232 But the garments of Jesus are the expressions and letters of the Gospels with which He invested Himself. But I think that even the words in the Apostles which indicate the truths concerning Him are garments of Jesus, which become white to those who go up into the high mountain along with Jesus. But since there are differences also of things white, His garments become white as the brightest and purest of all white things; and that is light. When therefore you see any one not only with a thorough understanding of the theology concerning Jesus, but also making clear every expression of the Gospels, do not hesitate to say that to Him the garments of Jesus have become white as the light. But when the Son of God in His transfiguration is so understood and beheld, that His face is a sun, and His garments white as the light, straightway there will appear to him who beholds Jesus in such form Moses,-the law-and Elijah,-in the way of synecdoche, not one prophet only, but all the prophets-holding converse with Jesus; for such is the force of the words "talking with Him; "233 but, according to Luke, "Moses and Elijah appeared in glory," down to the words, "in Jerusalem."234 But if any one sees the glory of Moses, having understood the spiritual law as a discourse in harmony with Jesus, and the wisdom in the prophets which is hidden in a mystery,235 he sees Moses and Elijah in glory when he sees them with Jesus.

39. Jesus Was Transfigured-"As He Was Praying."

Then, since it will be necessary to expound the passage as given in Mark, "And as He was praying He was transfigured before them, "236 we must say that perhaps it is possible especially to see

the Word transfigured before us if we have done the things aforesaid, and gone up into the mountain, and seen the absolute Word holding converse with the Father, and praying to Him for such things as the true High-Priest might pray for to the only true God. But in order that He may thus hold fellowship with God and pray to the Father, He goes up into the mountain; and then, according to Mark, "His garments become white and glistening as the light, so as no fuller on earth can whiten them."237 And perhaps the fullers upon the earth are the wise men of this world who are careful about the diction which they consider to be bright and pure, so that even their base thoughts and false dogmas seem to be beautified by their fulling, so to speak; but He who shows His own garments glistering to those who have ascended and brighter than their fulling can make them, is the Word, who exhibits in the expressions of the Scriptures which are despised by many the glistering of the thoughts, when the raiment of Jesus, according to Luke, becomes white and dazzling.238 40. Discussion of the Saying of Peter. But let us next see what was the thought of Peter when he answered and said to Jesus, "Lord, it is good for us to be here; let us make three tabernacles, "239 etc. And on this account these words call for very special examination, because Mark, in his own person, has added, "For he wist not what to answer,"240 but Luke, "not knowing," he says, "what he spake."241 You will consider, therefore, if he spake these things as in a trance, being filled with the spirit which moved him to say these things, which could not be a Holy Spirit; for John taught in the Gospel that, before the resurrection of the Saviour, no one had the Holy Spirit, saying, "For the Spirit was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified."242 But if the Spirit was not yet, and he, not knowing what he said, spoke under the influence of some spirit, the spirit which caused these things to be said was some one of the spirits which had not yet been triumphed over in the cross, nor made a show of along with them, about whom it is written, "Having put off from Himself the principalities and the powers, He made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in the cross.243 " But this spirit was perhaps that which is called a stumbling-block by Jesus, and which is spoken of as Satan in the passage, "Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block unto me.'244 But I know well that such things will offend many who meet with them, because they think thai it is opposed to sound reason that he should be spoken ill of who a little before had been pronounced blessed by Jesus, on the ground that the Father in heaven had revealed to him the things concerning the Saviour, to-wit, that He was verily Jesus, and the Christ, and the Son of the living God. But let such an one attend more exactly to the statements about Peter and the rest of the Apostles, how even they made requests as if they were yet alien from Him who was to redeem them from the enemy and purchase them with His own precious blood; or let them also, who will have it that even before the passion of Jesus the Apostles were perfect, tell us whence it came about that "Peter and they that were with him were heavy with sleep."245 But to anticipate something else of what follows and apply it to the subject in hand, I would raise in turn these questions,-whether it is possible for any one to find occasion of stumbling in Jesus apart from the working of the devil who caused him to stumble; and whether it is possible for any one to deny Jesus, and that in presence of a little maid and a doorkeeper and men most worthless, unless a spirit had been with him in his denial hostile to the Spirit which is given and the wisdom, (which is given) to those who are assisted by God to make confession, according to a certain desert of theirs. But he who has learned to refer the roots of sin to the father of sin, the devil, will not say that apart from him either the Apostles were caused to stumble, or that Peter denied Christ thrice before that well-known cock-crowing. But if this be so, consider whether perhaps with a view to make Jesus stumble, so far as was in his power, and to turn Him aside from

the dispensation whose characteristic was suffering that brought salvation to men, which He undertook with great willingness, seeking to effect these things which seemed to contribute to this end, he himself also here wishes as it were, by deceit, to draw away Jesus, as if calling upon Him no longer to condescend to men, and come to them, and undergo death for them, but to abide on the high mountain with Moses and Elijah. But he promised also to build three tabernacles, one apart for Jesus, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah, as if one tabernacle would not have sufficed for the three, if it had been necessary for them to be in tabernacles and in the high mountain. And perhaps also in this he acted with evil intent, when he incited him "who did not know what he said," not desiring that Jesus and Moses and Elijah should be together, but desiring to separate them from one another, under pretext of the three tabernacles." And likewise it was a lie, "It is good for us to be here; "246 for if it had been a good thing they would also have remained there. But if it were a lie, you will seek to know who caused the lie to be spoken; and especially since according to John, "When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar and the father thereof; "247 and as there is no truth apart from the working of Him who says, "I am the Truth,"248 so there is no lie apart from him who is the enemy of truth. These contrary qualities, accordingly, were still in Peter truth and falsehood; and from truth he said, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God,"249 but from falsehood he said, "May God be propitious to Thee, Lord, this shall not be unto Thee,"250 and also, "It is good for us to be here."251 But if any one will not admit that Peter spoke these things from any evil inspiration, but that his words were of his own mere choice, and it is demanded of him how he will interpret, "not knowing what he said," and,252 "for he did not know what to answer,"253 he will say, that in the former case Peter held it to be a shameful thing and unworthy of Jesus to admit that the Son of the living God, the Christ, whom already the Father had revealed to him, should be killed; and in the: present case that, as having seen the two forms of Jesus and the one at the transfiguration which was much more excellent, being well pleased with that, he said that it was good to make their sojourning in that mountain, in order that he himself and those with him might rejoice as they beheld the transfiguration of Jesus and His face shining as the sun. and His garments white as the light, and, in addition to these things, might always behold in glory those whom they had once seen in glory, Moses and Elijah; and that they might rejoice at the things which they might hear, as they talked and held intercourse with each other, Moses and Elijah with Jesus, and Jesus with them.

41. Figurative Interpretation of the Same. But since we have not yet spent our energy in interpreting the things in the place figuratively, but have said these things by way of searching into the mere letter, let us in conformity with these things, consider whether the aforesaid Peter and the sons of thunder who were taken up into the mountain of the dogmas of the truth, and who saw the transfiguration of Jesus and of Moses and Elijah, who appeared in glory with Him. might wish to make tabernacles in themselves for the Word of God who was going to dwell in them, and for His law which had been beholden in glory, and for the prophecy which spake of the decease of Jesus, which He was about to accomplish;254 and Peter, as one loving the contemplative life, and having preferred that which was delightsome in it to the life among the crowd with its turmoil, said, with the design of benefiting those who desired it, "It is good for us to be here."255 But since "love seeketh not its own,"256 Jesus did not do that which Peter thought good; wherefore He descended from the mountain to those who were not able to ascend to it and behold His transfiguration, that they might behold Him in such form as they were able to see Him. It is, therefore, the part of a righteous man who possesses "the love which seeketh not its own"257 to

be free from all, but to bring himself under bondage to all those below that He might gain the more of them.258 But some one, with reference to what we have alleged about the trance and the working of an evil spirit in Peter, concerning the words, "not knowing what he said,"259 not accepting that interpretation of ours, may say that there were certain mentioned by Paul "desiring to be teachers of the law,"260 who do not know about what they speak, but who, though they do not clearly expound the nature of what is said, nor understand their meaning, make confident affirmations of things which they do not know. Of such a nature was the affection of Peter also, for not apprehending what was good with reference to the dispensation of Jesus and of those who appeared in the mountain,-Moses and Elijah,-he says, "It is good for us to be here," etc., "not knowing what he said," "for he wist not what to say," for if "a wise man will understand the things from his own mouth, and carries prudence in his lips,"261 he who is not so does not understand the things from his own mouth, nor comprehend the nature of the things spoken by him.

42. The Meaning of the "Bright Cloud."

Next to these come the words, "While He was yet speaking, behold, also, a bright cloud overshadowed them, "262 etc. Now, I think that God, wishing to dissuade Peter from making three tabernacles, under which so far as it depended on his choice he was going to dwell, shows a tabernacle better, so to speak, and much more excellent, the cloud. For since it is the function of a tabernacle to overshadow him who is in it, and to shelter him, and the bright cloud overshadowed them, God made, as it were, a diviner tabernacle, inasmuch as it was bright, that it might be to them a pattern of the resurrection to come; for a bright cloud overshadows the just, who are at once protected and illuminated and shone Upon by it. But what might the bright cloud, which overshadows the just, be? Is it, perhaps, the fatherly power, from which comes the voice of the Father bearing testimony to the Son as beloved and well-pleasing, and exhorting those who were under its shadow to hear Him and no other one? But as He speaks of old, so also always does He speak through what He wills. And perhaps, too, the Holy Spirit is the bright cloud which overshadows the just, and prophesies of the things of God, who works in it, and says, "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased; "but I would venture also to say that our Saviour is a bright cloud. When, therefore, Peter said, "Let us make here three tabernacles,"263 ... one from the Father Himself, and from the Son, and one from the Holy Spirit. For a bright cloud of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit overshadows the genuine disciples of Jesus; or a cloud overshadows the Gospel and the law and the prophets, which is bright to him who is able to see the light of it in the Gospel, and the law, and the prophets. But perhaps the voice from the cloud says to Moses and Elijah, "This is My beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased, hear Him," as they were desirous to see the Son of man, and to hear Him, and to behold Him as He was in glory. And perhaps it teaches the disciples that He who was, in a literal sense, the Son of God, and His beloved in whom He was well-pleased, whom it behoved them especially to hear, was He who was then beheld, and transfigured, and whose face shone as the sun, and who was clothed with garments white as the light.

43. Relation of Moses and Elijah to Jesus. The Injunction of Silence. But after these things it is written that, when they heard the voice from the cloud bearing testimony to the Son, the three Apostles, not being able to bear the glory of the voice and power resting upon it, "fell on their face,"264 and besought God; for they were sore afraid at the supernatural sight, and the things which were spoken from the sight. But consider if you can also say this with reference to the

details in the passage, that the disciples, having understood that the Son of God had been holding conference with Moses, and that it was He who said, "A man shall not see My face and live,"265 and taking further the testimony of God about Him, as not being able to endure the radiance of the Word, humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God;266 but, after the touch of the Word, lifting up their eyes they saw Jesus only and no other.267 Moses, the law, and Elijah, the prophet, became one only with the Gospel of Jesus; and not, as they were formerly three, did they so abide, but the three became one, But consider these things with me in relation to mystical matters; for in regard to the bare meaning of the letter, Moses and Elijah, having appeared in glory and talked with Jesus, went away to the place from which they had come, perhaps to communicate the words which Jesus spake with them, to those who were to be benefited by Him, almost immediately, namely, at the time of the passion, when many bodies of the saints that had fallen asleep, their tombs being opened, were to go to the city which is truly holy-not the Jerusalem which Jesus wept over-and there appear unto many.268 But after the dispensation in the mountain, when the disciples were coming down from the mountain in order that, when they had come to the multitude, they might serve the Son of God concerning the salvation of the people, Jesus commanded the disciples saying, "Tell the vision to no man until the Son of man rise from the dead."269 But that saying, "Tell the vision to no man," is like that which was investigated in the passage above, when "He enjoined the disciples to tell no man that He was the Christ."270 Wherefore the things that were said at that passage may be useful to us also for the passage before us; since Jesus wishes also, in accordance with these, that the things of His glory should not be spoken of, before His glory after the passion; for those who heard, and in particular the multitudes, would have been injured when they saw Him crucified, who had been so glorified. Wherefore since His being glorified in the resurrection was akin to His transfiguration, and to the vision of His face as the sun, on this account He wishes that these things should then be spoken of by the Apostles, when He rose from the dead.

1: Matt. xvi. 1.

2: Luke xxiii. 12.

3: Luke xxiii. 21.

4: 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

5: 2 Kings xix. 9.

6: Ps. ii. 2.

7: Matt. ix. 24, xii. 24.

8: The familiar saying so frequently quoted as Scripture in the Fathers, sometimes ascribed to Jesus by them, sometimes to Paul. see Suicer.

9: Job i. 1 6.

10: 2 Thess. ii. 9.

11: Isa. vii. 11.

12: 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.

13: 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.

14: Gen. i. 26.

15: Matt. xi. 4, 5.

16: Matt. xvi. 4.

17: Ps.lxxxviii. 6.

18: Matt. xvi. 4.

19: Phil. iii. 3.

20: Rom. vii. 23.

21: Prov. xix. 14.

22: Rom. vii. 1, 2. H gar upandroj gunh tw zwnti andri dedetai nomw . The reader must note that Origen takes nomw in apposition to andri .

23: 1 Cor. ix. 10.

24: Or , who was God.

25: Rom. vi. 9.

26: Rom. vii. 2, 3.

27: Matt. xvi. 4.

28: Rom. vii. 23.

29: Hos. i. 2.

30: Isa. i. 21.

31: Josh. vi. 25.

32: Luke vii. 37-50. Cf. Matt. xxvi. 6.

33: Matt. xvi. 5.

34: Cf. Gal. iii. 3.

35: Matt. xvi. 6.

36: John vi. 33, 51.

37: 1 Cor. v. 8.

38: Heb. x. 1.

39: Col. ii. 17.

40: Matt. xvi. 7.

41: Matt. xvi. 6.

42: Matt. xvi. 6.

43: Matt. xxviii. 20.

44: Matt. xv. 32.

45: Matt. xvi. 8.

46: 1 Kings viii. 39 47: Matt. xvi. 6.

48: 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

49: Deut. xxii. 25.

50: Or , violence in the licentious person.

51: Matt. xvi. 7, 8.

52: John xiv. 13,14.

53: Matt. xvi. 13.

54: Or , Him.

55: Matt. xiv. 2.

56: Jer. i. 10.

57: Matt. xvi. 14.

58: Matt. xvi. 17.

59: Matt. xvi. 16.

60: Jer. xxii. 24.

61: Jer. ii, 13.

62: John xiv. 6.

63: Matt. xvi. 16.

64: Matt xi. 14.

65: Matt. xvi. 16.

66: Phil. iii. 20.

67: Eph. i. 17.

68: Matt. xvi. 18.

69: Or , a Peter.

70: 1 Cor. x. 4.

71: Matt. xvi. 18.

72: Matt. xvi. 18.

73: Matt. xvi. 19.

74: Matt. xvi. 19.

75: John. xx. 22.

76: 2 Cor. iii. 18.

77: Matt. xvi. 16 78: 1 Cor. x. 4.

79: 1 Cor. i. 30.

80: Prov, xxx. l9.

81: Matt. vii. 24.

82: Or, each of the sins on account of which Christ was about to go to Hades. (Erasmus)

83: Eph. v. 27.

84: Or , you.

85: Matt. xxii. 14.

86: Luke xiii. 24.

87: Matt. vii. 14.

88: Luke xiii. 24.

89: Phil. iv. 13.

90: John x, 9.

91: 1 Tim. vi, 20.

92: Ps. ix. 13, 14.

93: Ps. cxviii. 20.

94: 1 Tim. vi, 20.

95: Eph. vi. 12.

96: Eph. vi. 12.

97: Heb. i. 14.

98: Ps. cxviii. 19, 20.

99: That is, the Minor Prophets.

100: Amos v. 10.

101: Matt. xvi. 19.

102: Matt. xvi. 18.

103: Matt. iii. 2; iv. 17.

104: Luke xvii. 21 105: Matt. xvi. 18.

106: Prov. v. 22.

107: Isa. v. 18.

108: 1 Tim. iii. 10, 109: Matt. xvi. 20.

110: Matt. x. 5.

111: Matt. xvi. 20.

112: Mark viii. 30.

113: Luke ix. 21.

114: Matt. xvi. 15, 16.

115: Matt. xvi. 20.

116: Or , which he may regard as mediocre.

117: John viii. 31, 32.

118: Matt. xvi. 16.

119: Matt. xvi. 18.

120: Matt. x. 18.

121: Matt. x. 21.

122: Matt. x. 32.

123: Matt. x. 27 124: Matt. xvi. 21.

125: John vi. 68.

126: I Cor. ii. 2.

127: Matt. xvi. 21.

128: Col. ii. 15.

129: Gal vi. 14.

130: John xvi. 11.

131: John xii. 31, 32.

132: Matt. xvi. 21.

133: Matt. xvi. 21.

134: Luke xiii. 33.

135: Matt. x. 39.

136: 1 Cor. xv. 20.

137: 1 Cor. xv. 20.

138: 2 Cor. iii. 3.

139: Heb. xii. 22.

140: Or (putting a comma after Jerusalem), but that on the third day He might rise.

141: see xi. c. 6, p. 434, note 2.

142: Matt. xvi. 22.

143: Matt. xvi. 23.

144: These three sentences are supplied from the old Latin version, as at this point there is a hiatus in the MSS.

145: Rom. iii. 25.

146: Matt. xvi. 22.

147: Matt. xvi. 23.

148: Matt. iv. 19.

149: Matt. xvi. 23.

150: Matt. iv. 9.

151: Matt. iv. 10.

152: Matt. iv. 19.

153: Matt. x. 38.

154: Ecclus. xviii. 30.

155: 1 Kings xviii, 21.

156: John i. 38.

157: Matt. xvi. 23.

158: Ps. cxix. 165.

159: 1 Cor. xiii. 7, 8.

160: Ps. cxlv. 14.

161: 2 Cor. xi. 29.

162: Matt. xvi. 22.

163: Matt. xvi. 22.

164: Matt. xxv. 42.

165: Matt. xvi. 24, 166: Rom. x. 10.

167: Matt. x. 32.

168: Matt. x. 33.

169: John xix. 17, 18.

170: Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26.

171: Matt. xvi. 24.

172: Gal. ii. 20.

173: 1 Cor. i. 30; Eph. ii. 14 174: Gal. ii 20; vi. 14.

175: Col. ii. 15.

176: Matt. xvi. 25.

177: Matt. xvi, 25.

178: Gal. vi. 14.

179: Matt. xvi. 26.

180: 1 Pet. i. 19.

181: 1 Cor. vi. 20.

182: 1 Cor. vi. 20.

183: Isa. xliii. 3, 4, 184: Ps. cxxx. 8, 185: Matt. xvi. 27.

186: Isa. liii. 2, 3 187: Isa. liii. 4.

188: Reading proeutrepisaj . as the Vetus Inter.

189: Rom. viii. 29.

190: Phil. iii. 21.

191: Phil. ii. 7.

192: 1 Cor. i. 21.

193: Isa. liii. 2.

194: Matt. xvi. 27.

195: John i. 14.

196: 1 Cor. v. 10.

197: Ezek. xviii. 21-24.

198: 2 Cor. v. 10.

199: Matt. xvi, 28.

200: Luke ix. 28.

201: Mark ix. 1.

202: Matt. xx. 23.

203: 1 Pet. ii. 2.

204: 1 Cor. iii. 2.

205: Gen. xxi. 8.

206: Rom. xiv. 2.

207: 1 Sam. i. 23, 24.

208: Deut. x. 10.

209: Deut. v. 31.

210: Isa. liii. 2, 3.

211: Mark iii. 17.

212: John xiv. 6.

213: Col. iii. 3, 4.

214: 1 Cor. xv. 26.

215: Deut. xxx. 15.

216: Deut. xxviii. 66, 67.

217: John vi. 33, 51.

218: Matt. xvi. 28.

219: Matt. xxviii. 20.

220: Matt. xvi. 28; Mark ix. 1; Luke ix. 27.

221: Ps. lxxxix. 48.

222: Ps. lv. 18.

223: Isa. xxv. 8.

224: Rev. vi. 10.

225: Rom. vi. 12.

226: Luke xvii. 2r.

227: Matt. xvii. 1; Mark ix.2.

228: 1 John ii. 15.

229: Matt. xvii. 2; Mark ix. 2.

230: Rom. xiii. 12.

231: Rom. xiii. 13; 1 Thess. v. 5.

232: Matt. xvii. 2.

233: Matt. xvii. 3.

234: Matt. xvii. 3.

235: I Cor. ii, 7.

236: Luke (ix. 28, 29) alone mentions the praying.

237: Mark ix. 3.

238: Luke ix. 29.

239: Matt. xvii. 4; Mark ix. 5; Luke ix. 33.

240: Mark ix. 6.

241: Luke ix. 33.

242: John vii. 39.

243: Col, ii. 15.

244: Matt. xvi. 23.

245: Luke ix. 32.

246: Matt. xvii. 4.

247: John viii. 44.

248: John xiv. 6.

249: Matt. xvi. 16.

250: Matt. xvi. 20.

251: Matt. xvii. 4.

252: Luke ix. 33.

253: Mark ix. 6.

254: Luke ix. 31.

255: Matt. xvii. 4.

256: 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

257: 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

258: 1 Cor. ix. 19.

259: Luke ix. 33.

260: 1 Tim. i. 7.

261: Prov. xvi. 23.

262: Matt, xvii. 5.

263: Matt, xvii. 5.

264: Matt. xvii. 6.

265: Exod. xxx. 20.

266: 1 Pet. v. 6.

267: 1 Pet. v. 6.

268: Matt. xxvii. 52, 53, 269: Matt, xvii, 9.

270: Matt, xvi, 20.

Commentary on Matthew - Book 13

Book XIII.

1. Relation of the Baptist to Elijah. The Theory of Transmigration Considered.

2. "The Spirit and Power of Elijah"-Not the Soul-Were in the Baptist.

3. Concerning the Epileptic.

4. Spiritual Epileptics.

5. The Deaf and Dumb Spirit.

6. Influence of the Moon and Stars on Men.

7. The Power of Faith.

8. Jesus' Prediction of His "Delivery" Into the Hands of Men.

9. Satan and the "Delivery" Of Jesus.

10. Concerning Those Who Demanded the Half-Shekel.

11. The Freedom of Sons.

12. The Stater Allegorized.

13. The Sacred Half-Shekel.

14. Concerning Those Who Said, Who is the Greatest? and Concerning the Child that Was Called by Jesus.

15. Greatness Varies in Degree.

16. Why the Great are Compared to Little Children.

17. The Little Ones and Their Stumbling-Blocks.

18. Who Was the Little Child Called by Jesus.

19. The Parallel Passages in Mark and Luke.

20. The World and Offences. Various Meanings of World.

21. The "Woe" Does Not Apply to the Disciples of Jesus.

22. What the "Occasions of Stumbling" Are.

23. In What Sense "Necessary."

24. The Offending Hand, or Foot, or Eye.

25. The Eye or Hand Allegorized.

26. The Little Ones and Their Angels.

27. When the Little Ones are Assigned to Angels.

28. Close Relationship of Angels to Their "Little Ones."

29. The Little Ones and the Perfect.

30. The Sinning Brother.

31. The Power to Bind on Earth and in Heaven.

Book XIII.

1. Relation of the Baptist to Elijah. The Theory of Transmigration Considered.

"The disciples asked Him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elijah must first come? "1 The disciples indeed who went up with Jesus remembered the traditions of the scribes concerning Elijah, that before the advent of Christ, Elijah would come and prepare for Him the souls of those who were going to receive Him. But the vision in the mountain, at which Elijah appeared, did not seem to be in harmony with the things which were said, since to them it seemed that Elijah had not come before Jesus but after Him; wherefore, they say these things, thinking that the scribes lied. But to this the Saviour answers, not setting aside the traditions concerning Elijah, but saying that there was another advent of Elijah before that of Christ of which the scribes were ignorant; and, in regard to this, being ignorant of him, they "had done unto him whatsoever they listed,"2 as if they had been accomplices in his having been cast into prison by Herod and slain by him; then He says that according as they had done towards Elijah so would He suffer at their hands.3 And these things indeed as about Elijah the disciples asked and the Saviour answered, but when they heard they understood that the words, "Elijah has already come," and that following which was spoken by the Saviour, had reference to John the Baptist.4 And let these things be said by way of illustration of the passage before us. But now according to our ability let us make investigation also into the things that are stored up in it. In this place it does not appear to me that by Elijah the soul is spoken of, lest I should fall into the dogma of transmigration, which is foreign to the church of God, and not handed down by the Apostles, nor anywhere set forth in the Scriptures; for it is also in opposition to the saying that "things seed are temporal,"5 and that "this age shall have a consummation," and also to the fulfilment of the saying, "Heaven and earth shall pass away,"6 and "the fashion of this world passeth away,"7 and "the heavens shall perish,"8 and what follows. For if, by hypothesis, in the constitution of things which has existed from the beginning unto the end of the world, the same soul can be twice hithe body, for what cause should it be in it? For if because of sin it should be twice in the body, why should it not be thrice, and repeatedly in it, since punishments, in respect of this life, and of the sins committed in it, shall be rendered to it only by the method of transmigration? But if this be granted as a consequence, perhaps there will never be a time when a soul shall not undergo transmigration: for always because of its former sins will it dwell in the body; and so there will be no place for the corruption of the world, at which "the heaven and the earth shall pass away."9 And if it be granted, on this hypothesis, that one who is absolutely sinless shall not come into the body by birth, after what length of time do you suppose that a soul shall be found absolutely pure and needing no transmigration? But nevertheless, also,

if any one soul is always thus being removed from the definite number of souls and returns no longer to the body, sometime after infinite ages, as it were, birth shall cease; the world being reduced to some one or two or a few more, after the perfecting of whom the world shall perish, the supply of souls coming into the body having failed. But this is not agreeable to the Scripture; for it knows of a multitude of sinners at the time of the destruction of the world. This is manifest from consideration of the saying, "How-beit when the Son of man cometh shall He find faith on the earth? "10 So we find it thus said in Matthew, "As were the days of Noah so shall also be the coming of the Son of man; for as they were in the days of the flood," etc.11 But to those who are then in existence there shall be the exaction of a penalty for their sins, but not by way of transmigration; for, if they are caught while still sinning, either they will be punished after this by a different form of punishment,-and according to this either there will be two general forms of punishment, the one by way of transmigration, and the other outside of a body of this kind, and let them declare the causes and differences of these,-or they will not be punished, as if those who were left at the consummation of things had forthwith cast away their sins; or, which is better, there is one form of punishment for those who have sinned in the body, namely, that they should suffer, outside of it, that is, outside the constitution of this life, what is according to the desert of their sins. But to one who has insight into the nature of things it is clear that each of these things is fitted to overturn the doctrine of transmigration. But if, of necessity, the Greeks who introduce the doctrine of transmigration, laying down things in harmony with it, do not acknowledge that the world is coming to corruption, it is fitting that when they have looked the Scriptures straight in the face which plainly declare that the world will perish, they should either disbelieve them, or invent a series of arguments in regard to the interpretation of the things concerning the consummation; which even if they wish they will not be able to do. And this besides we will say to those who may have had the hardihood to aver that the world will not perish, that, if the world does not perish but is to exist for infinite periods of time, there will be no God knowing all things before they come into being. But if, perhaps, tie knows in part, either He will know each thing before it comes into being, or certain things, and after these again other things; for things infinite in nature cannot possibly be grasped by that knowledge whose nature it is to limit things known. From this it follows that there cannot be prophecies about all things whatsoever, since all things are infinite.

2. "The Spirit and Power of Elijah"-Not the Soul-Were in the Baptist.

I have thought it necessary to dwell some time on the examination of the doctrine of transmigration, because of the suspicion of some who suppose that the soul under consideration was the same in Elijah and in John, being called in the former case Elijah, and in the second case John; and that, not apart from God, had he been called John, as is plain from the saying of the angel who appeared to Zacharias, "Fear not, Zacharias, for thy supplication is heard, and thy wife Elisabeth shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name John; "12 and from the fact that Zacharias regained his speech after he had written in the tablet, that he who had been born should be called John.13 But if it were the soul of Elijah, then, when he was begotten a second time, he should have been called Elijah; or for the change of name some reason should have been assigned, as in the case of Abram and Abraham, Sarah and Sarrah, Jacob and Israel, Simon and Peter. And yet not even thus would their argument in the case be tenable; for, in the case of the aforesaid, the changes of name took place in one and the same life. But some one might ask, if the soul of Elijah was not first in the Tishbite and secondly in John, what might that be in both

which the Saviour called Elijah? And I say that Gabriel in his words to Zacharias suggested what the substance was in Elijah and John that was the same; for he says, "Many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God; and he shall go before his face in the spirit and power of Elijah."14 For, observe, he did not say in the "soul" of Elijah, in which case the doctrine of transmigration might have some ground, but "in the spirit and power of Elijah." For the Scripture well knows the distinction between spirit and soul, as, "May God sanctify you wholly, and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; "15 anti the passage, "Bless the Lord, ye spirits and souls of the righteous"16 as it stands in the book of Daniel, according to the Septuagint, represents the difference between spirit and soul. Elijah, therefore, was not called John because of the soul, but because of the spirit and the power, which in no way conflicts with the teaching of the church, though they were formerly in Elijah, and afterwards in John; and "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,"17 but the souls of the prophets are not subject to the prophets, and "the spirit of Elijah rested on Elisha."18 But we ought to inquire whether the spirit of Elijah is the same as the spirit of God in Elijah, or whether they are different from each other, and whether the spirit of Elijah which was in him was something supernatural, different from the spirit of each man which is in him; for the Apostle clearly indicates that the Spirit of God, though it be in us, is different from the spirit of each man which is in Him, when he says somewhere, "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God; "19 and elsewhere, "No one of men knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of the man which is in him; even so the things of God none knoweth save the Spirit of God."20 But do not marvel in regard to what is said about Elijah, if, just as something strange happened to him different from all the saints who are recorded, in respect of his having been caught up by a whirlwind into heaven,21 so his spirit had something of choice excellence, so that not only did it rest on Elisha, but also descended along with John at his birth; and that John, separately, "was filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb," and separately, "came before Christ in the spirit and power of Elijah."22 For it is possible for several spirits not only worse, but also better, to be in the same man. David accordingly asks to be established by a free spirit,23 and that a right spirit be renewed in his inward parts.24 But if, in order that the Saviour may impart to us of "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and reverence,"25 he was filled also with the spirit of the fear of the Lord; it is possible also that these several good spirits may be conceived as being in the same person. And this also we have brought forward, because of John having come before Christ "in the spirit and power of Elijah,"26 in order that the saying. "Elijah has already come,"27 may be referred to the spirit of Elijah that was in John; as also the three disciples who had gone up with Him understood that He spake to them about John the Baptist.28 Upon Elisha, then, only the spirit of Elijah rested, but John came before,29 not only in the spirit, but also in the power of Elijah. Wherefore, also, Elisha could not have been called Elijah, but John was Elijah himself. But if it be necessary to adduce the Scripture from which the scribes said that Elijah must first come, listen to Malachi who says, "And behold I will send to you Elijah the Tishbite," etc., down to the words, "Lest I come and smite the earth utterly."30 And it seems to be indicated by these words, that Elijah was to prepare for the glorious coming of Christ by certain holy words and dispositions in their souls, those who had been made fittest for this, which those upon earth could not have endured, because of the excellency of the glory, unless they had been prepared before hand by Elijah. And likewise, by Elijah, in this place, I do not understand the soul of that prophet but his spirit and his power; for these it is by which all

things shall be restored,31 so that when they have been restored, and, as a result of that restoration, become capable of receiving the glory of Christ, the Son of God who shall appear in glory may sojourn with them. But if also Elijah be in some sort a word inferior to "the Word who was in the beginning with God, God the Word,"32 this word also might come as a preparatory discipline to the people prepared by it, that they might be trained tot the reception of the perfect Word. But some one may raise the question whether the spirit and power of Elijah, suffered what was suffered in John, according to the words, "They did in him whatsoever they listed."33 And to this it will be said on the one hand, in simpler fashion that there is nothing strange in the thought, that the things which assist do, because of love, suffer along with those that are assisted; and Jesus indeed says. "Because of the weak i was weak, and I hungered because of the hungry, and I thirsted because of the thirsty,"34 and, on the other hand, in a deeper sense that the words are not, "But they did unto him whatsoever they listed in him," for the things which suffered leaned upon the spirit and the power of Elijah, the soul of John being in no wise Elijah; and probably also the body (leaned upon them). For in one fashion is the soul in the body, and the spirit, and the power; and in another fashion is the body of the righteous man in these better parts, as leaning upon them, and clinging to them; but "they who are in the flesh cannot please God; but ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if the Spirit of God dwell in you; "35 for the soul of the sinner is in the flesh, but of the righteous man in spirit. And likewise, further, this might be inquired into, to whom refer the words, "But they did in him whatsoever they listed."36 Was it to the scribes in regard to whom the disciples inquired and said, "Why then do the scribes say that Elijah must first come? "37 But it is not at all evident that John suffered anything at the hands of the scribes, except, indeed, that they did not believe him; or, as we said also before, that they were accomplices in the wrongs which Herod dared to inflict on him. But another might say that the words, "But they did in him whatsoever they listed," refer not to the scribes but to Herodias and her daughter, and Herod, who did in him whatsoever they listed. And that which follows, "So shall the Son of man suffer from them,"38 might be referred to the scribes, if the former were referred to them; but, if the former refers to Herod and Herodias and her daughter, the second passage will also refer to them;39 for Herod also seems to have joined in the vote that Jesus should die, perhaps his wife also taking part with him in the plot against Him.

3. Concerning the Epileptic.

"And when they were come to the multitude, there came to Him a man kneeling to Him and saying, Lord, have mercy upon my son."40 Those who are suffering, or the kinsfolk of the sufferers, are along with the multitudes; wherefore, when He has dispensed the things that were beyond the multitudes, He descends to them, so that those, who were not able to ascend because of the sicknesses that repressed their soul, might be benefited when the Word descended to them from the loftier regions. But we ought to make inquiry, in respect of what diseases the sufferers believe and pray for their own healing, and in respect of what diseases others do this for them, as, for example, the centurion for his servant, and the nobleman for his son, and the ruler of the synagogue for a daughter, and the Canaanitish woman for her female child who was vexed with a demon, and now the man who kneels to Him on behalf of his epileptic son. And along with these you will investigate when the Saviour heals of Himself and unasked by any one, as for example, the paralytic; for these cures, when compared with one another for this very purpose, and examined together, will exhibit to him who is able to hear "the wisdom of God hidden in a

mystery,"41 many dogmas concerning the different diseases of souls, as well as the method of their healing.

4. Spiritual Epileptics. But since our present object is not to make inquiry about every case, but about the passage before us, let us, adopting a figurative interpretation, consider who we may say the lunatic was, and who was his father who prayed for him, and what is meant by the sufferer falling not constantly but oft-times, sometimes into the fire, and sometimes into the water, and what is meant by the fact that he could not be healed by the disciples but by Jesus Himself. For if every sickness and every infirmity, which our Saviour then healed among the people, refers to different disorders in souls, it is also in accordance with reason that by the paralytics are symbolised the palsied in soul, who keep it lying paralysed in the body; but by those who are blind are symbolised those who are blind in respect of things seen by the soul alone, and these are really blind; and by the deaf are symbolised those who are deaf in regard to the reception of the word of salvation. On the same principle it will be necessary that the matters regarding the epileptic should be investigated. Now this affection attacks the sufferers at considerable intervals, during which he who suffers from it seems in no way to differ from the man in good health, at the season when the epilepsy is not working on him. Similar disorders you may find in certain souls, which are often supposed to be healthy in point of temperance and the other virtues; then, sometimes, as if they were seized with a kind of epilepsy arising from their passions, they fall down from the position in which they seemed to stand, and are drawn away by the deceit of this world and other lusts. Perhaps, therefore, you would not err if you said, that such persons, so to speak, are epileptic spiritually, having been cast down by "the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places,"42 and are often ill, at the time when the passions attack their soul; at one time falling into the fire of burnings, when, according to what is said in Hosea, they become adulterers, like a pan heated for the cooking from the burning flame;43 and, at another time, into the water, when the king of all the dragons in the waters casts them down from the sphere where they appeared to breath freely, so that they come into the depths of the waves of the sea of human life. This interpretation of ours in regard to the lunatic will be supported by him who says in the Book of Wisdom with reference to the even temperament of the just man, "The discourse of a pious man is always wisdom," but, in regard to what we have said, "The fool changes as the moon."44 And sometimes even in the case of such you may see impulses which might carry away in praise of them those who do not attend to their want of ballast, so that they would say that it was as full moon in their case, or almost full moon. And you might see again the light that seemed to be in them diminishing ,-as it was not the light of day but the light of night,-fading to so great an extent, that the light which appeared to be seen in them no longer existed. But whether or not those who first gave their names to things, on account of this gave the name of lunacy to the disease epilepsy, you will judge for yourself.

5. The Deaf and Dumb Spirit.

Now the father of the epileptic-perhaps the angel to whom he had been allotted, if we are to say that every human soul is put in subjection to some angel-prays the Physician of souls for his son that He may heal him who could not be healed from his disorder by the inferior word which was in the disciples. But the dumb and deaf spirit, who was cast out by the Word, must be figuratively understood as the irrational impulses, even towards that which seems to be good, so that, what things any man once did by irrational impulse which seemed to onlookers to be good, he may do

no longer irrationally but according to the reason of the teaching of Jesus. Under the inspiration of this Paul also said, "If I have all faith so as to remove mountains; "45 for he, who has all faith, which is as a grain of mustard seed,46 removes not one mountain only, but also several analogous to it; for although faith is despised by men and appears to be something very little and contemptible; yet when it meets with good ground, that is the soul, which is able fittingly to receive such seed, it becomes a great tree, so that no one of those things which have no wings, but the birds of heaven which are winged spiritually, are able to lodge in the branches of faith so great.47

6. Influence of the Moon and Stars on Men.

Let us now, then, give heed to the very letter of the passage, and first let us inquire, how he who has been cast into darkness and repressed by an impure and deaf and dumb spirit is said to be a "lunatic," and for what reason the expression to be a "lunatic "derives its name from the great light in heaven which is next to the sun, which God appointed "to rule over the night."48 Let physicians then, discuss the physiology of the matter, inasmuch as they think that there is no impure spirit in the case, but a bodily disorder, and inquiring into the nature of things let them say, that the moist humours which are in the head are moved by a certain sympathy which they have with the light of the moon, which has a moist nature; but as for us, who also believe the Gospel that this sickness is viewed as having been effected by an impure dumb and deaf spirit in those who suffer from it, and who see that those, who are accustomed like the magicians of the Egyptians to promise a cure in regard to such, seem sometimes to be successful in their case, we will say that, perhaps, with the view of slandering the creation of God, in order that "unrighteousness may be spoken loftily, and that they may set their mouth against the heaven,"49 this impure spirit watches certain configurations of the moon, and so makes it appear from observation of men suffering at such and such a phase of the moon, that the cause of so great an evil is not the dumb and deaf demon, but the great light in heaven which was appointed "to rule by night." and which has no power to originate such a disorder among men. But they all "speak unrighteousness loftily," as many as say, that the cause of all the disorders which exist on the earth, whether of such generally or of each in detail, arises from the disposition of the stars; and such have truly "set their mouth against the heaven," when they say that some of the stars have a malevolent, and others a benevolent influence; since no star was formed by the God of the universe to work evil, according to Jeremiah as it is written in the Lamentations, "Out of the mouth of the Lord shall come things noble and that which is good."50 And it is probable that as this impure spirit, producing what is called lunacy, observes the phases of the moon, that it may work on him who for certain causes has been committed to it, and who has not made himself worthy of the guardianship of angels, so also there are other spirits and demons who work at certain phases of the rest of the stars; so that not the moon only, but the rest of the stars also may be calumniated by those "who speak unrighteousness loftily." It is worth while, then, to listen to the casters of nativities, who refer the origin of every form of madness and every demoniacal possession to the phases of the moon. That those, then, who suffer from what is called lunacy sometimes fall into the water is evident, and that they also fall into the fire, less frequently indeed, yet it does happen; and it is evident that this disorder is very difficult to cure, so that those who have the power to cure demoniacs sometimes fall in respect of this, and sometimes with fastings and supplications and more toils, succeed. But you will inquire whether there are such disorders in spirits as well as in men; so that some of them speak, but some of them are speechless, and some of them hear, but some are deaf; for as in them will be found the cause of their being impure, so also, because of their

freedom of will, are they condemned to be speechless and deaf; for some men will suffer such condemnation if the prayer of the prophet, as spoken by the Holy Spirit, shall be given heed to, in which it is said of certain sinners, "Let the lying lips be put to silence."51 And so, perhaps, those who make a bad use of their hearing, and admit the hearing of vanities, will be rendered deaf by Him who said, "Who hath made the stone-deaf and the deaf,"52 so that they may no longer lend an ear to vain things.

7. The Power of Faith. But when the Saviour said, "O faithfulness and perverse generation, "53 He signifies that wickedness, which is contrary to nature, stealthily enters in from perversity, and makes us perverted. But of the whole race of men on earth, I think, being oppressed by reason of their wickedness and His tarrying with them, the Saviour said, "How long shall I be with you? "We have already, then, spoken in part of the words, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain,"54 etc.; but nevertheless also we shall speak in this place the things that appear to us fitted to increase perspicuity. The mountains here spoken of, in my opinion, are the hostile powers that have their being in a flood of great wickedness, such as are settled down, so to speak, in some souls of men. Whenever, then, any one has all faith so that he no longer disbelieves in any things which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and has faith such as was that of Abraham, who believed in God to such a degree that his faith was counted for righteousness. he has all faith as a grain of mustard seed; then will such an one say to this mountain-I mean, the dumb and deaf spirit in him who is called lunatic,-"Remove hence," clearly, from the man who is suffer-lug, perhaps to the abyss, and it shall remove. And the Apostle, taking, I think. his starting-point from this place, says with apostolical authority, "If I have all faith so as to remove mountains,"55 for not one mountain merely, but also several analogous to it, he removes who has all faith which is as a grain of mustard-seed; and nothing shall be impossible to him who has so great faith.56 But let us also attend to this, "This kind goeth not out save by prayer and fasting,"57 in order that if at any time it is necessary that we should be engaged in the healing of one suffering from such a disorder, we may not adjure, nor put questions, nor speak to the impure spirit as if it heard, but devoting ourselves to prayer and fasting, may be successful as we pray for the sufferer, and by our own fasting may thrust out the unclean spirit from him.

8. Jesus' Prediction of His "Delivery" Into the Hands of Men.

"And while they abode in Galilee, Jesus said unto them, The Son of man shall be delivered into the hands of men."58 And these things will appear to be of the same effect as those, "that Jesus began to show unto His disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes."59 But it is not so; for it is not the same thing "to show unto the disciples that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes," and, after suffering, "be killed," and, after being killed, "be raised up on the third day," as that which was said to them, when they were in Galilee,-which we did not learn before, -that the Son of man "would be delivered up; "for the being delivered up was not mentioned above, but now also it is said that "He is to be delivered up into the hands of men."60 As for these matters let us inquire by what person or persons He will be delivered up into the hands of men; for there we are taught of whom He will suffer, and in what place He will suffer; but here, in addition, we learn that while His suffering many things takes place at the hands of the aforesaid, they are not the prime causes of His suffering many things, but the one or ones who delivered Him up into the hands of men. For some one will say that the Apostle, interpreting this,

says with reference to God, "He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; "61 but the Son also gave Himself to death for us, so that He was delivered up, not only by the Father but also by Himself. Bat another will say not merely that, but also collecting the passages together, will say that the Son is first delivered up by God,-then about to be tempted, then to be in conflict, then to suffer for men, or even for the whole world that He might take away its sin,62 -to the prince of this age, and to the rest of its princes, and then by them delivered into the hands of men who would slay Him. The case of Job will be taken as an illustration. "Lo, all that is his I give into thy hands, but do not touch him; "63 thereafter, he was, as it were, delivered up by the devil to his princes, namely, to those who took prisoners of war, to the horsemen, to the fire that came down from heaven, to the great wind that came from the desert and broke up his house,64 But you will consider if, as he delivered up the property of Job to those who took them captive, and to the horsemen, so also he delivered them up to a certain power, subordinate to "the prince of the power of the air, of the spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience,"65 in order that the fire which descended thence on the sheep of Job might seem to fall from heaven, to the man who announced to Job that "fire fell from heaven, and burned up his sheep, and consumed the shepherds likewise."66 And in the same way you will inquire whether also the sudden mighty wind, that came down from the desert and assailed the four corners of the dwelling, was one of those which are under the devils to whom the devil delivered up the banquet of the sons and daughters of Job, that the house might fall on the children of the just man, and they might die. Let it be granted, then, that, as in the case of Job, the Father first delivered up the Son to the opposing powers, and that then they delivered Him up into the hands of men, among which men Judas also was, into whom after the sop67 Satan entered, who delivered Him up in a more authoritative manner than Judas. But take care lest on comparing together the delivering up of the Son by the Father to the opposing powers, with the delivering up of the Saviour by them into the hands of men, you should think that what is called the delivering up is the same in the case of both. For understand that the Father in His love of men delivered Him up for us all; but the opposing powers, when they delivered up the Saviour into the hands of men, did not intend to deliver Him up for the salvation of some, but, as far as in them lay, since none of them knew "the wisdom of God which was hidden in a mystery,"68 they gave Him up to be put to death, that His enemy death might receive Him under its subjection, like those who die in Adam;69 and also the men who slew Him did so, as they were moulded after the will of those who wished indeed that Jesus should become subject to death. I have deemed it necessary also to examine into these things, because that when Jesus was delivered up into the hands of men, He was not delivered up by men into the hands of men, but by powers to whom the Farther delivered up His Son for us all, and in the very act of His being delivered up, and coming under the power of those to whom He was delivered up, destroying him that has the power of death; for "through death He brought to nought him that hath the power of death, that is, the devil, and delivered all them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage."70 9. Satan and the "Delivery" Of Jesus.

Now we must think that the devil has the power of death,-not of that which is common and indifferent, in accordance with which those who are compacted of soul and body die, when their soul is separated from the body,-but of that death which is contrary to and the enemy of Him who said, "I am the Life,"71 in accordance with which "the soul that sinneth, it shall die."72 But that it was not God who gave Him up into the hands of men, the Saviour manifestly declares when He says, "If My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight that I should not be delivered

to the Jews."73 For, when He was delivered up to the Jews. He was delivered into the hands of men, not by His own servants, but by the prince of this age who says, concerning the powers which are in the sphere of the invisible, the kingdoms which are set up against men. "All these things will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship Me."74 Wherefore also we should think that in regard to them it was said, "The kings of the earth stood side by side, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against His Christ."75 And those kings, indeed, and those rulers stood side by side and were gathered against the Lord and against His Christ; but we, because we have been benefited by His being delivered by them into the hands of men and slain, say, "Let us break their bonds asunder and cast away their yoke from us."76 For, when we become conformed to the death of Christ, we are no longer under the bonds of the kings of the earth, as we have said, nor under the yoke of the princes of this age, who were gathered together against the Lord. And, on this account, "the Father spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all,"77 that those, who took Him and delivered Him up into the hands of men, might be laughed at by Him who dwells in the heavens, and might be derided by the Lord, inasmuch as, contrary to their expectation, it was to the destruction of their own kingdom and power, that they received from the Father the Son, who was raised on the third day, by having abolished His enemy death, and made us conformed, not only to the image of His death but also of His resurrection; through whom we walk in newness of life,78 no longer sitting "in the region and shadow of death,"79 through the light of God which has sprung up upon us. But when the Saviour said, "The Son of man shall be delivered up into the hands of men, and they shall kill Him, and the third day He shall rise again," they were "exceeding sorry,"80 giving heed to the fact that He was about to be delivered up into the hands of men, and that He would be killed, as matters gloomy and calling for sorrow, but not attending to the fact that He would rise on the third day, as He needed no longer time "to bring to nought through death him that had the power of death."81 10. Concerning Those Who Demanded the Half-Shekel.

"And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received the half-shekel came to Peter."82 There are certain kings of the earth, and the sons of these do not pay toll or tribute; and there are others, different from their sons, who are strangers to the kings of the earth, from whom the kings of the earth receive toll or tribute. And among the kings of the earth, their sons are free as among fathers; but those who are strangers to them, while they are free in relation to things beyond the earth, are as slaves in respect of those who lord it over them and keep them in bondage; as the Egyptians lorded it over the children of Israel, and greatly afflicted their life and violently held them in bondage.83 It was for the sake of those who were in a bondage, corresponding to the bondage of the Hebrews, that the Son of God took upon Him only the form of a slave,84 doing no work that was foul or servile. As then, having the form of that slave, He pays toll and tribute not different from that which was paid by His disciple; for the same stater sufficed, even the one coin which was paid for Jesus and His disciple. But this coin was not in the house of Jesus, but it was in the sea, and in the mouth of a fish of the sea which, in my judgment, was benefited when it came up and was caught in the net of Peter, who became a fisher of men, in which net was that which is figuratively called a fish, in order also that the coin with the image of Caesar might be taken from it, and that it might take its place among those which were caught by them who have learned to become fishers of men. Let him, then, who has the things of Caesar render them to Caesar,85 that afterwards he may be able to render to God the things of God. But since Jesus, who was "the image of the invisible God,"86 had not the image of Caesar, for "the prince of this age had nothing in Him,"87

on this account He takes from its own place, the sea, the image of Caesar, that He may give it to the kings of the earth for Himself and His disciple, so that those who receive the half-shekel might not imagine that Jesus was the debtor of them and of the kings of the earth; for He paid the debt, not having taken it up, nor having possessed it, nor having acquired it, nor at any time having made it His own possession, so that the image of Caesar might never be along with the image of the invisible God.

11. The Freedom of Sons. And this may be put in another way. There are some who are kings' sons on the earth, and yet they are not sons of those kings, but sons, and sons absolutely; but others, because of their being strangers to the sons of the kings of the earth, and sons of no one of those upon the earth, but on this very account are sons, whether of God or of His Son, or of some one of those who are God's. If, then, the Saviour inquires of Peter, saying, "The kings of the earth from whom do they receive toll or tribute-from their own sons or from strangers? "88 and Peter replies not from their own sons, but "from strangers," then Jesus says about such as are strangers to the kings of the earth, and on account of being free are sons, "Therefore the sons are free; "89 for the sons of the kings of the earth are not free, since "every one that committeth sin is the bond-servant of sin,"90 but they are free who abide in the truth of the word of God, and on this account, know the truth, that they also may become free from sin. If, any one then, is a son simply, and not in this matter wholly a son of the kings of the earth, he is free. And nevertheless, though he is free, he takes care not to offend even the kings of the earth, and their sons, and those who receive the half-shekel; wherefore He says, "Let us not cause them to stumble, but go thou and cast thy net, and take up the fish that first cometh up,"91 etc. But I would inquire of those who are pleased to make myths about different natures, of what sort of nature they were, whether the kings of the earth, or their sons, or those who receive the half-shekel, whom the Saviour does not wish to offend; it appears of a verity, ex hypothesi, that they are not of a nature worthy of praise, and yet He took heed not to cause them to stumble, and He prevents any stumbling-block being put in their way, that they may not sin more grievously, and that with a view to their being saved-if they will-even by receiving Him who has spared them from being caused to stumble. And as in a place verily of consolation,-for such is, by interpretation, Capernaum,-comforting the disciple as being both free and a son, He gives to him the power of catching the fish first, that when it came up Peter might be comforted by its coming up and being caught, and by the staler being taken from its mouth, in order to be paid to those whose the staler was, add who demanded as their own such a piece of money.

12. The Stater Allegorized. But you might sometimes gracefully apply the passage to the lover of money, who has nothing in his mouth but things about silver, when you behold him healed by some Peter, who takes the stater, which is the symbol of all his avarice, not only from his mouth and words, but from his whole character. For you will say that such an ode was in the sea, and in the bitter affairs of life, and in the waves of the cares and anxieties of avarice, having the staler in his mouth when he was un believing and avaricious, but that he came up from the sea and was caught in the rational net, and being benefited by some Peter who has taught him the truth, no longer has the stater in his mouth, but in place of it those things which contain His image, the oracles of God.

13. The Sacred Half-Shekel.

Moreover to the saying, "They that received the half-shekel came to Peter,"92 you will adduce from Numbers that, for the saints according to the law of God, is paid not a half-shekel simply, but a sacred half-shekel. For it is written, "And thou shale take five shekels per head, according to the sacred half-shekel."93 But also on behalf of all the sons of Israel is given a sacred half-shekel per head. Since then it was not possible for the saint of God to possess along with the sacred half-shekels the profane shekels, so to speak, on this account, to them who do not receive the sacred half-shekels, and who asked Peter and said, "Doth not your master pay the half-shekel? "the Saviour commands the stater to be paid, in which was the half-shekel which was found in the mouth of the first fish that came up, in order that it might be given for the Teacher and the disciple.

14. Concerning Those Who Said, Who is the Greatest? and Concerning the Child that Was Called by Jesus.

"In that day came the disciples unto Jesus saying, Who then is greatest in the kingdom of heaven? "94 In order that we might be taught what it was that the disciples came to Jesus and asked to learn of Him, and how He answered to their inquiry, Matthew, though he might have given an account of this very thing only, has added, according to some manuscripts, "In that hour the disciples came unto Jesus," but, according to others, "In that day; "and it is necessary that we should not leave the meaning of the evangelist without examination. Wherefore giving attention to the words preceding "in that day," or "hour," let us see if it is possible from them to find a way to understand, as being necessary, the addition, "in that day," or "hour." Jesus then had come to Capernaum along with His disciples, where "they that received the half-shekel came to Peter," and asked and said, "Doth not your Master pay the half-shekel? "Then, when Peter answered and said to them, Yea, Jesus giving further a defence with reference to the giving of the half-shekel, sends Peter to drag up the fish into the net, in the mouth of which He said that a stater would be found which was to be given for Himself and Peter. It seems to me, then, that thinking that this was a very great honour which had been bestowed on Peter by Jesus, who judged that he was greater than the rest of His friends, they wished to learn accurately the truth of their suspicion, by making inquiry of Jesus and hearing from Him, whether, as they supposed, He had judged that Peter was greater than they; and at the same time also they hoped to learn the ground on which Peter had been preferred to the rest of the disciples. Matthew then, I think, wishing to make this plain, has subjoined to the words "that take"-the stater, to-wit-"and give auto them for thee and me," the words, "In that day came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who then is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? "95 And, perhaps, they were also in doubt because of the preference which had been given to the three at the transfiguration, and they were in doubt about this-which of the three was judged by the Lord to be greatest. For John reclined on His breast through love, and we may conclude that before the Supper they had seen many tokens of special honour given by Jesus to John; but Peter on his confession was called blessed in their hearing, because of his saying, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God; "96 but again because of the saying, "Get thee behind Me, Satan; thou art a stumbling-block unto Me, for thou mindest not the things of God hut the things of men,"97 they were distracted in mind as to whether it was not he but one of the sons of Zebedee, that was the greatest. So much for the words "in that day" or "hour," on which took place the matters relating to the stater.

15. Greatness Varies in Degree. But next we must seek to understand this: the disciples came to Him, as disciples to a teacher proposing difficult questions, and making inquiry, Who then is

greatest in the kingdom of heaven?98 And, in this respect, we must imitate the disciples of Jesus; for if, at any time, any subject of investigation among us should not be found out let us go with all unanimity in regard to the question in dispute to Jesus, who is present where two or three are gathered together in His name, and is ready by His presence with power to illumine the hearts of those who truly desire to become His disciples, with a view to their apprehension of the matters under inquiry. And likewise it would be nothing strange for us to go to any of those who have been appointed by God as teachers in the church, and propose any question of a like order to this, "Who, then, is greatest in the kingdom of heaven? "What, then, was already known to the disciples of the matters relating to this question? And what was the point under inquiry? That there is not equality in regard to those who are deemed worthy of the kingdom of heaven they had apprehended, and that, as there was not equality, some one was greatest, and so in succession down to the least: but of what nature was the greatest, and what was the way of life of him who was the least, and who occupied the middle position, they further desired to know; unless, indeed, it is more accurate to say that they knew who was least from the words, "Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; "but who was the greatest of all they did not know, even if they had grasped the meaning of the words, "Whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven; "99 for as there were many great, it was not clear to them who was the greatest of the great, to use a human standard. And that many are great, but the great not equally great, will be manifest from the ascription of the epithet "great" to Isaac, "who waxed great, and became exceedingly great,"100 and from what is said in the case of Moses, and John the Baptist, and the Saviour. And every one will acknowledge that even though all these were great according to the Scripture, yet the Saviour was greater than they. But whether John also (than whom there was no greater among those born of women),101 was greater than Isaac and Moses, or whether he was not greater, but equal to both, or to one of them, it would be hazardous to declare. And from the saying, "But Isaac, waxing great, became greater,"102 until he became not simply great, but with the twice repeated addition, "exceedingly," we may learn that there is a difference among the great, as one is great, and another exceedingly great, and another exceedingly exceedingly great. The disciples, therefore, came to Jesus and sought to learn, who was the greatest in the kingdom of heaven; and perhaps they wished to learn, hearing from Him sometimes like this, "A certain one is greatest in the kingdom of heaven; "but He gives a universal turn to the discourse, showing what was the quality of him who was greatest in the kingdom of heaven. Let us seek to understand, from what is written, to the best of our ability, who this is. "For Jesus called a little child,"103 etc.

16. Why the Great are Compared to Little Children. But first we may expound it in simple fashion. One, expounding the word of the Saviour here after the simple method, might say that, if any one who is a man mortifies the lusts of manhood, putting to death by the spirit the deeds of the body, and" always bearing about in the body the putting to death of Jesus,"104 to such a degree that he has the condition of the little child who has not tasted sensual pleasures, and has had no conception of the impulses of manhood, then such an one is converted, and has become as the little children. And the greater the advance he has made towards the condition of the little children in regard to such emotions, by so much the more as compared with those who are in training and have not advanced to so great a height of self-control, is he the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. But that which has been said about little children in respect of lustful pleasures, the same might also be said in regard to the rest of the affections and infirmities and sicknesses of the soul, into

which it is not the nature of little children to fall, who have not yet fully attained to the possession of reason; as, for example, that, if any one be converted, and, though a man, such an one becomes as a child in respect of anger; and, as is the child in relation to grief, so that sometimes he laughs and plays at the very time that his father or mother or brother is dead, he who is converted would become such an one as little children; and, having received from the Word a disposition incapable of grief, so that he becomes like the little child in regard to grief. And the like you will say about what is called pleasure, in regard to which the wicked are irrationally lifted up, from which little children do not suffer, nor such as have been converted and become as little children. As, then, it has been accurately demonstrated also by others, that no passion is incident to the little children who have not yet attained to full possession of reason; and if no passion, clearly fear also; but, it there be anything corresponding to the passions, these are faint, and very quickly suppressed, and healed in the case of little children, so that he is worthy of love, who, being converted as the little children, has reached such a point as to have, as it were, his passions in subjection like the little children. And with regard to fear, therefore, similar things to those spoken might be conceived, that the little children do not experience the fear of the wicked, but a different thing, to which those who have an accurate knowledge of questions in regard to the passions and their names give the name of fear; as, for example, in the case of children there is a forgetfulness of their evils at the very time of their tears, for they change in a moment, and laugh and play along with those who were thought to grieve and terrify them, but in truth had wrought in them no such emotion. So too, moreover, one will humble himself like the little child which Jesus called; for neither haughtiness, nor conceit in respect of noble birth, or wealth, or any of those things which are thought to be good, but are not, comes to a little child. Wherefore you may see those who are not altogether infants, up to three or four years of age, like to those who are of mean birth, though they may seem to be of noble birth, and not appearing at all to love rich children rather than the poor. If, therefore, in the same way as according to their age children are affected towards those passions which exalt the senseless, the disciple of Jesus under the influence of reason105 has humbled himself like the little child which Jesus showed, not being exalted because of vainglory, nor puffed up on the ground of wealth, or raiment, nor elated because of noble birth, in particular are they to be received and imitated in the name of Jesus, who have been converted as the Word showed, like the little child which Jesus took to Him; since especially in such the Christ is, and therefore He says, "Whosoever shall receive one such little child in My name receiveth Me. "106 17. The Little Ones and Their Stumbling-Blocks. But it is a hard task to expound what follows in logical harmony with what has already been said; for one might say, how is it that he who is converted and has become as the little children, is a little one among such as believe in Jesus, and is capable of being caused to stumble? And likewise let us attempt to explain this coherently. Every one that gives his adherence to Jesus as the Son of God according to the true history concerning Him, and by deeds done according to the Gospel, is on the way to living the life which is according to virtue, is converted and is on the way towards becoming as the little children; and it is impossible for him not to enter into the kingdom of heaven. There are, indeed, many such; but not all, who are converted with a view to becoming like the little children, have reached the point of being made like unto little children; but each wants so much of the likeness to the little children, as he falls short of the disposition of little children towards the passions, of which we have spoken. In the whole multitude, then, of believers, are also those who, having been, as it were, just converted in regard to their becoming as the little children, at the very point of their conversion that they may

become as the little children, are called little; and those of them, who are converted that they may become as the little children, but fall far short of having truly become as the little children, are capable of being caused to stumble; each of whom falls so far short of the likeness to them, as he falls short of the disposition of children towards the passions, of which we have spoken, to whom we ought not to give occasions of stumbling-block; but, if it be otherwise, he who has caused him to stumble will require, as contributing towards his cure, to have "an ass's millstone hanged about his neck, and be sunk into the depths of the sea."107 For, in this way, when he has paid the due penalty in the sea, where is "the dragon which God formed to play in it,"108 and, so far as is expedient for the end in view, has been punished and undergone suffering, he shall then109 have his part in those troubles which belong to the depths of the sea, which he endured when he was dragged down by the ass's millstone. For there are also differences of millstones, so that one of them may be, so to call it, the millstone of a man, and another that of an ass; and that is human, about which it is written, "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; one is taken and one is left; "110 but the millstone of the ass is that which shall be put round him who has given occasion of stumbling-block. But some one might say-I know not whether he would speak soundly or erroneously-that the ass's millstone is the heavy body of the wicked man, which is sunken downwards, and which he will receive at the resurrection that he may be sunk in the abyss which is called the depth of the sea, where "is the dragon which God formed to play therein."111 But another will refer the creating of a stumbling-block to one of the little ones to the powers that are unseen by men; for from these arise many stumbling-blocks to the little ones pointed out by Jesus. But when they cause to stumble one of the little ones pointed out by Jesus, who are believers in Him, he shall assume an ass's millstone, the corruptible body which presses heavily on the soul, which is itself hung from the neck, which is dragged down to the affairs in this life, that by means of these their conceit may be taken away, and having paid the penalty, they shall come, through means of the ass's millstone, to the condition expedient for them.

18. Who Was the Little Child Called by Jesus.

Now another interpretation different from what is called the simpler may be uttered; whether as dogma, or for the sake of exercise, so to speak, let us also inquire what was the little child who was called by Jesus and set in the midst of the disciples. Now consider if you can say that the little child, whom Jesus called, was the Holy Spirit who humbled Himself, when He was called by the Saviour, and set in the midst of the reason of the disciples of Jesus; if, indeed, He wishes us, being turned away from everything else, to be turned towards the examples suggested by the Holy Spirit, so that we may so become as the little children, who are themselves also turned and likened to the Holy Spirit; which little children God gave to the Saviour, according to what is said in Isaiah, "Behold, I and the little children which God has given to me."112 And it is not possible for any one to enter into the kingdom of heaven, who has not been turned away from the affairs of this world, and made like unto the little children who possess the Holy Spirit; which Holy Spirit was called by Jesus, and, descending from His own perfection to men as a little child, was set by Jesus in the midst of the disciples. It is necessary, then, for him who has turned away from the desires of this world to humble himself not simply as the little child, but, according to what is written, "as this little child."113 But to humble oneself as that little child is to imitate the Holy Spirit, who humbled Himself for the salvation of men. Now, that the Saviour and the Holy Spirit were sent by the Father for the salvation of men has been declared in Isaiah, in the person of the Saviour, saying, "And

now the Lord hath sent me and His Spirit."114 You must know, however, that this expression is ambiguous; for either God sent, but also the Holy Spirit sent, the Saviour; or, as we have taken it, the Father sent both-the Saviour and the Holy Spirit. He, therefore, who has humbled himself more than all those who have humbled themselves in imitation of that little child, is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. For there are many who are willing to humble themselves as that little child; but the man, who in every respect has become like to the little child who humbled himself, in the name of Jesus-especially in Jesus Himself,-in reality, would be found to be he who is named greater than all in the kingdom of heaven. But as he receives Jesus, whosoever receives one such of the little children in His name, so he rejects Jesus and casts Him out, who does not wish to receive one such little child in the name of Jesus. But if, also, there is a difference in those who are deemed worthy of the Holy Spirit, as believers receive more or less of the Holy Spirit, there would be some little ones among those who believe in God who can be made to stumble: to avenge whose being made to stumble the Word says, with reference to those who had caused them to stumble, "It is profitable for him that an ass's millstone should be hanged about his neck, and that he should be sunk in the depth of the sea."115 Let these things be said in regard to the passage of Matthew before us.

19. The Parallel Passages in Mark and Luke. But let us consider also the like account in the other Evangelists. Mark,116 then, says, that the Twelve reasoned in the way as to which of them was the greatest. Wherefore He sat down, and called them, and teaches who is the greatest, saying, that he who became last of all by means of his moderation and gentleness, would as the greatest obtain the first place, so that he did not receive the place of one who was being ministered unto, but the place of one who ministered, and that not to some but not to others, but to all absolutely; for attend to the words, "If any man would be first he shall be last of all, and minister of all."117 And next to that He says, that "He,"-Jesus to-wit-"took a little child, and set him in the midst of His own disciples, and taking him in His arms, He said unto them, Whosoever shall receive one of the little children in My name receiveth Me."118 But what was the little child which Jesus took and placed in His arms, according to the deeper meaning in the passage? Was it the Holy Spirit? And to this little child, indeed, some were likened, of whom He said, "Whosoever shall receive one of such little children in My name receiveth Me." According to Luke, however, the reasoning did not arise spontaneously in the disciples, but was suggested to them by the question, "which of them should be greatest."119 And Jesus, seeing the reasoning of their heart, as He had eyes that see the reasonings of hearts,-seeing the reasoning of their heart,-without being questioned, according to Luke, "took the little child and set him," not in the midst alone, as Matthew and Mark have said, but now, also, "by His side," and said to the disciples, not only, "Whosoever shall receive one such little child," or, "Whosoever shall receive one of such little ones in My name receiveth Me," but, now going even a step higher, "Whosoever shall receive this little child in My name receiveth Me."120 It is necessary, therefore, according to Luke, to receive in the name of Jesus that very little child which Jesus took and placed by His side. And I know not if there be any one who can interpret figuratively the word, "Whosoever shall receive this little child in My name." For it is necessary that each of us should receive in the name of Jesus that little child which Jesus then took and set by His side; for he lives as immortal, and we must receive him from Jesus Himself in the name of Jesus; and without being separated from him, Jesus is with him who receives the little child, so that according to this it is said, "Whosoever shall receive this little child in My name receiveth Me." Then, since the Father is inseparable from the Son, He is with him who receives the

Son. Wherefore it is said, "And whosoever shall receive Me receives Him that sent Me."121 But he who has received the little child, and the Saviour, and Him that sent Him, is least of all the disciples of Jesus, making himself little. But, so far as he belittles himself, to that extent does he become great; as that very thing, which caused him the more to make himself little, contributes to his advance in greatness; for attend to what is said, "He that is least among you all the same is great; "but in other manuscripts we read, "The same shall be great." Now, according to Luke, "If any one shall not receive the kingdom of God as the little child, he shall in no wise enter therein."122 And this expression is ambiguous; for either it means that he who receives the kingdom of God may become as a little child, or, that he may receive the kingdom of God, which has become to him as a little child. And perhaps here those who receive the kingdom of God receive it, when it is as a little child, but in the world to come no longer as a little child; and they receive the greatness of the perfection in the spiritual manhood, so to speak, which perfection is manifested to all who in the present time receive it, when it is here as a little child.

20. The World and Offences. Various Meanings of World.

"Woe unto the world because of occasions of stumbling."123 The expression "cosmos," is used in itself and absolutely in the passage, "He was in the cosmos and the cosmos knew Him not,"124 but it is used relatively and in respect of its connection with that of which it is the cosmos, in the words, "Lest you look up to the heaven, and seeing the sun, and the moon, and all the cosmos of the heavens, you should stray and bow down to them and worship them."125 And the like you will find in the Book of Esther, spoken about her, when it is written, stripping off all her "cosmos."126 For the word "cosmos," simply, is not the same as the "cosmos" of heaven, or the "cosmos" of Esther; and this which we are now investigating is another. I think, then, that the world is not this compacted whole of heaven and earth according to the Divine Scriptures, but only the place which is round about the earth, and this is not to be conceived in respect of the whole earth, but only in respect of ours which is inhabited; for the true light "was in the world," that is, in the place which is around, conceived in relation to our part of the earth; "and the world knew Him not,"127 that is, the men in the region round about, and perhaps also the powers that have an affinity to this place. For it is monstrous to understand by the world here the compacted whole formed of heaven and earth, and those in it; so that it could be said, that the sun and moon and the choir of the stars and the angels in all this world, did not know the true light, and, though ignorant of it, preserved the order which God had appointed for them. But when it is said by the Saviour in the prayer to the Father, "And, now, glorify me, O Father, with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the worldwas,"128 you must understand by the "world," that which is inhabited by us on the earth; for it was from this world that the Father gave men to the Son, in regard to whom alone the Saviour beseeches His Father, and not for the whole world of men. Moreover, also, when the Saviour says, "And I come to thee and am no longer in the world,"129 He speaks of the terrestrial world; for it is not to be supposed that He spoke things contradictory when He said, "And I come to thee, and I am no longer in the world," and "I am in the world." But also in this, "And these things I speak in the world,"130 we must think of the place round about the earth. And this is clearly indicated also by the words, "And the world hated them, because they are not of the world."131 For it hated us from the time when we no longer "look at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen,"132 because of the teaching of Jesus; not the world of heaven and earth and them that are therein, all compacted together but the men on the earth along with us. And the saying, "They

are not of the world,"133 is equivalent to, They are not of the place round about the earth. And so also the disciples of Jesus are not of this world, as He was not of the world. And further also the saying, "That the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me,"134 twice spoken in the Gospel according to John, does not refer to the things that are superior to men, but to men who need to believe that the Father sent the Son into the world here. Yea, and also in the Apostle, "Your faith is proclaimed in the whole world."135 21. The "Woe" Does Not Apply to the Disciples of Jesus. But if there is woe unto men everywhere on the earth, because of occasions of stumbling to those who are laid hold of by them; but the disciples are not of the world, as they do not look at things seen, like as the Master is not of this world; to no one of the disciples of Jesus does the "woe because of occasions of stumbling" apply, since "great peace have they who love the law of God, and there is to them no occasion of stumbling."136 But if any one seems to be called a disciple, but yet is of the world, because of his loving the world, and the things therein,-I mean, the life in the place round about the earth, and the property in it, or the possessions, or any form of wealth whatsoever,-so that the saying, "they are not of the world,"137 does not fit him; to him, as being really of the world, shall come that which happens to the world, the "woe, because of occasions of stumbling." But let him who wishes to avoid this woe not be a lover of life, but let him say with Paul," "The world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."138 For the saints while "in the tabernacle, do groan being burdened"139 with "the body of humiliation," and do all things that they may become worthy to be found in the mystery of the resurrection, when God shall fashion anew the body of humiliation not of all, but of those who have been truly made disciples to Christ, so that it may be conformed to the body of the glory of Christ.140 For as none of the "woes" happen to any of the disciples of Christ, so does not this "woe, because of occasions of stumbling; "for, supposing that thousands of occasions should arise, they shall not touch those who are no longer of the world. But if any one, because of his faith wanting ballast, and the instability of his submission in regard to the Word of God, is capable of being caused to stumble, let him know that he is not called by Jesus His disciple. Now we must suppose that so many stumbling-blocks come, that, as a result, the woes extend not to some parts of the earth, but to the whole "world" which is in it.

22. What the "Occasions of Stumbling" Are.

"And it must needs be thai occasions of stumbling come, "141 which I take to be different from the men by whom they come. The occasions then which come are an army of the devil, his angels, and a wicked band of impure spirits, which, seeking out instruments through whom they will work, often find men altogether strangers to piety, and sometimes even some of those who are thought to believe the Word of God, for whom exists a worse woe than that which comes to him who is caused to stumble, just as also it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon in the day of judgment,142 than for the places where Jesus did signs and wonders, and yet was not believed. But as one might undertake to make a collection from the Scriptures of those who are pronounced blessed, and of the things in respect of which they are so called, so also he might undertake to do with the woes which are written, and those in whose case the woes are spoken. But that the woe is worse in the case of him who causes to stumble, than in him who is made to stumble, you may prove by the passage, "Whoso shall cause to stumble one of these little ones which believe in Me, it is profitable for him,"143 etc.; for, while the little one who is made to stumble receives retribution from him who caused him to stumble, it is expedient that the severe and intolerable punishment

which is written should befall the man who has caused the stumbling. But if we were to give more careful consideration to these things, we should be on our guard against sinning against the brethren, and wounding their conscience when it is weak, lest we sin against Christ;144 as often our brethren about us, "for whom Christ died," perish, not only through our knowledge, but also through some other causes connected with us; in the case of whom, we, sinning against Christ, shall pay the penalty, the soul of them who perish through us being required of us.

23. In What Sense "Necessary."

Next we must test accurately the meaning of the word "necessity" in the passage, "For there is a necessity that the occasions come, "145 and to the like effect in Luke, "It is 'inadmissible' but that occasions of stumbling should come,"146 instead of "impossible." And as it is necessary that that which is mortal should die, and it is impossible but that it should die, and as it must needs be that he who is in the body should be fed, for it is impossible for one who is not fed to live, so it is necessary and impossible but that occasions of stumbling should arise, since there is a necessity also that wickedness should exist before virtue in men, from which wickedness stumbling-blocks arise; for it is impossible that a man should be found altogether sinless, and who, without sin, has attained to virtue. For the wickedness in the evil powers, which is the primal source of the wickedness among men, is altogether eager to work through certain instruments against the men in the world. And perhaps also the wicked powers are more exasperated when they are cast out by the word of Jesus, and their worship is lessened, their customary sacrifices not being offered unto them; and there is a necessity that these offences come; but there is no necessity that they should come through any particular one; wherefore the "woe" falls on the man through whom the stumbling-block comes, as he has given a place to the wicked power whose purpose it is to create a stumbling-block. But do not suppose that by nature, and from constitution, there are certain stumbling-blocks which seek out men through whom they come; for as God did not make death, so neither did He create stumbling-blocks; but free-will begot the stumbling-blocks in some who did not wish to endure toils for virtue.

24. The Offending Hand, or Foot, or Eye. And it is well, then, if the eye and the hand are deserving of praise, that the eye cannot with reason say to the hand, "I have no need of thee."147 But if any one in the whole body of the congregations of the church, who because of his practical girls has the name of hand, should change and become a hand causing to stumble, let the eye say to such a hand, "I have no need of thee," and, saying it, let him cut it off and cast it from him.148 And so it is well, if any head be blessed, and the feet worthy of the blessed head, so that the head observing the things which are becoming to itself, may not be able to say to the feet, "I have no need of you." If, however, any foot be found to become a stumbling-block to the whole body, let the head say to such a foot, "I have no need of thee," and having cat it off, let him cast it from himself; for even it is much better that the rest of the body should enter into life, wanting the foot or the hand which caused the stumbling-block, rather than, when the stumbling-block has spread over the whole body, it should be cast into the hell of fire with the two feet or the two hands. And so it is well, that he who can become the eye of the whole body should be worthy of Christ and of the whole body; but if such an eye should ever change, and become a stumbling-block to the whole body, it is well to take it out and cast it outside the whole body, and that the rest of the body without that eye should be saved, rather than that along with it, when the whole body has been corrupted, the whole body should be cast into the hell of fire.149 For the practical faculty of the soul, if prone to

sin, and the walking faculty of the soul, so to speak, if prone to sin, and the faculty of clear vision, if prone to sin, may be the hand that causes to stumble, and the foot that causes to stumble, and the eye that causes to stumble, which things it is better to cast away, and having put them aside to enter into life without them, like as one halt, or maimed, or one-eyed, rather than along with them to lose the whole soul. And likewise in the case of the soul it is a good and blessed thing to use its power for the noblest ends; but if we are going to lose one for any cause, it is better to lose the use of it, that along with the other powers we may be saved.

25. The Eye or Hand Allegorized. And it is possible to apply these words also to our nearest kinsfolk, who are our members, as it were; being considered to be our members, because of the close relationship; whether by birth, or from any habitual friendship, so to speak; whom we must not spare if they are injuring our soul. For let us cut off from ourselves as a hand or a foot or an eye, a father or mother who wishes us to do that which is contrary to piety, and a son or daughter who, as far as in them lies, would have us revolt from the church of Christ and the love of Him. But even if the wife of our bosom, or a friend who is kindred in soul, become stumbling-blocks to us, let us not spare them, but let us cut them out from ourselves, and cast them outside of our soul, as not being truly our kindred but enemies of our salvation; for "whosoever hates not his father, and mother,"150 and the others subjoined, when it is the fitting season to hate them as enemies and assailants, that he may be able to win Christ, this man is not worthy of the Son of God. And in respect of these we may say, that from a critical position any lame one, so to speak, is saved, when he has lost a foot-say a brother-and alone obtains the inheritance of the kingdom of God; and a maimed one is saved, when his father is not saved, but they perish, while he is separated from them, that he alone may obtain the benedictions. And so also any one is saved with one eye, who has cut out the eye of his own house, his wife, if she commit fornication, lest having two eyes he may go away into the hell of fire.

26. The Little Ones and Their Angels.

"See that ye despise not one of these little ones."151 It seems to me that as among the bodies of men there are differences in point of size,-so that some are little, and others great, and others of middle height, and, again, there are differences among the little, as they are more or less little, and the same holds of the great, and of those of middle height,-so also among the souls of men, there are some things which give them the stamp of littleness, and other things the stamp of greatness, so to speak, and generally, after the analogy of things bodily, other things the siam p of mediocrity. But in the case of bodies, it is not due to the action of men but to the spermatic principles, that one is short and little, another great, and another of middle height; but in the case of souls, it is our free-will, and actions of such a kind, and habits of such a kind, that furnish the reason why one is great, or little, or of middle height; and it is of our free-will either by advancing in stature to increase our size, or not advancing to be short. And so indeed I understand the words about Jesus having assumed a human soul, "Jesus advanced; "152 for as from the free-will there was an advance of His soul in wisdom and grace, so also in stature. And the Apostle says, "Until we all attain unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ; "153 for we must think that he attains unto a man, and that full-grown, according to the inner man, who has gone through the things of the child, and has reached the stage of the man, and has put away the things of the child, and generally, has perfected the things of the man.154 And so we must suppose that there is a certain measure of spiritual stature unto which the most perfect soul can attain by magnifying the

Lord, and become great. Thus, then, these became great, of whom this is written, Isaac, and Moses, and John, and the Saviour Himself above all; for also about Him Gabriel said, "He shall be great; "155 but the little ones are "the newborn babes which long for the reasonable milk which is without guile,"156 such as stand in need of nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers, spoken of in Isaiah when he says, about the calling from the Gentiles, "And they shall bring the sons in the bosom, and take their daughters on the shoulders, and kings shall be thy nursing-fathers and their princesses thy nursing-mothers."157 For these reasons you will, then, attend to the word, "Do not despise one of these little ones,"158 and consider whether it is their angels who bring them in their bosom, since they have become sons, and also take on their shoulders what are called daughters, and whether from them are the nursing-fathers who are called kings, and the nursing-mothers who are called princesses. And since the little ones, pointed out by our Saviour, are under the stewardship as of nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers, on this account I think that Moses, who believed that he had been already assigned a place among the ranks of the great, said, with regard to the promise, "My angel shall go before you,"159 "If thou thyself do not go along with me, carry me not up hence."160 For though the little one even be an heir, yet as being a child he differs nothing from a servant when he is a child,161 and to the extent to which he is little "has the spirit of bondage to fear; "162 but he who is not at all any longer such has no longer the spirit of bondage, but already the spirit of adoption, when "perfect love casteth out fear; "163 it will be plain to thee, how that according to these things "the angel of the Lord" is said "to encamp round about them that fear Him, and to save them."164 But you will consider, according to these things also, whether these are indeed angels of the little ones "who are led by the spirit of bondage to fear," "when the angel of the Lord encamps round about them that fear Him and delivereth them; "but of the great, whether it is the Lord who is greater than the angels, who might say about each of them, "I am with him in affliction; "165 and, so long as we are imperfect, and need one to assist us that we may be delivered from evils, we stand in need of an angel of whom Jacob said, "The angel who delivered me from all the evils; "166 but, when we have become perfected, and have passed through the stage of being subject to nursing-fathers and nursing-mothers and guardians and stewards,167 we are meet to be governed by the Lord Himself.

27. When the Little Ones are Assigned to Angels.

Then again one might inquire at what time those who are called their angels assume guardianship of the little ones pointed out by Christ; whether they received this commission to discharge concerning them, from what time "by the laver of regeneration,"168 through which they were born "as new-born babes, they long for the reasonable milk which is without guile,"169 and no longer are in subjection to any wicked power; or, whether from birth they had been appointed, according to the foreknowledge and predestination of God, over those whom God also foreknew, and foreordained to be conformed to the glory of the Christ.170 And with reference to the view that they have angels from birth, one might quote, "He who separated me from my mother's womb,"171 and, "From the womb of my mother thou hast been my protector,"172 and, "He has assisted me from my mother's womb,"173 and, "Upon thee I was cast from my mother,"174 and in the Epistle of Jude, "To them that are beloved in God the Father and are kept for Jesus Christ, being called,"175 -kept completely by the angels who keep them.

28. Close Relationship of Angels to Their "Little Ones." With reference to the words, "When through the layer I became a child in Christ, " it may be said, that there is no holy angel present

with those who are still in wickedness, but that during the period of unbelief they are under the angels of Satan;176 but, after the regeneration, He who has redeemed us with His own blood consigns us to a holy angel, who also, because of his purity, beholds the face of God. And a third exposition of this passage might be something like the following, which would say, that as it is possible for a man to change from unbelief to faith, and from intemperance to temperance, and generally from wickedness to virtue, so also it is possible that the angel, to whom any soul has been entrusted at birth, may be wicked at the first, but afterwards may at some time believe in proportion as the man believes, and may make such advance that he may become one of the angels who always behold the face of the Father in heaven,177 beginning from the time that he is yoked along with the man who was foreknown and foreordained to believe at that time, the judgments of God, which are unspeakable and unsearchable and like to the depths, fitly bringing together all this harmonious relationship-angels with men. And it may be that as when a man and his wife are both unbelievers, sometimes it is the man who first believes and in time saves his wife, and sometimes the wife who begins and afterwards in time persuades her husband, so it happens with angels and with men. If, however, anything of this kind takes place in the case of other angels or not, you may seek out for yourself. But consider whether it may not be appropriate to say something of this kind in regard to each angel who is so honoured according to the word of the Saviour, that he is said to behold always the face of the Father who is in heaven. But since in what we said above, that the little ones have angels, but that the great have passed beyond such a position, some one will quote in opposition to US from the Acts of the Apostles, where it is written, that a certain maid Rhoda, when Peter knocked at the door, came to answer, and recognizing the voice of Peter, ran in and announced that Peter stood before the gate; but when they who were gathered together in the house wondered, and thought that it was quite impossible that Peter verily stood before the gate, they said, It is his angel.178 For the objector will say that, as they had learned once for all that each of the believers had some definite angel, they knew that Peter also had one. But he, who adheres to what we have previously said, will say that the word of Rhoda was not necessarily a dogma, and perhaps also the word of those who did not accurately know, when one as being little and God-fearing is governed by angels, and when now by the Lord Himself. After this, in order to establish our conception of the little one which we have brought forward, it will be said that we need no command about "not despising" in the case of the great, but we do need it in the case of the little; wherefore it is not merely said, "Do not despise one of these," pointing to all the disciples, but "one of these little ones,"179 pointed out by Him, who sees the littleness and the greatness of the soul.

29. The Little Ones and the Perfect. But another might say that the perfect man is here called little, applying the word, "For he that is least among you all, the same is great,"180 and will affirm that he who humbles himself and becomes a child in the midst of all that believe, though he be an apostle or a bishop, and becomes such "as when a nurse cherisheth her own children,"181 is the little one pointed out by Jesus, and that the angel of such an one is worthy to behold the face of God. For to say that the little are here called perfect, according to the passage, "He that is least among you all, the same is great."182 and as Paul said, "Unto me who am less than the least of all saints was this grace given,"183 will seem to be in harmony with the saying, "Whoso shall cause one of these little ones to stumble,"184 and "So it is not the will of My Father in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish."185 For he, as has been stated, who is now little, could not be made to stumble nor perish, for "great peace have they who love the law of God, and there is no

stumbling-block to them; "186 and he could not perish, who is least of all among all the disciples of Christ, and on this account becomes great; and, since he could not perish, he could say, "Who shall separate us from the love,"187 etc. But he who wishes to maintain this last exposition will say that the soul even of the just man is changeable, as Ezekiel also testifies, saying, that the righteous man may abandon the commandments of God, so that his former righteousness is not reckoned unto him;188 wherefore it is said, "Whoso shall cause to stumble one of these little ones, and, "It is not the will of My Father which is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish."189 [As for the exposition of the matters relating to "the hundred sheep," you may consult the homilies on Luke.190] 30. The Sinning Brother.

"If thy brother sin against thee, go, shew him his fault between thee and him alone.191 " He, then, who attends closely to the expression, in proof of the surpassing philanthropy of Jesus, will say, that as the words do not suggest a difference of they will act in a singular manner and contrary to the goodness of Jesus, who supply the thought, that these words are to be understood as being limited in their application to lesser sins. But another, also attending closely to the expression, and not wishing to introduce these extraneous thoughts, nor admitting that it is spoken about every sin, will say, that he who commits those great sins is not a brother, even if he be called a brother, as the Apostle says, "If any one that is named a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, etc., with such an one not to eat; "192 for no one who is all idolater, or a fornicator, or covetous, is a brother; for if he, who seems to bear the name of Christ, though he is named a brother, has something of the features of these, he would not rightly be called a brother. As then he, who says that such words are spoken about every sin, whether the sin be murder, or poisoning, or paederasty, or anything of that sort, would give occasion of injury to the exceeding goodness of Christ, so, on the contrary, he who distinguishes between the brother and him who is called the brother, might teach that, in the case of the least of the sins of men, he who has not repented after the telling of the fault is to be reckoned as a Gentile and a publican, for sins which are "not unto death,"193 or, as the law has described them in the Book of Numbers, not "death-bringing."194 This would seem to be very harsh; for I do not think that any one will readily be found who has not been censured thrice for the same form of sin, say, reviling, with which revilers abuse their neighbours, or those who are carried away by passion, or for over-drinking, or lying and idle words, or any of those things which exist in the masses. You will inquire, therefore, whether any observation of the passage has escaped the notice of those, who are influenced by their conception of the goodness of the Word, and grant pardon to those who have committed the greatest sins, as well as of those who teach that, in the case of the very least sins, he is to be reckoned as a Gentile and a publican, making him a stranger to the church, after he has committed three very trivial transgressions. But the following seems to me to have been overlooked by both of them, namely, the words, "Thou hast gained thy brother."195 It is assigned by the Word to him only who heard, and He no longer applies it in the case of him who has stumbled twice or thrice and been censured; but that which was to be said about him who was censured twice or thrice, corresponding to the saying, "Thou hast gained thy brother," He has left in the air, so to speak. He is not, therefore, altogether gained, nor will he altogether perish, or he will receive stripes. And attend carefully to the first passage, "If he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother," and to the second passage, which is literally, "If he hear thee not, take with thyself one or two more, that at the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established."196 What, then, will happen to him who has been censured for the second time, after every word has been

established by two or three witnesses, He has left us to conceive. And, again, "If he refuse to hear them"-manifestly, the witnesses who have been taken-"tell it," he says, "to the church; "197 and He does not say what he will suffer if he does not hear the church, but He taught that if he refused to hear the church, then he who had thrice admonished, and had not been heard, was to regard him for the future as the Gentile and the publican.198 Therefore he is not altogether gained, nor will he altogether perish. But what at all he will suffer, who at first did not hear, but required witnesses, or even refused to hear these, but was brought to the church, God knows; for we do not declare it, according to the precept, "Judge not that ye be not judged,"199 "until the Lord come, who will both bring to light the hidden things of darkness and make manifest the counsels of the hearts."200 But, with reference to the seeming harshness in the case of those who have committed less sins, one might say that it is not possible for him who has not heard twice in succession to hear the third time, so as, on this account, no longer to be as a Gentile or a publican, or no longer to stand in need of the censure in presence of all the church. For we must bear in mind this, "So it is not the will of My Father in heaven that one of these little ones should perish."201 For if "we must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad,"202 let each one with all his power do what he can so that he may not receive punishment for more evil things done in the body, even if he is going to receive back for all the wrongs which he has done; but it should be our ambition to procure the reward for a greater number of good deeds, since "with what measure we mete, it shall be measured to us,"203 and, "according to the works of our own hands shall it happen unto us,"204 and not in infinite wise, but either double or sevenfold shall sinners receive for their sins from the hand of the Lord; since He does not render unto any one according to the works of his hands, but more than that which he has done, for "Jerusalem," as Isaiah taught, "received from the hand of the Lord double for her sins; "205 but the neighbours of Israel, whoever they may be, will receive sevenfold, according to the following expression in the Psalms, "Render unto our neighbours sevenfold into their bosom the reproach with which they have reproached Thee, O Lord."206 And other forms of payment in return could be found, which, if we apprehend, we shall know that to repent after any sin, whatever its greatness, is advantageous, in order that, in addition to our not being punished for more offences, there may be some hope left to us concerning good deeds done afterwards at some time, even though, before them, thousands of errors have been committed by anyone of us. For it would be strange that evil deeds should be reckoned to any one, but the better which are done after the bad should profit nothing; which may also be learned from Ezekiel,207 by those who pay careful consideration to the things said about such cases.

31. The Power to Bind on Earth and in Heaven. But to me it seems that, to the case of him who after being thrice admonished was adjudged to be as the Gentile and the publican, it is fitly subjoined, "Verily, I say unto you, "-namely, to those who have judged any one to be as the Gentile and the publican,-"and what things soever ye shall bind on the earth, "208 etc.; for with justice has he, who has thrice admonished and not been heard, bound him who is judged to be as a Gentile and a publican; wherefore, when such an one is bound and condemned by one of this character, he remains bound, as no one of those in heaven overturns the judgment of the man who bound him. And, in like manner, he who was admonished once for all, and did things worthy of being gained, having been set free by the admonition of the man who gained him, and no longer bound by the cords of his own sins,209 for which he was admonished, shall be adjudged to have been

set free by those in heaven. Only, it seems to be indicated that the things, which above were granted to Peter alone, are here given to all who give the three admonitions to all that have sinned; so that, if they be not heard, they will bind on earth him who is judged to be as a Gentile and a publican, as such an one has been bound in heaven. But since it was necessary, even if something in common had been said in the case of Peter and those who had thrice admonished the brethren, that Peter should have some element superior to those who thrice admonished, in the case of Peter, this saying "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of the heavens,"210 has been specially set before the words, "And what things soever ye shall bind on earth," etc. And, indeed, if we were to attend carefully to the evangelical writings, we would also find here, and in relation to those things which seem to be common to Peter and those who have thrice admonished the brethren, a great difference and a pre-eminence in the things said to Peter, compared with the second class. For it is no small difference that Peter received the keys not of one heaven but of more, and in order that whatsoever things he binds on the earth may be bound not in one heaven but in them all, as compared with the many who bind on earth and loose on earth, so that these things are bound and loosed not in the heavens, as in the case of Peter, but in one only; for they do not reach so high a stage, with power as Peter to bind and loose in all the heavens.211 The better, therefore, is the binder, so much more blessed is he who has been loosed, so that in every part of the heavens his loosing has been accomplished.

1: Matt. xvii. 10.

2: Matt. xvii, 12.

3: Matt. xvii. l2.

4: Matt. xvii. 13.

5: 2 Cor iv. 18.

6: Matt. xxiv. 35.

7: 1 Cor. vii. 31.

8: Ps. cii. 26.

9: Matt. xxiv. 35.

10: Luke xviii, 8.

11: Matt. xxiv. 37-39.

12: Luke i. 13.

13: Luke i. 63.

14: Luke i. 16, 17.

15: Luke i. 16, 17.

16: Dan. iii. 86. (Song of the Three Children v. 64.) 17: 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

18: 2 Kings ii. 15.

19: Rom, viii. 16.

20: 1 Cor. ii. 11.

21: 2 Kings ii. 11.

22: Luke i. 15, 17.

23: Ps. li. 12.

24: Ps. li. 10.

25: Isa. xi. 2.

26: Isa. xi. 2.

27: Matt. xvii. 12.

28: Matt. xvii. 13.

29: Cf. Luke i. 17.

30: Mal. iv. 5, 6.

31: Matt. xvii. 11.

32: John i. 1.

33: Matt. xvii. 12.

34: Cf. Matt. xxv. 35.

35: Rom. viii. 8, 9.

36: Matt. xvii. 12.

37: Matt. xvii. 10.

38: Matt. xvii. 12.

39: Matt. xvii. 12.

40: Matt. xvii. 14, 15.

41: 1 Cor. ii. 7.

42: Eph. vi. 12.

43: Hos. vii. 4.

44: Ecclus. xxvii. 11.

45: 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

46: Matt. xvii. 20.

47: Cf. Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

48: Gen. i. 16.

49: Ps. lxxiii. i, 9.

50: Ps. lxxiii. i, 9.

51: Ps. xxxi. 18.

52: Exod. iv. 11.

53: Matt. xvii. 17.

54: Matt. xvii. 20.

55: 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

56: Matt. xvii. 20.

57: Matt. xvii. 21.

58: Matt. xvii. 22.

59: Matt. xvi. 21.

60: Matt. xvii. 22.

61: Rom. viii. 32.

62: John i. 29.

63: Job i, 12.

64: Job i, 15-19.

65: Eph. ii. 2.

66: Job i. 16.

67: John xiii. 27.

68: 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

69: 1 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

70: Heb. ii. 14, 15.

71: John xiv. 6.

72: Ezek. xviii. 4.

73: John xviii. 36.

74: Matt. iv. 9.

75: Ps. ii. 2.

76: Ps. ii. 3.

77: Rm. viii. 32.

78: Rom. vi. 4.

79: Matt. iv. 16.

80: Matt. xvii. 22, 23.

81: Heb. ii. 14.

82: Matt. xvii. 24.

83: Exod. i. 13, 14.

84: Phil. ii. 7.

85: Mark xli. 17; Luke xx. 25.

86: Col i. 15.

87: Col i. 15.

88: Matt. xvii. 25.

89: Matt. xvii. 26.

90: John viii. 34.

91: Matt. xvii. 27.

92: Matt. xvii. 24.

93: Num. iii. 47.

94: Matt. xviii. 1.

95: Matt. xvii. 27; xviii. 1.

96: Matt. xvi. 16, 17.

97: Matt. xvi. 23.

98: Matt. xviii. 1.

99: Matt. v. 19.

100: Gen. xxvi. 13.

101: Matt. xi. 11.

102: Gen. xxvi. 13.

103: Matt. xviii. 2.

104: 2 Cor. iv. 10.

105: Or , the Word.

106: Matt. xviii. 5.

107: Matt. xviii. 6.

108: Ps. civ. 26.

109: Or , be free from. The Vetus Inter . has " extra dolores ." It has had ecw instead of echj .

110: Matt. xxiv. 41.

111: Ps. civ. 26.

112: Psa. viii. 18.

113: Matt. xviii. 4.

114: Isa. xlviii. 16.

115: Matt. xviii. 6.

116: Mark ix. 33, 34.

117: Mark ix. 35.

118: Mark ix. 36, 37.

119: Luke ix. 46.

120: Luke ix. 47, 48.

121: Luke ix. 48.

122: Luke xviii. 17.

123: Matt. xviii. 7.

124: John i. 10.

125: Deut. iv. 19.

126: Lomm., following Huet. refers to Esther (The addition to Esther, xiv. 2). But the word kosmoj does not occur in this passage. see Judith x, 4; I Macc. ii II.

127: John i. 10.

128: John xvii. 5.

129: John xvii. 11.

130: John xvii. 11.

131: John xvii. 14.

132: 2 Cor. iv. 18.

133: John xvii. 21.

134: John xvii. 21, 23.

135: Rom i, 8.

136: Ps. cxix. 165.

137: John xvii. 16.

138: Gal. vi. 14.

139: 2 Cor. v. 4.

140: Phil. iii. 21.

141: Matt. xviii. 7.

142: Matt. xi. 22.

143: Matt. xviii. 6.

144: 1 Cor. viii. 11, 12 145: Matt. xviii. 7.

146: Luke xviii. 1.

147: Cor. xii. 21.

148: Matt. xviii. 8.

149: Cf. Matt. xviii. 9.

150: Luke xiv. 26.

151: Matt. xviii. 10.

152: Luke ii. 52.

153: Eph. iv. 13.

154: Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 11.

155: Luke i. 32.

156: 1 Pet. ii. 2.

157: Isa.xlix. 22, 23.

158: Matt. xviii. 10.

159: Exod. xxxii. 34.

160: Exod. xxxiii. 15.

161: Gal. iv. 1.

162: Rom. viii. 15.

163: Rom. viii. 15.

164: Ps. xxxiv. 7.

165: Ps. xci. 15.

166: Gen. xlviii. 16.

167: Gal. iv. 4.

168: Tit. iii. 5.

169: 1 Pet. ii. 2.

170: Rom viii. 29.

171: Gal i. 15.

172: Ps. lxxi. 6.

173: Ps. cxxxix. 13.

174: Ps. xxii. 10.

175: Jude 1 176: The text is perhaps corrupt.

177: Matt. xviii. 10.

178: Acts xii. 13-15.

179: Matt. xviii. 10.

180: Luke ix. 48.

181: 1 Thess. ii. 7.

182: Luke ix. 48.

183: Eph. iii. 8.

184: Matt. xviii. 6.

185: Matt. xviii. 14.

186: Ps. cxix. 165.

187: Rom. viii. 35.

188: Ezek. xxxiii. 12.

189: Matt. xviii. 14.

190: Matt. xviii. 12-14.

191: Matt. xviii. 15.

192: 1 Cor. v. 11.

193: 1 John v. 16.

194: Num. xviii. 22.

195: Matt. xviii. 15.

196: Matt. xviii. 15, 16.

197: Matt. xviii. 17.

198: Matt. xviii. 17.

199: Matt. vii. 1.

200: 1 Cor. iv. 5.

201: Matt xviii. 14.

202: 2 Cor. v. 10.

203: Matt. vii. 2.

204: Isa. iii. 11.

205: Isa. xl. 2.

206: Ps. lxxix. 12.

207: Ezek xxxiii 208: Matt. xviii. 18.

209: Prov. v. 22.

210: Matt. xvi. 19.

211: Matt. xvi. 19.

Commentary on Matthew - Book 14

Book XIV.

1. The Power of Harmony in Relation to

Prayer.

2. The Harmony of Husband and Wife.

3. The Harmony of Body, Soul, and

Spirit.

4. Harmony of the Old and New

Covenants.

5. The Limit of Forgiveness.

6. Concerning the King Who Made a Reckoning

with His Own Servants, to Whom Was Brought a Man Who Owed Ten Thousand Talents.

7. Exposition Continued: the King and the

Servants.

8. The Principle of the Reckoning.

9. The Time Occupied by the Reckoning.

10. The Man Who Owed Many Talents.

11. The Servant Who Owed a Hundred

Pence.

12. The Time of the Reckoning.

13. No Forgiveness to the Unforgiving.

14. How Jesus Finished His Words.

15. How Men Followed Jesus.

16. Concerning the Pharisees and Scribes

Tempting Jesus (by Asking) Whether Was Lawful for a Man to Put Away His Wife for Every Cause.

17. Union of Christ and the Church.

18. The Bill of Divorcement.

19. The Divorce of Israel.

20. Christ and the Gentiles.

21. Union of Angels and the Souls of

Men.

22. The Marriage of Church

Dignitaries.

23. Some Laws Given by Concession to Human

Weakness.

24. Jewish Criticism of the Law of

Christ.

25. Chastity and Prayer.

Book XIV.

1. The Power of Harmony in Relation to Prayer.

"Again I say unto you that if two of you shall agree1 on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them."2 The word symphony is strictly applied to the harmonies of sounds in music. And there are indeed among musical sounds some accordant and others discordant. But the Evangelic Scripture is familiar with the name as applied to musical matters in the passage, "He heard a symphony and dancing."3 For it was fitting that when the son who had been lost and found came by penitence into concord with his father a symphony should be heard on the occasion of the joyous mirth of the house. But the wicked Laban was not acquainted with the word symphony in his saying to Jacob, "And if thou hadst told me I would have sent thee away with mirth and with music and with drums and a harp."4 But akin to the symphony of this nature is that which is written in the second Book of Kings when "the brethren of Aminadab went before the ark, and David and his son played before the Lord on instruments artistically fitted with might and with songs; "5 for the instruments thus fitted with might and with songs, had in themselves the musical symphony which is so powerful that when two only, bring along with the symphony which has relation to the music that is divine and spiritual, a request to the Father in heaven about anything whatsoever, the Father grants the request to those who ask along with the symphony on earth,-which is most miraculous,-those things which those who have made the symphony spoken of may have asked. So also I understand the apostolic saying "Defraud ye not one the other except it be by agreement for a season that ye may give yourselves unto prayer."6 For since the word harmony is applied to those who marry according to God in the passage from Proverbs which is as follows: "Fathers will divide their house and substance to their sons, but from God the woman is married to the man,"7 it is a logical consequence of the harmony being from God, that the name and the deed should enjoy the agreement with a view to prayer, as is indicated in the word, "unless it be by agreement."8 Then the Word repeating that the agreeing of two on the earth

is the same thing as the agreeing with Christ, adds, "For where two or three are gathered together in My name."9 Therefore the two or three who are gathered together in the name of Christ are those who are in agreement on earth, not two only but sometimes also three. But he who has the power will consider whether this agreement and a congregation of this sort in the midst of which Christ is, can be found in more, since "narrow and straightened is the way that leadeth unto life, and few be they that find it."10 But perhaps also not even few but two or three make a symphony as Peter and James and John, to whom as making a symphony the Word of God showed His own glory. But two made a symphony, Paul and Sosthenes, when writing the first Epistle to the Corinthians;11 and after this Paul and Timothy when sending the second Epistle to the same.12 And even three made a symphony when Paul and Silvanus and Timothy gave instruction by letter to the Thessalonians.13 But if it be necessary also from the ancient Scriptures to bring forward the three who made a symphony on earth, so that the Word was in the midst of them making them one, attend to the superscription of the Psalms, as for example to that of the forty-first, which is as follows: "Unto the end, unto understanding, for the sons of Korah."14 For though there were three sons of Korah whose names we find in the Book of Exodus,15 Aser, which is, by interpretation, "instruction," and the second Elkana, which is translated, "possession of God," and the third Abiasaph, which in the Greek tongue might be rendered, "congregation of the father," yet the prophecies were not divided but were both spoken and written by one spirit, and one voice, and one soul, which wrought with true harmony, and the three speak as one, "As the heart panteth after the springs of the water, so panteth my soul alter thee, O God."16 But also they say in the plural in the forty-fourth Psalm, "O God, we have heard with our ears."17 But if you wish still further to see those who are making symphony on earth look to those who heard the exhortation, "that ye may be perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgment."18 and who strove after the goal, "the soul and the heart of all the believers were one."19 who have become such, if it be possible for such a condition to be found in more than two or three, that there is no discord between them, just as there is no discord between the strings of the ten-stringed psaltery with each other. But they were not in symphony in earth who said, "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ,"20 but there were schisms among them, upon the dissolution of which they were gathered together in company with the spirit in Paul, with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ,21 that they might no longer "bite and devour one another so that they were consumed by one another; "22 for discord consumes, as concord brings together, and admits23 the Son of God who comes in the midst of those who have become at concord. And strictly, indeed, concord takes place in two things generic, through the perfecting together, as the Apostle has called it, of the same mind by an intellectual grasp of the same opinions, and through the perfecting together of the same judgment, by a like way of living. But if whenever two of us agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of the Father of Jesus who is in heaven,24 plainly when this is not done for them of the Father in heaven as touching anything that they shall ask, there the two have not been in agreement on earth; and this is the cause why we are not heard when we pray, that we do not agree with one another on earth, neither in opinions nor in life. But further also if we are the body of Christ and God hath set the members each one of them in the body that the members may have the same care one for another, and may agree with one another, and when one member suffers, all the members suffer with it, and if one be glorified, they rejoice with it,25 we ought to practise the symphony which springs from the divine music, that when we are gathered together in the name of Christ, He may be in the midst of us, the Word of

God, and the Wisdom of God, and His Power.26 2. The Harmony of Husband and Wife. So much then for the more common understanding of the two or three whom the Word exhorts to be in agreement. But now let us also touch upon another interpretation which was uttered by some one of our predecessors, exhorting those who were married to sanctity and purity; for by the two, he says, whom the Word desires to agree on earth, we must understand the husband and wife, who by agreement defraud each other of bodily intercourse that they may give themselves unto prayer;27 when if they pray for anything whatever that they shall ask, they shall receive it, the request being granted to them by the Father in heaven of Jesus Christ on the ground of such agreement. And this interpretation does not appear to me to cause dissolution of marriage, but to be an incitement to agreement, so that if the one wished to be pure, but the other did not desire it, and on this account he who willed and was able to fulfil the better part, condescended to the one who had not the power or the will, they would not both have the accomplishment from the Father in heaven of Jesus Christ, of anything whatever that they might ask.

3. The Harmony of Body, Soul, and Spirit. And next to this about the married, I am familiar also with another interpretation of the agreement between the two which is as follows. In the wicked, sin reigns over the soul, being settled as on its own throne in this mortal body, so that the soul obeys the lusts thereof;28 but in the case of those, who have stirred up the sin which formerly reigned over the body as from a throne and who are in conflict with it, "the flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; "29 but in the case of those who have now become perfected, the spirit has gained the mastery and put to death the deeds of the body, and imparts to the body of its own life, so that already this is fulfilled, "He shall quicken also your mortal bodies because of His Spirit that dwelleth in you; "30 and there arises a concord of the two, body and spirit, on the earth, on the successful accomplishment of which there is sent up a harmonious prayer also of him who "with the heart believes unto righteousness, but with the mouth maketh confession unto salvation."31 so that the heart is no longer far from God, and along with this the righteous man draws nigh to God with his own lips and mouth. But still more blessed is it if the three be gathered together in the name of Jesus that this may be fulfilled, "May God sanctify you wholly, and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire without blame at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ."32 But some one may inquire with regard to the concord of spirit and body spoken of, if it is possible for these to be at concord without the third being so,-I mean the soul-and whether it does not follow from the concord of these on the earth after the two have been gathered together in the name of Christ, that the three also are already gathered together in His name, in the midst of whom comes the Son of God as all are dedicated to Him,-I mean the three,-and no one is opposed to Him, there being no antagonism not only on the part of the spirit, but not even of the soul, nor further of the body.

4. Harmony of the Old and New Covenants. And likewise it is a pleasant thing to endeavour to understand and exhibit the fact of the concord of the two covenants,-of the one before the bodily advent of the Saviour and of the new covenant; for among those things in which the two covenants are at concord so that there is no discord between them would be found prayers, to the effect that about anything whatever they shall ask it shall be done to them from the Father in heaven. And if also you desire the third that unites the two, do not hesitate to say that it is the Holy Spirit, since "the words of the wise," whether they be of those before the advent, or at the time of the advent, or after it, "are as goads, and as nails firmly fixed, which were given by agreement from one

shepherd."33 And do not let this also pass unobserved, that He did not say, where two or three are gathered together in My name, there "shall I be" in the midst of them, but "there am I,"34 not going to be, not delaying, but at the very moment of the concord being Himself found, and being in the midst of them.

5. The Limit of Forgiveness.

"Then came Peter and said unto Him, Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me and I

forgive him? "35 The conception that

these things were said in a simple sense by Peter, as if he were inquiring whether he was to forgive

his brother when he sinned against him seven times, but no longer if he sinned an eighth time, and by

the Saviour, as if He thought that one should sit still and reckon up the sins of his neighbours

against him in order that he might forgive seventy times and seven, but that from the seventy-eighth

he should not forgive the man who wronged him, seems to me altogether silly and unworthy alike of the

progress which Peter had made in the company of Jesus and of the divine magnanimity of Jesus.

Perhaps, then, these things also border on an obscurity akin to the words, "Hear My voice, ye wives

of Lamech,"36 etc. If any one has already

become a friend of Jesus so as to be taught by His spirit which illumines the reason of him who has

advanced so far according to his desert, he might know the true meaning, therefore, in regard to

these things, and such as Jesus Himself would have clearly expounded it; but we who fall short of the

greatness of the friendship of Jesus must be content if we can babble a little about the passage. The

number six, then, appears to be working and toilsome, but the number seven to contain the idea of

repose. And consider if you can say that he, who loves the world and works the things of the world,

and does those things which are material, sins six times, and that the number seven is the end of sin

in his case, so that Peter with some such thought in his mind wished to pardon seven sins of those

which his brother had committed against him. But since as units the tens and the hundreds have a

certain common measure of proportion to the number which is in units, and Jesus knew that the number

might be exceeded, on this account, I think, that He added to the number seven also the

seventy,37 and said that there ought to be

forgiveness to brethren here, and to them who have sinned in respect to things here. But if any one

going beyond the things about the world and this age were to commit sin, even if it were trifling, he

could not longer reasonably have forgiveness of sins; for forgiveness extends to the things here, and

in relation to the sins committed here, whether the forgiveness comes late or soon; but there is no

forgiveness, not even to a brother, who has sinned beyond the seven and seventy times. But you might

say that he who has sinned in such wise, whether as against Peter his brother, or as against Peter,

against whom the gates of Hades do not prevail, is by sins of this kind in the smaller number of the

sin, but according to sins still worse is in the number which has no forgiveness of sins.

6. Concerning the King Who Made a Reckoning with His Own Servants, to Whom Was Brought

a Man Who Owed Ten Thousand Talents.

"Therefore I say unto you the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, who wished to make a reckoning with his own servants."38 The general conception of the parable is to teach us that we should be inclined to forgive the sins committed against us by those who have wronged us, and especially if after the wrongdoing he who has done it supplicates him who has been wronged, asking forgiveness for the sins which he has committed against him. And this the parable wishes to teach us by representing that even when forgiveness has been granted by God to us of the sins in respect of which we have received remission, exaction will be demanded even after the remission, unless we forgive the sins of those who have wronged us, so that there is no longer left in us the least remembrance of the wrong that was done. but the whole heart, assisted by the spirit of forgetfulness of wrongs, which is no common virtue, forgives him who has wronged us those things which have been wickedly done against any of us by him, even treacherously.But next to the general conception of the parable, it is right to examine the whole of it more simply according to the letter, so that he who advances with care to the right investigation of each detail of the things previously written may derive profit from the examination of what is said. Now there is, as is probable, an interpretation, transcendental and hard to trace, as it is somewhat mystical, according to which, after the analogy of the parables which are interpreted by the Evangelists, one would investigate each of the details in this; as, for example, who the king was, and who the servants were, and what was the beginning of his making a reckoning, and who was the one debtor who owed many talents, and who was his wife and who his children, and what were the "all

things" spoken of besides those which the king ordered to be sold in order that the debt might be paid out of his belongings, and what was meant by the going out of the man who had been forgiven the many talents, and who was the one of the servants who was found and was a debtor not to the householder, but to the man who had been forgiven, and what is meant by the number of the hundred pence, and what by the word, "He took him by the throat saying, Pay what thou owest," and what is the prison into which he who had been forgiven all the talents went out and cast his fellow-servant, and who were the fellow-servants who were grieved and told the lord all that had been done, and who were the tormentors to whom he who had cast his fellow-servant into prison was delivered, and how he who was delivered to the tormentors paid all that was due, so that he no longer owed anything.39 But it is probable also that some other things could be added to the number by a more competent investigator, the exposition and interpretation of which I think to be beyond the power of man, and requiring the Spirit of Christ who spoke them in order that Christ may be understood as He spoke; for as "no one among men knows the things of the man, save the spirit which is in him," and "no one knows the things of God, save the Spirit of God,"40 so no one knows after God the things spoken by Christ in proverbs and parables save the Spirit of Christ, in which he who participates in Christ not only so far as He is Spirit, but in Christ as He is Wisdom, as He is Word, would behold the things which were revealed to him in this passage. But with regard to the interpretation of the loftiest type, we make no profession; nor on the other hand with the assistance of Christ who is the Wisdom of God do we despair of apprehending the things signified in the parable; but whether it shall be the case that such things shall be dictated to us in connection with this Scripture or not, may God in Christ suggest the doing of that which is pleasing to Him, if only there be granted to us also concerning these things, the word of wisdom which is given from God through the Spirit, and the word of knowledge which is supplied according to the Spirit.41 7. Exposition Continued: the King and the Servants.

"The kingdom of heaven, " He says, "is likened, "42 etc. But if it be likened to such a king, and one

who has done such things, who must we say that it is but the Son of God? For He is the King of the

heavens, and as He is absolute Wisdom and absolute Righteousness and absolute Truth, is He not so

also absolute Kingdom? But it is not a kingdom of any of those below, nor of a part of those above,

but of all the things above, which were called heavens. But if you enquire into the meaning of the

words, "Theirs is the kingdom of heaven,"43

you may say that Christ is theirs in so far as He is absolute Kingdom, reigning in every thought of

the man who is no longer under the reign of sin which reigns in the mortal body of those who have

subjected themselves to it.44 And if I say,

reigning in every thought, I mean something like this, reigning as Righteousness and Wisdom and Truth

and the rest of the virtues in him who has become a heaven, because of bearing the image of the

heavenly, and in every power, whether angelic, or the rest that are named saints, not only in this

age, but also in that which is to come, and who are worthy of a kingdom of such a kind. Accordingly

this kingdom of heaven (when it was made "in the likeness of sinful flesh,"45 that for sin it might condemn sin, when God made

"Him who knew no sin to be sin on behalf of us,"46 who bear the body of our sin), is likened to a

certain king who is understood in relation to Jesus being united to Him, if we may dare so to speak,

having more capacity towards being united and becoming entirely one with the "First-born of all

creation,"47 than he, who, being joined to

the Lord, becomes one spirit with Him.48 Now

of this kingdom of the heavens which is likened unto a certain king, according to the conception of

Jesus, and is united to Him, it is said by anticipation that he wished to make a reckoning with his

servants. But he is about to make a reckoning with them in order that it may be manifested how each

has employed the tried money of the householder and his rational coins. And the image in the parables

was indeed taken from masters who made a reckoning with their own servants; but we shall understand

more accurately what is signified by this part of the parable, if we fix our thought on the things

done by the slaves who had administered their master's goods, and who were asked to give a reckoning

concerning them. For each of them, receiving in different measure from his master's goods, has used

them either for that which was right so as to increase the goods of his master. or consumed it

riotously on things which he ought not, and spent profusely without judgment and without discretion

that which had been put into his hands. But there are those who have wisely administered these goods

and goods so great, but have lost others, and whenever they give the reckoning when the master makes

a reckoning with them, there is gathered together how much loss each has incurred, and there is

reckoned up how much gain each has brought, and according to the worthiness of the way in which he

has administered it, he is either honoured or punished, or in some cases the debt is forgiven, but in

others the talents are taken away. Well, then, from what has been said, let us first look at the

rational coins and the tried money of the householder, of which one receives more and another less,

for according to the ability of each, to one are given five talents as he has the ability to

administer so many, but to another two as not being able to receive the amount of the man before him,

and to another one as being also inferior to the second.49 Are these, then, the only differences, or are we

to recognize these differences in the case of certain persons of whom the Gospel goes on to speak

while there are also others besides these: In other parables also are found certain persons, as the

two debtors, the one who owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty;50 but whether these had been entrusted with them

and had administered them badly as being inferior in ability to him who had been entrusted with a

talent, or had received them, we have not learned; but that they owed so much, we seem to be taught

from the parable. And there are found other ten servants who were each entrusted with a pound

separately.51 And if any one understood the

varied character of the human soul and the wide differences from each other in respect of natural

aptitude, or want of aptitude for more or fewer of the virtues, and for these virtues or for those,

perhaps he would comprehend how each soul has come with certain coins of the householder which come

to light with the full attainment of reason, and with the attention which follows the full attainment

of reason, and with exercise in things that are right, or with diligence and exercise in other

things, whether they be useful as pursuits, or in part useful and in part not useful, such as the

opinions which are not wholly true nor wholly false.

8. The Principle of the Reckoning. But you will here inquire whether all men can be called servants of the king, or some are servants whom he foreknew and fore-ordained, while there are others who transact business with the servants, and are called bankers.52 And in like manner you will

inquire if there are those outside the number of the slaves from whom the householder declares that he will exact his own with usury, not only men alien from piety, but also some of the believers. Now the servants alone are the stewards of the Word, but the king, making a reckoning with the servants, demands from those who have borrowed from the servants, whether a hundred measures of wheat or a hundred measures of oil,53 or whatever in point of fact those who are outside of the household of the king have received; for he who owed the hundred measures of wheat or the hundred measures of oil is not found to be, according to the parable, a fellow-servant of the unjust steward, as is evident from the question-how much owest thou to my lord?54 But mark with me that each deed which is good or seemly is like a gain and an increment, but a wicked deed is like a loss; and as there is a certain gain when the money is greater and another when it is less, and as there are differences of more or less, so according to the good deeds, there is as it were a valuing of gains more or less. To reckon what work is a great gain, and what a less gain, and what a least, is the prerogative of him who alone knows to investigate such things, looking at them in the light of the disposition, and the word, and the deed, and from consideration of the things which are not in our power cooperating with those that are; and so also in the case of things opposite, it is his to say what sin, when a reckoning is made with the servants, is found to be a great loss, and what is less, and what, if we may so call it, is the loss of the very last mite,55 or the last farthing.56 The account, therefore, of the entire and whole life is exacted by that which is called the kingdom of heaven which is likened to a king, when "we must all stand before the judgment-sent of Christ that each one may receive the things done in the body according to what he hath done, whether good or bad; "57 and then when the reckoning is being made, shall there be brought into the reckoning that is made also every idle word that men shall speak,58 and Guy cup of cold water only which one has given to drink in the name of a disciple.59 9. The Time Occupied by the Reckoning. And these things will take place whenever that happens which is written in Daniel, "The books were opened and the judgment was set; "60 for a record, as it were, is made of all things that have been spoken and done and thought, and by divine power every hidden thing of ours shall be manifested, and everything that is covered shall be revealed,61 in order that when any one is found who has not "given diligence to be freed from the adversary," he may go in succession through the hands of the magistrate, and the judge, and the attendant into the prison, until he pays the very last mite;62 but when one has given diligence to be freed from him and owes nothing to any one, and already has made the pound ten pounds or five pounds, or doubled the five talents, or made the two four, he may obtain the due recompense, entering into the joy of his Lord, either being set over all His possessions,63 or hearing the word, "Have thou authority over ten cities,"64 or "Have thou authority over five cities."65 But we think that these things are spoken of as if they required a long period of time, in order that an account may be made by us of the whole times of the earthly life, so that we might suppose that when the king makes a reckoning with each one of his many servants the matter would require so vast a period of time, until these things come to an end which have existed from the beginning of the world down to the consummation of the age, not of one age, but of many ages. But the truth is not so; for when God wished all at once to rekindle in the memories of all everything that had been done by each one throughout the whole time, in order that each might become conscious of his own doings whether good or bad, He would do it by His ineffable power. For it is not with God as with us; for if we wish to call some things to remembrance, we require sufficient time for the detailed account of what has been said by us, and to bring to our remembrance the things which we wish to

remember; but if He wished to call to our memory the things which have been done in this life, in order that becoming conscious of what we have done we may apprehend for what we are punished or honoured, He could do so. But if any one disbelieves the swiftness of the power of God in regard to these matters, he has not yet had a true conception of the God who made the universe, who did not require times to make the vast creation of heaven and earth and the things in them; for, though He may seem to have made these things in six days, there is need of understanding to comprehend in what sense the words "in six days" are said, on account of this, "This is the book of the generation of heaven and earth,"66 etc. Therefore it may be boldly affirmed that the season of the expected judgment does not require times, but as the resurrection is said to take place "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye,"67 so I think will the judgment also be.

10. The Man Who Owed Many Talents.

Next we must speak in regard to this, "And when he had begun to reckon, there was brought

unto him one which owed many talents. "68 The sense of this appears to me to be as follows:

The season of beginning the judgment is with the house of God, who says, as also it is written in

Ezekiel, to those who are appointed to attend to punishments, "Begin ye with My saints; "69 and it is like "the twinkling of an eye; "but,

the time of making a reckoning includes the same "twinkling," ideally apprehended, for we are not

forgetful of what has been previously said of those who owe more. Wherefore it is not written, when

he was making reckoning, but it is said, "When he began to reckon," there was brought, at the

beginning of his making a reckoning, one who owed many talents; he had lost tens of thousands of

talents, having been entrusted with great things, and having had many things committed to his care,

but he had brought no gain to his master, but had lost tens of thousands so that he owed many

talents; and, perhaps on this account, he owed many talents, seeing that he followed often the woman,

who wassitting upon the talent of lead, whose name is wickedness.70 But observe here that every great sin is a loss

of the talents of the master of the house, and such sins are committed by fornicators, adulterers,

abusers of themselves with men, effeminate, idolaters, murderers. Perhaps then the one who is brought

to the king owing many talents has committed no small sin but all that are great and heinous; and if

you were to seek for him among men, perhaps you would find him to be "the man of sin, the son of

perdition, he that opposeth and exalteth himself against every God or object of worship; "71 but if yon seek him outside the number of men,

who can this be but the devil who has ruined so many who received him, who wrought sin in them. For

"man is a great thing, and a pitiful man is precious,"72 precious so as to be worthy of a talent, whether

of gold like as the lamp which was equal to a talent of gold,73 or of silver or of any kind of material

whatsoever understood intellectually, the symbols of which are recorded in the Words of the

Days,74 when David became enriched with many

talents of which the number is mentioned, so many talents of gold, and so many of silver, and of the

rest of the material there named, from which the temple of God was built.

11. The Servant Who Owed a Hundred Pence.

Only, though he cannot pay the talents, for he has lost them, he has a wife and children and

other things, of which it is written, "All that he has."75 And it was possible that when he had been sold

along with his own, he would have prospered if some one had bought him, and, by his worth and the

things that were his, have paid the whole debt in full; and it was possible that he might no longer

be the servant of the king, but become that of his purchaser. And he makes a request that he be not

sold along with his own, but may continue to abide in the house of the king; wherefore he fell down

and worshipped him, knowing that the king was God, and said, "Have patience with me, and I will pay

thee all; "76 for he was, as is probable, an

active man, who knew that he could by a second course of action fill up the whole deficiency of the

former loss of many talents. And this truly good king was moved with compassion for the man who owed

him many talents and then released him, having bestowed upon him a favour greater than the request

which had been made; for the debtor promised to the long-suffering master to pay all his debts, but

the Lord moved with compassion for him did not merely forgive him with the idea of receiving his own

back as a result of his patience, but even entirely released him and forgave him the whole debt. But

this wicked servant, who had besought his master to have patience for his many talents, acted without

mercy, for, having found one of his fellow-servants which owed him a hundred pence, he laid hold on

him and took him by the throat, saying, "Pay if thou owest."77 And did he not exhibit the very excess of

wickedness who laid hold of his fellow-servant for a hundred pence, and took him by the throat and

deprived him of freedom to breathe, when he himself, for the many talents, had neither been laid hold

of, nor seized by the throat, but at first was ordered to be sold along with his wife and children

and all that was his own; but afterwards, when he had worshipped him, the master was moved with

compassion for him, and he was released and forgiven in regard to the whole of the debt. But it were

indeed a hard task to tell according to the conception of Jesus who is the one fellow-servant who was

found to be owing a hundred pence, not to his own lord, but to him who owed many talents, and who are

the fellow-servants who saw the one taking by the throat, and the other taken, and were exceedingly

sorry, and represented clearly unto their own lord all that had been done. But what the truth in

these matters is, I declare that no one can interpret unless Jesus, who explained all things to His

own disciples privately, takes up His abode in his reason, and opens up all the treasures in the

parable which are dark, hidden, unseen, and confirms by clear demonstrations the man whom He desires

to illumine with the light of the knowledge of the things that are in this parable, that he may at

once represent who is brought to the king as the debtor of many talents, and who is the other one who

owes to him a hundred pence, etc.; whether he can be the man of sin previously mentioned,78 or the devil, or neither of these, but some

other, whether a man, or some one of these under the sway of the devil; for it is a work of the

wisdom of God to exhibit the things have have been prophesied concerning those who are in themselves

of a certain nature, or have been made according to such and such qualities, whether among visible

powers or also among some men, in whatever way they may have been written by the Holy Spirit. But as

we have not yet received the competent mind which is able to be blended with the mind of Christ, and

which is capable of attaining to things so great, and which is able with the Spirit to "search all

things, even the deep things of God,"79 we,

forming an impression still indefinitely with regard to the matters in this passage, are of opinion

that the wicked servant indicated by the parable who is here represented in regard to the debt of

many talents, refers to some definite one.

12. The Time of the Reckoning. But it is fitting to examine at what time the man-the king-in the parable wished to make a reckoning with his own servants, and to what period we ought to refer the things that are said. For if it be after the consummation, or at it at the time of the expected judgment, how are we to maintain the things about him who owed a hundred pence, and was taken by the throat by the man who had been forgiven the many talents? But if, before the judgment, how can we explain the reckoning that was made before this by the king, with his own servants? But we ought to think in a general way about every parable, the interpretation of which has not been recorded by the evangelists, even though Jesus explained all things to His own disciples privately;80 and for this reason the writers of the Gospels have concealed the clear exposition of the parables, because the things signified by them were beyond the power of the nature of words to express, and every solution and exposition of such parables was of such a kind that not even the whole world itself could contain the books that should be written81 in relation to such parables. But it may happen that a fitting heart be found, and, because of its purity, able to receive the letters of the exposition of the parable, so that they could be written in it by the Spirit of the living God. But some one will say that, perhaps, we act with impiety, who, because of the secret and mystical import of some of the Scriptures which are of heavenly origin, wish them to be symbolic, and endeavour to expound them, even though it might seem ex hypothesi that we had an accurate knowledge of their meaning. But to this we must say that, if there be those who have obtained the gift of accurate apprehension of these things, they know what they ought to do; but as for us, who acknowledge that we fall short of the ability to see into the depth of the things here signified, even though we obtain a somewhat crass perception of the things in the passage, we will say, that some of the things which we seem to find after much examination and inquiry, whether by the grace of God, or by the power of our own mind, we do not venture to commit to writing; but some things, for the sake of our own intellectual discipline, and that of those who may chance to read them, we will to some extent set forth. But let these things, then, be said by way of apology, because of the depth of the parable; but, with regard to the question at what time the man-the king-in the parable wished to make a reckoning with his own servants, we will say that it seems

that this takes place about the time of the judgment which had been proclaimed. And this is confirmed by two parables, one at the close of the Gospel before us,82 and one from the Gospel according to Luke.83 And not to prolong the discussion by quoting the very letter, as any one who wishes can take it from the Scripture himself, we will say that the parable according to Matthew declares, "For it is as when a man going into another country called his own servants, and delivered unto them his own goods, and to one he gave five talents, and to another two, and to another one talent; "84 then they took action with regard to that which had been entrusted to them, and, after a long time, the lord of those servants cometh, and it is written in the very words, that he also makes a reckoning with them.85 And compare the words, "And when he began to make a reckoning,"86 and consider that he called the going of the householder into another country the time at which "we are at home in the body but absent from the Lord; "87 but his advent, when, "after a long time the lord of those servants cometh,"88 the time at the consummation in the judgment; for after a long time the lord of those servants cometh and makes a reckoning with them, and those things which follow take place. But the parable in Luke represents with more clearness, that "a certain nobleman went into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return," and when going, "he called ten servants, and gave to them ten pounds, and said unto them, Trade ye till I come."89 But the nobleman, being hated by his own citizens, who sent an ambassage after him, as they did not wish him to reign over them, came back again, having received the kingdom, and told the servants to whom he had given the money to be called to himself that he might know what they had gained by trading. And, seeing what they had done, to him who had made the one pound ten pounds, rendering praise in the words, "Well done, thou good servant, because thou wast found faithful in a very little,"90 he gives to him authority over ten cities, to-wit, those which were under his kingdom. And to another, who had multiplied the pound fivefold, he did not render the praise which he assigned to the first, nor did he specify the word "authority," as in the case of the first, but said to him, "Be thou also over five cities."91 But to him who had tied up the pound in a napkin, he said, "Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou wicked servant; "92 and he said to them that stood by. Take from him the pound, and give it unto him that hath the ten pounds93 Who, then, in regard to this parable, will not say that the nobleman, who goes into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return, is Christ, going, as it were, into another country to receive the kingdoms of this world, and the things in it? And those who have received the ten talents are those who have been entrusted with the dispensation of the Word which has been committed unto them. And His citizens who did not wish Him to reign over them when He was a citizen in the world in respect of His incarnation,94 are perhaps Israel who disbelieved Him, and perhaps also the Gentiles who disbelieved Him.

13. No Forgiveness to the Unforgiving.

Only, I have said these things with the view of referring his return when he comes with his

kingdom to the consummation, when he commanded the servants to whom he had given the money to be

called to him that he might know what they had gained by trading, and from a desire to demonstrate

from this, and from the parable of the Talents, that the passage "he who wished to make a reckoning

with his own servants"95 is to be referred

to the consummation when now he is king, receiving the kingdom, on account of which, according to

another parable,96 he went into a far

country, to receive for himself a kingdom and to return. Therefore, when he returned after receiving

the kingdom, he wished to make a reckoning with his own servants. And "when he had begun to reckon,

there was brought unto him one who owed many talents,"97 and he was brought as to a king by those who had

been appointed his ministers-I think, the angels, And perhaps he was one of those under the kingdom

who had been entrusted with a great administration and had not dispensed it well, but had wasted what

had been entrusted to him, so that he came to owe the many talents which he had lost. This very man,

perhaps not having the means to pay, is ordered by the king to be sold along with his wife, by

intercourse with whom he became the father of certain children. But it is no easy task to see what is

intellectually meant by father and mother and children. What this means in point of truth God may

know, and whether He Himself has given insight to us or not, he who can may judge. Only this is our

conception of the passage; that, as "the Jerusalem which is above" is "the mother"98 of Paul and of those like unto him, so there may

be a mother of others after the analogy of Jerusalem, the mother, for example, of Syene in Egypt, or

Sidon, or as many cities as are named in the Scriptures. Then, as Jerusalem is "a bride adorned for

her husband,"99 Christ, so there may be

those mothers of certain powers who have been allotted to them as wives or brides. And as there are

certain children of Jerusalem, as mother, and of Christ, as father, so there would be certain

children of Syene, or Memphis, or Tyre, or Sidon, and the rulers set over them. Perhaps then, too,

this one, the debtor of many talents who was brought to the king, has, as we have said, a wife and

children, whom at first the king ordered to be sold, and also all that he had to be sold; but

afterwards, being moved with compassion, he released him and forgave him all the debt; not, as if he

were ignorant of the future, but, in order that we might understand what happened, it was written

that he did so. Each one then of those who have, as we have said, a wife and children will render an

account whenever the king comes to make a reckoning, having received the kingdom and having returned;

and each of them as a ruler of any Syene or Memphis, or Tyre or Sidon, or any like unto them, has

also debtors. This one, then, having been released, and having been forgiven all the debt, "went out

from the king and found one of his fellow-servants,"100 etc.; and, on this account, I suppose that he

took him by the throat, when he had gone out from the king, for unless he had gone out he would not

have taken his own fellow-servant by the throat. Then observe the accuracy of the Scripture, how that

the one fell down and "worshipped," but the other fell down and did not worship but "besought;

"101 and the king being moved with

compassion released him and forgave him all the debt, but the servant did not wish even to pity his

own fellow-servant; and the king before his release ordered him to be sold and what was his, while he

who had been forgiven cast him into prison. And observe that his fellow-servants did not bring any

accusation or "said," but "told,"102 and

that he did not use the epithet "wicked" at the beginning in regard to the money lost, but reserved

it afterwards for his action towards the fellow-servant. But mark also the moderation of the king; he

does not say, You worshipped me, but You besought me; and no longer did he order him and his to be

sold, but, what was worse, he delivered him to the tormentors, because of his wickedness.103 But who may these be but those who have been

appointed in the matter of punishments? But at the same time observe, because of the use made of this

parable by adherents of heresies, that if they accuse the Creator104 of being passionate, because of words that

declare the wrath of God, they ought also to accuse this king, because that "being wroth," he

delivered the debtor to the tormentors. But it must further be said to those whose view it is that no

one is delivered by Jesus to the tormentors,-pray, explain to us, good sirs, who is the king who

delivered the wicked servant to the tormentors? And let them also attend to this, "So therefore also

shall My heavenly Father do unto you; "105

and to the same persons also might rather be said the things in the parable of the Ten Pounds that

the Son of the good God said, "Howbeit these mine enemies which would not that I should reign over

them,"106 etc. The conclusion of the

parable, however, is adapted also to the simpler; for all of us who have obtained the forgiveness of

our own sins, and have not forgiven our brethren, are taught at once that we shall suffer the lot of

him who was forgiven but did not forgive his fellow-servant.

14. How Jesus Finished His Words.

"And it came to pass when Jesus had finished these words. "107 He who gives a detailed and complete account of

each of the questions before him so that nothing is left out, finishes his own words. But he will

give a declaration on this point with more confidence who devotes himself with great diligence to the

entire reading of the Old and New Testament; for if the expression, "he finished these words," may be

applied to no other, neither to Moses, nor to any of the prophets, but only to Jesus, then one would

date to say that Jesus alone finished His words, He who came to put an end to things, and to fulfil

what was defective in the law, by saying, "It was said to them of old time,"108 etc., and, again, "That the things spoken

through the prophets might be fulfilled."109

But if it is written somewhere also in them, then you may compare and contrast the discourses

finished by them with those finished by the Saviour, that you may find the difference between them.

And yet at this point, also, investigation might be made whether in the case of the things spoken by

way of oracle the expression, "he finished," is applied either to the things spoken by Moses, or any

of the prophets, or of both together; for careful observation would suggest very weighty thoughts to

those who know how "to compare spiritual things with spiritual," and on this account "speak not in

words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth."110 But perhaps some other one, attending with

over-curious spirit to the word "finished," which is assigned to things of a more mystical order,

just as we say that some one delivered to those who were under his control mysteries and rites of

"perfecting"111 not in a praiseworthy

fashion, and another delivered the mysteries of God to those who are worthy, and rites of

"perfecting" proportionate to such mysteries, might say that having initiated them, he made a rite of

"perfecting," by which "perfecting" the words were shown to be powerful, so that the gospel of Jesus

was preached in the whole world, and by virtue of the divine "perfecting" gained the mastery of every

soul which the Father draws to the Son, according to what is said by the Saviour, "No one comes to Me

except the Father which has sent Me draw him."112 Wherefore also "the word" of those who by the

grace of God are ambassadors of the gospel, "and their preaching, is not in persuasive words of

wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit of power,"113 to those for whom the words of the doctrine of

Jesus were finished. You will therefore observe how often it is said, "He finished." and of what

things it is said, and you will take as an illustration that which is said in regard to the

beatitudes, and the whole of the discourse to which is subjoined, "And it came to pass when Jesus had

finished these words, all the multitudes were astonished at His teaching."114 But now the saying, "Jesus finished these

words," is referred also immediately to the very mystical parable according to which the kingdom of

heaven is likened unto a king, but also beyond this parable to the sections which were written before

it.

15. How Men Followed Jesus.

Only, when Jesus had finished these words, having spoken them in Galilee about Capernaum,

then "He departed thence, and came into the borders of Judaea,"115 which were different from Galilee. But He came

to the borders of Judaea, and not to the middle of it, but, as it were, to the outermost parts, where

great multitudes followed Him,116 whom He

healed at "the borders of Judaea beyond Jordan,"-where baptism had been given.117 But you will observe the difference between the

crowds who simply followed, and Peter and the others who gave up everything and followed, and

Matthew, who arose and followed him;118 he

did not simply follow, but "having arisen; "for "having arisen" is an important addition. There are

always those, then, who follow like the great multitudes, who have no arisen that they may follow,

nor have given up all that was theirs formerly, but few are they who have arisen and followed, who

also, in the regeneration, shall sit on twelve thrones.119 Only, if one wishes to be healed, let him follow

Jesus.

16. Concerning the Pharisees and Scribes Tempting Jesus (by Asking) Whether Was Lawful

for a Man to Put Away His Wife for Every Cause.

After this it is written that "there came unto Him the Pharisees tempting Him and saying,

Is it lawful for a man to wife for every cause? "120 Mark, also, has written to the like

effect.121 Accordingly, of those who came to

Jesus and inquired of Him, there were some who put questions to tempt Him; and if our Saviour so

transcendent was tempted, which of His disciples who is ordained to teach need be vexed, when he is

tempted by some who inquire, not from the love of learning, but from the wish to tempt? And you might

find many passages, if you brought them together, in which the Pharisees tempted our Jesus, and

others, different from them, as a certain lawyer,122 and perhaps also a scribe,123 that by bringing together what is said about

those who tempted Him, you might find by investigation what is useful for this kind of inquiries.

Only, the Saviour, in response to those who tempted Him, laid down dogmas; for they said, "Is it

lawful for a man to put away his own wife for every cause? "and He answered and said, "Have ye not

read that He who created them from the beginning made them male and female? "124 etc. And I think that the Pharisees put forward

this word for this reason, that they might attack Him whatever He might say; as, for example, if He

had said, "It is lawful," they would have accused Him of dissolving marriages for trifles; but, if He

had said, "It is not lawful," they would have accused Him of permitting a man to dwell with a woman,

even with sins; so, likewise, in the case of the tribute-money,125 if He had told them to give, they would have

accused Him of making the people subject to the Romans, and not to the law of God, but if He had told

them not to give, they would have accused Him of creating war and sedition, and of stirring up those

who were not able to stand against so powerful an army. But they did not perceive in what way He

answered blamelessly and wisely, in the first place, rejecting the opinion that a wife was to be put

away for every cause, and, in the second place, giving answer to the question about the bill of

divorcement; for He saw that not every cause is a reasonable ground for the dissolution of marriage,

and that the husband must dwell with the wife as the weaker vessel, giving honour,126 and bearing her burdens in sills;127 and by what is written in Genesis, He puts to

shame the Pharisees who boasted in the Scriptures of Moses, by saying, "Have ye not read that He who

created them from the beginning made them male and female," etc., and, subjoining to these words,

because of the saying, "And the twain shall become one flesh," teaching in harmony with one flesh,

namely, "So that they are no more twain, but one flesh."128 And, as tending to convince them that they

should not put away their wife for every cause, is it said," What God hath joined together, let not

man put asunder."129 It is to be observed,

however, in the exposition of the words quoted from Genesis in the Gospel, that they were not spoken

consecutively as they are written in the Gospel; and I think that it is not even said about the same

persons, namely, of those who were formed after the image of God, and of those who were formed from

the dust of the ground and from one of the ribs of Adam. For where it is said, "Male and female made

He them,"130 the reference is to those

formed "after the image," but where He also said, "For this cause shall a man leave his own father

and mother,"131 etc., the reference is not

to those formed after the image; for some time after the Lord God formed the man, taking dust from

the ground, and from his side the helpmate. And mark, at the same time, that in the case of those who

are formed "after the image," the words were not "husband and wife" but "male and female." But we

have also observed this in the Hebrew, for man is indicated by the word "is," but male by the word

"zachar," and again woman by the word "essa," but female by the word "agkeba." For at no time is it

"woman" or "man" "after the image," but the superior class, the male, and the second, the female. But

also if a man leave his mother and his father, he cleaves not to the female, but to his own wife, and

"they become," since man and woman are one in flesh, "one flesh." Then, describing what ought to be

in the case of those who are joined together by God, so that they may be joined together in a manner

worthy of God, the Saviour adds, "So that they are no more twain; "132 and, wherever there is indeed concord, and

unison, and harmony, between husband and wife, when he is as ruler and she is obedient to the word,

"He shall rule over thee,"133 then of such

persons we may truly say, "They are no more twain." Then since it was necessary that for "him who was

joined to the Lord," it should be reserved "that he should become one spirit with Him,"134 in the case of those who are joined together by

God, after the words, "So that they are no more twain," it is said, "but one flesh." And it is God

who has joined together the two in one so that they are no more twain, from the time that135 the woman is married to the man. And, since God

has joined them together, on this account in the case of those who are joined together by God, there

is a "gift"; and Paul knowing this, that marriage according to the Word of God was a "gift," like as

holy celibacy was a gift, says, "But I would that all men were like myself; howbeit, each man hath

his own gift from God, one after this manner, and another after that."136 And those who are joined together by God both

mind and keep the precept, "Husbands love your wives, as Christ also the church."137 The Saviour then commanded, "What God hath

joined together, let not man put asunder,"138 but man wishes to put asunder what God hath

joined together, when, "falling away from the sound faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and

doctrines of demons, through the hypocrisy of men that speak lies, branded in their own conscience as

with a hot iron, forbidding," not only to commit fornication, but "to marry,"139 he dissolves even those who had been before

joined together by the providence of God. Let these things then be said, keeping in view what is

expressly said concerning the male and the female, and the man and the woman, as the Saviour taught

in the answer to the Pharisees.

17. Union of Christ and the Church. But since the Apostle understands the words, "And they twain shall be one flesh, "140 of Christ and the church,141 we must say that Christ keeping the saying, "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder,"142 did not put away His former wife, so to speak-that is, the former synagogue-for any other cause than that that wife committed fornication, being made an adulteress by the evil one, and along with him plotted against her husband and slew Him, saying, "Away with such a fellow from the earth, crucify Him, crucify Him."143 It was she therefore who herself revolted, rather than her husband who put her away and dismissed her; wherefore, reproaching her for falling away from him, it says in Isaiah, "Of what kind is the bill of your mother's divorcement, with which I sent her away? "144 And He who at the beginning created Him "who is in the form of God" after the image, made Him male, and the church female, granting to both oneness after the image. And, for the sake of the church, the Lord-the husband-left the Father whom He saw when He was" in the form of God,"145 left also His mother, as He was the very son of the Jerusalem which is above, and was joined to His wife who had fallen down here, and these two here became one flesh. For because of her, He Himself also became flesh, when "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us,"146 and they are no more two, but now they are one flesh, since it is said to the wife, "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members each in his part; "147 for the body of Christ is not something apart different from the church, which is His body, and from the members each in his part. And God has joined together these who are not two, but have become one flesh, commanding that men should not separate the church from the Lord. And he who takes heed for himself so as not to be separated, is confident as

one who will not possibly be separated and says, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? "148 Here, therefore, the saying, "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder,"149 was written with relation to the Pharisees, but to those who are superior to the Pharisees, it could be said, "What then God hath joined together, let nothing put asunder," neither principality nor power; for God, who has joined together is stronger than all those which any one could conceive and name.

18. The Bill of Divorcement.

After this we will discuss the saying of the Pharisees which they said to Jesus, "Why then

did Moses command to give a bill of divorcement and put her away? "150 And with good reason we will bring forward for

this purpose the passage from Deuteronomy concerning the bill of divorcement, which is as follows:

"But if a man taketh a wife and cohabit with her, and it shall be, if she do not find favour in his

sight because he hath found in her a thing unseemly," etc., down to the words, "and ye shall not

pollute the land which the Lord your God giveth you for an inheritance."151 Now I inquire whether in these things according

to this law, we are to seek nothing in it beyond the letter seeing that God has not given it, or

whether to the Pharisees who quoted the saying, "Moses commanded to give a bill of divorcement and

put her away," it was of necessity said, "Moses, for your hardness of heart, suffered you to put away

your wives; but from the beginning it hath not been so."152 But if any one ascends to the Gospel of Christ

Jesus which teaches that the law is spiritual, he will seek also the spiritual understanding of this

law. And he who wishes to interpret these things figuratively will say that, just as it was said by

Paul confident in the grace which he had, "A wife is bound for so long time as her husband liveth,

but if the husband be dead she is free to be married to whom she will, only in the Lord; but she is

happier if she abide as she is, after my judgment, and I think that I also have the Spirit of

God"153 (for here to the words, "after my

judgment," lest it should be despised as being without the Spirit of God, he well added, "and I think

that I also have the Spirit of God)," so also it would be possible for Moses, by reason of the power

given to him to make laws, to the effect that he suffered for the hardness of heart of the people

certain things, among which was the putting away of wives, to be persuaded in regard to the laws

which he promulgated according to his own judgment, that in these also the legislation took place

with the Spirit of God. And he will say that, unless one law is spiritual and another is not such,

this is a law, and this is spiritual, and its spiritual significance ought to be investigated.

19. The Divorce of Israel.

Now, keeping in mind what we said above in regard to the passage from Isaiah about the bill

of divorcement, we will say that the mother of the people separated herself from Christ, her husband,

without having received the bill of divorcement, but afterwards when there was found in her an

unseemly thing, and she did not find favour in his sight, the bill of divorcement was written out for

her; for when the new covenant called those of the Gentiles to the house of Him who had cast away his

former wife, it virtually gave the bill of divorcement to her who formerly separated from her

husband-the law, and the Word. Therefore he, also, having separated from her, married, so to speak,

another, having given into the hands of the former the bill of divorcement; wherefore they can no

longer do the things enjoined on them by the law, because of the bill of divorcement. And a sign that

she has received the bill of divorcement is this, that Jerusalem was destroyed along with what they

called the sanctuary of the things in it which were believed to be holy, and with the altar of burnt

offerings, and all the worship associated with it. And a further sign of the bill of divorcement is

this, that they cannot keep their feasts, even though according to the letter of the law designedly

commanded them, in the place which the Lord God appointed to them for keeping feasts; but there is

this also, that the whole synagogue has become unable to stone those who have committed this or that

sin; and thousands of things commanded are a sign of the bill of divorcement; and the fact that

"there is no more a prophet," and that they say, "We no longer see signs; "154 " for the Lord says, "He hath taken away from

Judaea and from Jerusalem," according to the word of Isaiah, "Him that is mighty, and her that is

mighty, a powerful giant," etc., down to the words, "a prudent hearer."155 Now, He who is the Christ may have taken the

synagogue to wife and cohabited with her, but it may be that afterwards she found not favour in His

sight; and the reason of her not having found favour in His sight was, that there was found in her an

unseemly thing; for what was more unseemly than the Circumstance that, when it was proposed to them

to release one at the feast, they asked for the release of Barabbas the robber, and the condemnation

of Jesus?156 And what was more unseemly than

the fact, that they all said in His case, "Crucify Him, crucify Him," and "Away with such a fellow

from the earth"?157 And can this be freed

from the charge of unseemliness, "His blood be upon us, and upon our children"?158 Wherefore, when He was avenged, Jerusalem was

compassed with armies, and its desolation was near,159 and their house was taken away from it, and "the

daughter of Zion was left as a booth in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, and as a

besieged city."160 And, about the same time,

I think, the husband wrote out a bill of divorcement to his former wife, and gave it into her hands,

and sent her away from his own house, and the bond of her who came from the Gentiles has been

cancelled about which the Apostle Says, "Having blotted out the bond written in ordinances, which was

contrary to us, and He hath taken it out of the way, nailing it to the cross; "161 for Paul also and others became proselytes of

Israel for her who came from the Gentiles.162 The first wife, accordingly, not having found

favour before her husband, because in her had been found an unseemly thing, went out from the

dwelling of her husband, and, going away, has become joined to another man, to whom she has subjected

herself, whether we should call the husband Barabbas the robber, who is figuratively the devil, or

some evil power. And in the case of some of that synagogue there has happened the former thing which

was written in the law, but in the case of others, that which was second. For the last husband163 hated his wife and will write out for her some

day at the consummation of things a bill of divorcement, when God so orders it, and will give it into

her hands and will send her away from his dwelling; for as the good God will put enmity between the

serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed,164 so will He order it that the last husband shall

hate her.

20. Christ and the Gentiles.

Now there are those in whose case it has happened that the man dwells with them without

having hated them, because they abide in the house of the last husband, who took to himself their

synagogue as wife. But also in their case the latter husband dies,165 perhaps whenever the last enemy of Christ,

death, is destroyed. But whichever of these things may happen, whether the former or the latter to

the wife, the former husband, it says, who sent her away, will not he able to turn back and take her

to be a wife to himself after she has been defiled, since "it is abomination," it says, "before the

Lord thy God."166 But these things will not

seem to be consistent with this, "If the fulness of the Gentiles be come in, all Israel shall be

saved."167 But consider if it can be said to

this, that, if she shall be saved by her former husband returning and taking her to himself as wife,

she will in any case be saved after she has been polluted. A priest, then, will not take to himself

as a wife one who has been a harlot and an outcast,168 but no other, as being inferior to the priest,

is hindered from doing so. But if you seek for the harlot in regard to the calling of the Gentiles,

you may use the passage, "Take to yourself a wife of fornication, and children of

fornication,"169 etc.; for, as "the priests

in the temple profane the sabbath, and are guiltless,"170 so he who, casting oat his former wife, takes in

due season "a wife of fornication," having done it according to the command of Him who says, when it

is necessary, and so long as it was necessary, "He shall not take a harlot to wife," and, when it was

reasonable, He says, "Take to yourself a wife of fornication." For as the Son of man is Lord of the

sabbath,171 and not the slave of the sabbath

as the people are, so He who gives the law has power to give it "until a time of reformation,"172 and to change the law, and, when the time of the

reformation is at hand, also to give after the former way and after the former heart another way and

another heart, "in an acceptable time, and in a day of salvation."173 And let these things be said according to our

interpretation of the law in regard to the bill of divorcement.

21. Union of Angels and the Souls of Men. But some one may inquire whether the human soul can be figuratively called a wife, and the angel who is set over her and is her ruler, with whom as her sovereign she holds conversation, can be called her husband; so that according to this each lawfully dwells along with the soul which is worthy of the guardianship of a divine angel; but sometimes after long sojourning and intercourse a cause may arise in the soul why she does not find favour in the eyes of the angel who is her lord and ruler, because that in it there is found an unseemly thing; and bonds may be written out, as such are written, and a bill of divorcement be written and put into the hands of her who is cast out, so that she may no longer be familiar with her former guardian, when she is cast out from his dwelling. And even she who has gone away from her former dwelling may be joined to another husband, and be unfortunate with him, not only, as in the case of the former, not finding favour in his sight because an unseemly thing was found in her, but even being hated by him.174 Yea, and even there might be written out from the second husband a bill of divorcement and it might be put into her hands from the last husband who sends her away from his dwelling. But whether there can be such a change of the life of angels with men, as to amount, so far as concerns their relation to us, to their death, one may put the question rash though it be; but be that as it may, she also who has once fallen away from the former husband will not return again to him, for the former husband who sent her away will not be able to turn back and take her as wife to himself, after she was defiled.175 And if one should dare, using a Scripture which is in circulation in the church, but not acknowledged by all to be divine, to soften down a precept of this kind, the passage might be taken from The Shepherd, concerning some who as soon as they believe are put in subjection to Michael,176 but falling away from him from love of pleasure, are put in subjection to the angel of luxury,177 then to the angel of punishment,178 and after this to the angel of repentance; for you observe that the wife or soul who has once been given to luxury no longer returns to the first ruler, but also besides suffering punishment, is put in subjection to one inferior to Michael; for the angel of penitence is inferior to him. We must therefore take heed lest there be found in us any unseemly thing, and we should not find favour in the eyes of our husband Christ, or of the angel who has been set over us. For if we do not take heed, perhaps we also shall receive the bill of divorcement, and either be bereft of our guardian, or go to another man. But I consider that it is not of good omen to receive, as it were, the marriage of an angel with our own soul.179 22. The Marriage of Church Dignitaries.

But, while dealing with the passage, I would say that we will be able perhaps now to

understand and clearly set forth a question which is hard to grasp and see into, with regard to the

legislation of the Apostle concerning ecclesiastical matters; for Paul wishes no one of those of the

church, who has attained to any eminence beyond the many, as is attained in the administration of the

sacraments, to make trial of a second marriage. For laying down the law in regard to bishops m the

first Epistle to Timothy, he says, "If a man seeketh the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work.

The bishop, therefore, must be without reproach, the husbands of one wife, temperate,

sober-minded,"180 etc.; and, in regard to

deacons, "Let the deacons," he says, "be the husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their

own houses well,"181 etc. Yea, and also when

appointing widows, he says, "Let there be no one as a widow under threescore years old, having been

the wife of one man; "182 and after this he

says the things superadded, as being second or third in importance to this. And, in the Epistle to

Titus, "For this cause," he says, "I left thee in Crete that thou shouldest set in order the things

that were wanting, and appoint elders in every city as I gave thee charge. If any one is blameless,

the husband of one wife, having children, that believe"183 -of course-and so on. Now, when we saw that some

who have been married twice may be much better than those who have been married once, we were

perplexed why Paul does not at all permit those who have been twice married to be appointed to

ecclesiastical dignities; for also it seemed to me that such a thing was worthy of examination, as it

was possible that a man, who had been unfortunate in two marriages, and had lost his second wife

while he was yet young, might have lived for the rest of his years up to old age in the greatest

self-control and chastity. Who, then, would not naturally be perplexed why at all, when a ruler of

the church is being sought for, we do not appoint such a man, though he has been twice married,

because of the expressions about marriage, but lay hold of the man who has been once married as our

ruler, even if he chance to have lived to old age with his wife, and sometimes may not have been

disciplined in chastity and temperance? But, from what is said in the law about the bill of

divorcement, I reflect whether, seeing that the bishop and the presbyter and the deacon are a symbol

of things that truly exist in accordance with these names, he wished to appoint those who were

figuratively once married, in order that he who is able to give attention to the matter, may find out

from the spiritual law the one who was unworthy of ecclesiastical rule, whose soul did not find

favour in the eyes of her husband because there had been found in her an unseemly thing, and she had

become worthy of the bill of divorcement; for such a soul, having dwelt along with a second husband,

and having been hated by such an one, can no longer, after the second bill of divorcement, return to

her former husband.184 It is likely,

therefore, also, that other arguments will be found by those who are wiser than we, and have more

ability to see into such things, whether in the law about the bill of divorcement, or in the

apostolic writings which prohibit those who have been twice married from ruling over the church or

being preferred to preside over it. But, until something shall be found that is better and able by

the excessive brilliancy of the light of knowledge to cast into the shade what we have uttered, we

have said the things which have occurred to us in regard to the passages.

23. Some Laws Given by Concession to Human Weakness.

But, even if we have seemed to touch on things too deep for our capacity in the passages,

nevertheless, because of the literal expression these things must further be said, that some of the

laws were written not as excellent, but as by way of accommodation to the weakness of those to whom

the law was given; for something of this kind is indicated in the words, "Moses for your hardness of

heart suffered you to put away your wives; "185 but that which is pre-eminent and superior to

the law, which was written for their hardness of heart, is indicated in this, "But from the beginning

it hath not been so." But in the new covenant also there are some legal injunctions of the same order

as, "Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives; "for example, because of

our hardness of heart, it has been written on account of our weakness, "But because of fornications,

let each man have his own wife and let each woman have her own husband; "186 and this, "Let the husband render unto the wife

her due, and likewise also the wife unto the husband."187 To these sayings it is accordingly subjoined,

"But this I say by way of permission, not of commandment."188 But this also, "A wife is bound for so long time

as her husband liveth, but if her husband be dead, she is free to be married to whom she will, only

in the Lord,"189 was said by Paul in view of

our hardness of heart and weakness, to those who do not wish to desire earnestly the greater

gifts190 and become more blessed. But now

contrary to what was written, some even of the rulers of the church have permitted a woman to marry,

even when her husband was living, doing contrary to what was written, where it is said, "A wife is

bound for so long time as her husband liveth," and "So then if while her husband liveth, she shall be

joined to another man she shall be called an adulteress,"191 not indeed altogether without reason, for it is

probable this concession was permitted in comparison with worse things, contrary to what was from the

beginning ordained by law, and written.

24. Jewish Criticism of the Law of Christ. But perhaps some Jewish man of those who dare to oppose the teaching of our Saviour will say, that when Jesus said, "Whosoever shall put away his own wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress,"192 He also gave permission to put away a wife like as well as Moses did, who was said by Him to have given laws for the hardness of heart of the people, and will hold that the saying, "Because he found in her an unseemly thing,"193 is to be reckoned as the same as fornification on account of which with good cause a wife could be cast away from her husband. But to him it must be said that, if she who committed adultery was according to the law to be stoned, clearly it is not in this sense that the unseemly thing is to be understood. For it is not necessary for adultery or any such great indecency to write a bill of divorcement and give it into the hands of the wife; but indeed perhaps Moses called every sin an unseemly thing, on the discovery of which by the husband in the wife, as not finding favour in the eyes of her husband, the bill of divorcement is written, and the wife is sent away from the house of her husband; "but from the beginning it hath not been so."194 After this our Saviour says, not at all permitting the dissolution of marriages for any other sin than fornication alone, when detected in the wife, "Whosoever shall but away his own wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress."195 But it might be a subject for inquiry if on this account He hinders any one putting away a wife, unless she be caught in fornication, for any other reason, as for example for poisoning, or for the destruction during the absence of her husband from home of an infant born to them, or for any form of murder whatsoever. And further, if she were found despoiling and pillaging the house of her husband, though she was not guilty of

fornication, one might ask if he would with reason cast away such an one, seeing that the Saviour forbids any one to put away his own wife saving for the cause of fornication. In either case there appears to be something monstrous, whether it be really monstrous, I do not know; for to endure sins of such heinousness which seem to be worse than adultery or fornication, will appear to be irrational; but again on the other hand to act contrary to the design of the teaching of the Saviour, every one would acknowledge to be impious. I wonder therefore why He did not say, Let no one put away his own wife saving for the cause of fornication, but says, "Whosoever shall put away his own wife, saving for the cause of fornication, maketh her an adulteress."196 For confessedly he who puts away his wife when she is not a fornicator, makes her an adulteress, so far as it lies with him, for if, "when the husband is living she shall be called an adulteress if she be joined to another man; "197 and when by putting her away, he gives to her the excuse of a second marriage, very plainly in this way he makes her an adulteress. But as to whether her being caught in the act of poisoning or committing murder, furnishes any defence of his dismissal of her, you can inquire yourselves; for the husband can also in other ways than by putting her away cause his own wife to commit adultery; as, for example, allowing her to do what she wishes beyond what is fitting, and stooping to friendship with what men she wishes, for often from the simplicity of husbands such false steps happen to wives; but whether there is a ground of defence or not for such husbands in the case of such false steps, you will inquire carefully, and deliver your opinion also in regard to the difficult questions raised by us on the passage. And even he who withholds himself from his wife makes her oftentimes to be an adulteress when he does not satisfy her desires, even though he does so under the appearance of greater gravity and self-control. And perhaps this man is more culpable who, so far as it rests with him, makes her an adulteress when he does not satisfy her desires than he who, for other reason than fornication, has sent her away,-for poisoning or murder or any of the most grievous sins. But as a woman is an adulteress, even though she seem to be married to a man, while the former husband is still living, so also the man who seems to marry her who has been put away, does not so much marry her as commit adultery with her according to the declaration of our Saviour.

25. Chastity and Prayer.

Now after these things, having considered how many possible accidents may arise in marriages, which it was necessary for the man to endure and in this way suffer very great hardships, or if he did not endure, to transgress the word of Christ, the disciples say to him, taking refuge in celibacy as easier, and more expedient than marriage, though the latter appears to be expedient, "If the case of life man is so with his wife, it is not expedient to marry."198 And to this the Saviour said, teaching us that absolute chastity is a gift given by God, and not merely the fruit of training, but given by God with prayer, "All men cannot receive the saying, but they to whom it is given."199 Then seeing that some make a sophistical attack on the saying. "To whom it is given," as if those who wished to remain pure in celibacy, but were mastered by their desires, had an excuse, we must say that, if we believe the Scriptures, why at all do we lay hold of the saying, "But they to whom it is given," but no longer attend to this, "Ask and it shall be given you,"200 and to that which is added to it, "For every one that asketh receiveth"?201 For if they "to whom it is given" can receive this saying about absolute purity, let him who wills ask, obeying and believing Him who said, "Ask and it shall be given you,"202 and not doubting about the saying, "Every one that asketh receiveth."203 But when there you will inquire who it is that asketh, for no one of those who do not

receive has asked, even though he seems to have done so, since it is not lawful to say that the saying, "Every one that asketh receiveth." is a lie. Who then is he that asketh, but he who has obeyed Jesus when He says, "If ye stand praying, believe that ye receive, and ye shall receive"?204 But he that asketh must do everything in his power that he may pray "with the spirit" and pray also "with the understanding,"205 and pray "without ceasing,"206 keeping in mind also the saying, "And He spake a parable unto them to the end that they ought always to pray, and not to faint, saying, There was in a city a judge,"207 etc. And it is useful to know what it is to ask, and what it is to receive, and what is meant by "Every one that asketh, receiveth,"208 and by "I say unto you though he will not rise and give him, because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity, he will arise and give him as many as he needeth."209 It is therefore added, "And I say unto you, Ask, and it shall be given you," and so on. Further, let the saying, "All men cannot receive the saying but they to whom it is given,"210 be a stimulus to us to ask worthily of receiving; and this, "What son is there of you who shall ask his father for a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent," etc. God therefore will give the good gift, perfect purity in celibacy and chastity, to those who ask Him with the whole soul, and with faith, and in prayers without ceasing.parparpar 2: Matt. xviii. 19.

4: Gen. xxxi. 27.

9: Matt. xviii. 20.

10: Matt. vii. 14.

11: 1 Cor. i. 1.

15: Exod. vi. 24.

19: Acts iv. 32.

21: 1 Cor. v. 4 23: Or reading xwrizei , following the Vetus Inter, keeps apart.

31: Rom. x. 10.

34: Matt. xviii. 20.

35: Matt. xviii. 21.

36: Gen. iv. 23.

37: Matt. xviii. 22.

40: 1 Cor. ii. 11.

43: Matt. v. 3.

44: Rom. vi. 12.

47: Col. i. 15.

48: 1 Cor. vi. 17.

51: Luke xix. 13.

52: Matt. xxv. 27.

59: Matt. x. 42.

60: Dan. vii. 10.

61: Matt. x. 26 ; Luke xii. 2.

62: Luke xii. 58, 59.

64: Luke xix. 17.

65: Luke xix. 19. In chap. 12 Origen reads: Be thou also over five cities -as W. & H., and comments on the difference of the reward. The MSS. are therefore in error here.

67: 1 Cor. xv. 52.

74: 1 Chron. xxii. 14.

76: Matt. xviii. 26.

79: 1 Cor. ii. 10.

81: John xxi. 25.

82: Matt. xxv. 14-30.

83: Luke xix. 12-27.

86: Matt. xviii. 24.

87: 2 Cor. v. 6.

89: Luke xix. 12, 13.

95: Matt. xviii. 23.

96: Luke xix. 12.

99: Rev. xxi. 2.

101: Matt. xvii. 26, 29.

102: Matt. xviii. 31.

105: Matt. xviii. 35.

106: Luke xix. 27.

109: Mark xiv. 49; Matt. xxvi. 56.

111: teletaj . Origen's play on the words etelesen and teleth cannot be fully reproduced in English. The word teleth , in reference to the mysteries, meant the rite, or participation in the rite, by which one became perfect; and in later Christian usage it was applied to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. See Suicer.

116: Matt. xix. 2.

118: Matt. ix. 9.

121: Mark. x. 2.

129: Matt. xix. 6.

130: Gen. i. 27.

131: Gen. ii. 24.

133: Gen. iii. 16.

140: Matt. xix. 5.

144: Isa. l. 1.

146: John i. 14.

147: 1 Cor. xii. 27.

153: 1 Cor. vii. 39, 40.

156: Matt. xxvii. 21.

157: John xix. 15.

160: Isa. i. 8.

166: Deut. xxiv. 4.

167: Rom. xi. 25, 26.

169: Hos. i. 2.

171: Matt. xii. 8.

176: Cf. Her. Sim. viii. 3.

180: 1 Tim. iii. 1,2.

181: 1 Tim. iii. 12.

182: 1 Tim. v. 9.

184: Cf. Deut. xxiv. 4.

189: 1 Cor. vii. 39.

190: 1 Cor. xii. 31.

192: Matt. v. 32 193: Deut. xxiv. 1.

194: Matt. xix. 8.

195: Matt. v. 32.

200: Matt. vii. 7.

202: Matt. vii. 7.

204: Mark xi. 24, 25.

205: 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

206: 1 Thess. v. 17.

209: Luke xi. 8.

Commentary on Matthew - Book 2

Book II1 The Unity and Harmony of Scripture

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"Blessed are the peacemakers.... "2 To the man who is a peacemaker in either sense there is in the Divine oracles nothing crooked or perverse, for they are all plain to those who understand.3 And because to such an one there is nothing crooked or perverse, he sees therefore abundance of peace4 in all the Scriptures, even in those which seem to be at conflict, and in contradiction with one another. And likewise he becomes a third peacemaker as he demonstrates that that which appears to others to be a conflict in the Scriptures is no conflict, and exhibits their concord and peace, whether of the Old Scriptures with the New, or of the Law with the Prophets, or of the Gospels with the Apostolic Scriptures, or of the Apostolic Scriptures with each other. For, also, according to the Preacher, all the Scriptures are "words of the wise like goads, and as nails firmly fixed which were given by agreement from one shepherd; "5 and there is nothing superfluous in them. But l the Word is the one Shepherd of things rational which may have an appearance of discord to those who have not ears to hear, but are truly at perfect concord. For as the different chords of the psalter or the lyre, each of which gives forth a certain sound of its own which seems unlike the sound of another chord, are thought by a man who is not musical and ignorant of the principle of musical harmony, to be inharmonious, because of the dissimilarity of the sounds, so those who are not skilled in hearing the harmony of God in the sacred Scriptures think that the Old is not in harmony with the New, or the Prophets with the Law, or the Gospels with one another, or the Apostle with the Gospel, or with himself, or with the other Apostles. But he who comes instructed in the music of God, being a man wise in word and deed, and, on this account, like another David-which is, by interpretation, skilful with the hand-will bring out the sound of the music of God, having learned from this at the right time to strike the chords, now the chords of the Law, now the Gospel chords in harmony with them, and again the Prophetic chords, and, when reason demands it, the Apostolic chords which are in harmony with the Prophetic, and likewise the Apostolic with those of the Gospels. For he knows that all the Scripture is the one perfect and harmonised6 instrument of God, which from different sounds gives forth one saving voice to those willing to learn, which stops and restrains every working of an evil spirit, just as the music of David laid to rest the evil spirit in Saul, which also was choking him.7 You see, then, that he is in the third place a peacemaker, who sees in accordance with the Scripture the peace of it all, and implants this peace in those who rightly seek and make nice distinctions in a genuine spirit.

1: This fragment, which is preserved in the Philecalia, c. vi., is all that is extant of Book II.

2: Matt. v. 9.

3: Prov. viii. 8, 9.

4: Ps. lxxii.. 7.

5: Ecc. xii. 11.

6: Or, fitted.

7: 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

Commentary on Matthew - Introduction

Introduction to the Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew Introduction to the Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew

According to Eusebius (H. E. vi. 36) the Commentaries on the Gospel of Matthew were written about the same time as the Contra Celsum, when Origen was over sixty years of age, and may therefore be probably assigned to the period 246-248. This statement is confirmed by internal evidence. In the portion here translated, books x.-xiv., he passes by the verses Matt. xviii. 12, 13, and refers for the exposition of them to his Homilies on Luke (book xiii. 29). Elsewhere, he refers his readers for a fuller discussion on certain points to his Commentaries on John (book xvi. 20), and on Romans (book xvii. 32). Of the twenty-five books into which the work was divided, the first nine, with the exception of two fragments, are lost; books x.-xvii., covering the portion from Matt. xiii. 36 to xxii. 33, are extant in the Greek, and the greater part of the remaining books survives in a Latin version, which is co-extensive with the Greek from book xii. 9 to book xvii. 36, and contains further the exposition from Matt. xxii. 34 to xxvii. 66. The passages in Cramer's Catena do not seem to be taken from the Commentaries. Of the numerous quotations from Matthew only one (Matt. xxi. 35) can be definitely traced to this section of the writings of Origen; and as this differs greatly from our present text, and is moreover purely narrative, it is probably taken like the others either from the Scholia (commaticum interpretationis genus), or from the Homilies to which reference is made by Jerome (Prol. in Matt. I. iv). The majority of them may be ascribed to the Scholia. In addition to the mss. already referred to (p. 294) the old Latin version is often useful for determining the text, though it contains some interpolations and has many omissions. The omissions (cf. book xiii. 28, book xiv. x, 3, book xiv. 19-22) are not due to any dogmatic bias, but have been made by the translator or some subsequent transcriber on the ground that the passages were uninteresting or unimportant. The version is otherwise for the most part literal, and has in some cases preserved the correct reading, though it often fails just when it would have been of most service. For an estimate of the work and method of Origen as an exegete, see pp. 291-294; and for a fuller statement on some of the points here touched upon, see Westcott's article on Origen in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography (vol. iv.).

De Principiis - Book 1

Book I.

Chapter I.-On God.

Chapter II.-On Christ.

Chapter III.-On the Holy Spirit.

Chapter IV.-On Defection, or Falling Away.

Chapter V.-On Rational Natures.

Chapter VI.-On the End or Consummation.

Chapter VII.-On Incorporeal and Corporeal Beings.

Chapter VIII.-On the Angels.

Fragment from the First Book of the de Principiis.

Another Fragment from the Same.

Book I.

Chapter I.-On God.

1. I Know that some will attempt to say that, even according to the declarations of our own Scriptures, God is a body, because in the writings of Moses they find it said, that "our God is a consuming fire; "1 and in the Gospel according to John, that "God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."2 Fire and spirit, according to them, are to be regarded as nothing else than a body. Now, I should like to ask these persons what they have to say respecting that passage where it is declared that God is light; as John writes in his Epistle, "God is light, and in Him there is no darkness at all."3 Truly He is that light which illuminates the whole understanding of those who are capable of receiving truth, as is said in the Psalms 36, "In Thy light we shall see light."4 For what other light of God can be named, "in which any one sees light," save an influence of God, by which a man, being enlightened, either thoroughly sees the truth of all things, or comes to know God Himself, who is called the truth? Such is the meaning of the expression, "In Thy light we shall see light; "i.e., in Thy word and wisdom which is Thy Son, in Himself we shall see Thee the Father. Because He is called light, shall He be supposed to have any resemblance to the light of the sun? Or how should there be the slightest ground for imagining, that from that corporeal light any one could derive the cause of knowledge, and come to the understanding of the truth?

2. If, then, they acquiesce in our assertion, which reason itself has demonstrated, regarding the nature of light, and acknowledge that God cannot be understood to be a body in the sense that

light is, similar reasoning will hold true of the expression "a consuming fire." For what will God consume in respect of His being fire? Shall He be thought to consume material substance, as wood, or hay, or stubble? And what in this view can be called worthy of the glory of God, if He be a fire, consuming materials of that kind? But let us reflect that God does indeed consume and utterly destroy; that He consumes evil thoughts, wicked actions, and sinful desires, when they find their way into the minds of believers; and that, inhabiting along with His Son those souls which are rendered capable of receiving His word and wisdom, according to His own declaration," I and the Father shall come, and We shall make our abode with him? "5 He makes them, after all their vices and passions have been consumed, a holy temple, worthy of Himself. Those, moreover, who, on account of the expression "God is a Spirit," think that He is a body, are to be answered, I think, in the following manner. It is the custom of sacred Scripture, when it wishes to designate anything opposed to this gross and solid body, to call it spirit, as in the expression, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life,"6 where there can be no doubt that by "letter" are meant bodily things, and by "spirit" intellectual things, which we also term "spiritual." The apostle, moreover, says, "Even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart: nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."7 For so long as any one is not converted to a spiritual understanding, a veil is placed over his heart, with which veil, i.e., a gross understanding, Scripture itself is said or thought to be covered: and this is the meaning of the statement that a veil was placed over the countenance of Moses when he spoke to the people, i.e., when the law was publicly read aloud. But if we turn to the Lord, where also is the word of God, and where the Holy Spirit reveals spiritual knowledge, then the veil is taken away, and with unveiled face we shall behold the glory of the Lord in the holy Scriptures.

3. And since many saints participate in the Holy Spirit, He cannot therefore be understood to be a body, which being divided into corporeal parts, is partaken of by each one of the saints; but He is manifestly a sanctifying power, in which all are said to have a share who have deserved to be sanctified by His grace. And in order that what we say may be more easily understood, let us take an illustration from things very dissimilar. There are many persons who take a part in the science8 or art of medicine: are we therefore to suppose that those who do so take to themselves the particles of some body called medicine, which is placed before them, and in this way participate in the same? Or must we not rather understand that all who with quick and trained minds come to understand the art and discipline itself, may be said to be partaken of the art of healing? But these are not to be deemed altogether parallel instances in a comparison of medicine to the Holy Spirit, as they have been adduced only to establish that that is not necessarily to be considered a body, a share in which is possessed by many individuals. For the Holy Spirit differs widely from the method or science of medicine, in respect that the Holy Spirit is an intellectual existence9 and subsists and exists in a peculiar manner, whereas medicine is not at all of that nature.

4. But we must pass on to the language of the Gospel itself, in which it is declared that "God is a Spirit," and where we have to show how that is to be understood agreeably to what we have stated. For let us inquire on what occasion these words were spoken by the Saviour, before whom He uttered them, and what was the subject of investigation. We find, without any doubt, that He spoke these words to the Samaritan woman, saying to her, who thought, agreeably to the Samaritan view, that God ought to be worshipped on Mount Gerizim, that "God is a Spirit." For the Samaritan woman, believing Him to be a Jew, was inquiring of Him whether God ought to be

worshipped in Jerusalem or on this mountain; and her words were, "All our fathers worshipped on this mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where we ought to worship."10 To this opinion of the Samaritan woman, therefore, who imagined that God was less rightly or duly worshipped, according to the privileges of the different localities, either by the Jews in Jerusalem or by the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim, the Saviour answered that he who would follow the Lord must lay aside all preference for particular places, and thus expressed Himself: "The hour is coming when neither in Jerusalem nor on this mountain shall the true worshippers worship the Father. God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."11 And observe how logically He has joined together the spirit and the truth: He called God a Spirit, that He might distinguish Him from bodies; and He named Him the truth, to distinguish Him from a shadow or an image. For they who worshipped in Jerusalem worshipped God neither in truth nor in spirit, being in subjection to the shadow or image of heavenly things; and such also was the case with those who worshipped on Mount Gerizim.

5. Having refuted, then, as well as we could, every notion which might suggest that we were to think of God as in any degree corporeal, we go on to say that, according to strict truth, God is incomprehensible, and incapable of being measured.12 For whatever be the knowledge which we are able to obtain of God, either by perception or reflection, we must of necessity believe that He is by many degrees far better than what we perceive Him to be. For, as if we were to see any one unable to bear a spark of light, or the flame of a very small lamp, and were desirous to acquaint such a one, whose vision could not admit a greater degree of light than what we have stated, with the brightness and splendour of the sun, would it not be necessary to tell him that the splendour of the sun was unspeakably and incalculably better and more glorious than all this light which he saw? So our understanding, when shut in by the fetters of flesh and blood, and rendered, on account of its participation in such material substances, duller and more obtuse, although, in comparison with our bodily nature, it is esteemed to be far superior, yet, in its efforts to examine and behold incorporeal things, scarcely holds the place of a spark or lamp. But among all intelligent, that is, incorporeal beings, what is so superior to all others-so unspeakably and incalculably superior-as God, whose nature cannot be grasped or seen by the power of any human understanding, even the purest and brightest?

6. But it will not appear absurd if we employ another similitude to make the matter clearer. Our eyes frequently cannot look upon the nature of the light itself-that is, upon the substance of the sun; but when we behold his splendour or his rays pouring in, perhaps, through windows or some small openings to admit the light, we can reflect how great is the supply and source of the light of the body. So, in like manner. the works of Divine Providence and the plan of this whole world are a sort of rays, as it were, of the nature of God, in comparison with His real substance and being. As, therefore, our understanding is unable of itself to behold God Himself as He is, it knows the Father of the world from the beauty of His works and the comeliness of His creatures. God, therefore, is not to be thought of as being either a body or as existing in a body, but as an uncompounded intellectual nature,13 admitting within Himself no addition of any kind; so that He cannot be believed to have within him a greater and a less, but is such that He is in all parts Mona/j, and, so to speak, 9Ena/j, and is the mind and source from which all intellectual nature or mind takes its beginning. But mind, for its movements or operations, needs no physical space, nor sensible magnitude, nor bodily shape, nor colour, nor any other of those adjuncts which are the properties

of body or matter. Wherefore that simple and wholly intellectual nature14 can admit of no delay or hesitation in its movements or operations, lest the simplicity of the divine nature should appear to be circumscribed or in some degree hampered by such adjuncts, and lest that which is the beginning of all things should be found composite and differing, and that which ought to be free from all bodily intermixture, in virtue of being the one sole species of Deity, so to speak, should prove, instead of being one, to consist of many things. That mind, moreover, does not require space in order to carry on its movements agreeably to its nature, is certain from observation of our own mind. For if the mind abide within its own limits, and sustain no injury from any cause, it will never, from diversity of situation, be retarded in the discharge of its functions; nor, on the other hand, does it gain any addition or increase of mobility from the nature of particular places. And here, if any one were to object, for example, that among those who are at sea, and tossed by its waves the mind is considerably less vigorous than it is wont to be on land, we are to believe that it is in this state, not from diversity of situation, but from the commotion or disturbance of the body to which the mind is joined or attached. For it seems to be contrary to nature, as it were, for a human body to live at sea; and for that reason it appears, by a sort of inequality of its own, to enter upon its mental operations in a slovenly and irregular manner, and to perform the acts of the intellect with a duller sense, in as great degree as those who on land are prostrated with fever; with respect to whom it is certain, that if the. mind do not discharge its functions as well as before, in consequence of the attack of disease, the blame is to be laid not upon the place, but upon the bodily malady, by which the body, being disturbed and disordered, renders to the mind its customary services under by no means the well-known and natural conditions: for we human beings are animals composed of a union of body and soul, and in this way (only) was it possible for us to live upon the earth. But God, who is the beginning of all things, is not to be regarded as a composite being, lest perchance there should be found to exist elements prior to the beginning itself, out of which everything is composed, whatever that be which is called composite. Neither does the mind require bodily magnitude in order to perform any act or movement; as when the eye by gazing upon bodies of larger size is dilated, but is compressed and contracted in order to see smaller objects. The mind, indeed, requires magnitude of an intellectual kind, because it grows, not after the fashion of a body, but after that of intelligence. For the mind is not enlarged, together with the body, by means of corporal additions, up to the twentieth or thirtieth year of life; but the intellect is sharpened by exercises of learning, and the powers implanted within it for intelligent purposes are called forth; and it is rendered capable of greater intellectual efforts, not being increased by bodily additions, but carefully polished by learned exercises. But these it cannot receive immediately from boyhood, or from birth, because the framework of limbs which the mind employs as organs for exercising itself is weak and feeble; and it is unable to bear the weight of its own operations, or to exhibit a capacity for receiving training.

7. If there are any now who think that the mind itself and the soul is a body, I wish they Would tell me by way of answer how it receives reasons and assertions on subjects of such importance- of such difficulty and such subtlety? Whence does it derive the power of memory? and whence comes the contemplation of invisible15 things? How does the body possess the faculty of understanding incorporeal existences? How does a bodily nature investigate the processes of the various arts, and contemplate the reasons of things? How, also, is it able to perceive and understand divine truths, which are manifestly incorporeal? Unless, indeed, some should happen to be of opinion, that as the very bodily shape and form of the ears or eyes contributes something

to hearing and to sight, and as the individual members, formed by God, have some adaptation, even from the very quality of their form, to the end for which they were naturally appointed; so also he may think that the shape of the soul or mind is to be understood as if created purposely and designedly for perceiving and understanding individual things, and for being set in motion by vital movements. I do not perceive, however, who shall be able to describe or state what is the colour of the mind, in respect of its being mind, and acting as an intelligent existence. Moreover, in confirmation and explanation of what we have already advanced regarding the mind or soul-to the effect that it is better than the whole bodily nature-the following remarks may be added. There underlies every bodily sense a certain peculiar sensible substance,16 on which the bodily sense exerts itself. For example, colours, form, size, underlie vision; voices and sound, the sense of hearing; odours, good or bad, that of smell; savours, that of taste; heat or cold, hardness or softness, roughness or smoothness, that of touch. Now, of those senses enumerated above, it is manifest to all that the sense of mind is much the best. How, then, should it not appear absurd, that under those senses which are inferior, substances should have been placed on which to exert their powers, but that under this power, which is far better than any other, i.e., the sense of mind, nothing at all of the nature of a substance should be placed, but that a power of an intellectual nature should be an accident, or consequent upon bodies? Those who assert this, doubtless do so to the disparagement of that better substance which is within them; nay, by so doing, they even do wrong to God Himself, when they imagine He may be understood by means of a bodily nature, so that according to their view He is a body, and that which may be understood or perceived by means of a body; and they are unwilling to have it understood that the mind bears a certain relationship to God, of whom the mind itself is an intellectual image, and that by means of this it may come to some knowledge of the nature of divinity, especially if it be purified and separated from bodily matter.

8. But perhaps these declarations may seem to have less weight with those who wish to be instructed in divine things out of the holy Scriptures, and who seek to have it proved to them from that source how the nature of God surpasses the nature of bodies. See, therefore, if the apostle does not say the same thing, when, speaking of Christ, he declares, that" He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature."17 Not, as some suppose, that the nature of God is visible to some and invisible to others: for the apostle does not say "the image of God invisible" to men or "invisible" to sinners, but with unvarying constancy pronounces on the nature of God in these words: "the image of the invisible God." Moreover, John, in his Gospel, when asserting that "no one hath seen God at any time,"18 manifestly declares to all who are capable of understanding, that there is no nature to which God is visible: not as if, He were a being who was visible by nature, and merely escaped or baffled the view of a frailer creature, but because by the nature of His being it is impossible for Him to be seen. And if you should ask of me what is my opinion regarding the Only-begotten Himself, whether the nature of God, which is naturally invisible, be not visible even to Him, let not such a question appear to you at once to be either absurd or impious, because we shall give you a logical reason. It is one thing to see, and another to know: to see and to be seen is a property of bodies; to know and to be known, an attribute of intellectual being. Whatever, therefore, is a property of bodies, cannot be predicated either of the Father or of the Son; but what belongs to the nature of deity is common to the Father and the Son.19 Finally, even He Himself, in the Gospel, did not say that no one has seen the Father, save the Son, nor any one the Son, save the Father; but His words are: "No one knoweth the Son, save

the Father; nor any one the Father, save the Son."20 By which it is clearly shown, that whatever among bodily natures is called seeing and being seen, is termed, between the Father and the Son, a knowing and being known, by means of the power of knowledge, not by the frailness of the sense of sight. Because, then, neither seeing nor being seen can be properly applied to an incorporeal and invisible nature, neither is the Father, in the Gospel, said to be seen by the Son, nor the Son by the Father, but the one is said to be known by the other.

9. Here, if any one lay before us the passage where it is said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God,"21 from that very passage, in my opinion, will our position derive additional strength; for what else is seeing God in heart, but, according to our exposition as above, understanding and knowing Him with the mind? For the names of the organs of sense are frequently applied to the soul, so that it may be said to see with the eyes of the heart, i.e., to perform an intellectual act by means of the power of intelligence. So also it is said to hear with the ears when it perceives the deeper meaning of a statement. So also we say that it makes use of teeth, when it chews and eats the bread of life which cometh down from heaven. In like manner, also, it is said to employ the services of other members, which are transferred from their bodily appellations, and applied to the powers of the soul, according to the words of Solomon, "You will find a divine sense."22 For he knew that there were within us two kinds of senses: the one mortal, corruptible, human; the other immortal and intellectual, which he now termed divine. By this divine sense, therefore, not of the eyes, but of a pure heart, which is the mind, God may be seen by those who are worthy. For you will certainly find in all the Scriptures, both old and new, the term "heart" repeatedly used instead of "mind," i.e., intellectual power. In this manner, therefore, although far below the dignity of the subject, have we spoken of the nature of God, as those who understand it under the limitation of the human understanding. In the next place, let us see what is meant by the name of Christ.

Chapter II.-On Christ.

1. In the first place, we must note that the nature of that deity which is in Christ in respect of His being the only-begotten Son of God is one thing, and that human nature which He assumed in these last times for the purposes of the dispensation (of grace) is another. And therefore we have first to ascertain what the only-begotten Son of God is, seeing He is called by many different names, according to the circumstances and views of individuals. For He is termed Wisdom, according to the expression of Solomon: "The Lord created me-the beginning of His ways, and among His works, before He made any other thing; He rounded me before the ages. In the beginning, before He formed the earth, before He brought forth the fountains of waters, before the mountains were made strong, before all the hills, He brought me forth."23 He is also styled First-born, as the apostle has declared: "who is the first-born of every creature."24 The first-born, however, is not by nature a different person from the Wisdom, but one and the same. Finally, the Apostle Paul says that "Christ (is) the power of God and the wisdom of God."25

2. Let no one, however, imagine that we mean anything impersonal26 when we call Him the wisdom of God; or suppose, for example, that we understand Him to be, not a living being endowed with wisdom, but something which makes men wise, giving itself to, and implanting itself in, the minds of those who are made capable of receiving His virtues and intelligence. If, then, it is once rightly understood that the only-begotten Son of God is His wisdom hypostatically27 existing,

I know not whether our curiosity ought to advance beyond this, or entertain any suspicion that that u9po/stasij or substantia contains anything of a bodily nature, since everything that is corporeal is distinguished either by form, or colour, or magnitude. And who in his sound senses ever sought for form, or colour, or size, in wisdom, in respect of its being wisdom? And who that is capable of entertaining reverential thoughts or feelings regarding God, can suppose or believe that God the Father ever existed, even for a moment of time,28 without having generated this Wisdom? For in that case he must say either that God was unable to generate Wisdom before He produced her, so that He afterwards called into being her who formerly did not exist, or that He possessed the power indeed, but-what cannot be said of God without impiety-was unwilling to use it; both of which suppositions, it is patent to all, are alike absurd and impious: for they amount to this, either that God advanced from a condition of inability to one of ability, or that, although possessed of the power, He concealed it, and delayed the generation of Wisdom. Wherefore we have always held that God is the Father of His only-begotten Son, who was born indeed of Him, and derives from Him what He is, but without any beginning, not only such as may be measured by any divisions of time, but even that which the mind alone can contemplate within itself, or behold, so to speak, with the naked powers of the understanding. And therefore we must believe that Wisdom was generated before any beginning that can be either comprehended or expressed. And since all the creative power of the coming creation29 was included in this very existence of Wisdom (whether of those things which have an original or of those which have a derived existence), having been formed beforehand and arranged by the power of foreknowledge; on account of these very creatures which had been described, as it were, and prefigured in Wisdom herself, does Wisdom say, in the words of Solomon, that she was created the beginning of the ways of God, inasmuch as she contained within herself either the beginnings, or forms, or species of all creation.

3. Now, in the same way in which we have understood that Wisdom was the beginning of the ways of God, and is said to be created, forming beforehand and containing within herself the species and beginnings of all creatures, must we understand her to be the Word of God, because of her disclosing to all other beings, i.e., to universal creation, the nature of the mysteries and secrets which are contained within the divine wisdom; and on this account she is called the Word, because she is, as it were, the interpreter of the secrets of the mind. And therefore that language which is found in the Acts of Paul,30 where it is said that "here is the Word a living being," appears to me to be rightly used. John, however, with more sublimity and propriety, says in the beginning of his Gospel, when defining God by a special definition to be the Word, "And God was the Word,31 and this was in the beginning with God." Let him, then, who assigns a beginning to the Word or Wisdom of God, take care that he be not guilty of impiety against the unbegotten Father Himself, seeing he denies that He had always been a Father, and had generated the Word, and had possessed wisdom in all preceding periods, whether they be called times or ages, or anything else that can be so entitled.

4. This Son, accordingly, is also the truth and life of all things which exist. And with reason. For how could those things which were created live, unless they derived their being from life? or how could those things which are, truly exist, unless they came down from the truth? or how could rational beings exist, unless the Word or reason had previously existed? or how could they be wise, unless there were wisdom? But since it was to come to pass that some also should fall away from life, and bring death upon themselves by their declension-for death is nothing else than a

departure from life-and as it was not to follow that those beings which had once been created by God for the enjoyment of life should utterly perish, it was necessary that, before death, there should be in existence such a power as would destroy the coming death, and that there should be a resurrection, the type of which was in our Lord and Saviour, and that this resurrection should have its ground in the wisdom and word and life of God. And then, in the next place, since some of those who were created were not to be always willing to remain unchangeable and unalterable in the calm and moderate enjoyment of the blessings which they possessed, but, in consequence of the good which was in them being theirs not by nature or essence, but by accident, were to be perverted and changed, and to fall away from their position, therefore was the Word and Wisdom of God made the Way. And it was so termed because it leads to the Father those who walk along it.

Whatever, therefore, we have predicated of the wisdom of God, will be appropriately applied and understood of the Son of God, in virtue of His being the Life, and the Word, and the Truth and the Resurrection: for all these titles are derived from His power and operations, and in none of them is there the slightest ground for understanding anything of a corporeal nature which might seem to denote either size, or form, or colour; for those children of men which appear among us, or those descendants of other living beings, correspond to the seed of those by whom they were begotten, or derive from those mothers, in whose wombs they are formed and nourished, whatever that is, which they bring into this life, and carry with them when they are born.32 But it is monstrous and unlawful to compare God the Father, in the generation of His only-begotten Son, and in the substance33 of the same, to any man or other living thing engaged in such an act; for we must of necessity hold that there is something exceptional and worthy of God which does not admit of any comparison at all, not merely in things, but which cannot even be conceived by thought or discovered by perception, so that a human mind should be able to apprehend how the unbegotten God is made the Father of the only-begotten Son. Because His generation is as eternal and everlasting as the brilliancy which is produced from the sun. For it is not by receiving the34 breath of life that He is made a Son, by any outward act, but by His own nature.

5. Let us now ascertain how those statements which we have advanced are supported by the authority of holy Scripture. The Apostle Paul says, that the only-begotten Son is the "image of the invisible God," and "the first-born of every creature."35 And when writing to the Hebrews, he says of Him that He is "the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His person."36 Now, we find in the treatise called the Wisdom of Solomon the following description of the wisdom of God: "For she is the breath of the power of God, and the purest efflux37 of the glory of the Almighty."38 Nothing that is polluted can therefore come upon her. For she is the splendour of the eternal light, and the stainless mirror of God's working, and the image of His goodness. Now we say, as before, that Wisdom has her existence nowhere else save in Him who is the beginning of all things: from whom also is derived everything that is wise, because He Himself is the only one who is by nature a Son, and is therefore termed the Only-begotten.

6. Let us now see how we are to understand the expression "invisible image," that we may in this way perceive how God is rightly called the Father of His Son; and let us, in the first place, draw our conclusions from what are customarily called images among men. That is sometimes called an image which is painted or sculptured on some material substance, such as wood or stone; and sometimes a child is called the image of his parent, when the features of the child in no respect

belie their resemblance to the father. I think, therefore, that that man who was formed after the image and likeness of God may be fittingly compared to the first illustration. Respecting him, however, we shall see more precisely, God willing, when we come to expound the passage in Genesis. But the image of the Son of God, of whom we are now speaking, may be compared to the second of the above examples, even in respect of this, that He is the invisible image of the invisible God, in the same manner as we say, according to the sacred history, that the image of Adam is his son Seth. The words are, "And Adam begat Seth in his own likeness, and after his own image."39 Now this image contains the unity of nature and substance belonging to Father and Son. For if the Son do, in like manner, all those things which the Father doth, then, in virtue of the Son doing all things like the Father, is the image of the Father formed in the Son, who is born of Him, like an act of His will proceeding from the mind. And I am therefore of opinion that the will of the Father ought alone to be sufficient for the existence of that which He wishes to exist. For in the exercise of His wilt He employs no other way than that which is made known by the counsel of His will. And thus also the existence40 of the Son is generated by Him. For this point must above all others be maintained by those who allow nothing to be unbegotten, i.e., unborn, save God the Father only. And we must be careful not to fall into the absurdities of those who picture to themselves certain emanations, so as to divide the divine nature into parts, and who divide God the Father as far as they can, since even to entertain the remotest suspicion of such a thing regarding an incorporeal being is not only the height of impiety, but a mark of the greatest folly, it being most remote from any intelligent conception that there should be any physical division of any incorporeal nature. Rather, therefore, as an act of the will proceeds from the understanding, and neither cuts off any part nor is separated or divided from it, so after some such fashion is the Father to be supposed as having begotten the Son, His own image; namely, so that, as He is Himself invisible by nature, He also begat an image that was invisible. For the Son is the Word, and therefore we are not to understand that anything in Him is cognisable by the senses. He is wisdom, and in wisdom there can be no suspicion of anything corporeal. He is the true light, which enlightens every man that cometh into this world; but He has nothing in common with the light of this sun. Our Saviour, therefore, is the image of the invisible God, inasmuch as compared with the Father Himself He is the truth: and as compared with us, to whom He reveals the Father, He is the image by which we come to the knowledge of the Father, whom no one knows save the Son, and he to whom the Son is pleased to reveal Him. And the method of revealing Him is through the understanding. For He by whom the Son Himself is understood, understands, as a consequence, the Father also, according to His own words: "He that hath seen Me, hath seen the Father also."41

7. But since we quoted the language of Paul regarding Christ, where He says of Him that He is "the brightness of the glory of God, and the express figure of His person,"42 let us see what idea we are to form of this. According to John, "God is light." The only-begotten Son, therefore, is the glory of this light, proceeding inseparably from (God) Himself, as brightness does from light, and illuminating the whole of creation. For, agreeably to what we have already explained as to the manner in which He is the Way, and conducts to the Father; and in which He is the Word, interpreting the secrets of wisdom, and the mysteries of knowledge, making them known to the rational creation; and is also the Truth, and the Life, and the Resurrection,-in the same way ought we to understand also the meaning of His being the brightness: for it is by its splendour that we understand and feel what light itself is. And this splendour, presenting itself gently and softly to the frail and weak eyes of mortals, and gradually training, as it were, and accustoming them to bear

the brightness of the light, when it has put away from them every hindrance and obstruction to vision, according to the Lord's own precept," Cast forth the beam out of thine eye,"43 renders them capable of enduring the splendour of the light, being made in this respect also a sort of mediator between men and the light.

8. But since He is called by the apostle not only the brightness of His glory, but also the express figure of His person or subsistence,44 it does not seem idle to inquire how there can be said to be another figure of that person besides the person of God Himself, whatever be the meaning of person and subsistence. Consider, then, whether the Son of God, seeing He is His Word and Wisdom, and alone knows the Father, and reveals Him to whom He will (i.e., to those who are capable of receiving His word and wisdom), may not, in regard of this very point of making God to be understood and acknowledged, be called the figure of His person and subsistence; that is, when that Wisdom, which desires to make known to others the means by which God is acknowledged and understood by them, describes Himself first of all, it may by so doing be called the express figure of the person of God. In order, however, to arrive at a fuller understanding of the manner in which the Saviour is the figure of the person or subsistence of God, let us take an instance, which, although it does not describe the subject of which we are treating either fully or appropriately, may nevertheless be seen to be employed for this purpose only, to show that the Son of God, who was in the form of God, divesting Himself (of His glory), makes it His object, by this very divesting of Himself, to demonstrate to us the fulness of His deity. For instance, suppose that there were a statue of so enormous a size as to fill the whole world, and which on that account could be seen by no one; and that another statue were formed altogether resembling it in the shape of the limbs, and in the features of the countenance, and in form and material, but without the same immensity of size, so that those who were unable to behold the one of enormous proportions, should, on seeing the latter, acknowledge that they had seen the former, because it preserved all the features of its limbs and countenance, and even the very form and material, so closely, as to be altogether undistinguishable from it; by some such similitude, the Son of God, divesting Himself of His equality with the Father, and showing to us the way to the knowledge of Him, is made the express image of His person: so that we, who were unable to look upon the glory of that marvellous light when placed in the greatness of His Godhead, may, by His being made to us brightness, obtain the means of beholding the divine light by looking upon the brightness. This comparison, of course, of statues, as belonging to material things, is employed for no other purpose than to show that the Son of God, though placed in the very insignificant form of a human body, in consequence of the resemblance of His works and power to the Father, showed that there was in Him an immense and invisible greatness, inasmuch as He said to His disciples, "He who sees Me, sees the Father also; "and, "I and the Father are one." And to these belong also the similar expression, "The Father is in Me, and I in the Father."

9. Let us see now what is the meaning of the expression which is found in the Wisdom of Solomon, where it is said of Wisdom that "it is a kind of breath of the power of God, and the purest efflux of the glory of the Omnipotent, and the splendour of eternal light, and the spotless mirror of the working or power of God, and the image of His goodness."45 These, then, are the definitions which he gives of God, pointing out by each one of them certain attributes which belong to the Wisdom of God, calling wisdom the power, and the glory, and the everlasting light, and the working, and the goodness of God. He does not say, however, that wisdom is the breath of the

glory of the Almighty, nor of the everlasting light, nor of the working Of the Father, nor of His goodness, for it was not appropriate that breath should be ascribed to any one of these; but, with all propriety, he says that wisdom is the breath of the power of God. Now, by the power of God is to be understood that by which He is strong; by which He appoints, restrains, and governs all things visible and invisible; which is sufficient for all those things which He rules over in His providence; among all which He is present, as if one individual. And although the breath of all this mighty and immeasurable power, and the vigour itself produced, so to speak, by its own existence, proceed from the power itself, as the will does from the mind, yet even this will of God is nevertheless made to become the power of God.46

Another power accordingly is produced, which exists with properties of its own,-a kind of breath, as Scripture says, of the primal and unbegotten power of God, deriving from Him its being, and never at any time non-existent. For if any one were to assert that it did not formerly exist, but came afterwards into existence, let him explain the reason why the Father, who gave it being, did not do so before. And if he shall grant that there was once a beginning, when that breath proceeded from the power of God, we shall ask him again, why not even before the beginning, which he has allowed; and in this way, ever demanding an earlier date, and going upwards with our interrogations, we shall arrive at this conclusion, that as God was always possessed of power and will, there never was any reason of propriety or otherwise, why He may not have always possessed that blessing which He desired. By which it is shown that that breath of God's power always existed, having no beginning save God Himself. Nor was it fitting that there should be any other beginning save God Himself, from whom it derives its birth. And according to the expression of the apostle, that Christ "is the power of God,"47 it ought to be termed not only the breath of the power of God, but power out of power.

10. Let us now examine the expression, "Wisdom is the purest efflux of the glory of the Almighty; "and let us first consider what the glory of the omnipotent God is, and then we shall also understand what is its efflux. As no one can be a father without having a son, nor a master without possessing a servant, so even God cannot be called omnipotent unless there exist those over whom He may exercise His power; and therefore, that God may be shown to be almighty, it is necessary that all things should exist. For if any one would have some ages or portions of time, or whatever else he likes to call them, to have passed away, while those things which were afterwards made did not yet exist, he would undoubtedly show that during those ages or periods God was not omnipotent, but became so afterwards, viz., from the time that He began to have persons over whom to exercise power; and in this way He will appear to have received a certain increase, and to have risen from a lower to a higher condition; since there can be no doubt that it is better for Him to be omnipotent than not to be so. And now how can it appear otherwise than absurd, that when God possessed none of those things which it was befitting for Him to possess, He should afterwards, by a kind of progress, come into the possession of them? But if there never was a time when He was not omnipotent, of necessity those things by which He receives that title must also exist; and He must always have had those over whom He exercised power, and which were governed by Him either as king or prince, of which we shall speak more fully in the proper place, when we come to discuss the subject of the creatures. But even now I think it necessary to drop a word, although cursorily, of warning, since the question before us is, how wisdom is the purest efflux of the glory of the Almighty, lest any one should think that the title of Omnipotent was

anterior in God to the birth of Wisdom, through whom He is called Father, seeing that Wisdom, which is the Son of God, is the purest efflux of the glory of the Almighty. Let him who is inclined to entertain this suspicion hear the undoubted declaration of Scripture pronouncing, "In wisdom hast Thou made them all,"48 and the teaching of the Gospel, that "by Him were all things made, and without Him nothing was made; "49 and let him understand from this that the title of Omnipotent in God cannot be older than that of Father; for it is through the Son that the Father is almighty. But from the expression "glory of the Almighty," of which glory Wisdom is the efflux, this is to be understood, that Wisdom, through which God is called omnipotent, has a share in the glory of the Almighty. For through Wisdom, which is Christ, God has power over all things, not only by the authority of a ruler, but also by the voluntary obedience of subjects. And that you may understand that the omnipotence of Father and Son is one and the same, as God and the Lord are one and the same with the Father, listen to the manner in which John speaks in the Apocalypse: "Thus saith the Lord God, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty."50 For who else was "He which is to come" than Christ? And as no one ought to be offended, seeing God is the Father, that the Saviour is also God; so also, since the Father is called omnipotent, no one ought to be offended that the Son of God is also cared omnipotent. For in this way will that saying be true which He utters to the Father, "All Mine are Thine, and Thine are Mine, and I am glorified in them."51 Now, if all things which are the Father's are also Christ's, certainly among those things which exist is the omnipotence of the Father; and doubtless the only-begotten Son ought to be omnipotent, that the Son also may have all things which the Father possesses. "And I am glorified in them," He declares. For "at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and every tongue shall confess that the Lord Jesus is in the glory of God the Father."52 Therefore He is the efflux of the glory of God in this respect, that He is omnipotent-the pure and limpid Wisdom herself-glorified as the efflux of omnipotence or of glory. And that it may be more clearly understood what the glory of omnipotence is, we shall add the following. God the Father is omnipotent, because He has power over all things, i.e., over heaven and earth, sun, moon, and stars, and all things in them. And He exercises His power over them by means of His Word, because at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, both of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth. And if every knee is bent to Jesus, then, without doubt, it is Jesus to whom all things are subject, and He it is who exercises power over all things, and through whom all things are subject to the Father; for through wisdom, i.e., by word and reason, not by force and necessity, are all things subject. And therefore His glory consists in this very thing, that He possesses all things, and this is the purest and most limpid glory of omnipotence, that by reason and wisdom, not by force and necessity, all things are subject. Now the purest and most limpid glory of wisdom is a convenient expression to distinguish it from that glory which cannot be called pure and sincere. But every nature which is convertible and changeable, although glorified in the works of righteousness or wisdom, yet by the fact that righteousness or wisdom are accidental qualifies, and because that which is accidental may also fall away, its glory cannot be called sincere and pure. But the Wisdom of God, which is His only-begotten Son, being in all respects incapable of change or alteration, and every good quality in Him being essential, and such as cannot be changed and converted, His glory is therefore declared to be pure and sincere.

11. In the third place, wisdom is called the splendour of eternal light. The force of this expression we have explained in the preceding pages, when we introduced the similitude of the sun and the

splendour of its rays, and showed to the best of our power how this should be understood. To what we then said we shall add only the following remark. That is properly termed everlasting or eternal which neither had a beginning of existence, nor can ever cease to be what it is. And this is the idea conveyed by John when he says that "God is light." Now His wisdom is the splendour of that light, not only in respect of its being light, but also of being everlasting light, so that His wisdom is eternal and everlasting splendour. If this be fully understood, it clearly shows that the existence of the Son is derived from the Father but not in time, nor from any other beginning, except, as we have said, from God Himself.

12. But wisdom is also called the stainless mirror of the e0ne/rgeia or working of God. We must first understand, then, what the working of the power of God is. It is a sort of vigour, so to speak, by which God operates either in creation, or in providence, or in judgment, or in the disposal and arrangement of individual things, each in its season. For as the image formed in a mirror unerringly reflects all the acts and movements of him who gazes on it, so would Wisdom have herself to be understood when she is called the stainless mirror of the power and working of the Father: as the Lord Jesus Christ also, who is the Wisdom of God, declares of Himself when He says, "The works which the Father doeth, these also doeth the Son likewise."53 And again He says, that the Son cannot do anything of Himself, save what He sees the Father do. As therefore the Son in no respect differs from the Father in the power of His works, and the work of the Son is not a different thing from that of the Father, but one and the same movement, so to speak, is in all things, He therefore named Him a stainless mirror, that by such an expression it might be understood that them is no dissimilarity whatever between the Son and the Father. How, indeed, can those things which are said by some to be done after the manner in which a disciple resembles or imitates his master, or according to the view that those things are made by the Son in bodily material which were first formed by the Father in their spiritual essence, agree with the declarations of Scripture, seeing in the Gospel the Son is said to do not similar things, but the same things in a similar manner?

13. It remains that we inquire what is the "image of His goodness; "and here, I think, we must understand the same thing which we expressed a little ago, in speaking of the image formed by the mirror. For He is the primal goodness, doubtless, out of which the Son is born, who, being in all respects the image of the Father, may certainly also be called with propriety the image of His goodness. For there is no other second goodness existing in the Son, save that which is in the Father. And therefore also the Saviour Himself rightly says in the Gospel, "Them is none good save one only, God the Father,"54 that by such an expression it may be understood that the Son is not of a different goodness, but of that only which exists in the Father, of whom He is tightly termed the image, because He proceeds from no other source but from that primal goodness, lest there might appear to be in the Son a different goodness from that which is in the Father. Nor is there any dissimilarity or difference of goodness in the Son. And therefore it is not to be imagined that there is a kind of blasphemy, as it were, in the words, "There is none good save one only, God the Father," as if thereby it may be supposed to be denied that either Christ or the Holy Spirit was good. But, as we have already said, the primal goodness is to be understood as residing in God the Father, from whom both the Son is born and the Holy Spirit proceeds, retaining within them, without any doubt, the nature of that goodness which is in the source whence they are derived. And if there be any other things which in Scripture are called good, whether angel, or man, or

servant, or treasure, or a good heart, or a good tree, all these are so termed catachrestically,55 having in them an accidental, not an essential goodness. But it would require both much time and labour to collect together all the titles of the Son of God, such, e.g., as the true light, or the door, or the righteousness, or the sanctification, or the redemption, and countless others; and to show if or what reasons each one of them is so given. Satisfied, therefore, with what we have already advanced, we go on with our inquiries into those other matters which follow.

Chapter III.-On the Holy Spirit.

1. The next point is to investigate as briefly as possible the subject of the Holy Spirit. All who perceive, in whatever manner, the existence of Providence, confess that God, who created and disposed all things, is unbegotten, and recognise Him as the parent of the universe. Now, that to Him belongs a Son, is a statement not made by us only; although it may seem a sufficiently marvellous and incredible assertion to those who have a reputation as philosophers among Greeks and Barbarians, by some of whom, however, an idea of His existence seems to have been entertained, in their acknowledging that all things were created by the word or reason of God. We, however, in conformity with our belief in that doctrine, which we assuredly hold to be divinely inspired, believe that it is possible in no other way to explain and bring within the reach of human knowledge this higher and diviner reason as the Son of God, than by means of those Scriptures alone which were inspired by the Holy Spirit, i.e., the Gospels and Epistles, and the law and the prophets, according to the declaration of Christ Himself. Of the existence of the Holy Spirit no one indeed could entertain any suspicion, save those who were familiar with the law and the prophets, or those who profess a belief in Christ. For although no one is able to speak with certainty of God the Father, it is nevertheless possible for some knowledge of Him to be gained by means of the visible creation and the natural feelings of the human mind; and it is possible, moreover, for such knowledge to be confined from the sacred Scriptures. But with respect to the Son of God, although no one knoweth the Son save the Father, yet it is from sacred Scripture also that the human mind is taught how to think of the Son; and that not only from the New, but also from the Old Testament, by means of those things which, although done by the saints, are figuratively referred to Christ, and from which both His divine nature, and that human nature which was assumed by Him, may be discovered.

2. Now, what the Holy Spirit is, we are taught in many passages of Scripture, as by David in the Psalms 51, when he says, "And take not Thy Holy Spirit from me; "56 and by Daniel, where it is Said, "The Holy Spirit which is in thee."57 And in the New Testament we have abundant testimonies, as when the Holy Spirit is described as having descended upon Christ, and when the Lord breathed upon His apostles after His resurrection, saying, "Receive the Holy Spirit; "58 and the saying of the angel to Mary, "The Holy Spirit will come upon thee; "59 the declaration by Paul, that no one can call Jesus Lord, save by the Holy Spirit.60 In the Acts of the Apostles, the Holy Spirit was given by the imposition of the apostles' hands in baptism.61 From all which we learn that the person of the Holy Spirit was of such authority and dignity, that saving baptism was not complete except by the authority of the most excellent Trinity of them all, i.e., by the naming of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and by joining to the unbegotten God the Father, and to His only-begotten Son, the name also of the Holy Spirit. Who, then, is not amazed at the exceeding majesty of the Holy Spirit, when he hears that he who speaks a word against the Son of man may hope for forgiveness; but that he who is guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit has not

forgiveness, either in the present world or in that which is to come![62]

3. That all things were created by God, and that there is no creature which exists but has derived from Him its being, is established from many declarations of Scripture; those assertions being refuted and rejected which are falsely alleged by some respecting the existence either of a matter co-eternal with God, or of unbegotten souls, in which they would have it that God implanted not so much the power of existence, as equality and order. For even in that little treatise called The Pastor or Angel of Repentance, composed by Hennas, we have the following: "First of all, believe that there is one God who created and arranged all things; who, when nothing formerly existed, caused all things to be; who Himself contains all things, but Himself is contained by none."[63] And in the book of Enoch also we have similar descriptions. But up to the present time we have been able to find no statement in holy Scripture in which the Holy Spirit could be said to be made or created,[64] not even in the way in which we have shown above that the divine wisdom is spoken of by Solomon, or in which those expressions which we have discussed are to be understood of the life, or the word, or the other appellations of the Son of God. The Spirit of God, therefore, which was borne upon the waters, as is written in the beginning of the creation of the world, is, I am of opinion, no other than the Holy Spirit, so far as I can understand; as indeed we have shown in our exposition of the passages themselves, not according to the historical, but according to the spiritual method of interpretation.

4. Some indeed of our predecessors have observed, that in the New Testament, whenever the Spirit is named without that adjunct which denotes quality, the Holy Spirit is to be understood; as e.g., in the expression, "Now the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, and peace; "[65] and, "Seeing ye began in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect in the flesh? "[66] We are of opinion that this distinction may be observed in the Old Testament also, as when it is said, "He that giveth His Spirit to the people who are upon the earth, and Spirit to them who walk thereon."[67] For, · without doubt, every one who walks upon the earth (i.e., earthly and corporeal beings) is a partaker also of the Holy Spirit, receiving it from God. My Hebrew master also used to say that those two seraphim in Isaiah, which are described as having each six wings, and calling to one another, and saying, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Loan God of hosts,"[68] were to be understood of the only-begotten Son of God and of the Holy Spirit. And we think that that expression also which occurs in the hymn of Habakkuk, "In the midst either of the two living things, or of the two lives, Thou wilt be known,"[69] ought to be understood of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. For all knowledge of the Father is obtained by revelation of the Son through the Holy Spirit, so that both of these beings which, according to the prophet, are called either "living things" or "lives," exist as the ground of the knowledge of God the Father. For as it is said of the Son, that "no one knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him,"[70] the same also is said by the apostle of the Holy Spirit, when He declares, "God hath revealed them to us by His Holy Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God; "[71] and again in the Gospel, when the Saviour, speaking of the divine and profounder parts of His teaching, which His disciples were not yet able to receive, thus addresses them: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; but when the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, is come, He will teach you all things, and will bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you."[72] We must understand, therefore, that as the Son, who alone knows the Father, reveals Him to whom He will, so the Holy Spirit, who alone searches the deep things of God, reveals God to whom He will: "For the Spirit bloweth where He

listeth."73 We are not, however, to suppose that the Spirit derives His knowledge through revelation from the Son. For if the Holy Spirit knows the Father through the Son's revelation, He passes from a state of ignorance into one of knowledge; but it is alike impious and foolish to confess the Holy Spirit, and yet to ascribe to Him ignorance. For even although something else existed before the Holy Spirit, it was not by progressive advancement that He came to be the Holy Spirit; as if any one should venture to say, that at the time when He was not yet the Holy Spirit He was ignorant of the Father, but that after He had received knowledge He was made the Holy Spirit. For if this were the case, the Holy Spirit would never be reckoned in the Unity of the Trinity, i.e., along with the unchangeable Father and His Son, unless He had always been the Holy Spirit. When we use, indeed, such terms as "always" or "was," or any other designation of time, they are not to be taken absolutely, but with due allowance; for while the significations of these words relate to time, and those subjects of which we speak are spoken of by a stretch of language as existing in time, they nevertheless surpass in their real nature all conception of the finite understanding.

5. Nevertheless it seems proper to inquire what is the reason why he who is regenerated by God unto salvation has to do both with Father and Son and Holy Spirit, and does not obtain salvation unless with the co-operation of the entire Trinity; and why it is impossible to become partaker of the Father or the Son without the Holy Spirit. And in discussing these subjects, it will undoubtedly be necessary to describe the special working of the Holy Spirit, and of the Father and the Son. I am of opinion, then, that the working of the Father and of the Son takes place as well in saints as in sinners, in rational beings and in dumb animals; nay, even in those things which are without life, and in all things universally which exist; but that the operation of the Holy Spirit does not take place at all in those things which are without life, or in those which, although living, are yet dumb; nay, is not found even in those who are endued indeed with reason, but are engaged in evil courses, and not at all converted to a better life. In those persons alone do I think that the operation of the Holy Spirit takes place, who are already turning to a better life, and walking along the way which leads to Jesus Christ, i.e., who are engaged in the performance of good actions, and who abide in God.

6. That the working of the Father and the Son operates both in saints and in sinners, is manifest from this, that all who are rational beings are partakers of the word, i.e., of reason, and by this means bear certain seeds, implanted within them, of wisdom and justice, which is Christ. Now, in Him who truly exists, and who said by Moses, "I Am Who I Am,"74 all things, whatever they are, participate; which participation in God the Father is shared both by just men and sinners, by rational and irrational beings, and by all things universally which exist. The Apostle Paul also shows truly that all have a share in Christ, when he says, "Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (i.e., to bring Christ down from above;) or who shall descend into the deep? (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead.) But what saith the Scripture? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart."75 By which he means that Christ is in the heart of all, in respect of His being the word or reason, by participating in which they are rational beings. That declaration also in the Gospel, "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin; but now they have no excuse for their sin,"76 renders it manifest and patent to all who have a rational knowledge of how long a time man is without sin, and from what period he is liable to it, how, by participating in the word or reason, men are said to have sinned, viz., from the time they are made capable of understanding and knowledge, when the reason implanted within has suggested to

them the difference between good and evil; and after they have already begun to know what evil is, they are made liable to sin, if they commit it. And this is the meaning of the expression, that "men have no excuse for their sin," viz., that, from the time the divine word or reason has begun to show them internally the difference between good and evil, they ought to avoid and guard against that which is wicked: "For to him who knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin."77 Moreover, that all men are not without communion with God, is taught in the Gospel thus, by the Saviour's words: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation; neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! but the kingdom of God is within you."78 But here we must see whether this does not bear the same meaning with the expression in Genesis: "And He breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul."79 For if this be understood as applying generally to all men, then all men have a share in God.

7. But if this is to be understood as spoken of the Spirit of God, since Adam also is found to have prophesied of some things, it may be taken not as of general application, but as confined to those who are saints. Finally, also, at the time of the flood, when all flesh had corrupter their way before God, it is recorded that God spoke thus, as of undeserving men and sinners: "My Spirit shall not abide with those men for ever, because they are flesh."80 By which, it is clearly shown that the Spirit of God is taken away from all who are unworthy. In the Psalms also it is written: "Thou wilt take away their spirit, and they will die, and return to their earth. Thou wilt send forth Thy Spirit, and they shall be created, and Thou wilt renew the face of the earth; "81 which is manifestly intended of the Holy Spirit, who, after sinners and unworthy persons have been taken away and destroyed, creates for Himself a new people, and renews the face of the earth, when, laying aside, through the grace of the Spirit, the old map with his deeds, they begin to walk in newness of life. And therefore the expression is competently applied to the Holy Spirit, because He will take up His dwelling, not in all men, nor in those who are flesh, but in those whose land82 has been renewed. Lastly, for this reason was the grace and revelation of the Holy Spirit bestowed by the imposition of the apostles' hands after baptism. Our Saviour also, after the resurrection, when old things had already passed away, and all things had become new, Himself a new man, and the first-born from the dead, His apostles also being renewed by faith in His resurrection, says, "Receive the Holy Spirit; "83 This is doubtless what the Lord the Saviour meant to convey in the Gospel, when He said that new wine cannot be put into old bottles, but commanded that the bottles should be made new, i.e., that men should walk in newness of life, that they might receive the new wine, i.e., the newness of grace of the Holy Spirit. In this manner, then, is the working of the power of God the Father and of the Son extended without distinction to every creature; but a share in the Holy Spirit we find possessed only by the saints. And therefore it is said, "No man can say that Jesus is Lord, but by the Holy Ghost."84 And on one occasion, scarcely even the apostles themselves are deemed worthy to hear the words, "Ye shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you."85 For this reason, also, I think it follows that he who has committed a sin against the Son of man is deserving of forgiveness; because if he who is a participator of the word or reason of God cease to live agreeably to reason, he seems to have fallen into a state of ignorance or folly, and therefore to deserve forgiveness; whereas he who has been deemed worthy to have a portion of the Holy Spirit, and who has relapsed, is, by this very act and work, said to be guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. Let no one indeed suppose that we, from having said that the Holy Spirit is conferred upon the saints alone, but that the benefits or operations of the Father and of the Son extend to good and bad, to just and unjust, by so doing give a preference to the Holy Spirit over

the Father and the Son, or assert that His dignity is greater, which certainly would be a very illogical conclusion. For it is the peculiarity of His grace and operations that we have been describing. Moreover, nothing in the Trinity can be called greater or less, since the fountain of divinity alone contains all things by His word and reason, and by the Spirit of His mouth sanctifies all things which are worthy of sanctification, as it is written in the Psalm: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens strengthened, and all their power by the Spirit of His mouth."86 There is also a special working of God the Father, besides that by which He bestowed upon all things the gift of natural life. There is also a special ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ to those upon whom he confers by nature the gift of reason, by means of which they are enabled to be rightly what they are. There is also another grace of the Holy Spirit, which is bestowed upon the deserving, through the ministry of Christ and the working of the Father, in proportion to the merits of those who are rendered capable of receiving it. This is most clearly pointed out by the Apostle Paul, when demonstrating that the power of the Trinity is one and the same, in the words, "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God who worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit: withal."87 From which it most clearly follows that there is no difference in the Trinity, but that which is called the gift of the Spirit is made known through the Son, and operated by God the Father. "But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every one severally as He will."88

8. Having made these declarations regarding the Unity of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, let us return to the order in which we began the discussion. God the Father bestows upon all, existence; and participation in Christ, in respect of His being the word of reason, renders them rational beings. From which it follows that they are deserving either of praise or blame, because capable of virtue and vice. On this account, therefore, is the grace of the Holy Ghost present, that those beings which are not holy in their essence may be rendered holy by participating in it. Seeing, then, that firstly, they derive their existence from God the Father; secondly, their rational nature from the Word; thirdly, their holiness from the Holy Spirit,-those who have been previously sanctified by the Holy Spirit are again made capable of receiving Christ, in respect that He is the righteousness of God; and those who have earned advancement to this grade by the sanctification of the Holy Spirit, will nevertheless obtain the gift of wisdom according to the power and working of the Spirit of God. And this I consider is Paul's meaning, when he says that to "some is given the word of wisdom, to others the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit." And while pointing out the individual distinction of gifts, he refers the whole of them to the source of all things. in the words, "There are diversities of operations, but one God who worketh all in all."89 Whence also the working of the Father, which confers existence upon all things, is found to be more glorious and magnificent, while each one, by participation in Christ, as being wisdom, and knowledge, and sanctification, makes progress, and advances to higher degrees of perfection; and seeing it is by partaking of the Holy Spirit that any one is made purer and holier, he obtains, when he is made worthy, the grace of wisdom and knowledge, in order that, after all stains of pollution and ignorance are cleansed and taken away, he may make so great an advance in holiness and purity, that the nature which he received from God may become such as is worthy of Him who gave it to be pure and perfect, so that the being which exists may be as worthy as He who called it into existence. For, in this way, he who is such as his Creator wished him to be, will receive from God power always to exist, and to abide for ever. That this may be the case, and that

those whom He has created may be unceasingly and inseparably present with Him, Who is, it is the business of wisdom to instruct and train them, and to bring them to perfection by confirmation of His Holy Spirit and unceasing sanctification, by which alone are they capable of receiving God. In this way, then, by the renewal of the ceaseless working of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit in us, in its various stages of progress, shall we be able at some future time perhaps, although with difficulty, to behold the holy and the blessed life, in which (as it is only after many struggles that we are able to reach it) we ought so to continue, that no satiety of that blessedness should ever seize us; but the more we perceive its blessedness, the more should be increased and intensified within us the longing for the same, while we ever more eagerly and freely receive and hold fast the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit. But if satiety should ever take hold of any one of those who stand on the highest and perfect summit of attainment, I do not think that such an one would suddenly be deposed from his position and fall away, but that he must decline gradually and little by little, so that it may sometimes happen that if a brief lapsus take place, and the individual quickly repent and return to himself, he may not utterly fall away, but may retrace his steps, and return to his former place, and again make good that which had been lost by his negligence.

Chapter IV.-On Defection, or Falling Away.

1. To exhibit the nature of defection or falling away, on the part of those who conduct themselves carelessly, it will not appear out of place to employ a similitude by way of illustration. Suppose, then, the case of one who had become gradually acquainted with the art or science, say of geometry or medicine, until he had reached perfection, having trained himself for a lengthened time in its principles and practice, so as to attain a complete mastery over the art: to such an one it could never happen, that, when he lay down to sleep in the possession of his skill, he should awake in a state of ignorance. It is not our purpose to adduce or to notice here those accidents which are occasioned by any injury or weakness, for they do not apply to our present illustration. According to our point of view, then, so long as that geometer or physician continues to exercise himself in the study of his art and in the practice of its principles, the knowledge of his profession abides with him; but if he withdraw from its practice, and lay aside his habits of industry, then, by his neglect, at first a few things will gradually escape him, then by and by more and more, until in course of time everything will be forgotten, and be completely effaced from the memory. It is possible, indeed, that when he has first begun to fall away, and to yield to the corrupting influence of a negligence which is small as yet, he may, if he be aroused and return speedily to his senses, repair those losses which up to that time are only recent, and recover that knowledge which hitherto had been only slightly obliterated from his mind. Let us apply this now to the case of those who have devoted themselves to the knowledge and wisdom of God, whose learning and diligence incomparably surpass all other training; and let us contemplate, according to the form of the similitude employed, what is the acquisition of knowledge, or what is its disappearance, especially when we hear from the apostle what is said of those who are perfect, that they shall behold face to face the glory of the Lord in the revelation of His mysteries.

2. But in our desire to show the divine benefits bestowed upon us by Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, which Trinity is the fountain of all holiness, we have fallen, in what we have said, into a digression, having considered that the subject of the soul, which accidentally came before us, should be touched on, although cursorily, seeing we were discussing a cognate topic relating to our rational nature. We shall, however, with the permission of God through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit,

more conveniently consider in the proper place the subject of all rational beings, which are distinguished into three genera and species.

Chapter V.-On Rational Natures.

1. After the dissertation, which we have briefly conducted to the best of our ability, regarding the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, it follows that we offer a few remarks upon the subject of rational natures, and on their species and orders, or on the offices as well of holy as of malignant powers, and also on those which occupy an intermediate position between these good and evil powers, and as yet are placed in a state of struggle and trial. For we find in holy Scripture numerous names of certain orders and offices, not only of holy beings, but also of those of an opposite description, which we shall bring before us, in the first place; and the meaning of which we shall endeavour, in the second place, to the best of our ability, to ascertain. There are certain holy angels of God whom Paul terms "ministering spirits, sent forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of salvation."90 In the writings also of St. Paul himself we find him designating them, from some unknown source, as thrones, and dominions, and principalities, and powers; and after this enumeration, as if knowing that there were still other rational offices91 and orders besides those which he had named, he says of the Saviour: "Who is above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come."92 From which he shows that there were certain beings besides those which he had mentioned, which may be named indeed in this world, but were not now enumerated by him, and perhaps were not known by any other individual; and that there were others which may not be named in this world, but will be named in the world to come.

2. Then, in the next place, we must know that every being which is endowed with reason, and transgresses its statutes and limitations, is undoubtedly involved in sin by swerving from rectitude and justice. Every rational creature, therefore, is capable of earning praise and censure: of praise, if, in conformity to that reason which he possesses, he advance to better things; of censure, if he fall away from the plan and course of rectitude, for which reason he is justly liable to pains and penalties. And this also is to be held as applying to the devil himself, and those who are with him, and are called his angels. Now the rifles of these beings have to be explained, that we may know what they are of whom we have to speak. The name, then, of Devil, and Satan, and Wicked One, who is also described as Enemy of God, is mentioned in many passages of Scripture. Moreover, certain angels of the devil are mentioned, and also a prince of this world, who, whether the devil himself or some one else, is not yet clearly manifest. There are also certain princes of this world spoken of as possessing a kind of wisdom which will come to nought; but whether these are those princes who are also the principalities with whom we have to wrestle, or other beings, seems to me a point on which it is not easy for any one to pronounce. After the principalities, certain powers also are named with whom we have to wrestle, and carry on a struggle even against the princes of this world and the rulers of this darkness. Certain spiritual powers of wickedness also, in heavenly places, are spoken of by Paul himself. What, moreover, are we to say of those wicked and unclean spirits mentioned in the Gospel? Then we have certain heavenly beings called by a similar name, but which are said to bend the knee, or to be about to bend the knee, at the name of Jesus; nay, even things on earth and things under the earth, which Paul enumerates in order. And certainly, in a place where we have been discussing the subject of rational natures, it is not proper to be silent regarding ourselves, who are human beings, and are called rational animals; nay, even this point

is not to be idly passed over, that even of us human beings certain different orders are mentioned in the words, "The portion of the Lord is His people Jacob; Israel is the cord of His inheritance."93 Other nations, moreover, are called a part of the angels; since "when the Most High divided the nations, and dispersed the sons of Adam, He fixed the boundaries of the nations according to the number of the angels of God."94 And therefore, with other rational natures, we must also thoroughly examine the reason of the human soul.

3. After the enumeration, then, of so many and so important names of orders and offices, underlying which it is certain that there are personal existences, let us inquire whether God, the creator and founder of all things, created certain of them holy and happy, so that they could admit no element at all of an opposite kind, and certain others so that they were made capable both of virtue and vice; or whether we are to suppose that He created some so as to be altogether incapable of virtue, and others again altogether incapable of wickedness, but with the power of abiding only in a state of happiness, and others again such as to be capable of either condition.95 In order, now, that our first inquiry may begin with the names themselves, let us consider whether the holy angels, from the period of their first existence, have always been holy, and axe holy still, and will be holy, and have never either admitted or had the power to admit any occasion of sin. Then in the next place, let us consider whether those who are called holy principalities began from the moment of their creation by God to exercise power over some who were made subject to them, and whether these latter were created of such a nature, and formed for the very purpose of being subject and subordinate. In like manner, also, whether those which are called powers were created of such a nature and for the express purpose of exercising power, or whether their arriving at that power and dignity is a reward and desert of their virtue. Moreover, also, whether those which are called thrones or seats gained that stability of happiness at the same time with their coming forth into being,96 so as to have that possession from the will of the Creator alone; or whether those which are called dominions had their dominion conferred on them, not as a reward for their proficiency, but as the peculiar privilege of their creation,97 so that it is something which is in a certain degree inseparable from them, and natural. Now, if we adopt the view that the holy angels, and the holy powers, and the blessed seats, and the glorious virtues, and the magnificent dominions, are to be regarded as possessing those powers and dignities and glories in virtue of their nature,98 it will doubtless appear to follow that those beings which have been mentioned as holding offices of an opposite kind must be regarded in the same manner; so that those principalities with whom we have to struggle are to be viewed, not as having received that spirit of opposition and resistance to all good at a later period, or as failing away from good through the freedom of the will, but as having had it in themselves as the essence of their being from the beginning of their existence. In like manner also will it be the case with the powers and virtues, in none of which was wickedness subsequent or posterior to their first existence. Those also whom the apostle termed rulers and princes of the darkness of this world, are said, with respect to their rule and occupation of darkness, to fall not from perversity of intention, but from the necessity of their creation. Logical reasoning will compel us to take the same view with regard to wicked and malignant spirits and unclean demons. But if to entertain this view regarding malignant and opposing powers seem to be absurd, as it is certainly absurd that the cause of their wickedness should be removed from the purpose Of their own will, and ascribed of necessity to their Creator, why should we not also be obliged to make a similar confession regarding the good and holy powers, that, viz., the good which is in them is not theirs by essential being, which we have

manifestly shown to be the case with Christ and the Holy Spirit alone, as undoubtedly with the Father also? For it was proved that there was nothing compound in the nature of the Trinity, so that these qualities might seem to belong to it as accidental consequences. From which it follows, that in the case of every creature it is a result of his own works and movements, that those powers which appear either to hold sway over others or to exercise power or dominion, have been preferred to and placed over those whom they are said to govern or exercise power over, and not in consequence of a peculiar privilege inherent in their constitutions, but on account of merit.

4. But that we may not appear to build our assertions on subjects of such importance and difficulty on the ground of inference alone, or to require the assent of our hearers to what is only conjectural, let us see whether we can obtain any declarations from holy Scripture, by the authority of which these positions may be more credibly maintained. And, firstly, we shall adduce what holy Scripture contains regarding wicked powers; we shall next continue our investigation with regard to the others, as the Lord shall be pleased to enlighten us, that in matters of such difficulty we may ascertain what is nearest to the truth, or what ought to be our opinions agreeably to the standard of religion. Now we find in the prophet Ezekiel two prophecies written to the prince of Tyre, the former of which might appear to any one, before he heard the second also, to be spoken of some man who was prince of the Tyrians. In the meantime, therefore, we shall take nothing from that first prophecy; but as the second is manifestly of such a kind as cannot be at all understood of a man, but of some superior power which had fallen away from a higher position, and had been reduced to a lower and worse condition, we shall from it take an illustration, by which it may be demonstrated with the utmost clearness, that those opposing and malignant powers were not formed or created so by nature, but fell from a better to a worse position, and were converted into wicked beings; that those blessed powers also were not of such a nature as to be unable to admit what was opposed to them if they were so inclined and became negligent, and did not guard most carefully the blessedness of their condition. For if it is related that he who is called the prince of Tyre was amongst the saints, and was without stain, and was placed in the paradise of God, and adorned also with a crown of comeliness and beauty, is it to be supposed that such an one could be in any degree inferior to any of the saints? For he is described as having been adorned with a crown of comeliness and beauty, and as having walked stainless in the paradise of God: and how can any one suppose that such a being was not one of those holy and blessed powers which, as being placed in a state of happiness, we must believe to be endowed with no other honour than this? But let us see what we are taught by the words of the prophecy themselves. "The word of the Lord." says the prophet, "came to me, saying, Son of man, take up a lamentation over the prince of Tyre, and say to him, Thus saith the Lord God, Thou, hast been the seal of a similitude, and a crown of comeliness among the delights of paradise; thou wert adorned with every good stone or gem, and wert clothed with sardonyx, and topaz, and emerald, and carbuncle, and sapphire, and jasper, set in gold and silver, and with agate, amethyst, and chrysolite, and beryl, and onyx: with gold aim didst thou fill thy treasures, and thy storehouses within thee. From the day when thou weft created along with the cherubim, I placed thee in the holy mount of God. Thou weft in the midst of the fiery stones: thou weft stainless in thy days, from the day when thou weft created, until iniquities were found in thee: from the greatness of thy trade, thou didst fill thy storehouses with iniquity, and didst sin, and weft wounded from the mount of God. And a cherub drove thee forth from the midst of the burning stones; and thy heart was elated because of thy comeliness, thy discipline was corrupted along with thy beauty: on account of the multitude of thy sins, I cast thee

forth to the earth before kings; I gave thee for a show and a mockery on account of the multitude of thy sins, and of thine iniquities: because of thy trade thou hast polluted thy holy places. And I shall bring forth fire from the midst of thee, and it shall devour thee, and I shall give thee for ashes and cinders on the earth in the sight of all who see thee: and all who know thee among the nations shall mourn over thee. Thou hast been made destruction, and thou shalt exist no longer for ever."99 Seeing, then, that such are the words of the prophet, who is there that on hearing, "Thou wert a seal of a similitude, and a crown of comeliness among the delights of paradise," or that "From the day when thou wert created with the cherubim, I placed thee in the holy mount of God," can so enfeeble the meaning as to suppose that this language is used of some man or saint, not to say the prince off Tyre? Or what fiery stones can he imagine in the midst of which any man could live? Or who could be supposed to be stainless from the very day of his creation, and wickedness being afterwards discovered in him, it be said of him then that he was cast forth upon the earth? For the meaning of this is, that He who was not yet on the earth is said to be cast forth upon it: whose holy places also are said to be polluted. We have shown, then, that what we have quoted regarding the prince of Tyre from the prophet Ezekiel refers to an adverse power, and by it it is most clearly proved that that power was formerly holy and happy; from which state of happiness it fell from the time that iniquity was found in it, and was hurled to the earth, and was not such by nature and creation. We are of opinion, therefore, that these words are spoken of a certain angel who had received the office of governing the nation of the Tyrians, and to whom also their souls had been entrusted to be taken care of. But what Tyre, or what souls of Tyrians, we ought to understand, whether that Tyre which is situated within the boundaries of the province of Phoenicia, or some other of which, this one which we know on earth is the model; and the souls of the Tyrians, whether they are those of the former or those which belong to that Tyre which is spiritually understood, does not seem to be a matter requiting examination in this place; test perhaps we should appear to investigate subjects of so much mystery and importance in a cursory manner, whereas they demand a labour and work of their own.

5. Again, we are taught as follows by the prophet Isaiah regarding another opposing power. The prophet says, "How is Lucifer, who used to arise in the morning, fallen from heaven! He who assailed all nations is broken and beaten to the ground. Thou indeed saidst in thy heart, I shall ascend into heaven; above the stars of heaven shall I place my throne; I shall sit upon a lofty mountain, above the lofty mountains which are towards the north; I shall ascend above the clouds; I shall be like the Most High. Now shalt thou be brought down to the lower world, and to the foundations of the earth. They who see thee shall be amazed at thee, and shall say, This is the man who harassed the whole earth, who moved kings, who made the whole world a desert, who destroyed cities, and did not unloose those who were in chains. All the kings of the nations have slept in honour, every one in his own house; but thou shalt be cast forth on the mountains, accursed with the many dead who have been pierced through with swords, and have descended to the lower world. As a garment cloned with blood, and stained, will not be clean; neither shall thou be clean, because thou hast destroyed my land and slain my people: thou shall not remain for ever, most wicked seed. Prepare thy sons for death on account of the sins of thy father, lest they rise again and inherit the earth, and fill the earth with wars. And I shall rise against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and I shall cause their name to perish, and their remains, and their seed."100 Most evidently by these words is he shown to have fallen from heaven, who formerly was Lucifer, and who used to arise in the morning. For if, as some think, he was a nature of darkness, how is

Lucifer said to have existed before? Or how could he arise in the morning, who had in himself nothing of the light? Nay, even the Saviour Himself teaches us, saying of the devil, "Behold, I see Satan fallen from heaven like lightning."101 For at one time he was light. Moreover our Lord, who is the truth, compared the power of His own glorious advent to lightning, in the words, "For as the lightning shineth from the height of heaven even to its height again, so will the coming of the Son of man be."102 And notwithstanding He compares him to lightning, and says that he fell from heaven, that He might show by this that he had been at one time in heaven, and had had a place among the saints, and had enjoyed a share in that light in which all the saints participate, by which they are made angels. of light, and by which the apostles are termed by the Lord the light of the world. In this manner, then, did that being once exist as light before he went astray, and fell to this place, and had his glory turned into dust, which is peculiarly the mark of the wicked, as the prophet also says; whence, too, he was called the prince of this world, i.e., of an earthly habitation: for he exercised power over those who were obedient to his wickedness, since "the whole of this world"-for I term this place of earth, world-"lieth in the wicked one,"103 and in this apostate. That he is an apostate, i.e., a fugitive, even the Lord in the book of Job says, "Thou wilt take with a hook the apostate dragon," i.e., a fugitive.104 Now it is certain that by the dragon is understood the devil himself. If then they are called opposing powers, and are said to have been once without stain, while spotless purity exists in the essential being of none save the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but is an accidental quality in every created thing; and since that which is accidental may also fall away, and since those opposite powers once were spotless, and were once among those which still remain unstained, it is evident from all this that no one is pure either by essence or nature, and that no one was by nature polluted. And the consequence of this is, that it lies within ourselves and in our own actions to possess either happiness or holiness; or by sloth and negligence to fall from happiness into wickedness and ruin, to such a degree that, through too great proficiency, so to speak, in wickedness (if a man be guilty of so great neglect), he may descend even to that state in which he will be changed into what is called an "opposing power."

Chapter VI.-On the End or Consummation.

1. An end or consummation would seem to be an indication of the perfection and completion of things. And this reminds us here, that if there be any one imbued with a desire of reading and understanding subjects of such difficulty and importance, he ought to bring to the effort a perfect and instructed understanding, lest perhaps, if he has had no experience in questions of this kind, they may appear to him as vain and superfluous; or if his mind be full of preconceptions and prejudices on other points, he may judge these to be heretical and opposed to the faith of the Church, yielding in so doing not so much to the convictions of reason as to the dogmatism of prejudice. These subjects, indeed, are treated by us with great solicitude and caution, in the manner rather of an investigation and discussion, than in that of fixed and certain decision. For we have pointed out in the preceding pages those questions which must be set forth in clear dogmatic propositions, as I think has been done to the best of my ability when speaking of the Trinity. But on the present occasion our exercise is to be conducted, as we best may, in the style of a disputation rather than of strict definition. The end of the world, then, and the final consummation, will take place when every one shall be subjected to punishment for his sins; a time which God alone knows, when He will bestow on each one what he deserves. We think, indeed, that the goodness of God, through His Christ, may recall all His creatures to one end, even His enemies being

conquered and subdued. For thus says holy Scripture, "The Lord said to My Lord, Sit Thou at My right hand, until I make Thine enemies Thy footstool."105 And if the meaning of the prophet's language here be less clear, we may ascertain it from the Apostle Paul, who speaks more openly, thus: "For Christ must reign until He has put all enemies under His feet."106 But if even that unreserved declaration of the apostle do not sufficiently inform us what is meant by "enemies being placed under His feet," listen to what he says in the following words, "For all things must be put under Him." What, then, is this "putting under" by which all things must be made subject to Christ? I am of opinion that it is this very subjection by which we also wish to be subject to Him, by which the apostles also were subject, and all the saints who have been followers of Christ. For the name "subjection," by which we are subject to Christ, indicates that the salvation which proceeds from Him belongs to His subjects, agreeably to the declaration of David, "Shall not my soul be subject unto God? From Him cometh my salvation."107

2. Seeing, then, that such is the end, when all enemies will be subdued to Christ, when death-the last enemy-shall be destroyed, and when the kingdom shall be delivered up by Christ (to whom all things are subject) to God the Father; let us, I say, from such an end as this, contemplate the beginnings of things. For the end is always like the beginning: and, therefore, as there is one end to all things, so ought we to understand that there was one beginning; and as there is one end to many things, so there spring from one beginning many differences and varieties, which again, through the goodness of God, and by subjection to Christ, and through the unity of the Holy Spirit, are recalled to one end, which is like unto the beginning: all those, viz., who, bending the knee at the name of Jesus, make known by so doing their subjection to Him: and these are they who are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth: by which three classes the whole universe of things is pointed out, those, viz., who from that one beginning were arranged, each according to the diversity of his conduct, among the different orders, in accordance with their desert; for there was no goodness in them by essential being, as in God and His Christ, and in the Holy Spirit. For in the Trinity alone, which is the author of all things, does goodness exist in virtue of essential being; while others possess it as an accidental and perishable quality, and only then enjoy blessedness, when they participate in holiness and wisdom, and in divinity itself. But if they neglect and despise such participation, then is each one, by fault of his own slothfulness, made, one more rapidly, another more slowly, one in a greater, another in a less degree, the cause of his own downfall. And since, as we have remarked, the lapse by which an individual falls away from his position is characterized by great diversity, according to the movements of the mind and will, one man falling with greater ease, another with more difficulty, into a lower condition; in this is to be seen the just judgment of the providence of God, that it should happen to every one according to the diversity of his conduct, in proportion to the desert of his declension and defection. Certain of those, indeed, who remained in that beginning which we have described as resembling the end which is to come, obtained, in the ordering and arrangement of the world, the rank of angels; others that of influences, others of principalities, others of powers, that they may exercise power over those who need to have power upon their head. Others, again, received the rank of thrones, having the office of judging or ruling those who require this; others dominion, doubtless, over slaves; all of which are conferred by Divine Providence in just and impartial judgment according to their merits, and to the progress which they had made in the participation and imitation of God. But those who have been removed from their primal state of blessedness have not been removed irrecoverably, but have been placed under the rule of those holy and blessed orders which we have described; and by

availing themselves of the aid of these, and being remoulded by salutary principles and discipline, they may recover themselves, and be restored to their condition of happiness. From all which I am of opinion, so far as I can see, that this order of the human race has been appointed in order that in the future world, or in ages to come, when there shall be the new heavens and new earth, spoken of by Isaiah, it may be restored to that unity promised by the Lord Jesus in His prayer to God the Father on behalf of His disciples: "I do not pray for these alone, but for all who shall believe on Me through their word: that they all. may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us; "108 and again, when He says: "That they may be one, even as We are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one."109 And this is further confirmed by the language of the Apostle Paul: "Until we all come in the unity of the faith to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."110 And in keeping with this is the declaration of the same apostle, when he exhorts us, who even in the present life are placed in the Church, in which is the form of that kingdom which is to come, to this same similitude of unity: "That ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment."111

3. It is to be borne in mind, however, that certain beings who fell away from that one beginning of which we have spoken, have sunk to such a depth of unworthiness and wickedness as to be deemed altogether undeserving of that training and instruction by which the human race, while in the flesh, are trained and instructed with the assistance of the heavenly powers; and continue, on the contrary, in a state of enmity and opposition to those who are receiving this instruction and teaching. And hence it is that the whole of this mortal life is full of struggles and trials, caused by the opposition and enmity of those who fell from a better condition without at all looking back, and who are called the devil and his angels, and the other orders of evil, which the apostle classed among the opposing powers. But whether any of these orders who act under the government of the devil, and obey his wicked commands, will in a future world be converted to righteousness because of their possessing the faculty of freedom of will, or whether persistent and inveterate wickedness may be changed by the power of habit into nature, is a result which you yourself, reader, may approve of, if neither in these present worlds which are seen and temporal, nor in those which are unseen and are eternal, that portion is to differ wholly from the final unity and fitness of things. But in the meantime, both in those temporal worlds which are seen, as well as in those eternal worlds which are invisible, all those beings are arranged, according to a regular plan, in the order and degree of their merits; so that some of them in the first, others in the second, some even in the last times, after having undergone heavier and severer punishments, endured for a lengthened period, and for many ages, so to speak, improved by this stern method of training, and restored at first by the instruction of the angels, and subsequently by the powers of a higher grade, and thus advancing through each stage to a better condition, reach even to that which is invisible and eternal, having travelled through, by a kind of training, every single office of the heavenly powers. From which, I think, this will appear to follow as an inference, that every rational nature may, in passing from one order to another, go through each to all, and advance from all to each, while made the subject of various degrees of proficiency and failure according to its own actions and endeavours, put forth in the enjoyment of its power of freedom of will.

4. But since Paul says that certain things are visible and temporal, and others besides these invisible and eternal, we proceed to inquire how those things which are seen are temporal-whether

because there will be nothing at all after them in all those periods of the coming world, in which that dispersion and separation from the one beginning is undergoing a process of restoration to one and the same end and likeness; or because, while the form of those things which are seen passes away, their essential nature is subject to no corruption. And Paul seems to confirm the latter view, when he says, "For the fashion of this world passeth away."112 David also appears to assert the same in the words, "The heavens shall perish, but Thou shalt endure; and they all shall wax old as a garment, and Thou shalt change them like a vesture, and like a vestment they shall be changed."113 For if the heavens are to be changed, assuredly that which is changed does not perish, and if the fashion of the world passes away, it is by no means an annihilation or destruction of their material substance that is shown to take place, but a kind of change of quality and transformation of appearance. Isaiah also, in declaring prophetically that there will be a new heaven and a new earth, undoubtedly suggests a similar view. For this renewal of heaven and earth, and this transmutation of the form of the present world, and this changing of the heavens will undoubtedly be prepared for those who are walking along that way which we have pointed out above, and are tending to that goal of happiness to which, it is said, even enemies themselves are to be subjected, and in which God is said to be "all and in all." And if any one imagine that at the end material, i.e., bodily, nature will be entirely destroyed, he cannot in may respect meet my view, how beings so numerous and powerful are able to live and to exist without bodies, since it is an attribute of the divine nature alone-i.e., of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit-to exist without any material substance, and without partaking in any degree of a bodily adjunct. Another, perhaps, may say that in the end every bodily substance will be so pure and refined as to be like the aether, and of a celestial purity and clearness. How things will be, however, is known with certainty to God alone, and to those who are His friends through Christ and the Holy Spirit.114 Chapter VII.-On Incorporeal and Corporeal Beings.

1. The subjects considered in the previous chapter have been spoken of in general language, the nature of rational beings being discussed more by way of intelligent inference than strict dogmatic definition, with the exception of the place where we treated, to the best of our ability, of the persons of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. We have now to ascertain what those matters are which it is proper to treat in the following pages according to our dogmatic belief, i.e., in agreement with the creed of the Church. All souls and all rational natures, whether holy or wicked, were formed or created, and all these, according to their proper nature, are incorporeal; but although incorporeal, they were nevertheless created, because all things were made by God through Christ, as John teaches in a general way in his Gospel, saying, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was nothing made."115 The Apostle Paul, moreover, describing created things by species and numbers and orders, speaks as follows, when showing that all things were made through Christ: "And in Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him, and in Him: and He is before all, and He is the head."116 He therefore manifestly declares that in Christ and through Christ were all things made and created, whether things visible, which are corporeal, or things invisible, which I regard as none other than incorporeal and spiritual powers. But of those things which he had termed generally corporeal or incorporeal, he seems to me, in the words that follow, to enumerate the various kinds, viz., thrones, dominions, principalities, powers, influences.

These matters now have been previously mentioned by us, as we are desirous to come in an orderly manner to the investigation of the sun, and moon, and stab by way of logical inference, and to ascertain whether they also ought properly to be reckoned among the principalities on account of their being said to be created in 'Arka/j, i.e., for the government of day and night; or whether they are to be regarded as having only that government of day and night which they discharge by performing the office of illuminating them, and are not in reality chief of that order of principalities.

2. Now, when it is said that all things were made by Him, and that in Him were all things created, both things in heaven and things on earth, there can be no doubt that also those things which are in the firmament, which is called heaven, and in which those luminaries are said to be placed, are included amongst the number of heavenly things. And secondly, seeing that the course of the discussion has manifestly discovered that all things were made or created, and that amongst created things there is nothing which may not admit of good and evil, and be capable of either, what are we to think of the following opinion which certain of our friends entertain regarding sun, moon, and stars, viz., that they are unchangeable, and incapable of becoming the opposite of what they are? Not a few have held that view even regarding the holy angels, and certain heretics also regarding souls, which they call spiritual natures. In the first place, then, let us see what reason itself can discover respecting sun, moon, and stars,-whether the opinion, entertained by some, of their unchangeableness be correct,-and let the declarations of holy Scripture, as far as possible, be first adduced. For Job appears to assert that not only may the stars be subject to sin, but even that they are actually not clean from the contagion of it. The following are his words: "The stars also are not clean in Thy sight."117 Nor is this to be understood of the splendour of their physical substance, as if one were to say, for example, of a garment, that it is not clean; for if such were the meaning, then the accusation of a want of cleanness in the splendour of their bodily substance would imply an injurious reflection upon their Creator. For if they are unable, through their own diligent efforts, either to acquire for themselves a body of greater brightness, or through their sloth to make the one they have less pure, how should they incur censure for being stars that are not clean, if they receive no praise because they are so?118

3. But to arrive at a clearer understanding on these matters, we ought first to inquire after this point, whether it is allowable to suppose that they are living and rational beings; then, in the next place, whether their souls came into existence at the same time with their bodies, or seem to be anterior to them; and also whether, after the end of the world, we are to understand that they are to be released from their bodies; and whether, as we cease to live, so they also will cease from illuminating the world. Although this inquiry may seem to be somewhat bold, yet, as we are incited by the desire of ascertaining the truth as far as possible, there seems no absurdity in attempting an investigation of the subject agreeably to the grace of the Holy Spirit.

We think, then, that they may be designated as living beings, for this reason, that they are said to receive commandments from God, which is ordinarily the case only with rational beings. "I have given a commandment to all the stars,"119 says the Lord. What, now, are these commandments? Those, namely, that each star, in its order and course, should bestow upon the world the amount of splendour which has been entrusted to it. For those which are called "planets" move in orbits of one kind, and those which are termed a0planei=j are different. Now it manifestly follows from this, that neither can the movement of that body take place without a soul, nor can living things be at any time without motion. And seeing that the stars move with such order and regularity, that their

movements never appear to be at any time subject to derangement, would it not be the height of folly to say that so orderly an observance of method and plan could be carried out or accomplished by irrational beings? In the writings of Jeremiah, indeed, the moon is called the queen of heaven.120 Yet if the stars are living and rational beings, there will undoubtedly appear among them both an advance and a falling back. For the language of Job, "the stars are not dean in His sight," seems to me to convey some such idea.

4. And now we have to ascertain whether those beings which in the course of the discussion we have discovered to possess life and reason, were endowed with a soul along with their bodies at the time mentioned in Scripture, when "God made two great lights, the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night, and the stars also,"121 or whether their spirit was implanted in them, not at the creation of their bodies, but from without, after they had been already made. I, for my part, suspect that the spirit was implanted in them from without; but it will be worth while to prove this from Scripture: for it will seem an easy matter to make the assertion on conjectural grounds, while it is more difficult to establish it by the testimony of Scripture. Now it may be established conjecturally as follows. If the soul of a man, which is certainly inferior while it remains the soul of a man, was not formed along with his body, but is proved to have been implanted strictly from without, much more must this be the case with those living beings which are called heavenly. For, as regards man, how could the soul of him, viz., Jacob, who supplanted his brother in the womb, appear to be formed along with his body? Or how could his soul, or its images, be formed along with his body, who, while lying in his mother's womb, was filled with the Holy Ghost? I refer to John leaping in his mother's womb, and exulting because the voice of the salutation of Mary had come to the ears of his mother Elisabeth. How could his soul and its images be formed along with his body, who, before he was created in the womb, is said to be known to God, and was sanctified by Him before his birth? Some, perhaps, may think that God fills individuals with His Holy Spirit, and bestows upon them sanctification, not on grounds of justice and according to their deserts; but undeservedly. And how shall we escape that declaration: "Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid!"122 or this : "Is there respect of persons with God? "123 For such is the defence of those who maintain that souls come into existence with bodies. So far, then, as we can form an opinion from a comparison with the condition of man, I think it follows that we must hold the same to hold good with heavenly beings, which reason itself and scriptural authority show us to be the case with men.

5. But let us see whether we can find in holy Scripture any indications properly applicable to these heavenly existences. The following is the statement of the Apostle Paul: "The creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God."124 To what vanity, pray, was the creature made subject, or what creature is referred to, or how is it said "not willingly," or "in hope of what? "And in what way is the creature itself to be delivered from the bondage of corruption? Elsewhere, also, the same apostle says: "For the expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God."125 And again in another passage, "And not only we, but the creation itself groaneth together, and is in pain until now."126 And hence we have to inquire what are the groanings, and what are the pains. Let us see then, in the first place, what is the vanity to which the creature is subject. I apprehend that it is nothing else than the body; for although the body of the stars is ethereal, it is nevertheless

material. Whence also Solomon appears to characterize the whole of corporeal nature as a kind of burden which enfeebles the vigour of the soul in the following language: "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; all is vanity. I have looked, and seen all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity."127 To this vanity, then, is the creature subject, that creature especially which, being assuredly the greatest in this world, holds also a distinguished principality of labour, i.e., the sun, and moon, and stars, are said to be subject to vanity, because they are clothed with bodies, and set apart to the office of giving light to the human race. "And this creature," he remarks, "was subjected to vanity not willingly." For it did not undertake a voluntary service to vanity, but because it was the will of Him who made it subject, and because of the promise of the Subjector to those who were reduced to this unwilling obedience, that when the ministry of their great work was performed, they were to be freed from this bondage of corruption and vanity when the time of the glorious redemption of God's children should have arrived. And the whole of creation, receiving this hope, and looking for the fulfilment of this promise now, in the meantime, as having an affection for those whom it serves, groans along with them, and patiently suffers with them, hoping for the fulfilment of the promises. See also whether the following words of Paul can apply to those who, although not willingly, yet in accordance with the will of Him who subjected them, and in hope of the promises, were made subject to vanity, when he says, "For I could wish to be dissolved," or "to return and be with Christ, which is far better."128 For I think that the sun might say in like manner, "I would desire to be dissolved," or "to return and be with Christ, which is far better." Paul indeed adds, "Nevertheless, to abide in the flesh is more needful for you; "while the sun may say, "To abide in this bright and heavenly body is more necessary, on account of the manifestation of the sons of God." The same views are to be believed and expressed regarding the moon and stars.

Let us see now what is the freedom of the creature, or the termination of its bondage. When Christ shall have delivered up the kingdom to God even the Father, then also those living things, when they shall have first been made the kingdom of Christ, shall be delivered, along with the whole of that kingdom, to the rule of the Father, that when God shall be all in all, they also, since they are a part of all things, may have God in themselves, as He is in all things.

Chapter VIII.-On the Angels.

1. A similar method must be followed in treating of the angels; nor are we to suppose that it is the result of accident that a particular office is assigned to a particular angel: as to Raphael, e.g., the work of curing and healing to Gabriel, the conduct of wars; to Michael, the duty of attending to the prayers and supplications of mortals. For we are not to imagine that they obtained these offices otherwise than by their own merits, and by the zeal and excellent qualities which they severally displayed before this world was formed; so that afterwards in the order of archangels, this or that office was assigned to each one, while others deserved to be enrolled in the order of angels, and to act under this or that archangel, or that leader or head of an order. All of which things were disposed, as I have said, not indiscriminately and fortuitously, but by a most appropriate and just decision of God, who arranged them according to deserts, in accordance with His own approval and judgment: so that to one angel the Church of the Ephesians was to be entrusted; to another, that of the Smyrnaeans; one angel was to be Peter's, another Paul's; and so on through every one of the little ones that are in the Church, for such and such angels as even daily behold the face of God must be assigned to each one of them;129 and there must also be some angel that

encampeth round about them that fear God.130 All of which things, assuredly, it is to be believed, are not performed by accident or chance, or because they (the angels) were so created, lest on that view the Creator should be accused of partiality; but it is to be believed that they were conferred by God, the just and impartial Ruler of all things, agreeably to the merits and good qualities and mental vigour of each individual spirit.

2. And now let us say something regarding those who maintain the existence of a diversity of spiritual natures, that we may avoid falling into the silly and impious fables of such as pretend that there is a diversity of spiritual natures both among heavenly existences and human souls, and for that reason allege that they were called into being by different creators; for while it seems, and is really, absurd that to one and the same Creator should be ascribed the creation of different natures of rational beings, they are nevertheless ignorant of the cause of that diversity. For they say that it seems inconsistent for one and the same Creator, without any existing ground of merit, to confer upon some beings the power of dominion, and to subject others again to authority; to bestow a principality upon some, and to render others subordinate to rulers. Which opinions indeed, in my judgment, are completely rejected by following out the reasoning explained above, and by which it was shown that the cause of the diversity and variety among these beings is due to their conduct, which has been marked either with greater earnestness or indifference, according to the goodness or badness of their nature, and not to any partiality on the part of the Disposer. But that this may more easily be shown to be the case with heavenly beings, let us borrow an illustration from what either has been done or is done among men, in order that from visible things we may, by way of consequence, behold also things invisible.

Paul and Peter are undoubtedly proved to have been men of a spiritual nature. When, therefore, Paul is found to have acted contrary to religion, in having persecuted the Church of God, and Peter to have committed so grave a sin as, when questioned by the maid-servant, to have asserted with an oath that he did not know who Christ was, how is it possible that these-who, according to those persons of whom we speak, were spiritual beings-should fall into sins of such a nature, especially as they are frequently in the habit of saying that a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruits? And if a good tree cannot produce evil fruit, and as, according to them, Peter and Paul were sprung from the root of a good tree, how should they be deemed to have brought forth fruits so wicked? And if they should return the answer which is generally invented, that it was not Paul who persecuted, but some other person, I know not whom, who was in Paul; and that it was not Peter who uttered the denial, but some other individual in him; how should Paul say, if he had not sinned, that "I am not worthy to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God? "131 Or why did Peter weep most bitterly, if it were another than he who sinned? From which all their silly assertions will be proved to be baseless.

3. According to our view, there is no rational creature which is not capable both of good and evil. But it does not follow, that because we say there is no nature which may not admit evil, we therefore maintain that every nature has admitted evil, i.e., has become wicked. As we may say that the nature of every man admits of his being a sailor, but it does not follow from that, that every man will become so; or, again, it is possible for every one to learn grammar or medicine, but it is not therefore proved that every man is either a physician or a grammarian; so, if we say that there is no nature which may not admit evil, it is not necessarily indicated that it has done so. For, in our view, not even the devil himself was incapable of good; but although capable of admitting good, he

did not therefore also desire it, or make any effort after virtue. For, as we are taught by those quotations which we adduced from the prophets, there was once a time when he was good, when he walked in the paradise of God between the cherubim. As he, then, possessed the power either of receiving good or evil, but fell away from a virtuous course, and turned to evil with all the powers of his mind, so also other creatures, as having a capacity for either condition, in the exercise of the freedom of their will, flee from evil, and cleave to good. There is no nature, then, which may not admit of good or evil, except the nature of God-the fountain of all good things-and of Christ; for it is wisdom, and wisdom assuredly cannot admit folly; and it is righteousness, and righteousness will never certainly admit of unrighteousness; and it is the Word, or Reason, which certainly cannot be made irrational; nay, it is also the light, and it is certain that the darkness does not receive the light. In like manner, also, the nature of the Holy Spirit, being holy, does not admit of pollution; for it is holy by nature, or essential being. If there is any other nature which is holy, it possesses this property of being made holy by the reception or inspiration of the Holy Spirit, not having it by nature, but as an accidental quality, for which reason it may be lost, in consequence of being accidental. So also a man may possess an accidental righteousness, from which it is possible for him to fall away. Even the wisdom which a man has is still accidental, although it be within our own power to become wise, if we devote ourselves to wisdom with the zeal and effort of our life; and if we always pursue the study of it, we may always be participators of wisdom: and that result will follow either in a greater or less degree, according to the desert of our life or the amount of our zeal. For the goodness of God, as is worthy of Him, incites and attracts all to that blissful end, where all pain, and sadness, and sorrow fall away and disappear.

4. I am of opinion, then, so far as appears to me, that the preceding discussion has sufficiently proved that it is neither from want of discrimination, nor from any accidental cause, either that the "principalities" hold their dominion, or the other orders of spirits have obtained their respective offices; but that they have received the steps of their rank on account of their merits, although it is not our privilege to know or inquire what those acts of theirs were, by which they earned a place in any particular order. It is sufficient only to know this much, in order to demonstrate the impartiality and righteousness of God, that, conformably with the declaration of the Apostle Paul, "there is no acceptance of persons with Him,"132 who rather disposes everything according to the deserts and moral progress of each individual, So, then, the angelic office does not exist except as a consequence of their desert; nor do "powers" exercise power except in virtue of their moral progress; nor do those which are called "seats" i.e., the powers of judging and ruling, administer their powers unless by merit; nor do "dominions" rule undeservedly, for that great and distinguished order of rational creatures among celestial existences is arranged in a glorious variety of offices. And the same view is to be entertained of those opposing influences which have given themselves up to such places and offices, that they derive the property by which they are made "principalities," or "powers," or rulers of the darkness of the world, or spirits of wickedness, or malignant spirits, or unclean demons, not from their essential nature, nor from their being so created, but have obtained these degrees in evil in proportion to their conduct, and the progress which they made in wickedness. And that is a second order of rational creatures, who have devoted themselves to wickedness in so headlong a course, that they are unwilling rather than unable to recall themselves; the thirst for evil being already a passion, and imparting to them pleasure. But the third order of rational creatures is that of those who are judged fit by God to replenish the human race, i.e., the souls of men, assumed in consequence of their moral progress

into the order of angels; of whom we see some assumed into the number: those, viz., who have been made the sons of God, or the children of the resurrection, or who have abandoned the darkness, and have loved the light, and have been made children of the light; or those who, proving victorious in every struggle, and being made men of peace, have been the sons of peace, and the sons of God; or those who, mortifying their members on the earth, and, rising above not only their corporeal nature, but even the uncertain and fragile movements of the soul itself, have united themselves to the Lord, being made altogether spiritual, that they may be for ever one spirit with Him, discerning along with Him each individual thing, until they arrive at a condition of perfect spirituality, and discern all things by their perfect illumination in all holiness through the word and wisdom of God, and are themselves altogether undistinguishable by any one.

We think that those views are by no means to be admitted, which some are wont unnecessarily to advance and maintain, viz., that souls descend to such a pitch of abasement that they forget their rational nature and dignity, and sink into the condition of irrational animals, either large or small; and in support of these assertions they generally quote some pretended statements of Scripture, such as, that a beast, to which a woman has unnaturally prostituted herself, shall be deemed equally guilty with the woman, and shall be ordered to be stoned; or that a bull which strikes with its horn,133 shall be put to death in the same way; or even the speaking of Balaam's ass, when God opened its mouth, and the dumb beast of burden, answering with human voice, reproved the madness of the prophet. All of which assertions we not only do not receive, but, as being contrary to our belief, we refute and reject. After the refutation and rejection of such perverse opinions, we shall show, at the proper time and place, how those passages which they quote from the sacred Scriptures ought to be understood.

Fragment from the First Book of the de Principiis.

Translated by Jerome in His Epistle to Avitus.

"It is an evidence of great negligence and sloth, that each one should fall down to such (a pitch of degradation), and be so emptied, as that, in coming to evil, he may be fastened to the gross body of irrational beasts of burden."

Another Fragment from the Same.

Translated in the Same Epistle to Avitus.

"At the end and consummation of the world, when souls and rational creatures shall have been sent forth as from bolts and barriers,134 some of them walk slowly on account of their slothful habits, others fly with rapid flight on account of their diligence. And since all are possessed of free-will, and may of their own accord admit either of good or evil, the former will be in a worse condition than they are at present, while the latter will advance to a better state of things; because different conduct and varying wills will admit of a different condition in either direction, i.e., angels may become men or demons, and again from the latter they may rise to be men or angels."

1: Deut. iv. 24.

2: John iv. 24.

3: 1 John i. 5.

4: Ps. xxxvi. 9.

5: John xiv. 23.

6: 2 Cor. iii. 6.

7: 2 Cor. iii. 15-17.

8: Disciplina.

9: Subsistentia.

10: John iv. 20.

11: John iv. 23, 24.

12: "Inaestimabilem."

13: "Simplex intellectualis natura."

14: "Natura illa simplex et tota mens."

15: Some read "visivle."

16: "Substantia quaedam sensibilis propria."

17: Col. i. 15.

18: John i. 18.

19: "Constat inter Patrem et Filium."

20: Matt. xi. 27.

21: Matt. v. 8.

22: Cf. Prov. ii. 5.

23: Prov. viii. 22-25. The reading in the text differs considerably from that of the Vulgate.

24: Col. i. 15.

25: 1 Cor. i. 24.

26: Aliquid insubstantivum.

27: Substantialiter.

28: Ad punctum alicujus momenti.

29: Omnis virtus ac deformatio futurae creaturae.

30: This work is mentioned by Eusebius, Hist. Eccles ., iii. c. 3 and 25, as among the spurious writings current in the Church. The Acts of Paul and Thecla was a different work from the Acts of Paul . The words quoted, "Hic est verbum animal vivens," seem to be a corruption from Heb. iv. 12, awn gar o logoj tou Qeou . [Jones on the Canon , vol. ii. pp. 353-411, as to Paul and Thecla .

As to this quotation of our author, see Lardner, Credib ., ii. p. 539.] 31: Or, "and the Word was God."

32: "Quoniam hi qui videntur apud nos hominum filii, vel ceterorum animalium, semini eorum a quibus seminati sunt respondent, vel earum quarum in utero formantur ac nutriuntur, habent ex his quidquid illud est quod in lucem hanc assumunt, ac deferunt processuri." Probably the last two words shour be "deferunt processuris" - "and hand it over to those who are destined to come forth from them," i.e., to their descendants.

33: Subsistentia. Some would read here, "substantia."

34: Per adoptionem Spiritus. The original words here were probably eispoihsij tou pneumatoj , and Rufinus seems to have mistaken the allusion to Gen. ii. 7. To "adoption," in the technical theological sense, the words in the text cannot have any reference. - Schnitzer.

35: Col. i. 15.

36: Heb. i. 3.

37: aporroia .

38: Wisd. vii. 25.

39: Gen. v. 3.

40: Subsistentia.

41: John xiv. 9.

42: Heb. i. 3.

43: Luke vi. 42.

44: Heb. i. 3. Substantiae vel subsistentiae.

45: Wisd. vii. 25, 26.

46: "Hujus ergo totius virtutis tantae et tam immensae vapor, et, ut ita dicam, vigor ipse in propiâ subsistentiâ effectus, quamvis ex ipsa virtute velut voluntas ex men te procedat, tamen et ipsa voluntas Dei nihilominus Dei virtus efficitur."

47: 1 Cor. i. 24.

48: Ps. civ. 24.

49: John i. 3.

50: Rev. i. 8.

51: John xvii. 10.

52: Phil. ii. 10, 11.

53: John v. 19.

54: [Luke xviii. 19.] 55: Abusive [= improperly used. S.]

56: Ps. li. 11.

57: Dan. iv. 8.

58: John xx. 22.

59: Luke i. 35.

60: 1 Cor. xii. 3.

61: Acts viii. 18.

62: Cf. Matt. xii. 32 and Luke xii. 10.

63: Cf. Hermae Past., Vision v. Mandat. 1. [See vol. ii. p. 20.] 64: Per quem Spiritus Sanctus factura esse vel creatura diceretur.

65: Gal. v. 22.

66: Gal. iii. 3.

67: Isa. xlii. 5.

68: Isa. vi. 3.

69: Hab. iii. 2.

70: Luke x. 22.

71: 1 Cor. ii. 10.

72: Cf. John xvi. 12, 13, and xiv. 26.

73: John iii. 8.

74: Ex. iii. 14.

75: Rom. x. 6-8.

76: John xv. 22.

77: Jas. iv. 17.

78: Luke xvii. 20, 21.

79: Gen. ii. 7.

80: Gen. vi. 3.

81: Ps. civ. 29, 30.

82: Terra.

83: John xx. 22.

84: 1 Cor. xii. 3.

85: Acts i. 8.

86: Ps. xxxiii. 6.

87: 1 Cor. xii. 4-7.

88: 1 Cor. xii. 11.

89: 1 Cor. xii. 6.

90: Heb. i. 14.

91: Officia.

92: Eph. i. 21.

93: Deut. xxxii. 9.

94: Deut. xxxii. 8. The Septuagint here differs from the Masoretic text.

95: [See note at end of chap. vi. S.] 96: Simul cum substantiae suae prolatione - at the same time with the emanation of their substance.

97: Conditionis praerogativa.

98: Substantialiter.

99: Ezek. xxviii. 11-19.

100: Isa. xiv. 12-22.

101: Luke x. 18.

102: Matt. xxiv. 27.

103: 1 John v. 19.

104: Job xl. 20 [LXX.]

105: Ps. cx. 1.

106: 1 Cor. xv. 25.

107: Ps. lxii. 1.

108: John xvii. 20, 21.

109: John xvii. 22, 23.

110: Eph. iv. 13.

111: 1 Cor. i. 10.

112: 1 Cor. vii. 31.

113: Ps. cii. 26.

114: [The language used by Origen in this and the preceding chapter affords a remarkable illustration of that occasional extravagance in statements of facts and opinions, as well as of those strange imaginings and wild speculations as to the meaning of Holy Scripture, which brought upon him subsequently grave charges of error and heretical pravity. See Neander's History of the Christian Religion and Church during the First Three Centuries (Rose's translation), vol. ii. p. 217 et seqq., and Hagenbach's History of Doctrines , vol. i. p. 102 et seqq. See also Prefatory Note to Origen's Works, supra , p. 235. S.] 115: John i. 1-3.

116: Col. i. 16-18.

117: Job xxv. 5.

118: [See note, supra , p. 262. S.] 119: Isa. xlv. 12.

120: Jer. vii. 18.

121: Gen. i. 16.

122: Rom. ix. 14.

123: Rom. ii. 11.

124: Cf. Rom. viii. 20, 21.

125: Rom. viii. 19.

126: Rom. viii. 22, cf. 23.

127: Eccles. i. 1, 14.

128: Phil. 1. 23.

129: Matt. xviii. 10.

130: Ps. xxxiv. 7. Tum demun per singulos minimorum, qui sunt in ecclesiâ, qui vel qui adscribi singulis debeant angeli, qui etiam quotidie videant faciem Dei; sed et quis debeat esse angelus, qui circumdet in circuitu timentium Deum.

131: 1 Cor. xv. 9.

132: Cf. Rom. ii. 11.

133: [See Exod. xxi. 28, 29. S.]

134: De quibusdam repagulis atque carceribus. There is an allusion here to the race-course and the mode of starting the chariots.

De Principiis - Book 2

Book II.

Chapter I.-On the World.

Chapter II.-On the Perpetuity of Bodily Nature.

Chapter III.-On the Beginning of the World, and Its Causes.

Chapter IV.-The God of the Law and the Prophets, and the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, is the Same God.

Chapter V.-On Justice and Goodness.

Chapter VI.-On the Incarnation of Christ.

Chapter VII.-On the Holy Spirit.

Chapter VIII.-On the Soul (Anima).

Chapter IX.-On the World and the Movements of Rational Creatures, Whether Good or Bad; And on the Causes of Them.

Chapter X.-On the Resurrection, and the Judgment, the Fire of Hell, and Punishments.

Chapter XI.-On Counter Promises.186

Book II.

Chapter I.-On the World.

1. Although all the discussions in the preceding book have had reference to the world and its arrangements, it now seems to follow mat we should specially re-discuss a few points respecting the world itself, i.e., its beginning and end, or those dispensations of Divine Providence which have taken place between the beginning and the end, or those events which are supposed to have occurred before the creation of the world, or are to take place after the end. In this investigation, the first point which clearly appears is, that the world in all its diversified and varying conditions is composed not only of rational and diviner natures, and of a diversity of bodies, but of dumb animals, wild and tame beasts, of birds, and of all things which live in the waters;1 then, secondly, of places, i.e., of the heaven or heavens, and of the earth or water, as well as of the air, which is intermediate, and which they term aether, and of everything which proceeds from the earth or is born in it. Seeing, then,2 there is so great a variety in the world, and so great a diversity among rational beings themselves, on account of which every other variety and diversity also is supposed to have come into existence, what other cause than this ought to be assigned for the existence of the world, especially if we have regard to that end by means of which it was shown in the preceding book that all things are to be restored to their original condition? And if this should seem

to be logically stated, what other cause, as we have already said, are we to imagine for so great a diversity in the world, save the diversity and variety in the movements and declensions of those who fell from that primeval unity and harmony in which they were at first created by God, and who, being driven from that state of goodness, and drawn in various directions by the harassing influence of different motives and desires, have changed, according to their different tendencies, the single and undivided goodness of their nature into minds of various sorts?3

2. But God, by the ineffable skill of His wisdom, transforming and restoring all things, in whatever manner they are made, to some useful aim, and to the common advantage of all, recalls those very creatures which differed so much from each other in mental conformation to one agreement of labour and purpose; so that, although they are under the influence of different motives, they nevertheless complete the fulness and perfection of one world, and the very variety of minds tends to one end of perfection. For it is one power which grasps and holds together all the diversity of the world, and leads the different movements towards one work, lest so immense an undertaking as that of the world should be dissolved by the dissensions of souls. And for this reason we think that God, the Father of all things, in order to ensure the salvation of all His creatures through the ineffable plan of His word and wisdom, so arranged each of these, that every spirit, whether soul or rational existence, however called, should not be compelled by force, against the liberty of his own will, to any other course than that to which the motives of his own mind led him (lest by so doing the power of exercising free-will should seem to be taken away, which certainly would produce a change in the nature of the being itself); and that the varying purposes of these would be suitably and usefully adapted to the harmony of one world, by some of them requiring help, and others being able to give it, and others again being the cause of struggle and contest to those who are making progress, amongst whom their diligence would be deemed more worthy of approval, and the place of rank obtained after victory be held with greater certainty, which should be established by the difficulties of the contest.4

3. Although the whole world is arranged into offices of different kinds, its condition, nevertheless, is not to be supposed as one of internal discrepancies and discordances; but as our one body is provided with many members, and is held together by one soul, so I am of opinion that the whole world also ought to be regarded as some huge and immense animal, which is kept together by the power and reason of God as by one soul. This also, I think, is indicated in sacred Scripture by the declaration of the prophet, "Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord; "5 and again, "The heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool; "6 and by the Saviour's words, when He says that we are to swear "neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the earth, for it is His footstool: "7 To the same effect also are the words of Paul, in his address to the Athenians, when he says, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being."8 For how do we live, and move, and have our being in God, except by His comprehending and holding together the whole world by His power? And how is heaven the throne of God, and the earth His footstool, as the Saviour Himself declares, save by His power filling all things both in heaven and earth, according to the Lord's own words? And that God, the Father of all things, fills and holds together the world with the fulness of His power, according to those passages which we have quoted, no one, I think, will have any difficulty in admitting. And now, since the course of the preceding discussion has shown that the different movements of rational beings, and their varying opinions, have brought about the diversity that is in the world, we must see whether it may not be appropriate that this world should

have a termination like its beginning. For there is no doubt that its end must be sought amid much diversity and variety; which variety, being found to exist in the termination of the world, will again furnish ground and occasion for the diversities of the other world which is to succeed the present.

4. If now, in the course of our discussion, it has been ascertained that these things are so, it seems to follow that we next consider the nature of corporeal being, seeing the diversity in the world cannot exist without bodies. It is evident from the nature of things themselves, that bodily nature admits of diversity and variety of change, so that it is capable of undergoing all possible transformations, as, e.g., the conversion of wood into fire, of fire into smoke, of smoke into air, of oil into fire. Does not food itself, whether of man or of animals, exhibit the same ground of change? For whatever we take as food, is converted into the substance of our body. But how water is changed into earth or into air, and air again into fire, or fire into air, or air into water, although not difficult to explain, yet on the present occasion it is enough merely to mention them, as our object is to discuss the nature of bodily matter. By matter, therefore, we understand that which is placed under bodies, viz., that by which, through the bestowing and implanting of qualities, bodies exist; and we mention four qualities-heat, cold, dryness, humidity. These four qualities being implanted in the u\ #lh, or matter (for matter is found to exist in its own nature without those qualities before mentioned), produce the different kinds of bodies. Although this matter is, as we have said above, according to its own proper nature without qualities, it is never found to exist without a quality. And I cannot understand how so many distinguished men have been of opinion that this matter, which is so great, and possesses such properties as to enable it to be sufficient for all the bodies in the world which God willed to exist, and to be the attendant and slave of the Creator for whatever forms and species He wished in all things, receiving into itself whatever qualities He desired to bestow upon it, was uncreated, i.e., not formed by God Himself, who is the Creator of all things, but that its nature and power were the result of chance. And I am astonished that they should find fault with those who deny either God's creative power or His providential administration of the world, and accuse them of impiety for thinking that so great a work as the world could exist without an architect or overseer; while they themselves incur a similar charge of impiety in saying that matter is uncreated, and co-eternal with the uncreated God. According to this view, then, if we suppose for the sake of argument that matter did not exist, as these maintain, saying that God could not create anything when nothing existed, without doubt He would have been idle, not having matter on which to operate, which matter they say was furnished Him not by His own arrangement, but by accident; and they think that this, which was discovered by chance, was able to suffice Him for an undertaking of so vast an extent, and for the manifestation of the power of His might, and by admitting the plan of all His wisdom, might be distinguished and formed into a world. Now this appears to me to be very absurd, and to be the opinion of those men who are altogether ignorant of the power and intelligence of un-crested nature. But that we may see the nature of things a little more clearly, let it be granted that for a little time matter did not exist, and that God, when nothing formerly existed, caused those things to come into existence which He desired, why are we to suppose that God would create matter either better or greater, or of another kind, than that which He did produce from His own power and wisdom, in order that that might exist which formerly did not? Would He cream a worse and inferior matter, or one the same as that which they call uncreated? Now I think it will very easily appear to any one, that neither a better nor inferior matter could have assumed the forms and species of the world, if it had not been such as that which actually did assume them. And does it not then seem impious to call that uncreated, which,

if believed to be formed by God, would doubtless be found to be such as that which they call uncreated?

5. But that we may believe on the authority of holy Scripture that such is the case, hear how in the book of Maccabees, where the mother of seven martyrs exhorts her son to endure torture, this truth is confirmed; for she says, "I ask of thee, my son, to look at the heaven and the earth, and at all things which are in them, and beholding these, to know that God made all these things when they did not exist."9 In the book of the Shepherd also, in the first commandment, he speaks as follows: "First of all believe that there is one God who created and arranged all things, and made all things to come into existence, and out of a state of nothingness."10 Perhaps also the expression in the Psalms has reference to this: "He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created."11 For the words, "He spake, and they were made," appear to show that the substance of those things which exist is meant; while the others, "He commanded, and they were created," seem spoken of the qualities by which the substance itself has been moulded.

Chapter II.-On the Perpetuity of Bodily Nature.

1. On this topic some are wont to inquire whether, as the Father generates an uncreated Son, and brings forth a Holy Spirit, not as if He had no previous existence, but because the Father is the origin and source of the Son or Holy Spirit, and no anteriority or posteriority can be understood as existing in them; so also a similar kind of union or relationship can be understood as subsisting between rational natures and bodily matter. And that this point may be more fully and thoroughly examined, the commencement of the discussion is generally directed to the inquiry whether this very bodily nature, which bears the lives and contains the movements of spiritual and rational minds, will be equally eternal with them, or will altogether perish and be destroyed. And that the question may be determined with greater precision, we have, in the first place, to inquire if it is possible for rational natures to remain altogether incorporeal after they have reached the summit of holiness and happiness (which seems to me a most difficult and almost impossible attainment), or whether they must always of necessity be united to bodies. If, then, any one could show a reason why it was possible for them to dispense wholly with bodies, it will appear to follow, : hat as a bodily nature, created out of nothing after intervals of time, was produced when it did not exist, so also it must cease to be when the purposes which it served had no longer an existence.

2. If, however, it is impossible for this point to be at all maintained, viz., that any other nature than the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit can live without a body, the necessity of logical reasoning compels us to understand that rational natures were indeed created at the beginning, but that material substance was separated from them only in thought and understanding, and appears to have been formed for them, or after them, and that they never have lived nor do live without it; for an incorporeal life will rightly be considered a prerogative of the Trinity alone. As we have remarked above, therefore, that material substance of this world, possessing a nature admitting of all possible transformations, is, when dragged down to beings of a lower order, moulded into the crasser and more solid condition of a body, so as to distinguish those visible and varying forms of the world; but when it becomes the servant of more perfect and more blessed beings, it shines in the splendour of celestial bodies, and adorns either the angels of God or the sons of the resurrection with the clothing of a spiritual body, out of all which will be filled up the diverse and varying state of the one world. But if any one should desire to discuss these matters more fully, it

will be necessary, with all reverence and fear of God, to examine the sacred Scriptures with greater attention and diligence, to ascertain whether the secret and hidden sense within them may perhaps reveal anything regarding these matters; and something may be discovered in their abstruse and mysterious language, through the demonstration of the Holy Spirit to those who are worthy, after many testimonies have been collected on this very point.

Chapter III.-On the Beginning of the World, and Its Causes.

1. The next subject of inquiry is, whether there was any other world before the one which now exists; and if so, whether it was such as the present, or somewhat different, or inferior; or whether there was no world at all, but something like that which we understand will be after the end of all things, when the kingdom shall be delivered up to God, even the Father; which nevertheless may havebeen the end of another world,-of that, namely, after which this world took its beginning; and whether the various lapses of intellectual natures provoked God to produce this diverse and varying condition of the world. This point also, I think, must be investigated in a similar way, viz., whether after this world there will be any (system of) preservation and amendment, severe indeed, and attended with much pain to those who were unwilling to obey the word of God, but a process through which, by means of instruction and rational training, those may arrive at a fuller understanding of the truth who have devoted themselves in the present life to these pursuits, and who, after having had their minds purified, have advanced onwards so as to become capable of attaining divine wisdom; and after this the end of all things will immediately follow, and there will be again, for the correction and improvement of those who stand in need of it, another world, either resembling that which now exists, or better than it, or greatly inferior; and how long that world, whatever it be that is to come after this, shall continue; and if there will be a time when no world shall anywhere exist, or if there has been a time when there was no world at all; or if there have been, or will be several; or if it shall ever come to pass that there will be one resembling another, like it in every respect, and indistinguishable from it.

2. That it may appear more clearly, then, whether bodily matter can exist during intervals of time, and whether, as it did not exist before it was made, so it may again be resolved into non-existence, let us see, first of all, whether it is possible for any one to live without a body. For if one person can live without a body, all things also may dispense with them; seeing our former treatise has shown that all things tend towards one end. Now, if all things may exist without bodies, there will undoubtedly be no bodily substance, seeing there will be no use for it. But how shall we understand the words of the apostle in those passages, in which, discussing the resurrection of the dead, he says, "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying which is written, Death is swallowed up in victory! Where, O death, is thy victory? O death, thy sting has been swallowed up: the sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law."12 Some such meaning, then, as this, seems to be suggested by the apostle. For can the expression which he employs, "this corruptible," and "this mortal," with the gesture, as it were, of one who touches or points out, apply to anything else than to bodily matter? This matter of the body, then, which is now corruptible shall put on incorruption when a perfect soul, and one furnished with the marks13 of incorruption, shall have begun to inhabit it. And do not be surprised if we speak of a perfect soul as the clothing of the body (which, on account of the Word of God and His wisdom, is now named incorruption), when Jesus Christ Himself, who is the

Lord and Creator of the soul, is said to be the clothing of the saints, according to the language of the apostle, "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ."14 As Christ, then, is the clothing of the soul, so for a kind of reason sufficiently intelligible is the soul said to be the clothing of the body, seeing it is an ornament to it, covering and concealing its mortal nature. The expression, then, "This corruptible must put on incorruption," is as if the apostle had said, "This corruptible nature of the body must receive the clothing of incorruption-a soul possessing in itself incorruptibitity," because it has been clothed with Christ, who is the Wisdom and Word of God. But when this body, which at some future period we shall possess in a more glorious state, shall have become a partaker of life, it will then, in addition to being immortal, become also incorruptible. For whatever is mortal is necessarily also corruptible; but whatever is corruptible cannot also be said to be mortal. We say of a stone or a piece of wood that it is corruptible, but we do not say that it follows that it is also mortal. But as the body partakes of life, then because life may be, and is, separated from it, we consequently name it mortal, and according to another sense also we speak of it as corruptible. The holy apostle therefore, with remarkable insight, referring to the general first cause of bodily matter, of which (matter), whatever be the qualities with which it is endowed (now indeed carnal, but by and by more refined and pure, which are termed spiritual), the soul makes constant use, says, "This corruptible must put on incorruption." And in the second place, looking to the special cause of the body, he says, "This mortal must put on immortality." Now, what else will in-corruption and immortality be, save the wisdom, and the word, and the righteousness of God, which mould; and clothe, and adorn the soul? And hence it happens that it is said, "The corruptible will put on incorruption, and the mortal immortality." For although we may now make great proficiency, yet as we only know in part, and prophesy in part, and see through a glass, darkly, those very things which we seem to understand, this corruptible does not yet put on incorruption, nor is this mortal yet clothed with immorality; and as this training of ours in the body is protracted doubtless to a longer period, up to the time, viz., when those very bodies of ours with which we are enveloped may, on account of the word of God, and His wisdom and perfect righteousness, earn incorruptibility and immortality, therefore is it said, "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality."

3. But, nevertheless, those who think that rational creatures can at any time lead an existence out of the body, may here raise such questions as the following. If it is true that this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality, and that death is swallowed up at the end; this shows that nothing else than a material nature is to be destroyed, on which death could operate, while the mental acumen of those who are in the body seems to be blunted by the nature of corporeal matter. If, however, they are out of the body, then they will altogether escape the annoyance arising from a disturbance of that kind. But as they will not be able immediately to escape all bodily clothing, they are just to be considered as inhabiting more refined and purer bodies, which possess the property of being no longer overcome by death, or of being wounded by its sting; so that at last, by the gradual disappearance of the material nature, death is both swallowed up, and even at the end exterminated, and all its sting completely blunted by the divine grace which the soul has been rendered capable of receiving, and has thus deserved to obtain incorruptibility and immortality. And then it will be deservedly said by all, "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? The sting of death is sin." If these conclusions, then, seem to hold good, it follows that we must believe our condition at some future time to be incorporeal; and if this is admitted, and all are said to be subjected to Christ, this (incorporeity) also must

necessarily be bestowed on all to whom the subjection to Christ extends; since all who are subject to Christ will be in the end subject to God the Father, to whom Christ is said to deliver up the kingdom; and thus it appears that then also the need of bodies will cease.15 And if it ceases, bodily matter returns to nothing, as formerly also it did not exist.

Now let us see what can be said in answer to those who make these assertions. For it will appear to be a necessary consequence that, if bodily nature be annihilated, it must be again restored and created; since it seems a possible thing that rational natures, from whom the faculty of free-will is never taken away, may be again subjected to movements of some kind, through the special act of the Lord Himself, lest perhaps, if they were always to occupy a condition that was unchangeable, they should be ignorant that it is by the grace of God and not by their own merit that they have been placed in that final state of happiness; and these movements will undoubtedly again be attended by variety and diversity of bodies, by which the world is always adorned; nor will it ever be composed (of anything) save of variety and diversity,-an effect which cannot be produced without a bodily matter.

4. And now I do not understand by what proofs they can maintain their position, who assert that worlds sometimes come into existence which are not dissimilar to each other, but in all respects equal. For if there is said to be a world similar in all respects (to the present), then it will come to pass that Adam and Eve will do the same things which they did before: there will be a second time the same deluge, and the same Moses will again lead a nation numbering nearly six hundred thousand out of Egypt; Judas will also a second time betray the Lord; Paul will a second time keep the garments of those who stoned Stephen; and everything which has been done in this life will be said to be repeated,-a state of things which I think cannot be established by any reasoning, if souls are actuated by freedom of will, and maintain either their advance or retrogression according to the power of their will. For souls are not driven on in a cycle which returns after many ages to the same round, so as either to do or desire this or that; but at whatever point the freedom of their own will aims, thither do they direct the course of their actions. For what these persons say is much the same as if one were to assert that if a medimnus of grain were to be poured out on the ground, the fall of the grain would be on the second occasion identically the same as on the first, so that every individual grain would lie for the second time close beside that grain where it had been thrown before, and so the medimnus would be scattered in the same order, and with the same marks as formerly; which certainly is an impossible result with the countless grains of a medimnus, even if they were to be poured out without ceasing for many ages. So therefore it seems to me impossible for a world to be restored for the second time, with the same order and with the same amount of births, and deaths, and actions; but that a diversity of worlds may exist with changes of no unimportant kind, so that the state of another world may be for some unmistakeable reasons better (than this), and for others worse, and for others again intermediate. But what may be the number or measure of this I confess myself ignorant, although, if any one can tell it, I would gladly learn.

5. But this world, which is itself called an age, is said to be the conclusion of many ages. Now the holy apostle teaches that in that age which preceded this, Christ did not suffer, nor even in the age which preceded that again; and I know not that I am able to enumerate the number of anterior ages in which He did not suffer. I will show, however, from what statements of Paul I have arrived at this understanding. He says, "But now once in the consummation of ages, He was manifested to take away sin by the sacrifice of Himself."16 For He says that He was once made a victim, and

in the consummation of ages was manifested to take away sin. Now that after this age, which is said to be formed for the consummation of other ages, there will he other ages again to follow, we have clearly learned from Paul himself, who says, "That in the ages to come He might show the exceeding riches of His grace in His kindness towards us."17 He has not said, "in the age to come," nor "in the two ages to come," whence I infer that by his language many ages are indicated. Now if there is something greater than ages, so that among created beings certain ages may be understood, but among other beings which exceed and surpass visible creatures, (ages still greater) (which perhaps will be the case at the restitution of all things, when the whole universe will come to a perfect termination), perhaps that period in which the consummation of all things will take place is to be understood as something more than an age. But here the authority of holy Scripture moves me, which says, "For an age and more."18 Now this word "more" undoubtedly means something greater than an age; and see if that expression of the Saviour, "I will that where I am, these also may be with Me; and as I and Thou are one, these also may be one in Us,"19 may not seem to convey something more than an age and ages, perhaps even more than ages of ages,-that period, viz., when all things are now no longer in an age, but when God is in all.

6. Having discussed these points regarding the nature of the world to the best of our ability, it does not seem out of place to inquire what is the meaning of the term world, which in holy Scripture is shown frequently to have different significations. For what we call in Latin mundus, is termed in Greek ko/smoj, and ko/smoj signifies not only a world, but also an ornament. Finally, in Isaiah, where the language of reproof is directed to the chief daughters of Sion, and where he says, "Instead of an ornament of a golden head, thou wilt have baldness on account of thy works,"20 he employs the same term to denote ornament as to denote the world, viz., ko/smoj. For the plan of the world is said to be contained in the clothing of the high priest, as we find in the Wisdom of Solomon, where he says, "For in the long garment was the whole world."21 That earth of ours, with its inhabitants, is also termed the world, as when Scripture says, "The whole world lieth in wickedness."22 Clement indeed, a disciple of the apostles, makes mention of those whom the Greeks called 'Anti/xqonej, and other parts of the earth, to which no one of our people can approach, nor can any one of those who are there cross over to us, which he also termed worlds, saying, "The ocean is impassable to men; and those are words which are on the other side of it, which are governed by these same arrangements of the ruling God."23 That universe which is bounded by heaven and earth is also called a world, as Paul declares: "For the fashion of this world will pass away."24 Our Lord and Saviour also points out a certain other world besides this visible one, which it would indeed be difficult to describe and make known. He says, "I am not of this world."25 For, as if He were of a certain other world, He says, "I am not of this world." Now, of this world we have said beforehand, that the explanation was difficult; and for this reason, that there might not be afforded to any an occasion of entertaining the supposition that we maintain the existence of certain images which the Greeks call "ideas: "for it is certainly alien to our (writers) to speak of an incorporeal world existing in the imagination alone, or in the fleeting. world of thoughts; and how they can assert either that the Saviour comes from thence, or that the saints will go thither, I do not see. There is no doubt, however, that something more illustrious and excellent than this present world is pointed out by the Saviour, at which He incites and encourages believers to aim. But whether that world to which He desires to allude be far separated and divided from this either by situation, or nature, or glory; or whether it be superior in glory and quality, but

confined within the limits of this world (which seems to me more probable), is nevertheless uncertain, and in my opinion an unsuitable subject for human thought. But from what Clement seems to indicate when he says, "The ocean is impassable to men, and those worlds which are behind it," speaking in the plural number of the worlds which are behind it, which he intimates are administered and governed by the same providence of the Most High God, he appears to throw out to us some germs of that view by which the whole universe of existing things, celestial and super-celestial, earthly and infernal, is generally called one perfect world, within which, or by which, other worlds, if any there are, must be supposed to be contained. For which reason he wished the globe of the sun or moon, and of the other bodies called planets, to be each termed worlds. Nay, even that pre-eminent globe itself which they call the non-wandering (a0planh=), they nevertheless desire to have properly called world. Finally, they summon the book of Baruch the prophet to bear witness to this assertion, because in it the seven worlds or heavens are more clearly pointed out. Nevertheless, above that sphere which they call non-wandering (a0planh=), they will have another sphere to exist, which they say, exactly as our heaven contains all things which are under it, comprehends by its immense size and indescribable extent the spaces of all the spheres together within its more magnificent circumference; so that all things are within it, as this earth of oursis under heaven. And this also is believed to be called in the holy Scriptures the good land, and the land of the living, having its own heaven, which is higher, and in which the names of the saints are said to be written, or to have been written, by the Saviour; by which heaven that earth is confined and shut in, which the Saviour in the Gospel promises to the meek and merciful. For they would have this earth of ours, which formerly was named "Dry," to have derived its appellation from the name of that earth, as this heaven also was named firmament from the title of that heaven. But we have treated at greater length of such opinions in the place where we had to inquire into the meaning of the declaration, that in the beginning "God made the heavens and the earth." For another heaven and another earth are shown to exist besides that "firmanent" which is said to have been made after the second day, or that "dry land" which was afterwards called "earth." Certainly, what some say of this world, that it is corruptible because it was made, and yet is not corrupted, because the will of God, who made it and holds it together lest corruption should rule over it, is stronger and more powerful than corruption, may more correctly be supposed of that world which we have called above a "non-wandering "sphere, since by the will of God it is not at all subject to corruption, for the reason that it has not admired any causes of corruption, seeing it is the world of the saints and of the thoroughly purified, and not of the wicked, like that world of ours. We must see, moreover, lest perhaps it is with reference to this that the apostle says, "While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen; for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are unseen are eternal. For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens."26 And when he says elsewhere, "Because I shall see the heavens, the works of Thy fingers,"27 and when God said, regarding all things visible, by the mouth of His prophet, "My hand has formed all these things,"28 He declares that that eternal house in the heavens which He promises to His saints was not made with hands, pointing out, doubtless, the difference of creation in things which are seen and in those which are not seen. For the same thing is not to be understood by the expressions, "those things which are not seen," and "those things which are invisible." For those things which are invisible are not only not seen, but do not even possess the property of visibility, being what the Greeks call a0sw/mata,

i.e., incorporeal; whereas those of which Paul says, "They are not seen," possess indeed the property of being seen, but, as he explains, are not yet beheld by those to whom they are promised.

7. Having sketched, then, so far as we could understand, these three opinions regarding the end of all things, and the supreme blessedness, let each one of our readers determine for himself, with care and diligence, whether any one of them can be approved and adopted.29 For it has been said that we must suppose either that an incorporeal existence is possible, after all things have become subject to Christ, and through Christ to God the Father, when God, will be all and in all; or that when, notwithstanding all things have been made subject to Christ, and through Christ to God (with whom they formed also one spirit, in respect of spirits being rational natures), then the bodily substance itself also being united to most pure and excellent spirits, and being changed into an ethereal condition in proportion to the quality or merits of those who assume it (according to the apostle's words, "We also shall be changed"), will shine forth in splendour; or at least that when the fashion of those things which are seen passes away, and all corruption has been shaken off and cleansed away, and when the whole of the space occupied by this world, in which the spheres of the planets are said to be, has been left behind and beneath,30 then is reached the fixed abode of the pious and the good situated above that sphere, which is called non-wandering (a0planh/j), as in a good land, in a land of the living, which will be inherited by the meek and gentle; to which land belongs that heaven (which, with its more magnificent extent, surrounds and contains that land itself) which is called truly and chiefly heaven, in which heaven and earth, the end and perfection of all things, may be safely and most confidently placed,-where, viz., these, after their apprehension and their chastisement for the offences which they have undergone by way of purgation, may, after having fulfilled and discharged every obligation, deserve a habitation in that land; while those who have been obedient to the word of God, and have henceforth by their obedience shown themselves capable of wisdom, are said to deserve the kingdom of that heaven or heavens; and thus the prediction is more worthily fulfilled, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; "31 and, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for they shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; "32 and the declaration in the Psalm, "He shall exalt thee, and thou shalt inherit the land."33 For it is called a descent to this earth, but an exaltation to that which is on high. In this way, therefore, does a sort of road seem to be opened up by the departure of the saints from that earth to those heavens; so that they do not so much appear to abide in that land, as to inhabit it with an intention, viz., to pass on to the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven, when they have reached that degree of perfection also.

Chapter IV.-The God of the Law and the Prophets, and the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, is the Same God.

1. Having now briefly arranged these points in order as we best could, it follows that, agreeably to our intention from the first, we refute those who think that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is a different God from Him who gave the answers of the law to Moses, or commissioned the prophets, who is the God of our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. For in this article of faith, first of all, we must be firmly grounded. We have to consider, then, the expression of frequent recurrence in the Gospels, and subjoined to all the acts of our Lord and Saviour, "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by this or that prophet," it being manifest that the prophets are the prophets of that God who made the world. From this therefore we draw the conclusion, that He who sent the prophets,

Himself predicted what was to be foretold of Christ. And there is no doubt that the Father Himself, and not another different from Him, uttered these predictions. The practice, moreover, of the Saviour or His apostles, frequently quoting illustrations from the Old Testament, shows that they attribute authority to the ancients. The injunction also of the Saviour, when exhorting His disciples to the exercise of kindness, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect; for He commands His sun to rise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust,"34 most evidently suggests even to a person of feeble understanding, that He is proposing to the imitation of His disciples no other God than the maker of heaven and the bestower of the rain. Again, what else does the expression, which ought to be used by those who pray, "Our Father who art in heaven,"35 appear to indicate, save that God is to be sought in the better parts of the world, i.e., of His creation? Further, do not those admirable principles which He lays down respecting oaths, saying that we ought not to "swear either by heaven, because it is the throne of God; nor by the earth, because it is His footstool,"36 harmonize most clearly with the words of the prophet, "Heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool? "37 And also when casting out of the temple those who sold sheep, and oxen, and doves, and pouring out the tables of the money-changers, and saying, "Take these things, hence, and do not make My Father's house a house of merchandise,"38 He undoubtedly called Him His Father, to whose name Solomon had raised a magnificent temple. The words, moreover, "Have you not read what was spoken by God to Moses: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; He is not a God of the dead, but of the living,"39 most clearly teach us, that He called the God of the patriarchs (because they were holy, and were alive) the God of the living, the same, viz., who had said in the prophets, "I am God, and besides Me there is no God."40 For if the Saviour, knowing that He who is written in the law is the God of Abraham, and that it is the same who says, "I am God, and besides Me there is no God, acknowledges that very one to be His Father who is ignorant of the existence of any other God above Himself, as the heretics suppose, He absurdly declares Him to be His Father who does not know of a greater God. But if it is not from ignorance, but from deceit, that He says there is no other God than Himself, then it is a much greater absurdity to confess that His Father is guilty of falsehood. From all which this conclusion is arrived at, that He knows of no other Father than God, the Founder and Creator of all things.

2. It would be tedious to collect out of all the passages in the Gospels the proofs by which the God of the law and of the Gospels is shown to be one and the same. Let us touch briefly upon the Acts of the Apostles,41 where Stephen and the other apostles address their prayers to that God who made heaven and earth, and who spoke by the mouth of His holy prophets, calling Him the "God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; "the God who "brought forth His people out of the land of Egypt." Which expressions undoubtedly clearly direct our understandings to faith in the Creator, and implant an affection for Him in those who have learned piously and faithfully thus to think of Him; according to the words of the Saviour Himself, who, when He was asked which was the greatest commandment in the law, replied, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And to these He added: "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."42 How is it, then, that He commends to him whom He was instructing, and was leading to enter on the office of a disciple, this commandment above all others, by which undoubtedly love was to be kindled in him towards the God of that law, inasmuch as such had been declared by the law in these very words? But let it be granted, notwithstanding all these most

evident proofs, that it is of some other unknown God that the Saviour says, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," etc., etc. How, in that case, if the law and the prophets are, as they say, from the Creator, i.e., from another God than He whom He calls good, shall that appear to be logically said which He subjoins, viz., that "on these two commandments hang the law and the prophets? "For how shall that which is strange and foreign to God depend upon Him? And when Paul says, "I thank my God, whom I serve my spirit from my forefathers with pure conscience,"43 he clearly shows that he came not to some new God, but to Christ. For what other forefathers of Paul can be intended, except those of whom he says, "Are they Hebrews? so am I: are they Israelites? so am I."44 Nay, will not the very preface of his Epistle to the Romans clearly show the same thing to those who know how to understand the letters of Paul, viz., what God he preaches? For his words are: "Paul, the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an apostle, set apart to the Gospel of God, which He had promised afore by His prophets in the holy Scriptures concerning His Son, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and who was declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead of Christ Jesus our Lord,"45 etc. Moreover, also the following, "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? or saith he it altogether for our sakes? For our sakes, no doubt, this is written, that he that plougheth should plough in hope, and he that thresheth in hope of partaking of the fruits."46 By which he manifestly shows that God, who gave the law on our account, i.e., on account of the apostles, says, "Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn; "whose care was not for oxen, but for the apostles, who were preaching the Gospel of Christ. In other passages also, Paul, embracing the promises of the law, says, "Honour thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with promise; that it may be well with thee, and that thy days may be long upon the land, the good land, which the Lord thy God will give thee."47 By which he undoubtedly makes known that the law, and the God of the law, and His promises, are pleasing to him.

3. But as those who uphold this heresy are sometimes accustomed to mislead the hearts of the simple by certain deceptive sophisms, I do not consider it improper to bring forward the assertions which they are in the habit of making, and to refute their deceit and falsehood. The following, then, are their declarations. It is written, that "no man hath seen God at any time."48 But that God whom Moses preaches was both seen by Moses himself, and by his fathers before him; whereas He who is announced by the Saviour has never been seen at all by any one. Let us therefore ask them and ourselves whether they maintain that He whom they acknowledge to be God, and allege to be a different God from the Creator, is visible or invisible. And if they shall say that He is visible, besides being proved to go against the declaration of Scripture, which says of the Saviour, "He is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature,"49 they will fall also into the absurdity of asserting that God is corporeal. For nothing can be seen except by help of form, and size, and colour, which are special properties of bodies. And if God is declared to be a body, then He will also be found to be material, since every body is composed of matter. But if He be composed of matter, and matter is undoubtedly corruptible, then, according to them, God is liable to corruption! We shall put to them a second question. Is matter made, or is it uncreated, i.e., not made? And if they shall answer that it is not made, i.e., uncreated, we shall ask them if one portion of matter is God, and the other part the world? But if they shall say of matter that it is made, it will undoubtedly follow that they confess Him whom they declare to be God to have been made!-a result which certainly neither their reason nor ours can admit. But they will say, God is invisible.

And what will you do? If you say that He is invisible by nature, then neither ought He to be visible to the Saviour. Whereas, on the contrary, God, the Father of Christ, is said to be seen, because "he who sees the Son," he says, "sees also the Father."50 This certainly would press us very hard, were the expression not understood by us more correctly of understanding, and not of seeing. For he who has understood the Son will understand the Father also. In this way, then, Moses too must be supposed to have seen God, not beholding Him with the bodily eye, but understanding Him with the vision of the heart and the perception of the mind, and that only in some degree. For it is manifest that He, viz., who gave answers to Moses, said, "You shall not see My face, but My hinder parts."51 These words are, of course, to be understood in that mystical sense which is befitting divine words, those old wives' fables being rejected and despised which are invented by ignorant persons respecting the anterior and posterior parts of God. Let no one indeed suppose that we have indulged any feeling of impiety in saying that even to the Saviour the Father is not visible. Let him consider the distinction which we employ in dealing with heretics. For we have explained that it is one thing to see and to be seen, and another to know and to be known, or to understand and to be understood.52 To see, then, and to be seen, is a property of bodies, which certainly will not be appropriately applied either to the Father, or to the Son, or to the Holy Spirit, in their mutual relations with one another. For the nature of the Trinity surpasses the measure of vision, granting to those who are in the body, i.e., to all other creatures, the property of vision in reference to one another. But to a nature that is incorporeal and for the most part intellectual, no other attribute is appropriate save that of knowing or being known, as the Saviour Himself declares when He says, "No man knoweth the Son, save the Father; nor does any one know the Father, save the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal Him."53 It is clear, then, that He has not said, "No one has seen the Father, save the Son; "but, "No one knoweth the Father, save the Son."

4. And now, if, on account of those expressions which occur in the Old Testament, as when God is said to be angry or to repent, or when any other human affection or passion is described, (our opponents) think that they are furnished with grounds for refuting us, who maintain that God is altogether impassible, and is to be regarded as wholly free from all affections of that kind, we have to show them that similar statements are found even in the parables of the Gospel; as when it is said, that he who planted a vineyard, and let it out to husbandmen, who slew the servants that were sent to them, and at last put to death even the son, is said in anger to have taken away the vineyard from them, and to have delivered over the wicked husbandmen to destruction, and to have handed over the vineyard to others, who would yield him the fruit in its season. And so also with regard to those citizens who, when the head of the household had set out to receive for himself a kingdom, sent messengers after him, saying, "We will not have this man to reign over us; "54 for the head of the household having obtained the kingdom, returned, and in anger commanded them to be put to death before him, and burned their city with fire. But when we read either in the Old Testament or in the New of the anger of God, we do not take such expressions literally, but seek in them a spiritual meaning, that we may think of God as He deserves to be thought of. And on these points, when expounding the verse in the Psalms 2, "Then shall He speak to them in His anger, and trouble them in His fury,"55 we showed, to the best of our poor ability, how such an expression ought to be understood.

Chapter V.-On Justice and Goodness.

I. Now, since this consideration has weight with some, that the leaders of that heresy (of which we have been speaking) think they have established a kind of division, according to which they have declared that justice is one thing and goodness another, and have applied this division even to divine things, maintaining that the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is indeed a good God, but not a just one, whereas the God of the law and the prophets is just, but not good; I think it necessary to return, with as much brevity as possible, an answer to these statements. These persons, then, consider goodness to be some such affection as would have benefits conferred on all, although the recipient of them be unworthy and undeserving of any kindness; but here, in my opinion, they have not rightly applied their definition, inasmuch as they think that no benefit is conferred on him who is visited with any suffering or calamity. Justice, on the other hand, they view as that quality which rewards every one according to his deserts. But here, again, they do not rightly interpret the meaning of their own definition. For they think that it is just to send evils upon the wicked and benefits upon the good; i.e., so that, according to their view, the just God does not appear to wish well to the bad, but to be animated by a kind of hatred against them. And they gather together instances of this, Wherever they find a history in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, relating, e.g., the punishment of the deluge, or the fate of those who are described as perishing in it, or the, destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by a shower of fire and brimstone, or the falling of all the people in the wilderness on account of their sins, so that none of those who had left Egypt were found to have entered the promised land, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb. Whereas from the New Testament they gather together words of compassion and piety, through which the disciples are trained by the Saviour, and by which it seems to be declared that no one is good save God the Father only; and by this means they have ventured to style the Father of the Saviour Jesus Christ a good God, but to say that the God of the world is a different one, whom they are pleased to term just, but not also good.

2. Now I think they must, in the first place, be required to show, if they can, agreeably to their own definition, that the Creator is just in punishing according to their deserts, either those who perished at the time of the deluge, or the inhabitants of Sodom, or those who had quitted Egypt, seeing we sometimes behold committed crimes more wicked and detestable than those for which the above-mentioned persons were destroyed, while we do not yet sere every sinner paying the penalty of his misdeeds. Will they say that He who at one time was just has been made good? Or will they rather be of opinion that He is even now just, but is patiently enduring human offences, while that then He was not even just, inasmuch as He exterminated innocent and sucking children along with cruel and ungodly giants? Now, such are their opinions, because they know not how to understand anything beyond the letter; otherwise they would show how it is literal justice for sins to be visited upon the heads of children to the third and fourth generation, and on children's children after them. By us, however, such things are not understood literally; but, as Ezekiel taught56 when relating the parable, we inquire what is the inner meaning contained in the parable itself. Moreover, they ought to explain this also, how He is just, and rewards every one according to his merits, who punishes earthly-minded persons and the devil, seeing they have done nothing worthy of punishment.57 For they could not do any good if, according to them, they were of a wicked and ruined nature. For as they style Him a judge, He appears to be a judge not so much of actions as of natures; and if a bad nature cannot do good, neither can a good nature do evil. Then, in the next place, if He whom the), call good is good to all, He is undoubtedly good also to those who are destined to perish. And why does He not save them? If He does not desire to do so, He will be no

longer good; if He does desire it, and cannot effect it, He will not be omnipotent. Why do they not rather hear the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Gospels, preparing fire for the devil and his angels? And how shall that proceeding, as penal as it is sad, appear to be, according to their view, the work of the good God? Even the Saviour Himself, the Son of the good God, protests in the Gospels, and declares that "if signs and wonders had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented58 long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes." And when He had come near to those very cities, and had entered their territory, why, pray, does He avoid entering those cities, and exhibiting to them abundance of signs and wonders, if it were certain that they would have repented, after they had been performed, in sackcloth and ashes? But as He does not do this, He undoubtedly abandons to destruction those whom the language of the Gospel shows not to have been of a wicked or mined nature, inasmuch as it declares they were capable of repentance. Again, in a certain parable of the Gospel, where the king enters in to see the guests reclining at the banquet, he beheld a certain individual not clothed with wedding raiment, and said. to him, "Friend, how camest thou in hither, not having a wedding garment? "and then ordered his servants, "Bind him hand and foot, and cast him into outer darkness; there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth."59 Let them tell us who is that king who entered in to see the guests, and finding one amongst them with unclean garments, commanded him to be bound by his servants, and thrust out into outer darkness. Is he the same whom they call just? How then had he commanded good and bad alike to be invited, without directing their merits to be inquired into by his servants? By such procedure would be indicated, not the character of a just God who rewards according to men's deserts, as they assert, but of one who displays undiscriminating goodness towards all. Now, if this must necessarily be understood of the good God, i.e., either of Christ or of the Father of Christ, what other objection can they bring against the justice of God's judgment? Nay, what else is there so unjust charged by them against the God of the law as to order him who had been invited by His servants, whom He had sent to call good and bad alike, to be bound hand and foot, and to be thrown into outer darkness, because he had on unclean garments?

3. And now, what we have drawn from the authority of Scripture ought to be sufficient to refute the arguments of the heretics. It will not, however, appear improper if we discuss the matter with them shortly, on the grounds of reason itself. We ask them, then, if they know what is regarded among men as the ground of virtue and wickedness, and if it appears to follow that we can speak of virtues in God, or, as they think, in these two Gods. Let them give an answer also to the question, whether they consider goodness to be a virtue; and as they will undoubtedly admit it to be so, what will they say of injustice? They will never certainly, in my opinion, be so foolish as to deny that justice is a virtue. Accordingly, if virtue is a blessing, and justice is a virtue, then without doubt justice is goodness. But if they say that justice is not a blessing, it must either be an evil or an indifferent thing. Now I think it folly to return any answer to those who say that justice is an evil, for I shall have the appearance of replying either to senseless words, or to men out of their minds. How can that appear an evil which is able to reward the good with blessings, as they themselves also admit? But if they say that it is a thing of indifference, it follows that since justice is so, sobriety also, and prudence, and all the other virtues, are things of indifference. And what answer shall we make to Paul, when he says, "If there be any virtue, and, if there be any praise, think on these things, which ye have learned, and received, and heard, and seen in me? "60 Let them learn, therefore, by searching the holy Scriptures, what are the individual virtues, and not deceive themselves by saying that that God who rewards every one according to his merits, does, through

hatred of evil, recompense the wicked with evil, and not because those who have sinned need to be treated with severer remedies, and because He applies to them those measures which, with the prospect of improvement, seem nevertheless, for the present, to produce a feeling of pain. They do not read what is written respecting the hope of those who were destroyed in the deluge; of which hope Peter himself thus speaks in his first Epistle: "That Christ, indeed, was put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit, by which He went and preached to the spirits who were kept in prison, who once were unbelievers, when they awaited the long-suffering of God in the days of Noah, when the ark was preparing, in which a few, i.e., eight souls, were saved by water. Whereunto also baptism by a like figure now saves you."61 And with regard to Sodom and Gomorrah, let them tell us whether they believe the prophetic words to be those of the Creator God-of Him, viz., who is related to have rained upon them a shower of fire and brimstone. What does Ezekiel the prophet say of them? "Sodom," he says, "shall be restored to her former condition."62 But why, in afflicting those who are deserving of punishment, does He not afflict them for their good?-who also says to Chaldea, "Thou hast coals of fire, sit upon them; they will be a help to thee."63 And of those also who fell in the desert, let them hear what is related in the Psalms 78, which bears the superscription of Asaph; for he says, "When He slew them, then they sought Him."64 He does not say that some sought Him after others had been slain, but he says that the destruction of those who were killed was of such a nature that, when put to death, they sought God. By all which it is established, that the God of the law and the Gospels is one and the same, a just and good God, and that He confers benefits justly, and punishes with kindness; since neither goodness without justice, nor justice without goodness, can display the (real) dignity of the divine nature.

We shall add the following remarks, to which we are driven by their subtleties. If justice is a different thing from goodness, then, since evil is the opposite of good, and injustice of justice, injustice will doubtless be something else than an evil; and as, in your opinion, the just man is not good, so neither will the unjust man be wicked; and again, as the good man is not just, so the wicked man also will not be unjust. But who does not see the absurdity, that to a good God one should be opposed that is evil; while to a just God, whom they allege to be inferior to the good, no one should be opposed! For there is none who can be called unjust, as there is a Satan who is called wicked. What, then, are we to do? Let us give up the position which we defend, for they will not be able to maintain that a bad man is not also unjust, and an unjust man wicked. And if these qualities be indissolubly inherent in these opposites, viz., injustice in wickedness, or wickedness in injustice, then unquestionably the good man will be inseparable from the just man, and the just from the good; so that, as we speak of one and the same wickedness in malice and injustice, we may also hold the virtue of goodness and justice to be one and the same.

4. They again recall us, however, to the words of Scripture, by bringing forward that celebrated question of theirs, affirming that it is written, "A bad tree cannot produce good fruits; for a tree is known by its fruit."65 What, then, is their position? What sort of tree the law is, is shown by its fruits, i.e., by the language of its precepts. For if the law be found to be good, then undoubtedly He who gave it is believed to be a good God. But if it be just rather than good, then God also will be considered a just legislator. The Apostle Paul makes use of no circumlocution, when he says, "The law is good; and the commandment is holy, and just, and good."66 From which it is clear that Paul had not learned the language of those who separate justice from goodness, but had been

instructed by that God, and illuminated by His Spirit, who is at the same time both holy, and good, and just; and speaking by whose Spirit he declared that the commandment of the law was holy, and just, and good. And that he might show more clearly that goodness was in the commandment to a greater degree than justice and holiness, repeating his words, he used, instead of these three epithets, that of goodness alone, saying, "Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid."67 As he knew that goodness was the genus of the virtues, and that justice and holiness were species belonging to the genus, and having in the former verses named genus and species together, he fell back, when repeating his words, on the genus alone. But in those which follow he says, "Sin wrought death in me by that which is good,"68 where he sums up generically what he had beforehand explained specifically. And in this way also is to be understood the declaration, "A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things."69 For here also he assumed that there was a genus in good or evil, pointing out unquestionably that in a good man there were both justice, and temperance, and prudence, and piety, and everything that can be either called or understood to be good. In like manner also he said that a man was wicked who should without any doubt be unjust, and impure, and unholy, and everything which singly makes a bad man. For as no one considers a man to be wicked without these marks of wickedness (nor indeed can he be so), so also it is certain that without these virtues no one will be deemed to be good. There still remains to them, however, that saying of the Lord in the Gospel, which they think is given them in a special manner as a shield, viz., "There is none good but one, God the Father."70 This word they declare is peculiar to the Father of Christ, who, however, is different from the God who is Creator of all things, to which Creator he gave no appellation of goodness. Let us see now if, in the Old Testament, the God of the prophets and the Creator and Legislator of the word is not called good. What are the expressions which occur in the Psalms? "How good is God to Israel, to the upright in heart!"71 and, "Let Israel now say that He is good, that His mercy endureth for ever; "72 the language in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, "The Lord is good to them that wait for Him, to the soul that seeketh Him."73 As therefore God is frequently called good in the Old Testament, so also the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is styled just in the Gospels. Finally, in the Gospel according to John, our Lord Himself, when praying to the Father, says, "O just Father, the world hath not known Thee."74 And lest perhaps they should say that it was owing to His having assumed human flesh that He called the Creator of the world "Father," and styled Him "Just," they are excluded from such a refuge by the words that immediately follow, "The world hath not known Thee." But, according to them, the world is ignorant of the good God alone. For the word unquestionably recognises its Creator, the Lord Himself saying that the world loveth what is its own. Clearly, then, He whom they consider to be the good God, is called just in the Gospels. Any one may at leisure gather together a greater number of proofs, consisting of those passages, where in the New Testament the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is called just, and in the Old also, where the Creator of heaven and earth is called good; so that the heretics, being convicted by numerous testimonies, may perhaps some time be put to the blush.

Chapter VI.-On the Incarnation of Christ.

1. It is now time, after this cursory notice of these points, to resume our investigation of the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, viz., how or why He became man. Having therefore, to the best of our feeble ability, considered His divine nature from the contemplation of His own works

rather than from our own feelings, and having nevertheless beheld (with the eye) His visible creation while the invisible creation is seen by faith, because human frailty can neither see all things with the bodily eye nor comprehend them by reason, seeing we men are weaker and frailer than any other rational beings (for those which are in heaven, or are supposed to exist above the heaven, are superior), it remains that we seek a being intermediate between all created things and God, i.e., a Mediator, whom the Apostle Paul styles the "first-born of every creature."75 Seeing, moreover, those declarations regarding His majesty which are contained in holy Scripture, that He is called the "image of the invisible God, and the first-born of every creature," and that "in Him were all things created, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by Him, and in Him: and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist,"76 who is the head of all things, alone having as head God the Father; for it is written, "The head of Christ is God; "77 seeing clearly also that it is written, "No one knoweth the Father, save the Son, nor doth any one know the Son, save the Father"78 (for who can know what wisdom is, save He who called it into being? or, who can understand clearly what truth is, save the Father of truth? who can investigate with certainty the universal nature of His Word, and of God Himself, which nature proceeds from God, except God alone, with whom the Word was), we ought to regard it as certain that this Word, or Reason (if it is to be so termed), this Wisdom, this Truth, is known to no other than the Father only; and of Him it is written, that "I do not think that the world itself could contain the books which might be written,"79 regarding, viz., the glory and majesty of the Son of God. For it is impossible to commit to writing (all) those particulars which belong to the glory of the Saviour. After the consideration of questions of such importance concerning the being of the Son of God, we are lost in the deepest amazement that such a nature, pre-eminent above all others, should have divested itself of its condition of majesty and become man, and tabernacled amongst men, as the grace that was poured upon His lips testifies, and as His heavenly Father bore Him witness, and as is confessed by the various signs and wonders and miracles80 that were performed by Him; who also, before that appearance of His which He manifested in the body, sent the prophets as His forerunners, and the messengers of His advent; and after His ascension into heaven, made His holy apostles, men ignorant and unlearned, taken from the ranks of tax-gatherers or fishermen, but who were filled with the power of His divinity, to itinerate throughout the world, that they might gather together out of every race and every nation a multitude of devout believers in Himself.

2. But of all the marvellous and mighty acts related of Him, this altogether surpasses human admiration, and is beyond the power of mortal frailness to understand or feel, how that mighty power of divine majesty, that very Word of the Father, and that very wisdom of God, in which were created all things, visible and invisible, can be believed to have existed within the limits of that man who appeared in Judea; nay, that the Wisdom of God can have entered the womb of a woman, and have been born an infant, and have uttered wailings like the cries of little children! And that afterwards it should be related that He was greatly troubled in death, saying, as He Himself; declared, "My soul is sorrowful even unto death; "81 and that at the last He was brought to that death which is accounted the most shameful among men, although He rose again on the third day. Since, then, we see in Him some things so human that they appear to differ in no respect from the common frailty of mortals, and some things so divine that they can appropriately belong to nothing else than to the primal and ineffable nature of Deity, the narrowness of human understanding can find no outlet; but, overcome with the amazement of a mighty admiration, knows not whither to

withdraw, or what to take hold of, or whither to turn. If it think of a God, it goes a mortal; if it think of a man; it beholds Him returning from the grave, after overthrowing the empire of death, laden with its spoils. And therefore the spectacle is to be contemplated with all fear and reverence, that the truth of both natures may be clearly shown to exist in one and the same Being; so that nothing unworthy or unbecoming may be perceived in that divine and ineffable substance nor yet those things which were done be supposed to be the illusions of imaginary appearances. To utter these things in human ears, and to explain them in words, far surpasses the powers either of our rank, or of our intellect and language. I think that it surpasses the power even of the holy apostles; nay, the explanation of that mystery may perhaps be beyond the grasp of the entire creation of celestial powers. Regarding Him, then, we shall state, in the fewest possible words, the contents of our creed rather than the assertions which human reason is wont to advance; and this from no spirit of rashness, but as called for by the nature of our arrangement, laying before you rather (what may be termed) our suspicions than any clear affirmations.

3. The Only-begotten of God, therefore, through whom, as the previous course of the discussion has shown, all things were made, visible and invisible, according to the view of Scripture, both made all things, and loves what He made. For since He is Himself the invisible image of the invisible God, He conveyed invisibly a share in Himself to all His rational creatures, so that each one obtained a part of Him exactly proportioned to the amount of affection with which he regarded Him. But since, agreeably to the faculty of free-will, variety and diversity characterized the individual souls, so that one was attached with a warmer love to the Author of its being, and another with a feebler and weaker regard, that soul (anima) regarding which Jesus said, "No one shall take my life (animam) from me,"82 inhering, from the beginning of the creation, and afterwards, inseparably and indissolubly in Him, as being the Wisdom and Word of God, and the Truth and the true Light, and receiving Him wholly, and passing into His light and splendour, was made with Him in a pre-eminent degree83 one spirit, according to the promise of the apostle to those who ought to imitate it, that "he who is joined in the Lord is one spirit."84 This substance of a soul, then, being intermediate between God and the flesh-it being impossible for the nature of God to intermingle with a body without an intermediate instrument-the God-man is born, as we have said, that substance being the intermediary to whose nature it was not contrary to assume a body. But neither, on the other hand, was it opposed to the nature of that soul, as a rational existence, to receive God, into whom, as stated above, as into the Word, and the Wisdom, and the Truth, it had already wholly entered. And therefore deservedly is it also called, along with the flesh which it had assumed, the Son of God, and the Power of God, the Christ, and the Wisdom of God, either because it was wholly in the Son of God, or because it received the Son of God wholly into itself. And again, the Son of God, through whom all things were created, is named Jesus Christ and the Son of man. For the Son of God also is said to have died-in reference, viz., to that nature which could admit of death; and He is called the Son of man, who is announced as about to come in the glory of God the Father, with the holy angels. And for this reason, throughout the whole of Scripture, not only is the divine nature spoken of in human words, but the human nature is adorned by appellations of divine dignity. More truly indeed of this than of any other can the statement be affirmed, "They shall both be in one flesh, and are no longer two, but one flesh."85 For the Word of God is to be considered as being more in one flesh with the soul than a man with his wife. But to whom is it more becoming to be also one spirit with God, than to this soul which has so joined itself to God by love as that it may justly be said to be one spirit with Him?

4. That the perfection of his love and the sincerity of his deserved affection86 formed for it this inseparable union with God, so that the assumption of that soul was not accidental, or the result of a personal preference, but was conferred as the reward of its virtues, listen to the prophet addressing it thus: "Thou hast loved righteousness, and hated wickedness: therefore God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."87 As a reward for its love, then, it is anointed with the oil of gladness; i.e., the soul of Christ along with the Word of God is made Christ. Because to be anointed with the oil of gladness means nothing else than to be filled with the Holy Spirit. And when it is said "above thy fellows," it is meant that the grace of the Spirit was not given to it as to the prophets, but that the essential fulness of the Word of God Himself was in it, according to the saying of the apostle, "In whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."88 Finally, on this account he has not only said, "Thou hast loved righteousness; "but he adds, "and Thou hast hated wickedness." For to have hated wickedness is what the Scripture says of Him, that "He did no sin, neither was any guile found in His mouth,"89 and that "He was tempted in all things like as we are, without sin."90 Nay, the Lord Himself also said, "Which of you will convince Me of sin? "91 And again He says with reference to Himself, "Behold, the prince of this world cometh, and findeth nothing in Me."92 All which (passages) show that in Him there was no sense of sin; and that the prophet might show more clearly that no sense of sin had ever entered into Him, he says, "Before the boy could have knowledge to call upon father or mother, He turned away from wickedness."93

5. Now, if our having shown above that Christ possessed a rational soul should cause a difficulty to any one, seeing we have frequently proved throughout all our discussions that the nature of souls is capable both of good and evil, the difficulty will be explained in the following way. That the nature, indeed, of His soul was the same as that of all others cannot be doubted otherwise it could not be called a soul were it not truly one. But since the power of choosing good and evil is within the reach of all, this soul which belonged to Christ elected to love righteousness, so that in proportion to the immensity of its love it clung to it unchangeably and inseparably, so that firmness of purpose, and immensity of affection, and an inextinguishable warmth of love, destroyed all susceptibility (sensum) for alteration and change; and that which formerly depended upon the will was changed by the power of long custom into nature; and so we must believe that there existed in Christ a human and rational soul, without supposing that it had any feeling or possibility of sin.

6. To explain the matter more fully, it will not appear absurd to make use of an illustration, although on a subject of so much difficulty it is not easy to obtain suitable illustrations. However, if we may speak without offence, the metal iron is capable of cold and heat. If, then, a mass of iron be kept constantly in the fire, receiving the heat through all its pores and veins, and the fire being continuous and the iron never removed from it, it become wholly converted into the latter; could we at all say of this, which is by nature a mass of iron, that when placed in the fire, and incessantly burning, it was at any time capable of admitting cold? On the contrary, because it is more consistent with truth, do we not rather say, what we often see happening in furnaces, that it has become wholly fire, seeing nothing but fire is visible in it? And if any one were to attempt to touch or handle it, he would experience the action not of iron, but of fire. In this way, then, that soul which, like an iron in the fire, has been perpetually placed in the Word, and perpetually in the Wisdom, and perpetually in God,94 is God in all that it does, feels, and understands, and therefore can be called neither convertible nor mutable, inasmuch as, being incessantly heated, it

possessed immutability from its union with the Word of God. To all the saints, finally, some warmth from the Word of God must be supposed to have passed; and in this soul the divine fire itself must be believed to have rested, from which some warmth may have passed to others. Lastly, the expression, "God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows,"95 shows that that soul is anointed in one way with the oil of gladness, i.e., with the word of God and wisdom; and his fellows, i.e., the holy prophets and apostles, in another. For they are said to have "run in the odour of his ointments; "96 and that soul was the vessel which contained that very ointment of whose fragrance all the worthy prophets and apostles were made partakers. As, then, the substance of an ointment is one thing and its odour another, so also Christ is one thing and His fellows another. And as the vessel itself, which contains the substance of the ointment, can by no means admit any foul smell; whereas it is possible that those who enjoy its odour may, if they remove a little way from its fragrance, receive any foul odour which comes upon them: so, in the same way, was it impossible that Christ, being as it were the vessel itself, in which was the substance of the ointment, should receive an odour of an opposite kind, while they who are His "fellows" will be partakers and receivers of His odour, in proportion to their nearness to the vessel.

7. I think, indeed, that Jeremiah the prophet, also, understanding what was the nature of the wisdom of God in him, which was the same also which he had assumed for the salvation of the world, said, "The breath of our countenance is Christ the Lord, to whom we said, that under His shadow we shall live among the nations."97 And inasmuch as the shadow of our body is inseparable from the body, and unavoidably performs and repeats its movements and gestures, I think that he, wishing to point out the work of Christ's soul, and the movements inseparably belonging to it, and which accomplished everything according to His movements and will, called this the shadow of Christ the Lord, under which shadow we were to live among the nations. For in the mystery of this assumption the nations live, who, imitating it through faith, come to salvation. David also, when saying, "Be mindful of my reproach, O Lord, with which they reproached me in exchange for Thy Christ,"98 seems to me to indicate the same. And what else does Paul mean when he says, "Your life is hid with Christ in God; "99 and again in another passage, "Do you seek a proof of Christ, who speaketh in me? "100 And now he says that Christ was hid in God. The meaning of which expression, unless it be shown to be something such as we have pointed out above as intended by the prophet in the words "shadow of Christ," exceeds, perhaps, the apprehension of the human mind. But we see also very many other statements in holy Scripture respecting the meaning of the word "shadow," as that well-known one in the Gospel according to Luke, where Gabriel says to Mary, "The Spirit of the Lord shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee."101 And the apostle says with reference to the law, that they who have circumcision in the flesh, "serve for the similitude and shadow of heavenly things."102 And elsewhere, "Is not our life upon the earth a shadow? "103 If, then, not only the law which is upon the earth is a shadow, but also all our life which is upon the earth is the same, and we live among the nations under the shadow of Christ, we must see whether the truth of all these shadows may not come to be known in that revelation, when no longer through a glass, and darkly, but face to face, all the saints shall deserve to behold the glory of God, and the causes and truth of things. And the pledge of this truth being already received through the Holy Spirit, the apostle said, "Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we Him no more."104 The above, meanwhile, are the thoughts which have occurred to us, when treating of subjects of such difficulty as the incarnation and deity of Christ. If there be any one, indeed, who

can discover something better, and who can establish his assertions by clearer proofs from holy Scriptures, let his opinion be received in preference to mine.

Chapter VII.-On the Holy Spirit.

1. As, then, after those first discussions which, according to the requirements of the case, we held at the beginning regarding the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, it seemed right that we should retrace our steps, and show that the same God was the creator and founder of the world, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, i.e., that the God of the law and of the prophets and of the Gospel was one and the same; and that, in the next place, it ought to be shown, with respect to Christ, in what manner He who had formerly been demonstrated to be the Word and Wisdom of God became man; it remains that we now return with all possible brevity to the subject of the Holy Spirit.

It is time, then, that we say a few words to the best of our ability regarding the Holy Spirit, whom our Lord and Saviour in the Gospel according to John has named the Paraclete. For as it is the same God Himself, and the same Christ, so also is it the same Holy Spirit who was in the prophets and apostles, i.e., either in those who believed in God before the advent of Christ, or in those who by means of Christ have sought refuge in God. We have heard, indeed, that certain heretics have dared to say that there are two Gods and two Christs, but we have never known of the doctrine of two Holy Spirits being preached by any one.105 For how could they maintain this out of Scripture, or what distinction could they lay down between Holy Spirit and Holy Spirit, if indeed any definition or description of Holy Spirit can be discovered? For although we should concede to Marcion or to Valentinus that it is possible to draw distinctions in the question of Deity, and to describe the nature of the good God as one, and that of the just God as another, what will he devise, or what will he discover, to enable him to introduce a distinction in the Holy Spirit? I consider, then, that they are able to discover nothing which may indicate a distinction of any kind whatever.

2. Now we are of opinion that every rational creature, without any distinction, receives a share of Him in the same way as of the Wisdom and of the Word of God. I observe, however, that the chief advent of the Holy Spirit is declared to men, after the ascension of Christ to heaven, rather than before His coming into the world. For, before that, it was upon the prophets alone, and upon a few individuals-if there happened to be any among the people deserving of it-that the gift of the Holy Spirit was conferred; but after the advent of the Saviour, it is written that the prediction of the prophet Joel was fulfilled, "In the last days it shall come to pass, and I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophesy,"106 which is similar to the well-known statement, "All nations shall serve Him."107 By the grace, then, of the Holy Spirit, along with numerous other results, this most glorious consequence is clearly demonstrated, that with regard to those things which were written in the prophets or in the law of Moses, it was only a few persons at that time, viz., the prophets themselves, and scarcely another individual out of the whole nation, who were able to look beyond the mere corporeal meaning and discover something greater, i.e., something spiritual, in the law or in the prophets; but now there are countless multitudes of believers who, although unable to unfold methodically and clearly the results of their spiritual understanding,108 are nevertheless most firmly persuaded that neither ought circumcision to be understood literally, nor the rest of the Sabbath, nor the pouring out of the blood of an animal, nor that answers were given by God to Moses on these points. And this method of apprehension is undoubtedly suggested to the minds of all by the power of the Holy Spirit.

3. And as there are many ways of apprehending Christ, who, although He is wisdom, does not act the part or possess the power of wisdom in all men, but only in those who give themselves to the study of wisdom in Him; and who, although called a physician, does not act as one towards all, but only towards those who understand their feeble and sickly condition, and flee to His compassion that they may obtain health; so also I think is it with the Holy Spirit, in whom is contained every kind of gifts, For on some is bestowed by the Spirit the word of wisdom, on others the word of knowledge, on others faith; and so to each individual of those who are capable of receiving Him, is the Spirit Himself made to be that quality, or understood to be that which is needed by the individual who has deserved to participate.109 These divisions and differences not being perceived by those who hear Him called Paraclete in the Gospel, and not duly considering in consequence of what work or act He is named the Paraclete, they have compared Him to some common spirits or other, and by this means have tried to disturb the Churches of Christ, and so excite dissensions of no small extent among brethren; whereas the Gospel shows Him to be of such power and majesty, that it says the apostles could not yet receive those things which the Saviour wished to teach them until the advent of the Holy Spirit, who, pouring Himself into their souls, might enlighten them regarding the nature and faith of the Trinity. But these persons, because of the ignorance of their understandings, are not only unable themselves logically to state the truth, but cannot even give their attention to what is advanced by us; and entertaining Unworthy ideas of His divinity, have delivered themselves over to errors and deceits, being depraved by a spirit of error, rather than instructed by the teaching of the Holy Spirit, according to the declaration of the apostle, "Following the doctrine of devils, forbidding to marry, to the destruction and ruin of many, and to abstain from meats, that by an ostentatious exhibition of stricter observance they may seduce the souls of the innocent."110

4. We must therefore know that the Paraclete is the Holy Spirit, who teaches truths which cannot be uttered in words, and which are, so to speak, unutterable, and "which it is not lawful for a man to utter,"111 i.e., which cannot be indicated by human language. The phrase "it is not lawful" is, we think, used by the apostle instead of "it is not possible; "as also is the case in the passage where he says, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me; but all things edify not."112 For those things which are in our power because we may have them, he says are lawful for us. But the Paraclete, who is called the Holy Spirit, is so called from His work of consolation, paraclesis being termed in Latin consolatio. For if any one has deserved to participate in the Holy Spirit by the knowledge of His ineffable mysteries, he undoubtedly obtains comfort and joy of heart. For since he comes by the teaching of the Spirit to the knowledge of the reasons of all things which happen-how or why they occur-his soul can in no respect be troubled, or admit any feeling of sorrow; nor is he alarmed by anything, since, clinging to the Word of God and His wisdom, he through the Holy Spirit calls Jesus Lord. And since we have made mention of the Paraclete, and have explained as we were able what sentiments ought to be entertained regarding Him; and since our Saviour also is called the Paraclete in the Epistle of John, when he says, "If any of us sin, we have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and He is the propitiation for our sins; "113 let us consider whether this term Paraclete should happen to have one meaning when applied to the Saviour, and another when applied to the Holy Spirit. Now Paraclete, when spoken of the Saviour, seems to mean intercessor. For in Greek, Paraclete has both significations-that of intercessor and comforter. On account, then, of the phrase which follows, when he says, "And He is the propitiation for our sins," the name Paraclete seems to be

understood in the case of our Saviour as meaning intercessor; for He is said to intercede with the Father because of our sins. In the case of the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete must be understood in the sense of comforter, inasmuch as He bestows consolation upon the souls to whom He openly reveals the apprehension of spiritual knowledge.

Chapter VIII.-On the Soul (Anima).

1. The order of our arrangement now requires us, after the discussion of the preceding subjects, to institute a general inquiry regarding the soul;114 and, beginning with points of inferior importance, to ascend to those that are of greater. Now, that there are souls115 in all living things, even in those which live in the waters, is, I suppose, doubted by no one. For the general opinion of all men maintains this; and confirmation from the authority of holy Scripture is added, when it is said that "God made great whales, and every living creature116 that moveth which the waters brought forth after their kind."117 It is confirmed also from the common intelligence of reason, by those who lay down in certain words a definition of soul. For soul is defined as follows: a substance fantastikh/ and o9rmhtikh/, which may be rendered into Latin, although not so appropriately, sensibilis et mobilis.118 This certainly may be said appropriately of all living beings, even of those which abide in the waters; and of winged creatures too, this same definition of anima may be shown to hold good. Scripture also has added its authority to a second opinion, when it says, "Ye shall not eat the blood, because the life119 of all flesh is its blood; and ye shall not eat the life with the flesh; "120 in which it intimates most clearly that the blood of every animal is its life. And if any one now were to ask how it can be said with respect to bees, wasps, and ants, and those other things which are in the waters, oysters and cockles, and all others which are without blood, and are most clearly shown to be living things, that the "life of all flesh is the blood," we must answer, that in living things of that sort the force which is exerted in other animals by the power of red blood is exerted in them by that liquid which is within them, although it be of a different colour; for colour is a thing of no importance, provided the substance be endowed with life.121 That beasts of burden or cattle of smaller size are endowed with souls,122 there is, by general assent, no doubt whatever. The opinion of holy Scripture, however, is manifest, when God says, "Let the earth bring forth the living creature after its kind, four-footed beasts, and creeping things, and beasts of the earth after their kind."123 And now with respect to man, although no one entertains any doubt, or needs to inquire, yet holy Scripture declares that "God breathed into his countenance the breath of life, and man became a living soul."124 It remains that we inquire respecting the angelic order whether they also have souls, or are souls; and also respecting the other divine and celestial powers, as well as those of an opposite kind. We nowhere, indeed, find any authority in holy Scripture for asserting that either the angels, or any other divine spirits that are ministers of God, either possess souls or are called souls, and yet they are felt by very many persons to be endowed with life. But with regard to God, we find it written as follows: "And I will put My soul upon that soul which has eaten blood, and I will root him out from among his people; "125 and also in another passage, "Your new moons, and sabbaths, and great days, I will not accept; your fasts, and holidays, and festal days, My soul hateth."126 And in the Psalms 22, regarding Christ-for it is certain, as the Gospel bears witness, that this Psalm is spoken of Him-the following words occur: "O Lord, be not far from helping me; look to my defence: O God, deliver my soul from the sword, and my beloved one from the hand of the dog; "127 although there are also many other testimonies respecting the soul of Christ when He tabernacled in the flesh.

2. But the nature of the incarnation will render unnecessary any inquiry into the soul of Christ. For as He truly possessed flesh, so also He truly possessed a soul. It is difficult indeed both to feel and to state how that which is called in Scripture the soul of God is to be understood; for we acknowledge that nature to be simple, and without any intermixture or addition. In whatever way, however, it is to be understood, it seems, meanwhile, to be named the soul of God; whereas regarding Christ there is no doubt. And therefore there seems to me no absurdity in either understanding or asserting some such thing regarding the holy angels and the other heavenly powers, since that definition of soul appears applicable also to them. For who can rationally deny that they are "sensible and moveable? "But if that definition appear to be correct, according to which a soul is said to be a substance rationally "sensible and moveable," the same definition would seem also to apply to angels. For what else is in them than rational feeling and motion? Now those beings who are comprehended under the same definition have undoubtedly the same substance. Paul indeed intimates that there is a kind of animal-man128 who, he says, cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God, but declares that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit seems to him foolish, and that he cannot understand what is to be spiritually discerned. In another passage he says it is sown an animal body, and arises a spiritual body, pointing out that in the resurrection of the just there will be nothing of an animal nature. And therefore we inquire whether there happen to be any substance which, in respect of its being anima, is imperfect. But whether it be imperfect because it falls away from perfection, or because it was so created by God, will form the subject of inquiry when each individual topic shall begin to be discussed in order. For if the animal man receive not the things of the Spirit of God, and because he is animal, is unable to admit the understanding of a better, i.e., of a divine nature, it is for this reason perhaps that Paul, wishing to teach us more plainly what that is by means of which we are able to comprehend those things which are of the Spirit, i.e., spiritual things, conjoins and associates with the Holy Spirit an understanding129 rather than a soul.130 For this, I think, he indicates when he says, "I will pray with the spirit, I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, I will sing with the understanding also.131 And he does not say that "I will pray with the soul," but with the spirit and the understanding. Nor does he say, "I will sing with the soul," but with the spirit and the understanding.

3. But perhaps this question is asked, If it be the understanding which prays and sings with the spirit, and if it be the same which receives both perfection and salvation, how is it that Peter says, "Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls? "132 If the soul neither prays nor sings with the spirit, how shall it hope for salvation? or when it attains to blessedness, shall it be no longer called a soul?133 Let us see if perhaps an answer may be given in this way, that as the Saviour came to save what was lost, that which formerly was said to be lost is not lost when it is saved; so also, perhaps, this which is saved is called a soul, and when it has been placed in a state of salvation will receive a name from the Word that denotes its more perfect condition. But it appears to some that this also may be added, that as the thing which was lost undoubtedly existed before it was lost, at which time it was something else than destroyed, so also will be the case when it is no longer in a ruined condition. In like manner also, the soul which is said to have perished will appear to have been something at one time, when as yet it had not perished, and on that account would be termed soul, and being again freed from destruction, it may become a second time what it was before it perished, and be called a soul. But from the very signification of the name soul which the Greek word conveys, it has appeared to a few curious inquirers that a

meaning of no small importance may be suggested. For in sacred language God is called a fire, as when Scripture says," Our God is a consuming fire."134 Respecting the substance of the angels also it speaks as follows: "Who maketh His angels spirits, and His ministers a burning fire; "135 and in another place, "The angel of the Lord appeared in a flame of fire in the bush."136 We have, moreover, received a commandment to be "fervent in spirit; "137 by which expression undoubtedly the Word of God is shown to be hot and fiery. The prophet Jeremiah also hears from Him, who gave him his answers, "Behold, I have given My words into thy mouth a fire."138 As God, then, is a fire, and the angels a flame of fire, and all the saints are fervent in spirit, so, on the contrary, those who have fallen away from the love of God are undoubtedly said to have cooled in their affection for Him, and to have become cold. For the Lord also says, that, "because iniquity has abounded, the love of many will grow cold."139 Nay, all things, whatever they are, which in holy Scripture are compared with the hostile power, the devil is said to be perpetually finding cold; and what is found to be colder than he? In the sea also the dragon is said to reign. For the prophet140 intimates that the serpent and dragon, which certainly is referred to one of the wicked spirits, is also in the sea. And elsewhere the prophet says, "I will draw out my holy sword upon the dragon the flying serpent, upon the dragon the crooked serpent, and will slay him."141 And again he says: "Even though they hide from my eyes, and descend into the depths of the sea, there will I command the serpent, and it shall bite them."142 In the book of Job also, he is said to be the king of all things in the waters.143 The prophet144 threatens that evils will be kindled by the north wind upon all who inhabit the earth. Now the north wind is described in holy Scripture as cold, according to the statement in the book of Wisdom, "That cold north wind; "145 which same thing also must undoubtedly be understood of the devil. If, then, those things which are holy are named fire, and light, and fervent, while those which are of an opposite nature are said to be cold; and if the love of many is said to wax cold; we have to inquire whether perhaps the name soul, which in Greek is termed yukh/, be so termed from growing cold146 out of a betterand more divine condition, and be thence derived, because it seems to have cooled from thatnatural and divine warmth, and therefore has been placed in its present position, and called by its present name. Finally, see if you caneasily find a place in holy Scripture where thesoul is properly mentioned in terms of praise: it frequently occurs, on the contrary, accompanied with expressions of censure, as in the passage, "An evil soul ruins him who possesses it; "147 and, "The soul which sinneth, it shall die."148 For after it has been said, "All souls are Mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is Mine,"149 it seemed to follow that He would say, "The soul that doeth righteousness, it shall be saved," and "The soul which sinneth, it shall die." But now we see that He has associated with the soul what is censurable, and has been silent as to that which was deserving of praise. We have therefore to see if, perchance, as we have said is declared by the name itself, it was called yukh/, i.e., anima, because it has waxed cold from the fervour of just things,150 and from participation in the divine fire, and yet has not lost the power of restoring itself to that condition of fervour in which it was at the beginning. Whence the prophet also appears to point out some such state of things by the words, "Return, O my soul, unto thy rest."151 From all which this appears to be made out, that the understanding, falling away from its status and dignity, was made or named soul; and that, if repaired and corrected, it returns to the condition of the understanding.152

4. Now, if this be the case, it seems to me that this very decay and falling away of the understanding is not the same in all, but that this conversion into a soul is carried to a greater or less degree in different instances, and that certain understandings retain something even of their

former vigour, and others again either nothing or a very small amount. Whence some are found from the very commencement of their lives to be of more active intellect, others again of a slower habit of mind, and some are born wholly obtuse, and altogether incapable of instruction. Our statement, however, that the understanding is converted into a soul, or whatever else seems to have such a meaning, the reader must carefully consider and settle for himself, as these views are not be regarded as advanced by us in a dogmatic manner, but simply as opinions, treated in the style of investigation and discussion. Let the reader take this also into consideration, that it is observed with regard to the soul of the Saviour, that of those things which are written in the Gospel, some are ascribed to it under the name of soul, and others under that of spirit. For when it wishes to indicate any suffering or perturbation affecting Him, it indicates it under the name of soul; as when it says, "Now is My soul troubled; "153 and, "My soul is sorrowful, even unto death; "154 and, "No man taketh My soul155 from Me, but I lay it down of Myself."156 Into the hands of His Father He commends not His soul, but His spirit; and when He says that the flesh is weak, He does not say that the soul is willing, but the spirit: whence it appears that the soul is something intermediate between the weak flesh and the willing spirit.

5. But perhaps some one may meet us with one of those objections which we have ourselves warned you of in our statements, and say, "How then is there said to be also a soul of God? "To which we answer as follows: That as with respect to everything corporeal which is spoken of God, such as fingers, or hands, or arms, or eyes, or feet, or mouth, we say that these are not to be understood as human members, but that certain of His powers are indicated by these names of members of the body; so also we are to suppose that it is something else which is pointed out by this title-soul of God. And if it is allowable for us to venture to say anything more on such a subject, the soul of God may perhaps be understood to mean the only-begotten Son of God. For as the soul, when implanted in the body, moves all things in it, and exerts its force over everything on which it operates; so also the only-begotten Son of God, who is His Word and Wisdom, stretches and extends to every power of God, being implanted in it; and perhaps to indicate this mystery is God either called Or described in Scripture as a body. We must, indeed, take into consideration whether it is not perhaps on this account that the soul of God may be understood to mean His only-begotten Son, because He Himself came into this world of affliction, and descended into this valley of tears, and into this place of our humiliation; as He says in the Psalm, "Because Thou hast humiliated us in the place of affliction."157 Finally, I am aware that certain critics, in explaining the words used in the Gospel by the Saviour, "My soul is sorrowful, even unto death," have interpreted them of the apostles, whom He termed His soul, as being better than the rest of His body. For as the multitude of believers is called His body, they say that the apostles, as being better than the rest of the body, ought to be understood to mean His soul.

We have brought forward as we best could these points regarding the rational soul, as topics of discussion for our readers, rather than as dogmatic and well-defined propositions. And with respect to the souls of animals and other dumb creatures, let that suffice which we have stated above in general terms.

Chapter IX.-On the World and the Movements of Rational Creatures, Whether Good or Bad; And on the Causes of Them.

1. But let us now return to the order of our proposed discussion, and behold the commencement of creation, so far as the understanding can behold the beginning of the creation of God. In that commencement,158 then, we are to suppose that God created so great a number of rational or intellectual creatures (or by whatever name they are to be called), which we have formerly termed understandings, as He foresaw would be sufficient. It is certain that He made them according to some definite number, predetermined by Himself: for it is not to be imagined, as some would have it, that creatures have not a limit, because where there is no limit there can neither be any comprehension nor any limitation. Now if this were the case, then certainly created things could neither be restrained nor administered by God. For, naturally, whatever is infinite will also be incomprehensible. Moreover, as Scripture says, "God has arranged all things in number and measure; "159 and therefore number will be correctly applied to rational creatures or understandings, that they may be so numerous as to admit of being arranged, governed, and controlled by God. But measure will be appropriately applied to a material body; and this measure, we are to believe, was created by God such as He knew would be sufficient for the adorning of the world. These, then, are the things which we are to believe were created by God in the beginning, i.e., before all things. And this, we think, is indicated even in that beginning which Moses has introduced in terms somewhat ambiguous, when he says, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth."160 For it is certain that the firmament is not spoken of, nor the dry land, but that heaven and earth from which this present heaven and earth which we now see afterwards borrowed their names.

2. But since those rational natures, which we have said above were made in the beginning, were created when they did not previously exist, in consequence of this very fact of their nonexistence and commencement of being, are they necessarily changeable and mutable; since whatever power was in their substance was not in it by nature, but was the result of the goodness of their Maker. What they are, therefore, is neither their own nor endures for ever, but is bestowed by God. For it did not always exist; and everything which is a gift may also be taken away, and disappear. And a reason for removal will consist in the movements of souls not being conducted according to right and propriety. For the Creator gave, as an indulgence to the understandings created by Him, the power of free and voluntary action, by which the good that was in them might become their own, being preserved by the exertion of their own will; but slothfulness, and a dislike of labour in preserving what is good, and an aversion to and a neglect of better things, furnished the beginning of a departure from goodness. But to depart from good is nothing else than to be made bad. For it is certain that to want goodness is to be wicked. Whence it happens that, in proportion as one falls away from goodness, in the same proportion does he become involved in wickedness. In which condition, according to its actions, each understanding, neglecting goodness either to a greater or more limited extent, was dragged into the opposite of good, which undoubtedly is evil. From which it appears that the Creator of all things admitted certain seeds and causes of variety and diversity, that He might create variety and diversity in proportion to the diversity of understandings, i.e., of rational creatures, which diversity they must be supposed to have conceived from that cause which we have mentioned above. And what we mean by variety and diversity is what we now wish to explain.

3. Now we term world everything which is above the heavens, or in the heavens, or upon the earth, or in those places which are called the lower regions, or all places whatever that anywhere

exist, together with their inhabitants. This whole, then, is called world. In which world certain beings are said to be super-celestial, i.e., placed in happier abodes, and clothed with heavenly and resplendent bodies; and among these many distinctions are shown to exist, the apostle, e.g., saying, "That one is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory."161 Certain beings are called earthly, and among them, i.e., among men, there is no small difference; for some of them are Barbarians, others Greeks; and of the Barbarians some are savage and fierce, and others of a milder disposition. And certain of them live under laws that have been thoroughly approved; others, again, under laws of a more common or severe kind;162 while some, again, possess customs of an inhuman and savage character, rather than laws. And certain of them, from the hour of their birth, are reduced to humiliation and subjection, and brought up as slaves, being placed under the dominion either of masters, or princes, or tyrants. Others, again, are brought up in a manner more consonant with freedom and reason: some with sound bodies, some with bodies diseased from their early years; some defective in vision, others in hearing and speech; some born in that condition, others deprived of the use of their senses immediately after birth, or at least undergoing such misfortune on reaching manhood. And why should I repeat and enumerate all the horrors of human misery, from which some have been free, and in which others have been involved, when each one can weigh and consider them for himself? There are also certain invisible powers to which earthly things have been entrusted for administration; and amongst them no small difference must be believed to exist, as is also found to be the case among men. The Apostle Paul indeed intimates that there are certain lower powers,163 and that among them, in like manner, must undoubtedly be sought a ground of diversity. Regarding dumb animals, and birds, and those creatures which live in the waters, it seems superfluous to require; since it is certain that these ought to be regarded not as of primary, but of subordinate rank.

4. Seeing, then, that all things which have been created are said to have been made through Christ, and in Christ, as the Apostle Paul most clearly indicates, when he says, "For in Him and by Him were all things created, whether things in heaven or things on earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or powers, or principalities, or dominions; all things were created by Him, and in Him; "164 and as in his Gospel John indicates the same thing, saying, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: the same was in the beginning with God: all things were made by Him; and without Him was not anything made; "165 and as in the Psalm also it is written," In wisdom hast Thou made them all; "166 -seeing, then, Christ is, as it were, the Word and Wisdom, and so also the Righteousness, it will undoubtedly follow that those things which were created in the Word and Wisdom are said to be created also in that righteousness which is Christ; that in created things there may appear to be nothing unrighteous or accidental, but that all things may be shown to be in conformity with the law of equity and righteousness. How, then, so great a variety of things, and so great a diversity, can be understood to be altogether just and righteous, I am sure no human power or language can explain, unless as prostrate suppliants we pray to the Word, and Wisdom, and Righteousness Himself, who is the only-begotten Son of God, and who, pouring Himself by His graces into our senses, may deign to illuminate what is dark, to lay open what is concealed, and to reveal what is secret; if, indeed, we should be found either to seek, or ask, or knock so worthily as to deserve to receive when we ask, or to find when we seek, or to have it opened to us when we knock. Not relying, then, on our own powers, but on the help of that Wisdom which made all things, and of that

Righteousness which we believe to be in all His creatures, although we are in the meantime unable to declare it, yet, trusting in His mercy, we shall endeavour to examine and inquire how that great variety and diversity in the world may appear to be consistent with all righteousness and reason. I mean, of course, merely reason in general; for it would be a mark of ignorance either to seek, or of folly to give, a special reason for each individual case.

5. Now, when we say that this world was established in the variety in which we have above explained that it was created by God, and when we say that this God is good, and righteous, and most just, there are numerous individuals, especially those who, coming from the school of Marcion, and Valentinus, and Basilides, have heard that there are souls of different natures, who object to us, that it cannot consist with the justice of God in creating the word to assign to some of His creatures an abode in the heavens, and not only to give such a better habitation, but also to grant them a higher and more honourable position; to favour others with the grant of principalities; to bestow powers upon some, dominions on others; to confer upon some the most honourable seats in the celestial tribunals; to enable some to shine with more resplendent glory, and to glitter with a starry splendour; to give to some the glory of the sun, to others the glory of the moon, to others the glory of the stars; to cause one star to differ from another star in glory. And, to speak once for all, and briefly, if the Creator God wants neither the will to undertake nor the power to complete a good and perfect work, what reason can there be that, in the creation of rational natures, i.e., of beings of whose existence He Himself is the cause, He should make some of higher rank, and others of second, or third, or of many lower and inferior degrees? In the next place, they object to us, with regard to terrestrial beings, that a happier lot by birth is the case with some rather than with others; as one man, e.g., is begotten of Abraham, and born of the promise; another, too, of Isaac and Rebekah, and who, while still in the womb, supplants his brother, and is said to be loved by God before he is born. Nay, this very circumstance,-especially that one man is born among the Hebrews, with whom he finds instruction in the divine law; another among the Greeks, themselves also wise, and men of no small learning; and then another amongst the Ethiopians, who are accustomed to feed on human flesh; or amongst the Scythians, with whom parricide is an act sanctioned by law; or amongst the people of Taurus, where strangers are offered in sacrifice,-is a ground of strong objection. Their argument accordingly is this: If there be this great diversity of circumstances, and this diverse and varying condition by birth, in which the faculty of free-will has no scope (for no one chooses for himself either where, or with whom, or in what condition he is born); if, then, this is not caused by the difference in the nature of souls, i.e., that a soul of an evil nature is destined for a wicked nation, and a good soul for a righteous nation, what other conclusion remains than that these things must be supposed to be regulated by accident and chance? And if that be admitted, then it will be no longer believed that the world was made by God, or administered by His providence; and as a consequence, a judgment of God upon the deeds of each individual will appear a thing not to be looked for. In which matter, indeed, what is dearly the truth of things is the privilege of Him alone to know who searches all things, even the deep things of God.

6. We, however, although but men, not to nourish the insolence of the heretics by our silence, will return to their objections such answers as occur to us, so far as our abilities enable us. We have frequently shown, by those declarations which we were able to produce from the holy Scriptures, that God, the Creator of all things, is good, and just, and all-powerful. When He in the beginning

created those beings which He desired to create, i.e., rational natures, He had no other reason for creating them than on account of Himself, i.e., His own goodness. As He Himself, then, was the cause of the existence of those things which were to be created, in whom there was neither any variation nor change, nor want of power, He created all whom He made equal and alike, because there was in Himself no reason for producing variety and diversity. But since those rational creatures themselves, as we have frequently shown, and will yet show in the proper place, were endowed with the power of free-will, this freedom of will incited each one either to progress by imitation of God, or reduced him to failure through negligence. And this, as we have already stated, is the cause of the diversity among rational creatures, deriving its origin not from the will or judgment of the Creator, but from the freedom of the individual will. Now God, who deemed it just to arrange His creatures according to their merit, brought down these different understandings into the harmony of one world, that He might adorn, as it were, one dwelling, in which there ought to be not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and clay (and some indeed to honour, and others to dishonour), with those different vessels, or souls, or understandings. And these are the causes, in my opinion, why that world presents the aspect of diversity, while Divine Providence continues to regulate each individual according to the variety of his movements, or of his feelings and purpose. On which account the Creator will neither appear to be unjust in distributing (for the causes already mentioned) to every one according to his merits; nor will the happiness or unhappiness of each one's birth, or whatever be the condition that falls to his lot, be deemed accidental; nor will different creators, or souls of different natures, be believed to exist.

7. But even holy Scripture does not appear to me to be altogether silent on the nature of this secret, as when the Apostle Paul, in discussing the case of Jacob and Esau, says: "For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him who calleth, it was said, The elder shall serve the younger, as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated."167 And after that, he answers himself, and says, "What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? "And that he might furnish us with an opportunity of inquiring into these matters, and of ascertaining how these things do not happen without a reason, he answers himself, and says, "God forbid."168 For the same question, as it seems to me, which is raised concerning Jacob and Esau, may be raised regarding all celestial and terrestrial creatures, and even those of the lower world as well. And in like manner it seems to me, that as he there says, "The children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil," so it might also be said of all other things, "When they were not yet" created, "neither had yet done any good or evil, that the decree of God according to election may stand," that (as certain think) some things on the one hand were created heavenly, some on the other earthly, and others, again, beneath the earth, "not of works" (as they think), "but of Him who calleth," what shall we say then, if these things are so? "Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid." As, therefore, when the Scriptures are carefully examined regarding Jacob and Esau, it is not found to be unrighteousness with God that it should be said, before they were born, or had done anything in this life, "the elder shall serve the younger; "and as it is found not to be unrighteousness that even in the womb Jacob supplanted his brother, if we feel that he was worthily beloved by God, according to the deserts of his previous life, so as to deserve to be preferred before his brother; so also is it with regard to heavenly creatures, if we notice that diversity was not the original condition of the creature, but that, owing to causes that have previously existed, a different office is prepared by the Creator for each one in proportion to the

degree of his merit, on this ground, indeed, that each one, in respect of having been created by God an understanding, or a rational spirit, has, according to the movements of his mind and the feelings of his soul, gained for himself a greater or less amount of merit, and has become either an object of love to God, or else one of dislike to Him; while, nevertheless, some of those who are possessed of greater merit are ordained to suffer with others for the adorning of the state of the world, and for the discharge of duty to creatures of a lower grade, in order that by this means they themselves may be participators in the endurance of the Creator, according to the words of the apostle: "For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope."169 Keeping in view, then, the sentiment expressed by the apostle, when, speaking of the birth of Esau and Jacob, he says, "Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid," I think it fight that this same sentiment should be carefully applied to the case of all other creatures, because, as we formerly remarked, the righteousness of the Creator ought to appear in everything. And this, it appears to me, will be seen more clearly at last, if each one, whether of celestial or terrestrial or infernal beings, be said to have the causes of his diversity in himself, and antecedent to his bodily birth. For all things were created by the Word of God, and by His Wisdom, and were set in order by His Justice. And by the grace of His compassion He provides for all men, and encourages all to the use of whatever remedies may lead to their cure, and incites them to salvation.

8. As, then, there is no doubt that at the day of judgment the good will be separated from the bad, and the just from the unjust, and all by the sentence of God will be distributed according to their deserts throughout those places of which they are worthy, so I am of opinion some such state of things was formerly the case, as, God willing, we shall show in what follows. For God must be believed to do and order all things and at all times according to His judgment. For the words which the apostle uses when he says, "In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour and some to dishonour; "170 and those which he adds, saying, "If a man purge himself, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, unto every good work,"171 undoubtedly point out this, that he who shall purge himself when he is in this life, will be prepared for every good work in that which is to come; while he who does not purge himself will be, according to the amount of his impurity, a vessel unto dishonour, i.e., unworthy. It is therefore possible to understand that there have been also formerly rational vessels, whether purged or not, i.e., which either purged themselves or did not do so, and that consequently every vessel, according to the measure of its purity or impurity, received a place, or region, or condition by birth, or an office to discharge, in this world. All of which, down to the humblest, God providing for and distinguishing by the power of His wisdom, arranges all things by His controlling judgment, according to a most impartial retribution, so far as each one ought to be assisted or cared for in conformity with his deserts. In which certainly every principle of equity is shown, while the inequality of circumstances preserves the justice of a retribution according to merit. But the grounds of the merits in each individual case are only recognised truly and clearly by God Himself, along with His only-begotten Word, and His Wisdom, and the Holy Spirit.

Chapter X.-On the Resurrection, and the Judgment, the Fire of Hell, and Punishments.

1. But since the discourse has reminded us of the subjects of a future judgment and of retribution, and of the punishments of sinners, according to the threatenings of holy Scripture and the contents of the Church's teaching-viz., that when the time of judgment comes, everlasting fire, and outer

darkness, and a prison, and a furnace, and other punishments of like. nature, have been prepared for sinners-let us see what our opinions on these points ought to be.172 But that these subjects may be arrived at in proper order, it seems to me that we ought first to consider the nature of the resurrection, that we may know what that (body) is which shall come either to punishment, or to rest, or to happiness; which question in other treatises which we have composed regarding the resurrection we have discussed at greater length, and have shown what our opinions were regarding it. But now, also, for the sake of logical order in our treatise, there will be no absurdity in restating a few points from such works, especially since some take offence at the creed of the Church, as if our belief in the resurrection were foolish, and altogether devoid of sense; and these are principally heretics, who, I think, are to be answered in the following manner. If they also admit that there is a resurrection of the dead, let them answer us this, What is that which died? Was it not a body? It is of the body, then, that there will be a resurrection. Let them next tell us if they think that we are to make use of bodies or not. I think that when the Apostle Paul says, that "it is sown a natural body, it will arise a spiritual body,"173 they cannot deny that it is a body which arises, or that in the resurrection we are to make use of bodies. What then? If it is certain that we are to make use of bodies, and if the bodies which have fallen are declared to rise again (for only that which before has fallen can be properly said to rise again), it can be a matter of doubt to no one that they rise again, in order that we may be clothed with them a second time at the resurrection. The one thing is closely connected with the other. For if bodies rise again, they undoubtedly rise to be coverings for us; and if it is necessary for us to be invested with bodies, as it is certainly necessary, we ought to be invested with no other than our own. But if it is true that these rise again, and that they arise "spiritual" bodies, there can be no doubt that they are said to rise from the dead, after casting away corruption and laying aside mortality; otherwise it will appear vain and superfluous for any one to arise from the dead in order to die a second time. And this, finally, may be more distinctly comprehended thus, if one carefully consider what are the qualities of an animal body, which, when sown into the earth, recovers the qualities of a spiritual body. For it is out of the animal body that the very power and grace of the resurrection educe the spiritual body, when it transmutes it from a condition of indignity to one of glory.

2. Since the heretics, however, think themselves persons of great learning and wisdom, we shall ask them if every body has a form of some kind, i.e., is fashioned according to some shape. And if they shall say that a body is that which is fashioned according to no shape, they will show themselves to be the most ignorant and foolish of mankind. For no one will deny this, save him who is altogether without any learning. But if, as a matter of course, they say that every body is certainly fashioned according to some definite shape, we shall ask them if they can point out and describe to us the shape of a spiritual body; a thing which they can by no means do. We shall ask them, moreover, about the differences of those who rise again.How will they show that statement to be true, that there is "one flesh of birds, another of fishes; bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial; that the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial another; that one is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars; that one star differeth from another star in glory; and that so is the resurrection of the dead? "174 According to that gradation, then, which exists among heavenly bodies, let them show to us the differences in the glory of those who rise again; and if they have endeavoured by any means to devise a principle that may be in accordance with the differences in heavenly bodies, we shall ask them to assign the differences in the resurrection by a comparison of earthly bodies. Our understanding of

the passage indeed is, that the apostle, wishing to describe the great difference among those who rise again in glory, i.e., of the saints, borrowed a comparison from the heavenly bodies, saying, "One is the glory of the sun, another the glory of the moon, another the glory of the stars." And wishing again to teach us the differences among those who shall come to the resurrection, without having purged themselves in this life, i.e., sinners, he borrowed an illustration from earthly things, saying, "There is one flesh of birds, another of fishes." For heavenly things are worthily compared to the saints, and earthly things to sinners. These statements are made in reply to those who deny the resurrection of the dead, i.e., the resurrection of bodies.

3. We now turn our attention to some of our own (believers), who, either from feebleness of intellect or want of proper instruction, adopt a very low and abject view of the resurrection of the body. We ask these persons in what manner they understand that an animal body is to be changed by the grace of the resurrection, and to become a spiritual one; and how that which is sown in weakness will arise in power; how that which is planted in dishonour will arise in glory; and that which was sown in corruption, will be changed to a state of incorruption. Because if they believe the apostle, that a body which arises in glory, and power, and incorruptibility, has already become spiritual, it appears absurd and contrary to his meaning to say that it can again be entangled with the passions of flesh and blood, seeing the apostle manifestly declares that "flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, nor shall corruption inherit incorruption." But how do they understand the declaration of the apostle, "We shall all be changed? "This transformation certainly is to be looked for, according to the order which we have taught above; and in it, undoubtedly, it becomes us to hope for something worthy of divine grace; and this we believe will take place in the order in which the apostle describes the sowing in the ground of a "bare grain of corn, or of any other fruit," to which "God gives a body as it pleases Him," as soon as the grain of corn is dead. For in the same way also our bodies are to be supposed to fall into the earth like a grain; and (that germ being implanted in them which contains the bodily substance) although the bodies die, and become corrupted, and are scattered abroad, yet by the word of God, that very germ which is always safe in the substance of the body, raises them from the earth, and restores and repairs them, as the power which is in the grain of wheat, after its corruption and death, repairs and restores the grain into a body having stalk and ear. And so also to those who shall deserve to obtain an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven, that germ of the body's restoration, which we have before mentioned, by God's command restores out of the earthly and animal body a spiritual one, capable of inhabiting the heavens; while to each one of those who may be of inferior merit, or of more abject condition, or even the lowest in the scale, and altogether thrust aside, there is yet given, in proportion to the dignity of his life and soul, a glory and dignity of body,-nevertheless in such a way, that even the body which rises again of those who are to be destined to everlasting fire or to severe punishments, is by the very change of the resurrection so incorruptible, that it cannot be corrupted and dissolved even by severe punishments. If, then, such be the qualities of that body which will arise from the dead, let us now see what is the meaning of the threatening of eternal fire.

4. We find in the prophet Isaiah, that the fire with which each one is punished is described as his own; for he says, "Walk in the light of your own fire, and in the flame which ye have kindled."175 By these words it seems to be indicated that every sinner kindles for himself the flame of his own fire, and is not plunged into some fire which has been already kindled by another, or was in

existence before himself. Of this fire the fuel and food are our sins, which are called by the Apostle Paul wood, and hay, and stubble."176 And I think that, as abundance of food, and provisions of a contrary kind and amount, breed fevers in the body, and fevers, too, of different sorts and duration, according to the proportion in which the collected poison177 supplies material and fuel for disease (the quality of this material, gathered together from different poisons, proving the causes either of a more acute or more lingering disease); so, when the soul has gathered together a multitude of evil works, and an abundance of sins against itself, at a suitable time all that assembly of evils boils up to punishment, and is set on fire to chastisements; when the mind itself, or conscience, receiving by divine power into the memory all those things of which it had stamped on itself certain signs and forms at the moment of sinning, will see a kind of history, as it were, of all the foul, and shameful, and unholy deeds which it has done, exposed before its eyes: then is the conscience itself harassed, and, pierced by its own goads, becomes an accuser and a witness against itself. And this, I think, was the opinion of the Apostle Paul himself, when he said, "Their thoughts mutually accusing or excusing them in the day when God will judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel."178 From which it is understood that around the substance of the soul certain tortures are produced by the hurtful affections of sins themselves.

5. And that the understanding of this matter may not appear very difficult, we may draw some considerations from the evil effects of those passions which are wont to befall some souls, as when a soul is consumed by the fire of love, or wasted away by zeal or envy, or when the passion of anger is kindled, or one is consumed by the greatness of his madness or his sorrow; on which occasions some, finding the excess of these evils unbearable, have deemed it more tolerable to submit to death than to endure perpetually torture of such a kind. You will ask indeed whether, in the case of those who have been entangled in the evils arising from those vices above enumerated, and who, while existing in this life, have been unable to procure any amelioration for themselves, and have in this condition departed from the world, it be sufficient in the way of punishment that they be tortured by the remaining in them of these hurtful affections, i.e., of the anger, or of the fury, or of the madness, or of the sorrow, whose fatal poison was in this life lessened by no healing medicine; or whether, these affections being changed, they will be subjected to the pains of a general punishment. Now I am of opinion that another species of punishment may be understood to exist; because, as we feel that when the limbs of the body are loosened and torn away from their mutual supports, there is produced pain of a most excruciating kind, so, when the soul shall be found to be beyond the order, and connection, and harmony in which it was created by God for the purposes of good and useful action and observation, and not to harmonize with itself in the connection of its rational movements, it must be deemed to bear the chastisement and torture of its own dissension, and to feel the punishments of its own disordered condition. And when this dissolution and rending asunder of soul shall have been tested by the application of fire, a solidification undoubtedly into a firmer structure will take place, and a restoration be effected.

6. There are also many other things which escape our notice, and are known to Him alone who is the physician of our souls. For if, on account of those bad effects which we bring upon ourselves by eating and drinking, we deem it necessary for the health of the body to make use of some unpleasant and painful drug, sometimes even, if the nature of the disease demand, requiring the severe process of the amputating knife; and if the virulence of the disease shall transcend even

these remedies, the evil has at last to be burned out by fire; how much more is it to be understood that God our Physician, desiring to remove the defects of our souls, which they had contracted from their different sins and crimes, should employ penal measures of this sort, and should apply even, in addition, the punishment of fire to those who have lost their soundness of mind! Pictures of this method of procedure are found also in the holy Scriptures. In the book of Deuteronomy, the divine word threatens sinners with the punishments of fevers, and colds, and jaundice,179 and with the pains of feebleness of vision, and alienation of mind and paralysis, and blindness, and weakness of the reins. If any one, then, at his leisure gather together out of the whole of Scripture all the enumerations of diseases which in the threatenings addressed to sinners are called by the names of bodily maladies, he will find that either the vices of souls, or their punishments, are figuratively indicated by them. To understand now, that in the same way in which physicians apply remedies to the sick, in order that by careful treatment they may recover their health, God so deals towards those who have lapsed and fallen into sin, is proved by this, that the cup of God's fury is ordered, through the agency of the prophet Jeremiah,180 to be offered to all nations, that they may drink it, and be in a state of madness, and vomit it forth. In doing which, He threatens them, saying, That if any one refuse to drink, he shall not be cleansed.181 By which certainly it is understood that the fury of God's vengeance is profitable for the purgation of souls. That the punishment, also, which is said to be applied by fire, is understood to be applied with the object of healing, is taught by Isaiah, who speaks thus of Israel: "The Lord will wash away the filth of the sons or daughters of Zion, and shall purge away the blood from the midst of them by the spirit of judgment, and the spirit of burning."182 Of the Chaldeans he thus speaks: "Thou hast the coals of fire; sit upon them: they will be to thee a help."183 And in other passages he says, "The Lord will sanctify in a burning fire"184 and in the prophecies of Malachi he says, "The Lord sitting will blow, and purify, and will pour forth the cleansed sons of Judah."185

7. But that fate also which is mentioned in the Gospels as overtaking unfaithful stewards who, it is said, are to be divided, and a portion of them placed along with unbelievers, as if that portion which is not their own were to be sent elsewhere, undoubtedly indicates some kind of punishment on those whose spirit, as it seems to me, is shown to be separated from the soul. For if this Spirit is of divine nature, i.e., is understood to be a Holy Spirit, we shall understand this to be said of the gift of the Holy Spirit: that when, whether by baptism, or by the grace of the Spirit, the word of wisdom, or the word of knowledge, or of any other gift, has been bestowed upon a man, and not rightly administered, i.e., either buried in the earth or tied up in a napkin, the gift of the Spirit will certainly be withdrawn from his soul, and the other portion which remains, that is, the substance of the soul, will be assigned its place with unbelievers, being divided and separated from that Spirit with whom, by joining itself to the Lord, it ought to have been one spirit. Now, if this is not to be understood of the Spirit of God, but of the nature of the soul itself, that will be called its better part which was made in the image and likeness of God; whereas the other part, that which afterwards, through its fall by the exercise of free-will, was assumed contrary to the nature of its original condition of purity,-this part, as being the friend and beloved of matter, is punished with the fate of unbelievers. There is also a third sense in which that separation may be understood, this viz., that as each believer, although the humblest in the Church, is said to be attended by an angel, who is declared by the Saviour always to behold the face of God the Father, and as this angel was certainly one with the object of his guardianship; so, if the latter is rendered unworthy by his want of obedience, the angel of God is said to be taken from him, and then that part of him-the part, viz.,

which belongs to his human nature-being rent away from the divine part, is assigned a place along with unbelievers, because it has not faithfully observed the admonitions of the angel allotted it by God.

8. But the outer darkness, in nay judgment, is to be understood not so much of some dark atmosphere without any light, as of those persons who, being plunged in the darkness of profound ignorance, have been placed beyond the reach of any light of the understanding. We must see, also, lest this perhaps should be the meaning of the expression, that as the saints will receive those bodies in which they have lived in holiness and purity in the habitations of this life, bright and glorious after the resurrection, so the wicked also, who in this life have loved the darkness of error and the night of ignorance, may be clothed with dark and black bodies after the resurrection, that the very mist of ignorance which had in this life taken possession of their minds within them, may appear in the future as the external covering of the body. Similar is the view to be entertained regarding the prison. Let these remarks, which have been made as brief as possible, that the order of our discourse in the meantime might be preserved, suffice for the present occasion.

Chapter XI.-On Counter Promises.186

1. Let us now briefly see what views we are to form regarding promises. It is certain that there is no living thing which can be altogether inactive and immoveable, but delights in motion of every kind, and in perpetual activity and volition; and this nature, I think it evident, is in all living things. Much more, then, must a rational animal, i.e., the nature of man, be in perpetual movement and activity. If, indeed, he is forgetful of himself, and ignorant of what becomes him, all his efforts are directed to serve the uses of the body, and in all his movements he is occupied with his own pleasures and bodily lusts; but if he be one who studies to care or provide for the general good, then, either by consulting for the benefit of the state or by obeying the magistrates, he exerts himself for that, whatever it is, which may seem certainly to promote the public advantage. And if now any one be of such a nature as to understand that there is something better than those things which seem to be corporeal, and so bestow his labour upon wisdom and science, then he will undoubtedly direct all his attention towards pursuits of that kind, that he may, by inquiring into the truth, ascertain the causes and reason of things. As therefore, in this life, one man deems it the highest good to enjoy bodily pleasures, another to consult for the benefit of the community, a third to devote attention to study and learning; so let us inquire whether in that life which is the true one (which is said to be hidden with Christ in God, i.e., in that eternal life), there will be for us some such order and condition of existence.

2. Certain persons, then, refusing the labour of thinking, and adopting a superficial view of the letter of the law, and yielding rather in some measure to the indulgence of their own desires and lusts, being disciples of the letter alone, are of opinion that the fulfilment of the promises of the future are to be looked for in bodily pleasure and luxury; and therefore they especially desire to have again, after the resurrection, such bodily structures187 as may never be without the power of eating, and drinking, and performing all the functions of flesh and blood, not following the opinion of the Apostle Paul regarding the resurrection of a spiritual body. And consequently they say, that after the resurrection there will be marriages, and the begetting of children, imagining to themselves that the earthly city of Jerusalem is to be rebuilt, its foundations laid in precious stones, and its walls constructed of jasper, and its battlements of crystal; that it is to have a wall

composed of many precious stones, as jasper, and sapphire, and chalcedony, and emerald, and sardonyx, and onyx, and chrysolite, and chrysoprase, and jacinth, and amethyst. Moreover, they think that the natives of other countries are to be given them as the ministers of their pleasures, whom they are to employ either as tillers of the field or builders of walls, and by whom their ruined and fallen city is again to be raised up; and they think that they are to receive the wealth of the nations to live on, and that they will have control over their riches; that even the camels of Midian and Kedar will come, and bring to them gold, and incense, and precious stones. And these views they think to establish on the authority of the prophets by those promises which are written regarding Jerusalem; and by those passages also where it is said, that they who serve the Lord shall eat and drink, but that sinners shall hunger and thirst; that the righteous shall be joyful, but that sorrow shall possess the wicked. And from the New Testament also they quote the saying of the Saviour, in which He makes a promise to His disciples concerning the joy of wine, saying, "Henceforth I shall not drink of this cup, until I drink it with you new in My Father's kingdom."188 They add, moreover, that declaration, in which the Saviour calls those blessed who now hunger and thirst,189 promising them that they shall be satisfied; and many other scriptural illustrations are adduced by them, the meaning of which they do not perceive is to be taken figuratively. Then, again, agreeably to the form of things in this life, and according to the gradations of the dignities or ranks in this world, or the greatness of their powers, they think they are to be kings and princes, like those earthly monarchs who now exist; chiefly, as it appears, on account of that expression in the Gospel: "Have thou power over five cities."190 And to speak shortly, according to the manner of things in this life in all similar matters, do they desire the fulfilment of all things looked for in the promises, viz., that what now is should exist again. Such are the views of those who, while believing in Christ, understand the divine Scriptures in a sort of Jewish sense, drawing from them nothing worthy of the divine promises.

3. Those, however, who receive the representations of Scripture according to the understanding of the apostles, entertain the hope that the saints will eat indeed, but that it will be the bread of life, which may nourish the soul with the food of truth and wisdom, and enlighten the mind, and cause it to drink from the cup of divine wisdom, according to the declaration of holy Scripture: "Wisdom has prepared her table, she has killed her beasts, she has mingled her wine in her cup, and she cries with a loud voice, Come to me, eat the bread which I have prepared for you, and drink the wine which I have mingled."191 By this food of wisdom, the understanding, being nourished to an entire and perfect condition like that in which man was made at the beginning, is restored to the image and likeness of God; so that, although an individual may depart from this life less perfectly instructed, but who has done works that are approved of,192 he will be capable of receiving instruction in that Jerusalem, the city of the saints, i.e., he will be educated and moulded, and made a living stone, a stone elect and precious, because he has undergone with firmness and constancy the struggles of life and the trials of piety; and will there come to a truer and clearer knowledge of that which here has been already predicted, viz., that "man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God."193 And they also are to be understood to be the princes and rulers who both govern those of lower rank, and instruct them, and teach them, and train them to divine things.

4. But if these views should not appear to fill the minds of those who hope for such results with a becoming desire, let us go back a little, and, irrespective of the natural and innate longing of the

mind for the thing itself, let us make inquiry so that we may be able at last to describe, as it were, the very forms of the bread of life, and the quality of that wine, and the peculiar nature of the principalities, all in conformity with the spiritual view of things.194 Now, as in those arts which are usually performed by means of manual labour, the reason why a thing is done, or why it is of a special quality, or for a special purpose, is an object of investigation to the mind,195 while the actual work itself is unfolded to view by the agency of the hands; so, in those works of God which were created by Him, it is to be observed that the reason and understanding of those things which we see done by Him remains undisclosed. And as, when our eye beholds the products of an artist's labour, the mind, immediately on perceiving anything of unusual artistic excellence, burns to know of what nature it is, or how it was formed, or to what purposes it was fashioned; so, in a much greater degree, and in one that is beyond all comparison, does the mind burn with an inexpressible desire to know the reason of those things which we see done by God. This desire, this longing, we believe to be unquestionably implanted within us by God; and as the eye naturally seeks the light and vision, and our body naturally desires food and drink, so our mind is possessed with a becoming and natural desire to become acquainted with the truth of God and the causes of things. Now we have received this desire from God, not in order that it should never be gratified or be capable of gratification; otherwise the love of truth would appear to have been implanted by God into our minds to no purpose, if it were never to have an opportunity of satisfaction. Whence also, even in this life, those who devote themselves with great labour to the pursuits of piety and religion, although obtaining only some small fragments from the numerous and immense treasures of divine knowledge, yet, by the very circumstance that their mind and soul is engaged in these pursuits, and that in the eagerness of their desire they outstrip themselves, do they derive much advantage; and, because their minds are directed to the study and love of the investigation of truth, are they made fitter for receiving the instruction that is to come; as if, when one would paint an image, he were first with a light pencil to trace out the outlines of the coming picture, and prepare marks for the reception of the features that are to be afterwards added, this preliminary sketch in outline is found to prepare the way for the laying on of the true colours of the painting; so, in a measure, an outline and sketch may be traced on the tablets of our heart by the pencil of our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore perhaps is it said, "Unto every one that hath shall be given, and be added."196 By which it is established, that to those who possess in this life a kind of outline of truth and knowledge, shall be added the beauty of a perfect image in the future.

5. Some such desire, I apprehend, was indicated by him who said, "I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better; "197 knowing that when he should have returned to Christ he would then know more clearly the reasons of all things which are done on earth, either respecting man, or the soul of man, or the mind; or regarding any other subject, such as, for instance, what is the Spirit that operates, what also is the vital spirit, or what is the grace of the Holy Spirit that is given to believers. Then also will he understand what Israel appears to be, or what is meant by the diversity of nations; what the twelve tribes of Israel mean, and what the individual people of each tribe. Then, too, will he understand the reason of the priests and Levites, and of the different priestly orders, the type of which was in Moses, and also what is the true meaning of the jubilees, and of the weeks of years with God. He will see also the reasons for the festival days, and holy days, and for all the sacrifices and purifications. He will perceive also the reason of the purgation from leprosy, and what the different kinds of leprosy are, and the reason of the purgation of those who lose their seed. He will come to know, moreover, what are

the good influences,198 and their greatness, and their qualities; and those too which are of a contrary kind, and what the affection of the former, and what the strife-causing emulation of the latter is towards men. He will behold also the nature of the soul, and the diversity of animals (whether of those which live in the water, or of birds, or of wild beasts), and why each of the genera is subdivided into so many species; and what intention of the Creator, or what purpose of His wisdom, is concealed in each individual thing. He will become acquainted, too, with the reason why certain properties are found associated with certain roots or herbs, and why, on the other hand, evil effects are averted by other herbs and roots. He will know, moreover, the nature of the apostate angels, and the reason why they have power to flatter in some things those who do not despise them with the whole power of faith, and why they exist for the purpose of deceiving and leading men astray. He will learn, too, the judgment of Divine Providence on each individual thing; and that, of those events which happen to men, none occur by accident or chance, but in accordance with a plan so carefully considered, and so stupendous, that it does not overlook even the number of the hairs of the heads, not merely of the saints, but perhaps of all human beings, and the plan of which providential government extends even to caring for the sale of two sparrows for a denarius, whether sparrows there be understood figuratively or literally. Now indeed this providential government is still a subject of investigation, but then it will be fully manifested. From all which we are to suppose, that meanwhile not a little time may pass by until the reason of those things only which are upon the earth be pointed out to the worthy and deserving after their departure from life, that by the knowledge of all these things, and by the grace of full knowledge, they may enjoy an unspeakable joy. Then, if that atmosphere which is between heaven and earth is not devoid of inhabitants, and those of a rational kind, as the apostle says, "Wherein in times past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit who now worketh in the children of disobedience."199 And again he says, "We shall be caught up in the clouds to meet Christ in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord."200

6. We are therefore to suppose that the saints will remain there until they recognise the twofold mode of government in those things which are performed in the air. And when I say "twofold mode," I mean this: When we were upon earth, we saw either animals or trees, and beheld the differences among them, and also the very great diversity among men; but although we saw these things, we did not understand the reason of them; and this only was suggested to us from the visible diversity, that we should examine and inquire upon what principle these things were either created or diversely arranged. And a zeal or desire for knowledge of this kind being conceived by us on earth, the full understanding and comprehension of it will be granted after death, if indeed the result should follow according to our expectations. When, therefore, we shall have fury comprehended its nature, we shall understand in a twofold manner what we saw on earth. Some such view, then, must we hold regarding this abode in the air. I think, therefore, that all the saints who depart from this life will remain in some place situated on the earth, which holy Scripture calls paradise, as in some place of instruction, and, so to speak, class-room or school of souls, in which they are to be instructed regarding all the things which they had seen on earth, and are to receive also some information respecting things that are to follow in the future, as even when in this life they had obtained in some degree indications of future events, although "through a glass darkly," all of which are revealed more clearly and distinctly to the saints in their proper time and place. If any one indeed be pure in heart, and holy in mind, and more practised in perception, he will, by making more rapid progress, quickly ascend to a place in the air, and reach the kingdom of

heaven, through those mansions, so to speak, in the various places which the Greeks have termed spheres, i.e., globes, but which holy Scripture has called heavens; in each of which he will first see clearly what is done there, and in the second place, will discover the reason why things are so done: and thus he will in order pass through all gradations, following Him who hath passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, who said, "I will that where I am, these may be also."201 And of this diversity of places He speaks, when He says, "In My Father's house are many mansions." He Himself is everywhere, and passes swiftly through all things; nor are we any longer to understand Him as existing in those narrow Limits in which He was once confined for our sakes, i.e., not in that circumscribed body which He occupied on earth, when dwelling among men, according to which He might be considered as enclosed in some one place.

7. When, then, the saints shall have reached the celestial abodes, they will clearly see the nature of the stars one by one, and will understand whether they are endued with life, or their condition, whatever it is. And they will comprehend also the other reasons for the works of God, which He Himself will reveal to them. For He will show to them, as to children, the causes of things and the power of His creation,202 and will explain why that star was placed in that particular quarter of the sky, and why it was separated from another by so great an intervening space; what, e.g., would have been the consequence if it had been nearer or more remote; or if that star had been larger than this, how the totality of things would not have remained the same, but all would have been transformed into a different condition of being. And so, when they have finished all those matters which are connected with the stars, and with the heavenly revolutions, they will come to those which are not seen, or to those whose names only we have heard, and to things which are invisible, which the Apostle Paul has informed us are numerous, although what they are, or what difference may exist among them, we cannot even conjecture by our feeble intellect. And thus the rational nature, growing by each individual step, not as it grew in this life in flesh, and body, and soul, but enlarged in understanding and in power of perception, is raised as a mind already perfect to perfect knowledge, no longer at all impeded by those carnal senses, but increased in intellectual growth; and ever gazing purely, and, so to speak, face to face, on the causes of things, it attains perfection, firstly, viz., that by which it ascends to (the truth),203 and secondly, that by which it abides in it, having problems and the understanding of things, and the causes of events, as the food on which it may feast. For as in this life our bodies grow physically to what they are, through a sufficiency of food in early life supplying the means of increase, but after the due height has been attained we use food no longer to grow, but to live, and to be preserved in life by it; so also I think that the mind, when it has attained perfection, eats and avails itself of suitable and appropriate food in such a degree, that nothing ought to be either deficient or superfluous. And in all things this food is to be understood as the contemplation and understanding of God, which is of a measure appropriate and suitable to this nature, which was made and created; and this measure it is proper should be observed by every one of those who are beginning to see God, i.e., to understand Him through purity of heart.

1: The words "in aquis" are omitted in Redepenning's edition.

2: The original of this sentence is found at the close of the Emporer Justinian's Epistle to Menas, patriarch of Constantinople, and, literally translated, is as follows: "The world being so very varied, and containing so many different rational beings, what else ought we to say was the cause of its existence than the diversity of the falling away of those who decline from unity (thj enadoj) in

different ways?" - Ruaeus. Lommatzsch adds a clause not contained in the note of the Benedictine editor: "And sometimes the soul selects the life that is in water" (enudron).

3: Lit. "into various qualities of mind."

4: "Et diversi motus porpositi earum (rationabilium subsistentiarum) ad unius mundi consonantiam competenter atque utiliter aptarentur, dum aliae juvari indigent, aliae juvare possunt, aliae vero proficientibus certamina atque agones movent, in quibus eorum probabilior haberetur industria, et certior post victoriam reparati gradus statio teneretur, quae per difficultates laborantium constitisset."

5: Jer. xxiii. 24.

6: Isa. lxvi. 1.

7: Matt. v. 34.

8: Acts xvii. 28.

9: 2 Mac. vii. 28.

10: Hermae Past ., book ii. [See vol. ii. p. 20, of this series. S] 11: Ps. cxlviii. 5.

12: 1 Cor. xv. 53-56; cf. Hos. xiii. 14 and Isa. xxv. 8.

13: Dogmatibus. Schnitzer says that "dogmatibus" here yields no sense. He conjectures deigmasi , and renders "proofs," "marks."

14: Rom. xiii. 14.

15: This passage is found in Jerome's Epistle to Avitus ; and, literally translated, his rendering is as follows: "If these (views) are not contrary to the faith, we shall perhaps at some future time live without bodies. But if he who is perfectly subject to Christ is understood to be without a body, and all are to be subjected to Christ, we also shall be without bodies when we have been completely subjected to Him. If all have been subjected to God, all will lay aside their bodies, and the whole nature of bodily things will be dissolved into nothing; but if, in the second place, necessity shall demand, it will again come into existence on account of the fall of rational creatures. For God has abandoned souls to struggle and wrestling, that they may understand that they have obtained a full and perfect victory, not by their own bravery, but by the grace of God. And therefore I think that for a variety of causes are different worlds created, and the errors of those refuted who contend that worlds resemble each other." A fragment of the Greek original of the above is found in the Epistle of Justinian to the patriarch of Constantinople. "If the things subject to Christ shall at the end be subjected also to God, all will lay aside their bodies; and then, I think, there will be a dissolution (analusij) of the nature of bodies into non-existence (eij to mh on), to come a second time into existence, if rational (beings) should again gradually come down (upokatabh)."

16: Heb. ix. 26.

17: Eph. ii. 7.

18: In saeculum et adhuc.

19: Cf. John xvii. 24, 21, 22.

20: Cf. Isa. iii. 24. Origen here quotes the Septuagint, which differs both from the Hebrew and the Vulgate: kai anti tou kosmou thj kefalhj tou xrusiou falakrwma eceij dia ta erga sau .

21: Wisd. xviii. 24. Poderis, lit. "reaching to the feet."

22: 1 John v. 19.

23: Clemens Rom., Ep. i., ad Cor ., c. 20. [See vol. i. p. 10, of this series. S.] 24: 1 Cor. vii. 31.

25: John xvii. 16.

26: 2 Cor. iv. 18-v. 1.

27: Ps. viii. 3.

28: Isa. lxvi. 2.

29: This passage is found in Jerome's Epistle to Avitus , and, literally translated, is as follows: "A threefold suspicion, therefore, is suggested to us regarding the end, of which the reader may examine which is the true and better one. For we shall either live without a body, when, being subject to Christ, we shall be subject to God, and God shall be all in all; or, as things subject to Christ will be subject along with Christ Himself to God, and enclosed in one covenant, so all substance will be reduced to the best quality and dissolved into an ether, which is of a purer and simpler nature; or at least that sphere which we have called above aplanh , and whatever is contained within its circumference (circulo), will be dissolved into nothing, but that one by which the anti-zone (antizwnh) itself is held together and surrounded will be called a good land; and, moreover, another sphere which surrounds this very earth itself with its revolution, and is called heaven, will be preserved for a habitation of the saints."

30: Omnique hoc mundi statu, in quo planetarum dicuntur sphaerae, supergresso atque superato.

31: Matt. v. 5.

32: Matt. v. 3.

33: Ps. xxxvii. 34.

34: Matt. v. 48, 45.

35: Matt. vi. 9.

36: Matt. v. 34, 35.

37: Isa. lxvi. 1.

38: John ii. 16.

39: Matt. xxii. 31, 32; cf. Ex. iii. 6.

40: Isa. xlv. 6.

41: Acts vii.

42: Matt. xxii. 37, 39, 40.

43: 2 Tim. i. 3.

44: 2 Cor. xi. 22.

45: Rom. i. 1-4.

46: 1 Cor. ix. 9, 10; cf. Deut. xxv. 4.

47: Eph. vi. 2, 3; cf. Ex. xx. 12.

48: John i. 18.

49: Col. i. 15.

50: John xiv. 9.

51: Ex. xxxiii. 20, cf. 23.

52: Aliud sit videre et videri, et aliud nôsse et nosci, vel cognoscere atque cognosci.

53: Matt. xi. 27.

54: Luke xix. 14.

55: Ps. ii. 5.

56: Ezek. xviii. 3.

57: [Cum nihil dignum poena commiserint. S.] 58: Poenitentiam egissent.

59: Matt. xxii. 12, 13.

60: Phil. iv. 8, 9.

61: 1 Pet. iii. 18-21.

62: Ezek. xvi. 55, cf. 53.

63: Isa. xlvii. 14, 15. The Septuagint here differs from the Hebrew: exeij anqrakaj puroj, kaqisai ep autousoutoi esontai soi bohqeia .

64: Ps. lxxviii. 34.

65: Matt. vii. 18, cf. xii. 33.

66: Rom. vii. 12.

67: Rom. vii. 13.

68: Rom. vii. 13.

69: Matt. xii. 35.

70: Matt. xix. 17.

71: Ps. lxxiii. 1.

72: Ps. cxviii. 2.

73: Lam. iii. 25.

74: John xvii. 25: Juste Pater.

75: Col. i. 15.

76: Col. i. 16, 17.

77: 1 Cor. xi. 3.

78: Matt. xi. 27.

79: John xxi. 25.

80: Virtutibus, probably for dunamesin .

81: Matt. xxvi. 38.

82: John x. 18. "No other soul which descended into a human body has stamped on itself a pure and unstained resemblance of its former stamp, save that one of which the Savior says, `No one will take my soul from me, but I lay it down of myself. 0'" - Jerome, Epistle to Avitus , p. 763.

83: Principaliter.

84: 1 Cor. vi. 17.

85: Gen. ii. 24; cf. Mark x. 8.

86: Meriti affectus.

87: Ps. xlv. 7.

88: Col. ii. 9.

89: Isa. liii. 9.

90: Heb. iv. 15.

91: John viii. 46.

92: John xiv. 30.

93: This quotation is made up of two different parts of Isaiah: chap. viii. 4, "Before the child shall have knowledge to cry, My father and my mother;" and chap. vii. 16, "Before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and choose the good."

94: Semper in verbo, semper in sapientia, semper in Deo.

95: Ps. xlv. 7.

96: Illi enim in odore unguentorum ejus circumire dicuntur; perhaps an allusion to Song of Sol. i. 3 or to Ps. xlv. 8.

97: Lam. iv. 20.

98: Ps. lxxxix. 50, 51.

99: Col. iii. 3.

100: 2 Cor. xiii. 3.

101: Luke i. 35.

102: Heb. viii. 5.

103: Job viii. 9.

104: 2 Cor. v. 16.

105: According to Pamphilus in his Apology , Origen, in a note on Tit. iii. 10, has made a statment the opposit of this. His words are: "But there are some also who say, that it was one Holy Spirit who was in the prophets, and another who was in the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ." - Ruaeus.

106: Joel ii. 28.

107: Ps. lxxii. 11.

108: Qui licet non omnes possint per ordinem atque ad liquidum spiritualis intelligentiae explanare consequentiam.

109: Ita per singulos, qui eum capere possunt, hoc efficitur, vel hoc intelligitur ipse Spiritus, quo indiget ille, qui eum participare meruerit. Schnitzer renders, "And so, in every one who is susceptible of them, the Spirit is exactly that which the receiver chiefly needs."

110: 1 Tim. iv. 1-3.

111: 2 Cor. xii. 4.

112: 1 Cor. x. 23.

113: 1 John ii. 1, 2

114: Anima.

115: Animae.

116: Animam animantium.

117: Gen. i. 21: pasan yuxhn zwwn , Sept.

118: Erasmus remarks, that fantastikh may be rendered imaginitiva , which is the understanding: ormhtikh , impulsiva , which refers to the affections (Schnitzer).

119: Animam.

120: Lev. xvii. 14: h yuxh pashj sarkoj aima autou esti , Sept.

121: Vitalis.

122: Animantia.

123: Gen. i. 24, living creature, animam .

124: Gen. ii. 7, animam viventem .

125: Lev. xvii. 10. It is clear that in the text which Origen or his translator had before him he must have read yuxh instead of proswpon : otherwise the quotation would be inappropriate (Schnitzer).

126: Isa. i. 13, 14.

127: Ps. xxii. 19, 20, unicam meam, monogenh mou .

128: Animalem.

129: Mens.

130: Anima.

131: 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

132: 1 Pet. i. 9.

133: These words are found in Jerome's Epistle to Avitus , and, literally translated, are as follows: "Whence infinite caution is to be employed, lest perchance, after souls have obtained salvation and come to the blessed life, they should cease to be souls. For as our Lord and Saviour came to seek and to save what was lost, that it might cease to be lost; so the soul which was lost, and for whose salvation the Lord came, shall, when it has been saved, cease for a soul. This point in like manner must be examined, whether, as that which has been lost was at one time not lost, and a time will come when it will be no longer lost; so also at some time a soul may not have been a soul, and a time may be when it will by no means continue to be a soul." A portion of the above is also found, in the original Greek, in the Emporer Justinian's Letter to Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople.

134: Deut. iv. 24.

135: Ps. civ. 4; cf. Heb. i. 7.

136: Ex. iii. 2.

137: Rom. xii. 11.

138: Cf. Jer. i. 9. The word "fire" is found neither in the Hebrew nor in the Septuagint.

139: Matt. xxiv. 12.

140: Cf. Ezek. xxxii. 2 seqq.

141: Isa. xxvii. 1.

142: Amos ix. 3.

143: Job xli. 34 [LXX.].

144: Jer. i. 14.

145: Ecclus. xliii. 20.

146: yuxh from yuxesqai .

147: Ecclus. vi. 4.

148: Ezek. xviii. 4, cf. 20.

149: Ezek. xviii. 4, 19.

150: "By falling away and growing cold from a spiritual life, the soul has become what it now is, but is capable also of returning to what it was at the beginning, which I think is intimated by the prophet in the words, `Return, O my soul, unto thy rest, 0' so as to be wholly this." - Epistle of Justinian to Partriarch of Constantinople .

151: Ps. cxvi. 7.

152: "The understanding (Nouj) somehow, then, has become a soul, and the soul, being restored, becomes an understanding. The understanding falling away, was made a soul, and the soul, again, when furnished with virtues, will become an understanding. For if we examine the case of Esau, we may find that he was condemned because of his ancient sins in a worse course of life. And respecting the heavenly bodies we must inquire, that not at the time when the world was created did the soul of the sun, or whatever else it ought to be called, begin to exist, but before that it entered that shining and burning body. We may hold similar opinions regarding the moon and stars, that, for the foregoing reasons, they were compelled, unwillingly, to subject themselves to vanity on account of the rewards of the future; and to do, not their own will, but the will of their Creator, by whom they were arranged among their different offices." - Jerome's Epistle to Avitus . From these, as well as other passages, it may be seen how widely Rufinus departed in his translation from the original.

153: John xii. 27.

154: Matt. xxvi. 38.

155: Animam.

156: John x. 18.

157: Ps. xliv. 19.

158: The original of this passage is found in Justinian's Epistle to Menas, Patriarch of Constantinople, apud finem . "In that beginning which is cognisable by the understanding, God, by His own will, caused to exist as great a number of intelligent beings as was sufficient; for we must say that the power of God is finite, and not, under pretence of praising Him, take away His limitation. For if the divine power be infinite, it must of necessity be unable to understand even itself, since that which is naturally illimitable is incapable of being comprehended. He made things therefore so great as to be able to apprehend and keep them under His power, and control them by His providence; so also He prepared matter of such a size (tosauthn ulhn) as He had the power to ornament."

159: Wisdom xi. 20: "Thou hast ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight."

160: Gen. i. 1.

161: 1 Cor. xv. 41.

162: Vilioribus et asperioribus.

163: Inferna.

164: Col. i. 16.

165: John i. 1, 2.

166: Ps. civ. 24.

167: Rom. ix. 11, 12.

168: The text runs, "Respondet sibi ipse, et ait," on which Ruaeus remarks that the sentence is incomplete, and that "absit" probably should be supplied. This conjecture has been adopted in the translation.

169: Rom. viii. 20, 21.

170: 2 Tim. ii. 20.

171: 2 Tim. ii. 21.

172: [Elucidation I.] 173: 1 Cor. xv. 44: natural, animale (yuxikon).

174: 1 Cor. xv. 39-42.

175: Isa. l. 11.

176: 1 Cor. iii. 12.

177: Intemperies.

178: Rom. ii. 15, 16.

179: Aurigine [aurugine]. Deut. xxviii.

180: Cf. Jer. xxv. 15, 16.

181: Cf. Jer. xxv. 28, 29.

182: Isa. iv. 4.

183: Isa. xlvii. 14, 15; vid. note, chap. v. §3 [p. 280, supra . S].

184: Isa. x. 17, cf. lxvi. 16.

185: Cf. Mal. iii. 3.

186: Repromissionibus.

187: Carnes.

188: Matt. xxvi. 29.

189: Matt. v. 6.

190: Cf. Luke xix. 19 and 17.

191: Cf. Prov. ix. 1-5.

192: Opera probablilia.

193: Deut. viii. 3.

194: The passage is somewhat obscure, but the rendering in the text seems to convey the meaning intended.

195: Versatur in sensu.

196: Luke xix. 26; cf. Matt. xxv. 29.

197: Phil. i. 23.

198: Virtutes.

199: Eph. ii. 2. There is an evident omission of some words in the text, such as, "They will enter into it," etc.

200: 1 Thess. iv. 17.

201: John xvii. 24.

202: Virtutem suae conditionis. Seine Schopferkraft (Schnitzer).

203: In id: To that state of the soul in which it gazes purely on the causes of things.

De Principiis - Book 3

Book III.

Preface of Rufinus. sChapter I.-On the Freedom of the Will.6

Chapter I.-On the Freedom of the Will,7 With an Explanation and Interpretation of Those Statements of Scripture Which Appear to Nullify It.

Chapter II.-On the Opposing Powers.

Chapter III.-On Threefold Wisdom.

Chapter IV.-On Human Temptations.

Chapter V.-That the World Took Its Beginning in Time.

Chapter VI.-On the End of the World.

Book III.

Preface of Rufinus.

Reader, remember me in your prayers, that we too may deserve to be made emulators of the spirit. The two former books on The Principles I translated not only at your instance, but even under pressure from you during the days of Lent;1 but as you, my devout brother Macarius, were not only living near me during that time, but had more leisure at your command than now, so I also worked the harder; whereas I have been longer in explaining these two latter books, seeing you came less frequently from a distant extremity of the city to urge on my labour. Now if you remember what I warned you of in my former preface,-that certain persons would be indignant, if they did not hear that we spoke some evil of Origen,-that, I imagine, you have forthwith experienced, has come to pass. But if those demons2 who excite the tongues of men to slander were so infuriated by that work, in which he had not as yet fully unveiled their secret proceedings, what, think you, will be the case in this, in which he will expose all those dark and hidden ways, by which they creep into the hearts of men, and deceive weak and unstable souls? You will immediately see all things thrown into confusion, seditions stirred up, clamours raised throughout the whole city, and that individual summoned to receive sentence of condemnation who endeavoured to dispel the diabolical darkness of ignorance by means of the light of the Gospel lamp.3 Let such things, however, be lightly esteemed by him who is desirous of being trained in divine learning, while retaining in its integrity the rule of the Catholic faith.4 I think it necessary, however, to remind you that the principle observed in the former books has been observed also in these, viz., not to translate what appeared contrary to Origen's other opinions, and to our own belief, but to pass by such passages as being interpolated and forged by others. But if he has appeared to give expression to any novelties regarding rational creatures (on which subject the essence of our faith does not depend), for the sake of discussion and of adding to our knowledge, when perhaps it was necessary for us to answer in such an order some heretical opinions, I have

not omitted to mention these either in the present or preceding books, unless when he wished to repeat in the following books what he had already stated in the previous ones, when I have thought it convenient, for the sake of brevity, to curtail some of these repetitions. Should any one, however, peruse these passages from a desire to enlarge his knowledge, and not to raise captious objections, he will do better to have them expounded by persons of skill. For it is an absurdity to have the fictions of poetry and the ridiculous plays of comedy5 interpreted by grammarians, and to suppose that without a master and an interpreter any one is able to learn those things which are spoken either of God or of the heavenly virtues, and of the whole universe of things, in which some deplorable error either of pagan philosophers or of heretics is confuted; and the result of which is, that men would rather rashly and ignorantly condemn things that are difficult and obscure, than ascertain their meaning by diligence and study.

Translated From Latin OF Rufinus.

Translation From The Greek. sChapter I.-On the Freedom of the Will.6

Chapter I.-On the Freedom of the Will,7 With an Explanation and Interpretation of Those Statements of Scripture Which Appear to Nullify It.

1. Some such opinions, we believe, ought to be entertained regarding the divine promises, when we direct our understanding to the contemplation of that eternal and infinite world, and gaze on its ineffable joy and blessedness. But as the preaching of the Church includes a belief in a future and just judgment of God, which belief incites and persuades men to a good and virtuous life, and to an avoidance of sin by all possible means; and as by this it is undoubtedly indicated that it is within our own power to devote ourselves either to a life that is worthy of praise, or to one that is worthy of censure, I therefore deem it necessary to say a few words regarding the freedom of the will, seeing that this topic has been treated by very many writers in no mean style. And that we may ascertain more easily what is the freedom of the will, let us inquire into the nature of will and of desire.8

1. Since in the preaching of the Church there is included the doctrine respecting a just judgment of God, which, when believed to be true, incites those who hear it to live virtuously, and to shun sin by all means, inasmuch as they manifestly acknowledge that things worthy of praise and blame are within our own power, come and let us discuss by themselves a few points regarding the freedom of the will-a question of all Others most necessary. And that we may understand what the freedom of the will is, it is necessary to unfold the conception of it,9 that this being declared with precision, the subject may be placed before us.

2. Of all things which move, some have the cause of their motion within themselves, others receive it from without: and all those things only are moved from without which are without life, as stones, and pieces of wood, and whatever things are of such a nature as to be held together by the constitution of their matter alone, or of their bodily substance.10 That view must indeed be dismissed which would regard the dissolution of bodies by corruption as motion, for it has no bearing upon our present purpose. Others, again, have the cause of motion in themselves, as animals, or trees, and all things which are held together by natural life or soul; among which some think ought to be classed the veins of metals. Fire, also, is supposed to be the cause of its own motion, and perhaps also springs of water. And of those things which have the causes of their

motion in themselves, some are said to be moved out of themselves, others by themselves. And they so distinguish them, because those things are moved out of themselves which are alive indeed, but have no soul;11 whereas those things which have a soul are moved by themselves, when a phantasy,12 i.e., a desire or incitement, is presented to them, which excites them to move towards something. Finally, in certain things endowed with a soul, them is such a phantasy, i.e., a will or feeling,13 as by a kind of natural instinct calls them forth, and arouses them to orderly and regular motion; as we see to be the case with spiders, which are stirred up in a most orderly manner by a phantasy, i.e., a sort of wish and desire for weaving, to undertake the production of a web, some natural movement undoubtedly calling forth the effort to work of this kind. Nor is this very insect found to possess any other feeling than the natural desire of weaving; as in like manner bees also exhibit a desire to form honeycombs, and to collect, as they say, aërial honey.14

2. Of things that move, some have the cause of their motion within themselves; others, again, are moved only from without. Now only portable things are moved from without, such as pieces of wood, and stones, and all matter that is held together by their constitution alone.15 And let that view be removed from consideration which calls the flux of bodies motion, since it is not needed for our present purpose. But animals and plants have the cause of their motion within themselves, and in general whatever is held together by nature and a soul, to which class of things they say that metals also belong. And besides these, fire too is self-moved, and perhaps also fountains of water. Now, of those things which have the cause of their movement within themselves, some, they say, are moved out of themselves, others from themselves: things without life, out of themselves; animate things, from themselves. For animate things are moved from themselves, a phantasy16 springing up in them which incites to effort. And again, in certain animals phantasies are formed which call forth an effort, the nature of the phantasy17 stirring up the effort in an orderly manner, as in the spider is formed the phantasy of weaving; and the attempt to weave follows, the nature of its phantasy inciting the insect in an orderly manner to this alone. And besides its phantasial nature, nothing else is believed to belong to the insect.18 And in the bee there is formed the phantasy to produce wax.

3. But since a rational animal not only has within itself these natural movements, but has moreover, to a greater extent than other animals, the power of reason, by which it can judge and determine regarding natural movements, and disapprove and reject some, while approving and adopting others, so by the judgment of this reason may the movements of men be governed and directed towards a commendable life. And from this it follows that, since the nature of this reason which is in man has within itself the power of distinguishing between good and evil, and while distinguishing possesses the faculty of selecting what it has approved, it may justly be deemed worthy of praise in choosing what is good, and deserving of censure in following that which is base or wicked. This indeed must by no means escape our notice, that in some dumb animals there is found a more regular movement19 than in others, as in hunting-dogs or war-horses, so that they may appear to some to be moved by a kind of rational sense. But we must believe this to be the result not so much of reason as of some natural instinct,20 largely bestowed for purposes of that kind. Now, as we had begun to remark, seeing that such is the nature of a rational animal, some things may happen to us human beings from without; and these, coming in contact with our sense of sight, or hearing, or any other of our senses, may incite and arouse us to good movements, or

the contrary; and seeing they come to us from an external source, it is not within our own power to prevent their coming. But to determine and approve what use we ought to make of those things which thus happen, is the duty of no other than of that reason within us, i.e., of our own judgment; by the decision of which reason we use the incitement, which comes to us from without for that purpose, which reason approves, our natural movements being determined by its authority either to good actions or the reverse.

3. The rational animal, however, has, in addition to its phantasial nature, also reason, which judges the phantasies, and disapproves of some and accepts others, in order that the animal may be led according to them. Therefore, since there are in the nature of reason aids towards the contemplation of virtue and vice, by following which, after beholding good and evil, we select the one and avoid the other, we are deserving of praise when we give ourselves to the practice of virtue, and censurable when we do the reverse. We must not, however, be ignorant that the greater part of the nature assigned to all things is a varying quantity21 among animals, both in a greater and a less degree; so that the instinct in hunting-dogs and in war-horses approaches somehow, so to speak, to the faculty of reason. Now, to fall under some one of those external causes which stir up within us this phantasy or that, is confessedly not one of those things that are dependent upon ourselves; but to determine that we shall use the occurrence in this way or differently, is the prerogative of nothing else than of the reason within us, which, as occasion offers,22 arouses us towards efforts inciting to what is virtuous and becoming, or turns us aside to what is the reverse.

4. If any one now were to say that those things which happen to us from an external cause, and call forth our movements, are of such a nature that it is impossible to resist them, whether they incite us to good or evil, let the holder of this opinion turn his attention for a little upon himself, and carefully inspect the movements of his own mind, unless he has discovered already, that when an enticement to any desire arises, nothing is accomplished until the assent of the soul is gained, and the authority of the mind has granted indulgence to the wicked suggestion; so that a claim might seem to be made by two parties on certain probable grounds as to a judge residing within the tribunals of our hurt, in order that, after the statement of reasons, the decree of execution may proceed from the judgment of reason.23 For, to take an illustration: if, to a man who has determined to live continently and chastely, and to keep himself free from all pollution with women, a woman should happen to present herself, inciting and alluring him to act contrary to his purpose, that woman is not a complete and absolute cause or necessity of his transgressing,24 since it is in his power, by remembering his resolution, to bridle the incitements to lust, and by the stern admonitions of virtue to restrain the pleasure of the allurement that solicits him; so that, all feeling of indulgence being driven away, his determination may remain firm and enduring. Finally, if to any men of learning, strengthened by divine training, allurements of that kind present themselves, remembering forthwith what they are, and calling to mind what has long been the subject of their meditation and instruction, and fortifying themselves by the support of a holier doctrine, they reject and repel all incitement to pleasure, and drive away opposing lusts by the interposition of the reason implanted within them.

4. But if any one maintain that this very external cause is of such a nature that it is impossible to resist it when it comes in such a way, let him turn his attention to his own feelings and movements, (and see) whether there is not an approval, and assent, and inclination of the controlling principle

towards some object on account of some specious arguments.25 For, to take an instance, a woman who has appeared before a man that has determined to be chaste, and to refrain from carnal intercourse, and who has incited him to act contrary to his purpose, is not a perfects cause of annulling his determination. For, being altogether pleased with the luxury and allurement of the pleasure, and not wishing to resist it, or to keep his purpose, he commits an act of licentiousness. Another man, again (when the same things have happened to him who has received more instruction, and has disciplined himself26), encounters, indeed, allurements and enticements; but his reason, as being strengthened to a higher point, and carefully trained, and confirmed in its views towards a virtuous course, or being near to confirmation,27 repels the incitement, and extinguishes the desir

5. Seeing, then, that these positions are thus established by a sort of natural evidence, is it not superfluous to throw back the causes of our actions on those things which happen to us from without, and thus transfer the blame from ourselves, on whom it wholly lies? For this is to say that we are like pieces of wood, or stones, which have no motion in themselves, but receive the causes of their motion from without. Now such an assertion is neither true nor becoming, and is invented only that the freedom of the will may be denied; unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the freedom of the will consists in this, that nothing which happens to us from without can incite us to good or evil. And if any one were to refer the causes of our faults to the natural disorder28 of the body, such a theory is proved to be contrary to the reason of all teaching.29 For, as we see in very many individuals, that after living unchastely and intemperately, and after being the captives of luxury and lust, if they should happen to be aroused by the word of teaching and instruction to enter upon a better course of life, there takes place so great a change, that from being luxurious and wicked men, they are converted into those who are sober, and most chaste and gentle; so, again, we see in the case of those who are quiet and honest, that after associating with restless and shameless individuals, their good morals are corrupted by evil conversation, and they become like those whose wickedness is complete.30 And this is the case sometimes with men of mature age, so that such have lived more chastely in youth than when more advanced years have enabled them to indulge in a freer mode of life. The result of our reasoning, therefore, is to show that those things which happen to us from without are not in our own power; but that to make a good or bad use of those things which do so happen, by help of that reason which is within us, and which distinguishes and determines how these things ought to be used, is within our power.

5. Such being the case, to say that we are moved from without, and to put away the blame from ourselves, by declaring that we are like to pieces of wood and stones, which are dragged about by those causes that act upon them from without, is neither true nor in conformity with reason, but is the statement of him who wishes to destroy31 the conception of free-will. For if we were to ask such an one what was free-will, he would say that it consisted in this, that when purposing to do some thing, no external cause came inciting to the reverse. But to blame, on the other hand, the mere constitution of the body,32 is absurd; for the disciplinary reason,33 taking hold of those who are most intemperate and savage (if they will follow her exhortation), effects a transformation, so that the alteration and change for the better is most extensive,-the most licentious men frequently becoming better than those who formerly did not seem to be such by nature; and the most savage men passing into such a state of mildness,34 that those persons who never at any time were so savage as they were, appear savage in comparison, so great a degree of gentleness having been

produced within them. And we see other men, most steady and respectable, driven from their state of respectability and steadiness by intercourse with evil customs, so as to fall into habits of licentiousness, often beginning their wickedness in middle age, and plunging into disorder after the period of youth has passed, which, so far as its nature is concerned, is unstable. Reason, therefore, demonstrates that external events do not depend on us, but that it is our own business to use them in this way or the opposite, having received reason as a judge and an investigator35 of the manner in which we ought to meet those events that come from without.

6. And now, to confirm the deductions of reason by the authority of Scripture-viz., that it is our own doing whether we live rightly or not, and that we are not compelled, either by those causes which come to us from without, or, as some think, by the presence of fate-we adduce the testimony of the prophet Micah, in these words: "If it has been announced to thee, O man, what is good, or what the Lord requires of thee, except that thou shouldst do justice, and love mercy, and be ready to walk with the Lord thy God."36 Moses also speaks as follows: "I have placed before thy face the way of life and the way of death: choose what is good, and walk in it."37 Isaiah, moreover, makes this declaration: "If you are willing, and hear me, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if you be unwilling, and will not hear me, the sword shall consume you; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken this."38 In the Psalm, too, it is written: "If My people had heard Me, if Israel had walked in My ways, I would have humbled her enemies to nothing; "39 by which he shows that it was in the power of the people to hear, and to walk in the ways of God. The Saviour also saying, "I say unto you, Resist not evil; "40 and, "Whoever shall be angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgment; "41 and, "Whosoever shall look upon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart; "42 and in issuing certain other commands,-conveys no other meaning than this, that it is in our own power to observe what is commanded. And therefore we are rightly rendered liable to condemnation if we transgress those commandments which we are able to keep. And hence He Himself also declares: "Every one who hears my words, and doeth them, I will show to whom he is like: he is like a wise man who built his house upon a rock," etc.43 So also the declaration: "Whoso heareth these things, and doeth them not, is like a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand," etc.44 Even the words addressed to those who are on His right hand, "Come unto Me, all ye blessed of My Father," etc.; "for I was an hungered, and ye gave Me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink,"45 manifestly show that it depended upon themselves, that either these should be deserving of praise for doing what was commanded and receiving what was promised, or those deserving of censure who either heard or received the contrary, and to whom it was said, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire." Let us observe also, that the Apostle Paul addresses us as having power over our own will, and as possessing in ourselves the causes either of our salvation or of our ruin: "Dost thou despise the riches of His goodness, and of His patience, and of His long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But, according to thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou art treasuring up for thyself wrath on the day of judgment and of the revelation of the just judgment of God, who will render to every one according to his work: to those who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and immortality, eternal life;46 while to those who are contentious, and believe not the truth, but who believe iniquity, anger, indignation, tribulation, and distress, on every soul of man that worketh evil, on the Jew first, and (afterwards) on the Greek; but glory, and honour, and peace to every one that doeth good, to the Jew first, and (afterwards) to the Greek."47 You will find also innumerable other passages in holy Scripture, which manifestly show

that we possess freedom of will. Otherwise there would be a contrariety in commandments being given us, by observing which we may be saved, or by transgressing which we may be condemned, if the power of keeping them were not implanted in us.

6. Now, that it is our business to live virtuously, and that God asks this of us, as not being dependent on Him nor on any other, nor, as some think, upon fate, but as being our own doing, the prophet Micah will prove when he says: "If it has been announced to thee, O man, what is good, or what does the Lord require of thee, except to do justice and to love mercy? "48 Moses also: "I have placed before thy face the way of life, and the way of death: choose what is good, and walk in it."49 Isaiah too: "If you are willing, and hear me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if ye be unwilling, and Will not hear me, the sword will consume you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."50 And in the Psalms: "If My people had heard Me, and Israel had walked in My ways, I would have humbled their enemies to nothing, and laid My hand upon those that afflicted them; "51 showing that it was in the power of His people to hear and to walk in the ways of God. And the Saviour also, when He commands, "But I say unto you, Resist not evil; "52 and, "Whosoever shall be angry with his brother, shall be in danger of the judgment; "53 and, "Whosoever shall look upon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart; "54 and by any other commandment which He gives, declares that it lies with ourselves to keep what is enjoined, and that we shall reasonably55 be liable to condemnation if we transgress. And therefore He says in addition: "He that heareth My words, and doeth them, shall be likened to a prudent man, who built his house upon a rock," etc., etc.; "while he that heareth them, but doeth them not, is like a foolish man, who built his house upon the sand," etc.56 And when He says to those on His right hand, "Come, ye blessed of My Father," etc.; "for I was an hungered, and ye gave Me to eat; I was athirst, and ye gave Me to drink,"57 it is exceedingly manifest that He gives the promises to these as being deserving of praise. But, on the contrary, to the others, as being censurable in comparison with them, He says, "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire!"58 And let us observe how Paul also converses59 with us as having freedom of will, and as being ourselves the cause of ruin or salvation, when he says, "Dost thou despise the riches of His goodness, and of His patience, and of His long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But, according to thy hardness and impenitent heart, thou art treasuring up for thyself wrath on the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every one according to his works: to those who, by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory and immortality, eternal life; while to those who are contentious, and believe not the truth, but who believe iniquity, anger, wrath, tribulation, and distress, on every soul of man that worketh evil; on the Jew first, and on the Greek: but glory, and honour, and peace to every one that worketh good; to the Jew first, and to the Greek."60 There are, indeed, innumerable passages in the Scriptures which establish with exceeding clearness the existence of freedom of will.

7. But, seeing there are found in the sacred Scriptures themselves certain expressions occurring in such a connection, that the opposite of this may appear capable of being understood from them, let us bring them forth before us, and, discussing them according to the rule of piety,61 let us furnish an explanation of them, in order that from those few passages which we now expound, the solution of those others which resemble them, and by which any power over the will seems to be excluded, may become clear. Those expressions, accordingly, make an impression on very many, which are used by God in speaking of Pharaoh, as when He frequently says, "I will harden

Pharaoh's heart."62 For if he is hardened by God, and commits sin in consequence of being so hardened, the cause of his sin is not himself. And if so, it will appear that Pharaoh does not possess freedom of will; and it will be maintained, as a consequence, that, agreeably to this illustration, neither do others who perish owe the cause of their destruction to the freedom of their own will. That expression, also, in Ezekiel, when he says, "I will take away their stony hearts, and will give them hearts of flesh, that they may walk in My precepts, and keep My ways,"63 may impress some, inasmuch as it seems to be a gift of God, either to walk in His ways or to keep His precepts,64 if He take away that stony heart which is an obstacle to the keeping of His commandments, and bestow and implant a better and more impressible heart, which is called now65 a heart of flesh. Consider also the nature of the answer given in the Gospel by our Lord and Saviour to those who inquired of Him why He spoke to the multitude in parables. His words are: "That seeing they may not see; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them."66 The words, moreover, used by the Apostle Paul, that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy; "67 in another passage also, "that to will and to do are of God: "68 and again, elsewhere, "Therefore hath He mercy upon whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth. Thou wilt say then unto me, Why cloth He yet find fault? For who shall resist His will? O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him who hath formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another to dishonour?69 -these and similar declarations seem to have no small influence in preventing very many from believing that every one is to be considered as having freedom over his own will, and in making it appear to be a consequence of the will of God whether a man is either saved or lost.

7. But, since certain declarations of the Old Testament and of the New lead to the opposite conclusion-namely, that it does not depend on ourselves to keep the commandments and to be saved, or to transgress them and to be lost-let us adduce them one by one, and see the explanations of them, in order that from those which we adduce, any one selecting in a similar way all the passages that seem to nullify free-will, may consider what is said about them by way of explanation. And now, the statements regarding Pharaoh have troubled many, respecting whom God declared several times, "I will harden Pharaoh's heart."70 For if he is hardened by God, and commits sin in consequence of being hardened, he is not the cause of sin to himself; and if so, then neither does Pharaoh possess free-will. And some one will say that, in a similar way, they who perish have not free-will, and will not perish of themselves. The declaration also in Ezekiel, "I will take away their stony hearts, and will put in them hearts of flesh, that they may walk in My precepts, and keep My commandments,"71 might lead one to think that it was God who gave the power to walk in His commandments, and to keep His precepts, by His withdrawing the hindrance-the stony heart, and implanting a better-a heart of flesh. And let us look also at the passage in the Gospel-the answer which the Saviour returns to those who inquired why He spake to the multitude in parables. His words are: "That seeing they might not see; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them."72 The passage also in Paul: "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."73 The declarations, too, in other places, that "both to will and to do are of God; "74 "that God hath mercy upon whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth. Thou wilt say then, Why doth He yet find fault? For who hath resisted His will? ""The persuasion is of Him that

calleth, and not of us."75 "Nay, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that hath formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? "76 Now these passages are sufficient of themselves to trouble the multitude, as if man were not possessed of free-will, but as if it were God who saves and destroys whom He will.

8. Let us begin, then, with those words which were spoken to Pharaoh, who is said to have been hardened by God, in order that he might not let the people go; and, along with his case, the language of the apostle also will be considered, where he says, "Therefore He hath mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth."77 For it is on these passages chiefly that the heretics rely, asserting that salvation is not in our own power, but that souls are of such a nature as must by all means be either lost or saved; and that in no way can a soul which is of an evil nature become good, or one which is of a virtuous nature be made bad. And hence they maintain that Pharaoh, too, being of a ruined nature, was on that account hardened by God, who hardens those that are of an earthly nature, but has compassion on those who are of a spiritual nature. Let us see, then, what is the meaning of their assertion; and let us, in the first place, request them to tell us whether they maintain that the soul of Pharaoh was of an earthly nature, such as they term lost. They will undoubtedly answer that it was of an earthly nature. If so, then to believe God, or to obey Him, when his nature opposed his so doing, was an impossibility. And if this were his condition by nature, what further need was there for his heart to be hardened, and this not once, but several times, unless indeed because it was possible for him to yield to persuasion? Nor could any one be said to be hardened by another, save him who of himself was not obdurate. And if he were not obdurate of himself, it follows that neither was he of an earthly nature, but such an one as might give way when overpowered78 by signs and wonders. But he was necessary for God's purpose, in order that, for the saving of the multitude, He might manifest in him His power by his offering resistance to numerous miracles, and struggling against the will of God, and his heart being by this means said to be hardened. Such are our answers, in the first place, to these persons; and by these their assertion may be overturned, according to which they think that Pharaoh was destroyed in consequence of his evil nature.79 And with regard to the language of the Apostle Paul, we must answer them in a similar way. For who are they whom God hardens, according to your view? Those, namely, whom you term of a ruined nature, and who, I am to suppose, would have done something else had they not been hardened. If, indeed, they come to destruction in consequence of being hardened, they no longer perish naturally, but in virtue of what befalls them. Then, in the next place, upon whom does God show mercy? On those, namely, who are to be saved. And in what respect do those persons stand in need of a second compassion, who are to be saved once by their nature, and so come naturally to blessedness, except that it is shown even from their case, that, because it was possible for them to perish, they therefore obtain mercy, that so they may not perish, but come to salvation, and possess the kingdom of the good. And let this be our answer to those who devise and invent the fable80 of good or bad natures, i.e., of earthly or spiritual souls, in consequence of which, as they say, each one is either saved or lost.

8. Let us begin, then, with what is said about Pharaoh-that he was hardened by God, that he might not send away the people; along with which will be examined also the statement of the apostle, "Therefore hath He mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth."81 And

certain of those who hold different opinions misuse these passages, themselves also almost destroying free-will by introducing ruined natures incapable of salvation, and others saved which it is impossible can be lost; and Pharaoh, they say, as being of a ruined nature, is therefore hardened by God, who has mercy upon the spiritual, but hardens the earthly. Let us see now what they mean. For we shall ask them if Pharaoh was of an earthy nature; and when they answer, we shall say that he who is of an earthy nature is altogether disobedient to God: but if disobedient, what need is there of his heart being hardened, and that not once, but frequently? Unless perhaps, since it was possible for him to obey (in which case he would certainly have obeyed, as not being earthy, when hard pressed by the signs and wonders), God needs him to be disobedient to a greater degree,82 in order that He may manifest His mighty deeds for the salvation of the multitude, and therefore hardens his heart. This will be our answer to them in the first place, in order to overturn their supposition that Pharaoh was of a ruined nature. And the same reply must be given to them with respect to the statement of the apostle. For whom does God harden? Those who perish, as if they would obey unless they were hardened, or manifestly those who would be saved because they are not of a ruined nature. And on whom has He mercy? Is it on those who are to be saved? And how is there need of a second mercy for those who have been prepared once for salvation, and who will by all means become blessed on account of their nature? Unless perhaps, since they are capable of incurring destruction, if they did not receive mercy, they will obtain mercy, in order that they may not incur that destruction of which they are capable, but may be in the condition of those who are saved. And this is our answer to such persons.

9. And now we must return an answer also to those who would have the God of the law to be just only, and not also good; and let us ask such in what manner they consider the heart of Pharaoh to have been hardened by God-by what acts or by what prospective arrangements.83 For we must observe the conception of a God84 who in our opinion is both just and good, but according to them only just. And let them show us how a God whom they also acknowledge to be just, can with justice cause the heart of a man to be hardened, that, in consequence of that very hardening, he may sin and be ruined. And how shall the justice of God be defended, if He Himself is the cause of the destruction of those whom, owing to their unbelief (through their being hardened), He has afterwards condemned by the authority of a judge? For why does He blame him, saying, "But since thou wilt not let My people go, lo, I will smite all the first-born in Egypt, even thy first-born,"85 and whatever else was spoken through Moses by God to Pharaoh? For it behoves every one who maintains the truth of what is recorded in Scripture, and who desires to show that the God of the law and the prophets is just, to render a reason for all these things, and to show how there is in them nothing at all derogatory to the justice of God, since, although they deny His goodness, they admit that He is a just judge, and creator of the world. Different, however, is the method of our reply to those who assert that the creator of this world is a malignant being, i.e., a devil.

9. But to those who think they understand the term "hardened," we must address the inquiry, What do they mean by saying that God, by His working, hardens the heart, and with what purpose does He do this? For let them observe the conception86 of a God who is in reality just and good; but if they will not allow this, let it be conceded to them for the present that He is just; and let them show how the good and just God, or the just. God only, appears to be just, in hardening the heart of him who perishes because of his being hardened: and how the just God becomes the cause of destruction and disobedience, when men are chastened by Him on account of their hardness and

disobedience. And why does He find fault with him, saying, "Thou wilt not let My people go; "87 "Lo, I will smite all the first-born in Egypt, even thy first-born; "88 and whatever else is recorded as spoken from God to Pharaoh through the intervention of Moses? For he who believes that the Scriptures are true, and that God is just, must necessarily endeavour, if he be honest,89 to show how God, in using such expressions, may be distinctly90 understood to be just. But if any one should stand, declaring with uncovered head that the Creator of the world was inclined to wickedness,91 we should need other words to answer them.

10. But since we acknowledge the God who spoke by Moses to be not only just, but also good, let us carefully inquire how it is in keeping with the character of a just and good Deity to have hardened the heart of Pharaoh. And let us see whether, following the example of the Apostle Paul, we are able to solve the difficulty by help of some parallel instances: if we can show, e.g., that by one and the same act God has pity upon one individual, but hardens another; not purposing or desiring that he who is hardened should be so, but because, in the manifestation of His goodness and patience, the heart of those who treat His kindness and forbearance with contempt and insolence is hardened by the punishment of their crimes being delayed; while those, on the other hand, who make His goodness and patience the occasion of their repentance and reformation, obtain compassion. To show more clearly, however, what we mean, let us take the illustration employed by the Apostle Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where he says, "For the earth, which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, will receive blessing from God; but that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned."92 Now from those words of Paul which we have quoted, it is clearly shown that by one and the same act on the part of God-that, viz., by which He sends rain upon the earth-one portion of the ground, when carefully cultivated, brings forth good fruits; while another, neglected and uncared for, produces thorns and thistles. And if one, speaking as it were in the person of the rain,93 were to say, "It is I, the rain, that have made the good fruits, and it is I that have caused the thorns and thistles to grow," however hard94 the statement might appear, it would nevertheless be true; for unless the rain had fallen, neither fruits, nor thorns, nor thistles would have sprung up, whereas by the coming of the rain the earth gave birth to both. Now, although it is due to the beneficial action of the rain that the earth has produced herbs of both kinds, it is not to the rain that the diversity of the herbs is properly to be ascribed; but on those will justly rest the blame for the bad seed, who, although they might have turned up the ground by frequent ploughing, and have broken the clods by repeated harrowing, and have extirpated all useless and noxious weeds, and have cleared and prepared the fields for the coming showers by all the labour and toil which cultivation demands, have nevertheless neglected to do this, and who will accordingly reap briers and thorns, the most appropriate fruit of their sloth. And the consequence therefore is, that while the rain falls in kindness and impartiality95 equally upon the whole earth, yet, by one and the same operation of the rain, that soil which is cultivated yields with a blessing useful fruits to the diligent and careful cultivators, while that which has become hardened through the neglect of the husbandman brings forth only thorns and thistles. Let us therefore view those signs and miracles which were done by God, as the showers furnished by Him from above; and the purpose and desires of men, as the cultivated and uncultivated soil, which is of one and the same nature indeed, as is every soil compared with another, but not in one and the same state of cultivation. From which it follows that every one's will,96 if untrained, and fierce, and barbarous, is either hardened by the miracles and wonders of God, growing more

savage and thorny than ever, or it becomes more pliant, and yields itself up with the whole mind to obedience, if it be cleared from vice and subjected to training.

10. But since they say that they regard Him as a just God, and we as one who is at the same time good and just, let us consider how the good and just God could harden the heart of Pharaoh. See, then, whether, by an illustration used by the apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews, we are able to prove that by one operation97 God has mercy upon one man while He hardens another, although not intending to harden; but, (although) having a good purpose, hardening follows as a result of the inherent principle of wickedness in such persons,98 and so He is said to harden him who is hardened. "The earth," he says, "which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them for whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God; but that which beareth thorns and briers is rejected, and is nigh to cursing, whose end is to be burned."99 As respects the rain, then, there is one operation; and there being one operation as regards the rain, the ground which is cultivated produces fruit, while that which is neglected and is barren produces thorns. Now, it might seem profane100 for Him who rains to say, "I produced the fruits, and the thorns that are in the earth; "and yet, although profane, it is true. For, had rain not fallen, there would have been neither fruits nor thorns; but, having fallen at the proper time and in moderation, both were produced. The ground, now, which drank in the rain which often fell upon it, and yet produced thorns and briers, is rejected and nigh to cursing. The blessing, then, of the rain descended even upon the inferior land; but it, being neglected and uncultivated, yielded thorns and thistles. In the same way, therefore, the wonderful works also done by God are, as it were, the rain; while the differing purposes are, as it were, the cultivated and neglected land, being (yet), like earth, of one nature.

11. But, to establish the point more clearly, it will not be superfluous to employ another illustration, as if, e.g., one were to say that it is the sun which hardens and liquefies, although liquefying and hardening are things of an opposite nature. Now it is not incorrect to say that the sun, by one and the same power of its heat, melts wax indeed, but dries up and hardens mud:101 not that its power operates One way upon mud, and in another way upon wax; but that the qualities of mud and wax are different, although according to nature they are one thing,102 both being from the earth. In this way, then, one and the same working upon the part of God, which was administered by Moses in signs and wonders, made manifest the hardness of Pharaoh, which he had conceived in the intensity of his wickedness103 but exhibited the obedience of those other Egyptians who were intermingled with the Israelites, and who are recorded to have quitted Egypt at the same time with the Hebrews. With respect to the statement that the heart of Pharaoh was subdued by degrees, so that on one occasion he said, "Go not far away; ye shall go a three days' journey, but leave your wives, and your children, and your cattle,"104 and as regards any other statements, according to which he appears to yield gradually to the signs and wonders, what else is shown, save that the power of the signs and miracles was making some impression on him, but not so much as it ought to have done? For if the hardening were of such a nature as many take it to be, he would not indeed have given way even in a few instances. But I think there is no absurdity in explaining the tropical or figurative105 nature of that language employed in speaking of "hardening," according to common usage. For those masters who are remarkable for kindness to their slaves, are frequently accustomed to say to the latter, when, through much patience and indulgence on their part, they have become insolent and worthless: "It is I that have made you

what you are; I have spoiled you; it is my endurance that has made you good for nothing: I am to blame for your perverse and wicked habits, because I do not have you immediately punished for every delinquency according to your deserts." For we must first attend to the tropical or figurative meaning of the language, and so come to see the force of the expression, and not find fault with the word, whose inner meaning we do not ascertain. Finally, the Apostle Paul, evidently treating of such, says to him who remained in his sins: "Despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? but, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath on the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God."106 Such are the words of the apostle to him who is in his sins. Let us apply these very expressions to Pharaoh, and see if they also are not spoken of him with propriety, since, according to his hardness and impenitent heart, he treasured and stored up for himself wrath on the day of wrath, inasmuch as his hardness could never have been declared and manifested, unless signs and wonders of such number and magnificence had been performed.

11. And as if the sun, uttering a voice, were to say, "I liquefy and dry up," liquefaction and drying up being opposite things, he would not speak falsely as regards the point in question;107 wax being melted and mud being dried by the same heat; so the same operation, which was performed through the instrumentality of Moses, proved the hardness of Pharaoh on the one hand, the result of his wickedness, and the yielding of the mixed Egyptian multitude who took their departure with the Hebrews. And the brief statement108 that the heart of Pharaoh was softened, as it were, when he said, "But ye shall not go far: ye will go a three days' journey, and leave your wives,"109 and anything else which he said, yielding little by little before the signs, proves that the wonders made some impression even upon him, but did not accomplish all (that they might). Yet even this would not have happened, if that which is supposed by the many-the hardening of Pharaoh's heart-had been produced by God Himself. And it is not absurd to soften down such expressions agreeably to common usage:110 for good masters often say to their slaves, when spoiled by their kindness and forbearance, "I have made you bad, and I am to blame for offences of such enormity." For we must attend to the character and force of the phrase, and not argue sophistically," disregarding the meaning of the expression. Paul accordingly, having examined these points clearly, says to the sinner: "Or despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? but, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God."111 Now, let what the apostle says to the sinner be addressed to Pharaoh, and then the announcements made to him will be understood to have been made with peculiar fitness, as to one who, according to his hardness and unrepentant heart, was treasuring up to himself wrath; seeing that his hardness would not have been proved nor made manifest unless miracles had been performed, and miracles, too, of such magnitude and importance.

12. But if the proofs which we have adduced do not appear full enough, and the similitude of the apostle seem wanting in applicability,112 let us add the voice of prophetic authority, and see what the prophets declare regarding those who at first, indeed, leading a righteous life, have deserved to receive numerous proofs of the goodness of God, but afterwards, as being human beings, have fallen astray, with whom the prophet, making himself also one, says:"Why, O Lord, hast Thou made us to err from Thy way? and hardened our heart, that we should not fear Thy name? Return,

for Thy servants' sake, for the tribes of Thine inheritance, that we also for a little may obtain some inheritance from Thy holy hill."113 Jeremiah also employs similar language: "O Lord, Thou hast deceived us, and we were deceived; Thou hast held (us), and Thou hast prevailed."114 The expression, then, "Why, O Lord, hast Thou hardened our heart, that we should not fear Thy name? "used by those who prayed for mercy, is to be taken in a figurative, moral acceptation,115 as if one were to say, "Why hast Thou spared us so long, and didst not requite us when we sinned, but didst abandon us, that so our wickedness might increase, and our liberty of sinning be extended when punishment ceased? "In like manner, unless a horse continually feel the spur116 of his rider, and have his mouth abraded by a bit,117 he becomes hardened. And a boy also, unless constantly disciplined by chastisement, will grow up to be an insolent youth, and one ready to fall headlong into vice. God accordingly abandons and neglects those whom He has judged undeserving of chastisement: "For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth."118 From which we are to suppose that those are to be received into the rank and affection of sons, who have deserved to be scourged and chastened by the Lord, in order that they also, through endurance of trials and tribulations, may be able to say, "Who shall separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus? shall tribulation, or anguish, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? "119 For by all these is each one's resolution manifested and displayed, and the firmness of his perseverance made known, not so much to God, who knows all things before they happen, as to the rational and heavenly virtues,120 who have obtained a part in the work of procuring human salvation, as being a sort of assistants and ministers to God. Those, on the other hand, who do not yet offer themselves to God with such constancy and affection, and are not ready to come into His service, and to prepare their souls for trial, are said to be abandoned by God, i.e., not to be instructed, inasmuch as they are not prepared for instruction, their training or care being undoubtedly postponed to a later time. These certainly do not know what they will obtain from God, unless they first entertain the desire of being bene-fired; and this finally will be the case, if a man come first to a knowledge of himself, and feel what are his defects, and understand from whom he either ought or can seek the supply of his deficiencies. For he who does not know beforehand of his weakness or his sickness, cannot seek a physician; or at least, after recovering his health, that man will not be grateful to his physician who did not first recognise the dangerous nature of his ailment. And so, unless a man has first ascertained the defects of his life, and the evil nature of his sins, and made this known by confession from his own lips, he cannot be cleansed or acquitted, lest he should be ignorant that what he possesses has been bestowed on him by favour, but should consider as his own property what flows from the divine liberality, which idea undoubtedly generates arrogance of mind and pride, and finally becomes the cause of the individual's ruin. And this, we must believe, was the case with the devil, who viewed as his own, and not as given him by God, the primacy121 which he held at the time when he was unstained;122 and thus was fulfilled in him the declaration, that "every one who exalteth himself shall be abased."123 From which it appears to me that the divine mysteries were concealed from the wise and prudent, according to the statement of Scripture, that "no flesh should glory before God,"124 and revealed to children-to those, namely, who, after they have become infants and little children, i.e., have returned to the humility and simplicity of children, then make progress; and on arriving at perfection, remember that they have obtained their state of happiness, not by their own merits, but by the grace and compassion of God.

12. But since such narratives are slow to secure assent,125 and are considered to be forced,126 let us see from the prophetical declarations also, what those persons say, who, although they have experienced the great kindness of God, have not lived virtuously, but have afterwards sinned. "Why, O Lord, hast Thou made us to err from Thy ways? Why hast Thou hardened our heart, so as not to fear Thy name? Return for Thy servants' sake, for the tribes of Thine inheritance, that we may inherit a shall portion of Thy holy mountain."127 And in Jeremiah: "Thou hast deceived me, O Lord, and I was deceived; Thou wert strong, and Thou didst prevail."128 For the expression, "Why hast Thou hardened our hear, so as not to fear Thy name? "uttered by those who are begging to receive mercy, is in its nature as follows: "Why hast Thou spared us so long, not visiting us because of our sins, but deserting us, until our transgressions come to a height? "Now He leaves the greater part of men unpunished, both in order that the habits of each one may be examined, so far as it depends upon ourselves, and that the virtuous may be made manifest in consequence of the test applied; while the others, not escaping notice from God-for He knows all things before they exist-but from the rational creation and themselves, may afterwards obtain the means of cure, seeing they would not have known the benefit had they not condemned themselves. It is of advantage to each one, that he perceive his own peculiar nature129 and the grace of God. For he who does not perceive his own weakness and the divine favour, although he receive a benefit, yet, not having made trial of himself, nor having condemned himself, will imagine that the benefit conferred upon him by the grace of Heaven is his own doing. And this imagination, producing also vanity,130 will be the cause of a downfall: which, we conceive, was the case with the devil, who attributed to himself the priority which he possessed when in a state of sinlessness.131 "For every one that exalteth himself shall be abased," and "every one that humbleth himself shall be exalted."132 And observe, that for this reason divine things have been concealed from the wise and prudent, in order, as says the apostle, that "no flesh should glory in the presence of God; "133 and they have been revealed to babes, to those who after childhood have come to better things, and who remember that it is not so much from their own effort, as by the unspeakable goodness (of God), that they have reached the greatest possible extent of blessedness.

13. It is therefore by the sentence of God that he is abandoned who deserves to be so, while over some sinners God exercises forbearance; not, however, without a definite principle of action.134 Nay, the very fact that He is long-suffering conduces to the advantage of those very persons, since the soul over which He exercises this providential care is immortal; and, as being immortal and everlasting, it is not, although not immediately cared for, excluded from salvation, which is postponed to a more convenient time. For perhaps it is expedient for those who have been more deeply imbued with the poison of wickedness to obtain this salvation at a later period. For as medical men sometimes, although they could quickly cover over the scars of wounds, keep back and delay the cure for the present, in the expectation of a better and more perfect recovery, knowing that it is more salutary to retard the treatment in the cases of swellings caused by wounds, and to allow the malignant humours to flow off for a while, rather than to hasten a superficial cure, by shutting up in the veins the poison of a morbid humour, which, excluded from its customary outlets, will undoubtedly creep into the inner parts of the limbs, and penetrate to the very vitals of the viscera, producing no longer mere disease in the body, but causing destruction to life; so, in like manner, God also, who knows the secret things of the heart, and foreknows the future, in much forbearance allows certain events to happen, which, coming from without upon men, cause to come forth into the light the passions and vices which are concealed within, that by

their means those may be cleansed and cured who, through great negligence and carelessness, have admitted within themselves the roots and seeds of sins, so that, when driven outwards and brought to the surface, they may in a certain degree be cast forth and dispersed.135 And thus, although a man may appear to be afflicted with evils of a serious kind, suffering convulsions in all his limbs, he may nevertheless, at some future time, obtain relief and a cessation from his trouble; and, after enduring his afflictions to satiety, may, after many sufferings, be restored again to his (proper) condition. For God deals with souls not merely with a view to the short space of our present life, included within sixty years136 or more, but with reference to a perpetual and never-ending period, exercising His providential care over souls that are immortal, even as He Himself is eternal and immortal. For He made the rational nature, which He formed in His own image and likeness, incorruptible; and therefore the soul, which is immortal, is not excluded by the shortness of the present life from the divine remedies and cures.

13. It is not without reason, then, that he who is abandoned, is abandoned to the divine judgment, and that God is long-suffering with certain sinners; but because it will be for their advantage, with respect to the immortality of the soul and the unending world,137 that they be not quickly brought138 into a state of salvation, but be conducted to it more slowly, after having experienced many evils. For as physicians, who are able to cure a man quickly, when they suspect that a hidden poison exists in the body, do the reverse of healing, making this more certain through their very desire to heal, deeming it better for a considerable time to retain the patient under inflammation and sickness, in order that he may recover his health more surely, than to appear to produce a rapid recovery, and afterwards to cause a relapse, and (thus) that hasty cure last only for a time; in the same way, God also, who knows the secret things of the heart, and foresees future events, in His long-suffering, permits (certain events to occur), and by means of those things which happen from without extracts the secret evil, in order to cleanse him who through carelessness has received the seeds of sin, that having vomited them forth when they came to the surface, although he may have been deeply involved in evils, he may afterwards obtain healing after his wickedness, and be renewed? For God governs souls not with reference, let me say, to the fifty139 years of the present life, but with reference to an illimitable140 age: for He made the thinking principle immortal in its nature, and kindred to Himself; and the rational soul is not, as in this life, excluded from cure.

14. But let us take from the Gospels also the similitudes of those things which we have mentioned, in which is described a certain rock, having on it a little superficial earth, on which, when a seed falls, it is said quickly to spring up; but when sprung up, it withers as the sun ascends in the heavens, and dies away, because it did not cast its root deeply into the ground? Now this rock undoubtedly represents the human soul, hardened on account of its own negligence, and converted into stone because of its wickedness. For God gave no one a stony heart by a creative act; but each individual's heart is said to become stony through his own wickedness and disobedience. As, therefore, if one were to blame a husbandman for not casting his seed more quickly upon rocky ground, because seed cast upon other rocky soil was seen to spring up speedily, the husbandman would certainly say in reply: "I sow this soil more slowly, for this reason, that it may retain the seed which it has received; for it suits this ground to be sown somewhat slowly, lest perhaps the crop, having sprouted too rapidly, and coming forth from the mere surface of a shallow soil, should be unable to withstand the rays of the sun." Would not he who formerly

found fault acquiesce in the reasons and superior knowledge of the husbandman, and approve as done on rational grounds what formerly appeared to him as rounded on no reason? And in the same way, God, the thoroughly skilled husbandman of all His creation, undoubtedly conceals and delays to another time those141 things which we think ought to have obtained health sooner, in order that not the outside of things, rather than the inside, my be cured. But if any one now were to object to us that certain seeds do even fall upon rocky ground, i.e., on a hard and stony heart, we should answer that even this does not happen without the arrangement of Divine Providence; inasmuch as, but for this, it would not be known what condemnation was incurred by rashness in hearing and indifference in investigation,142 nor, certainly, what benefit was derived from being trained in an orderly manner. And hence it happens that the soul comes to know its defects, and to cast the blame upon itself, and, consistently with this, to reserve and submit itself to training, i.e., in order that it may see that its faults must first be removed, and that then it must come to receive the instruction of wisdom. As, therefore, souls are innumerable, so also are their manners, and purposes, and movements, and appetencies, and incitements different, the variety of which can by no means be grasped by the human mind; and therefore to God alone must be left the art, and the knowledge, and the power of an arrangement of this kind, as He alone can know both the remedies for each individual soul, and measure out the time of its cure. It is He alone then who, as we said, recognises the ways of individual men, and determines by what way He ought to lead Pharaoh, that through him His name might be named in all the earth, having previously chastised him by many blows, and finally drowning him in the sea. By this drowning, however, it is not to be supposed that God's providence as regards Pharaoh was terminated; for we must not imagine, because he was drowned, that therefore he had forthwith completely143 perished: "for in the hand of God are both we and our words; all wisdom, also, and knowledge of workmanship,"144 as Scripture declares. But these points we have discussed according to our ability, treating of that chapter145 of Scripture in which it is said that God hardened the heart of Pharaoh, and agreeably to the statement, "He hath mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth."146

14. Come now, and let us use the following image147 from the Gospel. There is a certain rock, with a little surface-soil, on which, if seeds fall, they quickly spring up; but when sprung up, as not having root, they are burned and withered when the sun has arisen. Now this rock is a human soul, hardened on account of its negligence, and converted to stone because of its wickedness; for no one receives from God a heart created of stone, but it becomes such in consequence of wickedness. If one, then, were to find fault with the husbandman for not sowing his seed sooner upon the rocky soil, when he that it may retain the seed which it has received; for it suits this ground to be sown somewhat slowly, lest perhaps the crop, having sprouted too rapidly, and coming forth from the mere surface of a shallow soil, should be unable to withstand the rays of the sun." Would not he who formerly found fault acquiesce in the reasons and superior knowledge of the husbandman, and approve as done on rational grounds what formerly appeared to him as rounded on no reason? And in the same way, God, the thoroughly skilled husbandman of all His creation, undoubtedly conceals and delays to another time those148 things which we think ought to have obtained health sooner, in order that not the outside of things, rather than the inside, my be cured. But if any one now were to object to us that certain seeds do even fall upon rocky ground, i.e., on a hard and stony heart, we should answer that even this does not happen without the arrangement of Divine Providence; inasmuch as, but for this, it would not be known what

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15. Let us now look at those passages of Ezekiel where he says, "I will take away from them their stony heart, and I will put in them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in My statutes, and keep Mine ordinances.154 For if God, when He pleases, takes away a heart of stone and bestows a heart of flesh, that His ordinances may be observed and His commandments may be obeyed, it will then appear that it is not in our power to put away wickedness. For the taking away of a stony heart seems to be nothing else than the removal of the wickedness by which one is hardened, from whomsoever God pleases to remove it. Nor is the bestowal of a heart of flesh, that the precepts of God may be observed and His commandments obeyed, any other thing than a man becoming obedient, and no longer resisting the truth, but performing works of virtue. If, then, God promises to do this, and if, before He takes away the stony heart, we are unable to remove it from ourselves, it follows that it is not in our power, but in God's only, to cast away wickedness. And again, if it is not our doing to form within us a heart of flesh, but the work of God alone, it will not be in our power to live virtuously, but it will in everything appear to be a work of divine grace. Such are the assertions of those who wish to prove from the authority of Holy Scripture that nothing lies in our own power. Now to these we answer, that these passages are not to be so understood, but in the following manner. Take the case of one who was ignorant and untaught, and who, feeling the disgrace of his ignorance, should, driven either by an exhortation from some person, or incited by a desire to emulate other wise men, hand himself over to one by whom he is assured that he will be carefully trained and competently instructed. If he, then, who had formerly hardened himself in ignorance, yield himself, as we have said, with full purpose of mind to a master, and promise to obey him in all things, the master, on seeing clearly the resolute nature of his determination; will appropriately promise to take away all ignorance, and to implant knowledge within his mind; not that he undertakes to do this if the disciple refuse or resist his efforts, but only on his offering and binding himself to obedience in all things. So also the Word of God promises to those who draw near to Him, that He will take away their stony heart, not indeed from those who do not listen to His

word, but from those who receive the precepts of His teaching; as in the Gospels we find the sick approaching the Saviour, asking to receive health, and thus at last be cured. And in order that the blind might be healed and regain their sight, their part consisted in making supplication to the Saviour, and in believing that their cure could be effected by Him; while His part, on the other hand, lay in restoring to them the power of vision. And in this way also does the Word of God promise to bestow instruction by taking away the stony heart, i.e., by the removal of wickedness, that so men may be able to walk in the divine precepts, and observe the commandments of the law.

15. Let us look also at the declaration in Ezekiel, which says, "I shall take away their stony hearts, and will put in them hearts of flesh, that they may walk in My statutes and keep My precepts."155 For if God, when He wills, takes away the stony hearts, and implants hearts of flesh, so that His precepts are obeyed and His commandments are observed, it is not in our power to put away wickedness. For the taking away of the stony hearts is nothing else than the taking away of the wickedness, according to which one is hardened, from him from whom God wills to take it; and the implanting of a heart of flesh, so that a man may walk in the precepts of God and keep His commandments, what else is it than to become somewhat yielding and unresistent to the truth, and to be capable of practising virtues? And if God promises to do this, and if, before He takes away the stony hearts, we do not lay them aside, it is manifest that it does not depend upon ourselves to put away wickedness; and if it is not we who do anything towards the production within us of the heart of flesh, but if it is God's doing, it will not be our own act to live agreeably to virtue, but altogether (the result of) divine grace. Such will be the statements of him who, from the mere words (of Scripture), annihilates free-will.156 But we shall answer, saying, that we ought to understand these passages thus: That as a man, e.g., who happened to be ignorant and uneducated, on perceiving his own defects, either in consequence of an exhortation from his teacher, or in some other way, should spontaneously give himself up to him whom he considers able to introduce157 him to education and virtue; and, on his yielding himself up, his instructor promises that he will take away his ignorance, and implant instruction, not as if it contributed nothing to his training, and to the avoiding of ignorance, that he brought himself to be healed, but because the instructor promised to improve him who desired improvement; so, in the same way, the Word of God promises to take away wickedness, which it calls a stony heart, from those who come to it, not if they are unwilling, but (only) if they submit themselves to the Physician of the sick, as in the Gospels the sick are found coming to the Saviour, and asking to obtain healing, and so are cured. And, let me say, the recovery of sight by the blind is, so far as their request goes, the act of those who believe that they are capable of being healed; but as respects the restoration of sight, it is the work of our Saviour. Thus, then, does the Word of God promise to implant knowledge in those who come to it, by taking away the stony and hard heart, which is wickedness, in order that one may walk in the divine commandments, and keep the divine injunctions.

16. There is next brought before us that declaration uttered by the Saviour in the Gospel: "That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand; lest they should happen to be converted, and their sins be forgiven them."158 On which our opponent will remark: "If those who shall hear more distinctly are by all means to be corrected and converted, and converted in such a manner as to be worthy of receiving the remission of sins, and if it be not in their own power to hear the word distinctly, but if it depend on the Instructor to teach more

openly and distinctly, while he declares that he does not proclaim to them the word with clearness, lest they should perhaps hear and understand, and be converted, and be saved, it will follow, certainly, that their salvation is not dependent upon themselves. And if this be so, then we have no free-will either as regards salvation or destruction." Now were it not for the words that are added, "Lest perhaps they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them," we might be more inclined to return the answer, that the Saviour was unwilling that those individuals whom He foresaw would not become good, should understand the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, and that therefore He spoke to them in parables; but as that addition follows, "Lest perhaps they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them," the explanation is rendered more difficult. And, in the first place, we have to notice what defence this passage furnishes against those heretics who are accustomed to hunt out of the Old Testament any expressions which seem, according to their view, to predicate severity and cruelty of God the Creator, as when He is described as being affected with the feeling of vengeance or punishment, or by any of those emotions, however named, from which they deny the existence of goodness in the Creator; for they do not judge of the Gospels with the same mind and feelings, and do not observe whether any such statements are found in them as they condemn and censure in the Old Testament. For manifestly, in the passage referred to, the Saviour is shown, as they themselves admit, not to speak distinctly, for this very reason, that men may not be converted, and when converted, receive the remission of sins. Now, if the words be understood according to the letter merely, nothing less, certainly, will be contained in them than in those passages which they find fault with in the Old Testament. And if they are of opinion that any expressions occurring in such a connection in the New Testament stand in need of explanation, it will necessarily follow that those also occurring in the Old Testament, which are the subject of censure, may be freed from aspersion by an explanation of a similar kind, so that by such means the passages found in both Testaments may be shown to proceed from one and the same God. But let us return, as we best may, to the question proposed.

16. There was after this the passage from the Gospel, where the Saviour said, that for this reason did He speak to those without in parables, that "seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand; lest they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them."159 Now, our opponent will say, "If some persons are assuredly converted on hearing words of greater clearness, so that they become worthy of the remission of sins, and if it does not depend upon themselves to hear these words of greater clearness, but upon him who teaches, and he for this reason does not announce them to them more distinctly, lest they should see and understand, it is not within the power of such to be saved; and if so, we are not possessed of free-will as regards salvation and destruction." Effectual, indeed, would be the reply to such arguments, were it not for the addition, "Lest they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them,"-namely, that the Saviour did not wish those who were not to become good and virtuous to understand the more mystical (parts of His teaching), and for this reason spake to them in parables; but now, on account of the words, "Lest they should be converted, and their sins be forgiven them," the defence is more difficult. In the first place, then, we must notice the passage in its bearing on the heretics, who hunt out those portions from the Old Testament where is exhibited, as they themselves daringly assert, the cruelty160 of the Creator of the world161 in His purpose of avenging and punishing the wicked,162 or by whatever other name they wish to designate such a quality, so speaking only that they may say that goodness does not exist in the Creator; and who

do not deal with the New Testament in a similar manner, nor in a spirit of candour,163 but pass by places similar to those which they consider censurable in the Old Testament. For manifestly, and according to the Gospel, is the Saviour shown, as they assert, by His former words, not to speak distinctly for this reason, that men might not be converted, and, being converted, might become deserving of the remission of sins: which statement of itself is nothing inferior164 to those passages from the Old Testament which are objected to. And if they seek to defend the Gospel, we must ask them whether they are not acting in a blameworthy manner in dealing differently with the same questions; and, while not stumbling against the New Testament, but seeking to defend it, they nevertheless bring a charge against the Old regarding similar points, whereas they ought to offer a defence in the same way of the passages from the New. And therefore we shall force them, on account of the resemblances, to regard all as the writings of one God. Come, then, and let us, to the best of our ability, furnish an answer to the question submitted to us.

17. We said formerly, when discussing the case of Pharaoh, that sometimes it does not lead to good results for a man to be cured too quickly, especially if the disease, being shut up within the inner parts of the body, rage with greater fierceness. Whence God, who is acquainted with secret things, and knows all things before they happen, in His great goodness delays the cure of such, and postpones their recovery to a remoter period, and, so to speak, cures them by not curing them, lest a too favourable state of health165 should render them incurable. It is therefore possible that, in the case of those to whom, as being "without," the words of our Lord and Saviour were addressed, He, seeing from His scrutiny of the hearts and reins that they were not yet able to receive teaching of a clearer type, veiled by the covering of language the meaning of the profounder mysteries, lest perhaps, being rapidly converted and healed, i.e., having quickly obtained the remission of their sins, they should again easily slide back into the same disease which they had found could be healed without any difficulty. For if this be the case, no one can doubt that the punishment is doubled, and the amount of wickedness increased; since not only are the sins which had appeared to be forgiven repeated, but the court166 of virtue also is desecrated when trodden by deceitful and polluted beings,167 filled within with hidden wickedness. And what remedy can there ever be for those who, after eating the impure and filthy food of wickedness, have tasted the pleasantness of virtue, and received its sweetness into their mouths, and yet have again betaken themselves to the deadly and poisonous provision of sin? And who doubts that it is better for delay and a temporary abandonment to occur, in order that if, at some future time, they should happen to be satiated with wickedness, and the filth with which they are now delighted should become loathsome, the word of God may at last be appropriately made clear to them, and that which is holy be not given to the dogs, nor pearls be cast before swine, which will trample them under foot, and turn, moreover, and rend and assault those who have proclaimed to them the word of God? These, then, are they who are said to be "without," undoubtedly by way of contrast with those who are said to be "within," and to hear the word of God with greater clearness. And yet those who are "without" do hear the word, although it is covered by parables, and overshadowed by proverbs. There are others, also, besides those who are without, who are called Tyrians, and who do not hear at all, respecting whom the Saviour knew that they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes, if the miracles performed among others had been done amongst them, and yet these do not hear those things which are heard even by those who are "without: "and I believe, for this reason, that the rank of such in wickedness was far lower and worse than that of those who are said to be "without," i.e., who are not far from those who are

within, and who have deserved to hear the word, although in parables; and because, perhaps, their cure was delayed to that time when it will be more tolerable for them on the day of judgment, than for those before whom those miracles which are recorded were performed, that so at last, being then relieved from the weight of their sins, they may enter with more ease and power of endurance upon the way of safety. And this is a point which I wish impressed upon those who peruse these pages, that with respect to topics of such difficulty and obscurity we use our utmost endeavour, not so much to ascertain clearly the solutions of the questions (for every one will do this as the Spirit gives him utterance), as to maintain the rule of faith in the most unmistakeable manner,168 by striving to show that the providence of God, which equitably administers all things, governs also immortal souls on the justest principles, (conferring rewards) according to the merits and motives of each individual; the present economy of things169 not being confined within the life of this world, but the pre-existing state of merit always furnishing the ground for the state that is to follow,170 and thus by an eternal and immutable law of equity, and by the controlling influence of Divine Providence, the immortal soul is brought to the summit of perfection. If one, however, were to object to our statement, that the word of preaching was purposely put aside by certain men of wicked and worthless character, and (were to inquire) why the word was preached to those over whom the Tyrians, who were certainly despised, are preferred in comparison (by which proceeding, certainly, their wickedness was increased, and their condemnation rendered more severe, that they should hear the word who were not to believe it), they must be answered in the following manner: God, who is the Creator of the minds of all men, foreseeing complaints against His providence, especially on the part of those who say, "How could we believe when we neither beheld those things which others saw, nor heard those words which were preached to others? in so far is the blame removed from us, since they to whom the word was announced, and the signs manifested, made no delay whatever, but became believers, overpowered by the very force of the miracles; "wishing to destroy the grounds for complaints of this kind, and to show that it was no concealment of Divine Providence, but the determination of the human mind which was the cause of their ruin, bestowed the grace of His benefits even upon the unworthy and the unbelieving, that every mouth might indeed be shut, and that the mind of man might know that all the deficiency was on its own part, and none on that of God; and that it may, at the same time, be understood and recognised that he receives a heavier sentence of condemnation who has despised the divine benefits conferred upon him than he who has not deserved to obtain or hear them, and that it is a peculiarity of divine compassion, and a mark of the extreme justice of its administration, that it sometimes conceals from certain individuals the opportunity of either seeing or hearing the mysteries of divine power, lest, after beholding the power of the miracles, and recognising and hearing the mysteries of its wisdom, they should, on treating them with contempt and indifference, be punished with greater severity for their impiety.

17. We asserted also, when investigating the subject of Pharaoh, that sometimes a rapid cure is not for the advantage of those who are healed, if, after being seized by troublesome diseases, they should easily get rid of those by which they had been entangled. For, despising the evil as one that is easy of cure, and not being on their guard a second time against falling into it, they will be involved in it (again). Wherefore, in the case of such persons, the everlasting God, the Knower of secrets, who knows all things before they exist, in conformity with His goodness, delays sending them more rapid assistance, and, so to speak, in helping them does not help, the latter course being to their advantage. It is probable, then, that those "without," of whom we are speaking,

having been foreseen by the Saviour, according to our supposition, as not (likely) to prove steady in their conversion,171 if they should hear more clearly the words that were spoken, were (so) treated by the Saviour as not to hear distinctly the deeper (things of His teaching),172 lest, after a rapid conversion, and after being healed by obtaining remission of sins, they should despise the wounds of their wickedness, as being slight and easy of healing, and should again speedily relapse into them. And perhaps also, suffering punishment for their former transgressions against virtue, which they had committed when they had forsaken her, they had not yet filled up the (full) time; in order that, being abandoned by the divine superintendence, and being filled to a greater degree by their own evils which they had sown, they may afterwards be called to a more stable repentance; so as not to be quickly entangled again in those evils in which they had formerly been involved when they treated with insolence the requirements of virtue, and devoted themselves to worse things. Those, then, who are said to be "without" (manifestly by comparison with those "within "), not being very far from those "within," while those "within" hear clearly, do themselves hear indistinctly, because they are addressed in parables; but nevertheless they do hear. Others, again, of those "without," who are called Tyrians, although it was foreknown that they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes, had the Saviour come near their borders, do not hear even those words which are heard by those "without" (being, as is probable, very far inferior in merit to those "without"173), in order that at another season, after it has been more tolerable for them than for those who did not receive the word (among whom he mentioned also the Tyrians), they may, on hearing the word at a more appropriate time, obtain a more lasting repentance. But observe whether, besides our desire to investigate (the truth), we do not rather strive to maintain an attitude of piety in everything regarding God and His Christ,174 seeing we endeavour by every means to prove that, in matters so great and so peculiar regarding the varied providence of God, He takes an oversight of the immortal soul. If, indeed, one were to inquire regarding those things that are objected to, why those who saw wonders and who heard divine words are not benefited, while the Tyrians would have repented if such had been performed and spoken amongst them; and should ask, and say, Why did the Saviour proclaim such to these persons, to their own hurt, that their sin might be reckoned to them as heavier? we must say, in answer to such an one, that He who understands the dispositions175 of all those who find fault with His providence-(alleging) that it is owing to it that they have not believed, because it did not permit them to see what it enabled others to behold, and did not arrange for them to hear those words by which others, on hearing them, were benefited-wishing to prove that their defence is not founded on reason, He grants those advantages which those who blame His administration asked; in order that, after obtaining them, they may notwithstanding be convicted of the greatest impiety in not having even then yielded themselves to be benefited, and may cease from such audacity; and having been made free in respect to this very point, may learn that God occasionally, in conferring benefits upon certain persons, delays and procrastinates, not conferring the favour of seeing and hearing those things which, when seen and heard, would render the sin of those who did not believe, after acts so great and peculiar, heavier and more serious.

18. Let us now look to the expression, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."176 For our opponents assert, that if it does not depend upon him that willeth, nor on him that runneth, but on God that showeth mercy, that a man be saved, our salvation is not in our own power. For our nature is such as to admit of our either being saved or not, or else our salvation rests solely on the will of Him who, if He wills it, shows mercy, and

confers salvation. Now let us inquire, in the first place, of such persons, whether to desire blessings be a good or evil act; and whether to hasten after good as a final aim177 be worthy of praise. If they were to answer that such a procedure was deserving of censure, they would evidently he mad; for all holy men both desire blessings and run after them, and certainly are not blameworthy. How, then, is it that he who is not saved, if he be of an evil nature, desires blessing, and runs after them, but does not find them? For they say that a bad tree does not bring forth good fruits, whereas it is a good fruit to desire blessings. And how is the fruit of a bad tree good? And if they assert that to desire blessings, and to run after them, is an act of indifference,178 i.e., neither good nor bad, we shall reply, that if it be an indifferent act to desire blessings, and to run after them, then the opposite of that will also he an indifferent act, viz., to desire evils, and to run after them; whereas it is certain that it is not an indifferent act to desire evils, and to run after them, but one that is manifestly wicked. It is established, then, that to desire and follow after blessings is not an indifferent, but a virtuous proceeding.Having now repelled these objections by the answer which we have given, let us hasten on to the discussion of the subject itself, in which it is said, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."179 In the book of Psalms-in the Songs of Degrees, which are ascribed to Solomon-the following statement occurs: "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."180 By which words he does not indeed indicate that we should cease from building or watching over the safe keeping of that city which is within us; but what he points out is this, that whatever is built without God, and whatever is guarded without him, is built in vain, and guarded to no purpose. For in all things that are well built and well protected, the Lord is held to be the cause either of the building or of its protection. As if, e.g., we were to behold some magnificent structure and mass of splendid building reared with beauteous architectural skill, would we not justly and deservedly say that such was built not by human power, but by divine help and might? And yet from such a statement it will not be meant that the labour and industry of human effort were inactive, and effected nothing at all. Or again, if we were to see some city surrounded by a severe blockade of the enemy, in which threatening engines were brought against the walls, and the place hard pressed by a vallum, and weapons, and fire, and all the instruments of war, by which destruction is prepared, would we not rightly and deservedly say, if the enemy were repelled and put to flight, that the deliverance had been wrought for the liberated city by God? And yet we would not mean, by so speaking, that either the vigilance of the sentinels, or the alertness of the young men,181 or the protection of the guards, had been wanting. And the apostle also must be understood in a similar manner, because the human will alone is not sufficient to obtain salvation; nor is any mortal running able to win the heavenly (rewards), and to obtain the prize of our high calling182 of God in Christ Jesus, unless this very good will of ours, and ready purpose, and whatever that diligence within us may be, be aided or furnished with divine help. And therefore most logically183 did the apostle say, that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy; "in the same manner as if we were to say of agriculture what is actually written: "I planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase."184 As, therefore, when a field has brought good and rich crops to perfect maturity, no one would piously and logically assert that the husbandman had made those fruits, but would acknowledge that they had been produced by God; so also is our own perfection brought about, not indeed by our remaining inactive and idle,185 (but by some activity on our part): and yet the

consummation of it will not be ascribed to us, but to God, who is the first and chief cause of the work. So, when a ship has overcome the dangers of the sea, although the result be accomplished by great labour on the part of the sailors, and by the aid of all the art of navigation, and by the zeal and carefulness of the pilot, and by the favouring influence of the breezes, and the careful observation of the signs of the stars, no one in his sound senses would ascribe the safety of the vessel, when, after being tossed by the waves, and wearied by the billows, it has at last reached the harbour in safety, to anything else than to the mercy of God. Not even the sailors or pilot venture to say, "I have saved the ship," but they refer all to the mercy of God; not that they feel that they have contributed no skill or labour to save the ship, but because they know that while they contributed the labour, the safety of the vessel was ensured by God. So also in the race of our life we ourselves must expend labour, and bring diligence and zeal to bear; but it is from God that salvation is to be hoped for as the fruit of our labour. Otherwise, if God demand none of our labour, His commandments will appear to be superfluous. In vain, also, does Paul blame some for having fallen from the truth, and praise others for abiding in the faith; and to no purpose does he deliver certain precepts and institutions to the Churches: in vain, also, do we ourselves either desire or run after what is good. But it is certain that these things are not done in vain; and it is certain that neither do the apostles give instructions in vain, nor the Lord enact laws without a reason. It follows, therefore, that we declare it to be in vain, rather, for the heretics to speak evil of these good declarations.

18. Let us look next at the passage: "So, then, it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."186 For they who find fault say: If "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," salvation does not depend upon ourselves, but upon the arrangement187 made by Him who has formed188 us such as we are, or on the purpose189 of Him who showeth mercy when he pleases. Now we must ask these persons the following questions: Whether to desire what is good is virtuous or vicious; and whether the desire to run in order to reach the goal in the pursuit of what is good be worthy of praise or censure? And if they shall say that it is worthy of censure, they will return an absurd answer;190 since the saints desire and run, and manifestly in so acting do nothing that is blameworthy. But if they shall say that it is virtuous to desire what is good, and to run after what is good, we shall ask them how a perishing nature desires better things;191 for it is like an evil tree producing good fruit, since it is a virtuous act to desire better things. They will give (perhaps) a third answer, that to desire and run after what is good is one of those things that are indifferent,192 and neither beautiful193 nor wicked. Now to this we must say, that if to desire and to run after what is good be a thing of indifference, then the opposite also is a thing of indifference, viz., to desire what is evil, and to run after it. But it is not a thing of indifference to desire what is evil, and to run after it. And therefore also, to desire what is good, and to run after it, is not a thing of indifference. Such, then, is the defence which I think we can offer to the statement, that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."194 Solomon says in the book of Psalms (for the Song of Degrees195 is his, from which we shall quote the words): "Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh in vain: "196 not dissuading us from building, nor teaching us not to keep watch in order to guard the city in our soul, but showing that what is built without God, and does not receive a guard from Him, is built in vain and watched to no purpose, because God might reasonably be entitled the Lord of the building; and the Governor of all things, the Ruler of the guard of the city. As, then, if we were to

say that such a building is not the work of the builder, but of God, and that it was not owing to the successful effort of the watcher, but of the God who is over all, that such a city suffered no injury from its enemies, we should not be wrong,197 it being understood that something also had been done by human means, but the benefit being gratefully referred to God who brought it to pass; so, seeing that the (mere) human desire is not sufficient to attain the end, and that the running of those who are, as it were, athletes, does not enable them to gain the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus-for these things are accomplished with the assistance of God-it is well said that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." As if also it were said with regard to husbandry what also is actually recorded: "I planted, Apollos watered; and God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase."198 Now we could not piously assert that the production of full crops was the work of the husbandman, or of him that watered, but the work of God. So also our own perfection is brought about, not as if we ourselves did nothing;199 for it is not completed200 by us, but God produces the greater part of it. And that this assertion may be more clearly believed, we shall take an illustration from the art of navigation. For in comparison with the effect of the winds,201 and the mildness of the air,202 and the light of the stars, all co-operating in the preservation of the crew, what proportion203 could the art of navigation be said to bear in the bringing of the ship into harbour?-since even the sailors themselves, from piety, do not venture to assert often that they had saved the ship, but refer all to God; not as if they had done nothing, but because what had been done by Providence was infinitely204 greater than what had been effected by their art. And in the matter of our salvation, what is done by God is infinitely greater than what is done by ourselves; and therefore, I think, is it said that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." For if in the manner which they imagine we must explain the statement,205 that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy," the commandments are superfluous; and it is in vain that Paul himself blames some for having fallen away, and approves of others as having remained upright, and enacts laws for the Churches: it is in vain also that we give ourselves up to desire better things, and in vain also (to attempt) to run. But it is not in vain that Paul gives such advice, censuring some and approving of others; nor in vain that we give ourselves up to the desire of better things, and to the chase after things that are pre-eminent. They have accordingly not well explained the meaning of the passage.206

19. After this there followed this point, that "to will and to do are of God."207 Our opponents maintain that if to will be of God, and if to do be of Him, or if, whether we act or desire well or ill, it be of God, then in that case we are not possessed of free-will. Now to this we have to answer, that the words of the apostle do not say that to will evil is of God, or that to will good is of Him; nor that to do good or evil is of God; but his statement is a general one, that to will and to do are of God. For as we have from God this very quality, that we are men208 that we breathe, that we move; so also we have from God (the faculty) by which we will, as if we were to say that our power of motion is from God,209 or that the performing of these duties by the individual members, and their movements, are from God. From which, certainly, I do not understand this, that because the hand moves, e.g., to punish unjustly, or to commit an act of theft, the act is of God, but only that the power of motion210 is from God; while it is our duty to turn those movements, the power of executing which we have from God, either to purposes of good or evil. And so what the apostle says is, that we receive indeed the power of volition, but that we misuse the will either to good or

evil desires. In a similar way, also, we must judge of results.

19. Besides these, there is the passage, "Both to will and to do are of God."211 And some assert that, if to will be of God, and to do be of God, and if, whether we will evil or do evil, these (movements) come to us from God, then, if so, we are not possessed of free-will. But again, on the other hand, when we will better things, and do things that are more excellent,212 seeing that willing and doing are from God, it is not we who have done the more excellent things, but we only appeared (to perform them), while it was God that bestowed them;213 so that even in this respect we do not possess free-will. Now to this we have to answer, that the language of the apostle does not assert that to will evil is of God, or to will good is of Him (and similarly with respect to doing better and worse); but that to will in a general214 way, and to run in a general way, (are from Him). For as we have from God (the property) of being living things and human beings, so also have we that of willing generally, and, so to speak, of motion in general. And as, possessing (the property) of life and of motion, and of moving, e.g., these members, the hands or the feet, we could not rightly say215 that we had from God this species of motion,216 whereby we moved to strike, or destroy, or take away another's goods, but that we had received from Him simply the generic217 power of motion, which we employed to better or worse purposes; so we have obtained from God (the power) of acting, in respect of our being living things, and (the power) to will from the Creator218 while we employ the power of will, as well as that of action, for the noblest objects, or the opposite.

20. But with respect to the declaration of the apostle, "Therefore hath He mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth. Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth He yet find fault? For who hath resisted His will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? "219 Some one will perhaps say, that as the potter out of the same lump makes some vessels to honour, and others to dishonour, so God creates some men for perdition, and others for salvation; and that it is not therefore in our own power either to be saved or to perish; by which reasoning we appear not to be possessed of free-will. We must answer those who are of this opinion with the question, Whether it is possible for the apostle to contradict himself? And if this cannot be imagined of an apostle, how shall he appear, according to them, to be just in blaming those who committed fornication in Corinth, or those who sinned, and did not repent of their unchastity, and fornication, and uncleanness, which they had committed? How, also, does he greatly praise those who acted rightly, like the house of Onesiphorus, saying, "The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but, when he had come to Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day."220 Now it is not consistent with apostolic gravity to blame him who is worthy of blame, i.e., who has sinned, and greatly to praise him who is deserving of praise for his good works; and again, as if it were in no one's power to do any good or evil, to say that it was the Creator's doing that every one should act virtuously or wickedly, seeing He makes one vessel to honour, and another to dishonour. And how can he add that statement, "We must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one of us may receive in his body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad? "221 For what reward of good will be conferred on him who could not commit evil, being formed by the Creator to that very end?

or what punishment will deservedly be inflicted on him who was unable to do good in consequence of the creative act of his Maker?222 Then, again, how is not this opposed to that other declaration elsewhere, that "in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth, and some to honour, and some to dishonour. If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the Master's use, prepared unto every good work."223 He, accordingly, who purges himself, is made a vessel unto honour, while he who has disdained to cleanse himself from his impurity is made a vessel unto dishonour. From such declarations, in my opinion, the cause of our actions can in no degree be referred to the Creator. For God the Creator makes a certain vessel unto honour, and other vessels to dishonour; but that vessel which has cleansed itself from all impurity He makes a vessel unto honour, while that which has stained itself with the filth of vice He makes a vessel unto dishonour. The conclusion from which, accordingly, is this, that the cause of each one's actions is a pre-existing one; and then every one, according to his deserts, is made by God either a vessel unto honour or dishonour. Therefore every individual vessel has furnished to its Creator out of itself the causes and occasions of its being formed by Him to be either a vessel unto honour or one unto dishonour. And if the assertion appear correct, as it certainly is, and in harmony with all piety, that it is due to previous causes that every vessel be prepared by God either to honour or to dishonour, it does not appear absurd that, in discussing remoter causes in the same order, and in the same method, we should come to the same conclusion respecting the nature of souls, and (believe) that this was the reason why Jacob was beloved before he was born into this world, and Esau hated, while he still was contained in the womb of his mother.

20. Still the declaration of the apostle will appear to drag us to the conclusion that we are not possessed of freedom of will, in which, objecting against himself, he says, "Therefore hath He mercy on whom He will have mercy, and whom He will He hardeneth. Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth He yet find fault? For who hath resisted His will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? "224 For it will be said: If the potter of the same lump make some vessels to hon-our and others to dishonour, and God thus form some men for salvation and others for ruin, then salvation or ruin does not depend upon ourselves, nor are we possessed of free-will. Now we must ask him who deals so with these passages, whether it is possible to conceive of the apostle as contradicting himself. I presume, however, that no one will venture to say so. If, then, the apostle does not utter contradictions, how can he, according to him who so understands him, reasonably find fault, censuring the individual at Corinth who had committed fornication, or those who had fallen away, and had not repented of the licentiousness and impurity of which they had been guilty? And how can he bless those whom he praises as having done well, as he does the house of Onesiphorus in these words: "The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus; for he oft refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but, when he was in Rome, he sought me out very diligently, and found me. The Lord grant to him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day."225 It is not consistent for the same apostle226 to blame the sinner as worthy of censure, and to praise him who had done well as deserving of approval; and again, on the other hand, to say, as if nothing depended on ourselves, that the cause was in the Creator227 why the one vessel was formed to honour, and the other to dishonour. And how is this statement correct:228 "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things

done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad,"229 since they who have done evil have advanced to this pitch of wickedness230 because they were created vessels unto dishonour, while they that have lived virtuously have done good because they were created from the beginning for this purpose, and became vessels unto honour? And again, how does not the statement made elsewhere conflict with the view which these persons draw from the words which we have quoted (that it is the fault of the Creator that one vessel is in honour and another in dishonour), viz., "that in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour. If a man therefore purge himself, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, and meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work; "231 for if he who purges himself becomes a vessel unto honour, and he who allows himself to remain unpurged232 becomes a vessel unto dishonour, then, so far as these words are concerned, the Creator is not at all to blame. For the Creator makes vessels of honour and vessels of dishonour, not from the beginning according to His foreknowledge,233 since He does not condemn or justify beforehand234 according to it; but (He makes) those into vessels of honour who purged themselves, and those into vessels of dishonour who allowed themselves to remain unpurged: so that it results from older causes235 (which operated) in the formation of the vessels unto honour and dishonour, that one was created for the former condition, and another for the latter. But if we once admit that there were certain older causes (at work) in the forming of a vessel unto honour, and of one unto dishonour, what absurdity is there in going back to the subject of the soul, and (in supposing) that a more ancient cause for Jacob being loved and for Esau being hated existed with respect to Jacob before his assumption of a body, and with regard to Esau before he was conceived in the womb of Rebecca?

21. Nay, that very declaration, that from the same lump a vessel is formed both to honour and to dishonour, will not push us hard; for we assert that the nature of all rational souls is the same, as one lump of clay is described as being under the treatment of the potter. Seeing, then, the nature of rational creatures is one, God, according to the previous grounds of merit,236 created and formed out of it, as the potter out of the one lump, some persons to honour and others to dishonour. Now, as regards the language of the apostle, which he utters as if in a tone of censure, "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? "he means, I think, to point out that such a censure does not refer to any believer who lives tightly and justly, and who has confidence in God, i.e., to such an one as Moses was, of whom Scripture says that "Moses spake, and God answered him by a voice; "237 and as God answered Moses, so also does every saint answer God. But he who is an unbeliever, and loses confidence in answering before God owing to the unworthiness of his life and conversation, and who, in relation to these matters, does not seek to learn and make progress, but to oppose and resist, and who, to speak more plainly, is such an one as to be able to say those words which the apostle indicates, when he says, "Why, then, does He yet find fault? for who will resist His will? "-to such an one may the censure of the apostle rightly be directed, "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? "This censure accordingly applies not to believers and saints, but to unbelievers and wicked men.Now, to those who introduce souls of different natures,238 and who turn this declaration of the apostle to the support of their own opinion, we have to reply as follows: If even they are agreed as to what the apostle says, that out of the one lump are formed both those who are made to honour and those who are made to dishonour, whom they term of a nature that is to be saved and destroyed, there will then be no longer souls of different natures, but one nature for all. And if they admit that one and the

same potter may undoubtedly denote one Creator, there will not be different creators either of those who are saved, or of those who perish. Now, truly, let them choose whether the), will have a good Creator to be intended who creates had and ruined men, or one who is not good, who creates good men and those who are prepared to honour. For the necessity of returning an answer will extort from them one of these two alternatives. But according to our declaration, whereby we say that it is owing to preceding causes that God makes vessels either to honour or to dishonour, the approval of God's justice is in no respect limited. For it is possible that this vessel, which owing to previous causes was made in this world to honour, may, if it behave negligently, be converted in another world, according to the deserts of its conduct, into a vessel unto dishonour: as again, if any one, owing to preceding causes, was formed by his Creator in this life a vessel unto dishonour, and shall mend his ways and cleanse himself from all filth and vice, he may, in the new world, be made a vessel to honour, sanctified and useful, and prepared unto every good work. Finally, those who were formed by God in this world to be Israelites, and who have lived a life unworthy of the nobility of their race, and have fallen away from the grandeur of their descent, will, in the world to come, in a certain degree239 be converted, on account of their unbelief, from vessels of honour into vessels of dishonour; while, on the other hand, many who in this life were reckoned among Egyptian or Idumean vessels, having adopted the faith and practice of Israelites, when they shall have done the works of Israelites, and shall have entered the Church of the Lord, will exist as vessels of honour in the revelation of the sons of God. From which it is more agreeable to the rule of piety to believe that every rational being, according to his purpose and manner of life, is converted, sometimes from had to good, and falls away sometimes from good to bad: that some abide in good, and others advance to a better condition, and always ascend to higher things, until they reach the highest grade of all; while others, again, remain in evil, or, if the wickedness within them begin to spread itself further, they descend to a worse condition, and sink into the lowest depth of wickedness. Whence also we must suppose that it is possible there may be some who began at first indeed with small offences, but who have poured out wickedness to such a degree, and attained such proficiency in evil, that in the measure of their wickedness they are equal even to the opposing powers: and again, if, by means of many severe administrations of punishment, they are able at some future time to recover their senses, and gradually attempt to find healing for their wounds, they may, on ceasing from their wickedness, be restored to a state of goodness. Whence we are of opinion that, seeing the soul, as we have frequently said, is immortal and eternal, it is possible that, in the many and endless periods of duration in the immeasurable and different worlds, it may descend from the highest good to the lowest evil, or be restored from the lowest evil to the highest good.

21. And at the same time, it is clearly shown that, as far as regards the underlying nature,240 as there is one (piece of) clay which is under the hands of the potter, from which piece vessels are formed unto honour and dishonour; so the one nature of every soul being in the hands of God, and, so to speak, there being (only) one lump of reasonable beings,241 certain causes of more ancient date led to some being created vessels unto hon-our, and others vessels unto dishonour. But if the language of the apostle convey a censure when he says, "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? "it teaches us that he who has confidence before God, and is faithful, and has lived virtuously, would not hear the words, "Who art thou that repliest against God? "Such an one, e.g., as Moses was, "For Moses spake, and God answered him with a voice; "242 and as God answers Moses, so does a saint also answer God. But he who does not possess this

confidence, manifestly, either because he has lost it, or because he investigates these matters not from a love of knowledge, but from a desire to find fault,243 and who therefore says, "Why does He yet find fault? for who hath resisted His will? "would merit the language of censure, which says, "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? "Now to those who introduce different natures, and who make use of the declaration of the apostle (to support their view), the following must be our answer. If they maintain244 that those who perish and those who are saved are formed of one lump, and that the Creator of those who are saved is the Creator also of them who are lost, and if He is good who creates not only spiritual but also earthy (natures) (for this follows from their view), it is nevertheless possible that be who, in consequence of certain former acts of righteousness,245 had now been made a vessel of honour, but who had not (afterwards) acted in a similar manner, nor done things befitting a vessel of honour, was converted in another world into a vessel of dishonour; as, on the other hand, it is possible that he who, owing to causes more ancient than the present life, was here a vessel of dishonour, may after reformation become in the new creation "a vessel of honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, prepared unto every good work." And perhaps those who are now Israelites, not having lived worthily of their descent, will be deprived of their rank, being changed, as it were, from vessels of honour into those of dishonour; and many of the present Egyptians and Idumeans who came near to Israel, when they shall have borne fruit to a larger extent, shall enter into the Church of the Lord, being no longer accounted Egyptians and Idumeans, but becoming Israelites: so that, according to this view, it is owing to their (varying) purposes that some advance from a worse to a better condition, and others fall from better to worse; while others, again, are preserved in a virtuous course, or ascend from good to better; and others, on the contrary, remain in a course of evil, or from bad become worse, as their wickedness flows on.

22. But since the words of the apostle, in what he says regarding vessels of honour or dishonour, that "if a man therefore purge himself, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Master's service, and prepared unto every good work," appear to place nothing in the power of God, but all in ourselves; while in those in which he declares that "the potter hath power over the clay, to make of the same lump one vessel to honour, another to dishonour," he seems to refer the whole to God,-it is not to be understood that those statements are contradictory, but the two meanings are to be reduced to agreement, and one signification must be drawn from both, viz., that we are not to suppose either that those things which are in our own power can be done without the help of God, or that those which are in God's hand can be brought to completion without the intervention of our acts, and desires, and intention; because we have it not in our own power so to will or do anything, as not to know that this very faculty, by which we are able to will or to do, was bestowed on us by God, according to the distinction which we indicated above. Or again, when God forms vessels, some to honour and others to dishonour, we are to suppose that He does not regard either our wills, or our purposes, or our deserts, to be the causes of the honour or dishonour, as if they were a sort of matter from which He may form the vessel of each one of us either to honour or to dishonour; whereas the very movement of the soul itself, or the purpose of the understanding, may of itself suggest to him, who is not unaware of his heart and the thoughts of his mind, whether his vessel ought to be formed to honour or to dishonour. But let these points suffice, which we have discussed as we best could, regarding the questions connected with the freedom of the will.246

22. But since the apostle in one place does not pretend that the becoming of a vessel unto honour or dishonour depends upon God, but refers back the whole to ourselves, saying, "If, then, a man purge himself, he will be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work; "and elsewhere does not even pretend that it is dependent upon ourselves, but appears to attribute the whole to God, saying, "The potter hath power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another to dishonour; "and as his statements are not contradictory, we must reconcile them, and extract one complete statement from both. Neither does our own power,247 apart from the knowledge248 of God, compel us to make progress; nor does the knowledge of God (do so), unless we ourselves also contribute something to the good result; nor does our own power, apart from the knowledge of God, and the use of the power that worthily belongs to us,249 make a man become (a vessel) unto honour or dishonour; nor does the will of God alone250 form a man to honour or to dishonour, unless He hold our will to be a kind of matter that admits of variation,251 and that inclines to a better or worse course of conduct. And these observations are sufficient to have been made by us on the subject of free-will.

Chapter II.-On the Opposing Powers.

1. We have now to notice, agreeably to the statements of Scripture, how the opposing powers, or the devil himself, contends with the human; race, inciting and instigating men to sin. And in the first place, in the book of Genesis,252 the serpent is described as having seduced Eve; regarding whom, in the work entitled The Ascension of Moses253 (a little treatise, of which the Apostle Jude makes mention in his Epistle), the archangel Michael, when disputing with the devil regarding the body of Moses, says that the serpent, being inspired by the devil, was the cause of Adam and Eve's transgression. This also is made a subject of inquiry by some, viz., who the angel was that, speaking from heaven to Abraham, said, "Now I know that thou fearest God, and on my account hast not spared thy beloved son, whom thou lovedst."254 For he is manifestly described as an angel who said that he knew then that Abraham feared God, and had not spared his beloved son, as the Scripture declares, although he did not say that it was on account of God that Abraham had done this, but on his, that is, the speaker's account. We must also ascertain who that is of whom it is stated in the book of Exodus that he wished to slay Moses, because he was taking his departure for Egypt;255 and afterwards, also, who he is that is called the destroying256 angel, as well as he who in the book of Leviticus is called Apopompaeus, i.e., Averter, regarding whom Scripture says, "One lot for the Lord, and one lot for Apopompaeus, i.e., the Averter."257 In the first book of Kings, also, an evil spirit is said to strangle258 Saul; and in the third book, Micaiah the prophet says, "I saw the Lord of Israel sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him, on His right hand and on His left. And the Lord said, Who will deceive Achab king of Israel, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will deceive him. And the Lord said to him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And He said, Thou shalt deceive him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so quickly. And now therefore the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all thy prophets: the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee."259 Now by this last quotation it is clearly shown that a certain spirit, from his own (free) will and choice, elected to deceive (Achab), and to work a lie, in order that the Lord might mislead the king to his death, for he deserved to suffer. In the first book of Chronicles also it is said, "The devil, Satan, stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number the people."260

In the Psalms, moreover, an evil angel is said to harass261 certain persons. In the book of Ecclesiastes, too, Solomon says, "If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place; for soundness will restrain many transgressions."262 In Zechariah263 we read that the devil stood on the right hand of Joshua, and resisted him. Isaiah says that the sword of the Lord arises against the dragon, the crooked264 serpent.265 And what shall I say of Ezekiel, who in his second vision prophesies most unmistakeably to the prince of Tyre regarding an opposing power, and who says also that the dragon dwells in the rivers of Egypt?266 Nay, with what else are the contents of the whole work which is written regarding Job occupied, save with the (doings) of the devil, who asks that power may be given him over all that Job possesses, and over his sons, and even over his person? And yet the devil is defeated through the patience of Job. In that book the Lord has by His answers imparted much information regarding the power of that dragon which opposes us. Such, meanwhile, are tree statements made in the Old Testament, so far as we can at present recall them, on the subject of hostile powers being either named in Scripture, or being said to oppose the human race, and to be afterwards subjected to punishment.

Let us now look also to the New Testament, where Satan approaches the Saviour, and tempts Him: wherein also it is stated that evil spirits and unclean demons, which had taken possession of very many, were expelled by the Saviour from the bodies of the sufferers, who are said also to be made free by Him. Even Judas, too, when the devil had already put it in his heart to betray Christ, afterwards received Satan wholly into him; for it is written, that after the sop "Satan entered into him."267 And the Apostle Paul teaches us that we ought not to give place to the devil; but "put on," he says, "the armour of God, that ye may be able to resist the wiles of the devil: "268 pointing out that the saints have to "wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."269 Nay, he says that the Saviour even was crucified by the princes of this world, who shall come to nought,270 whose wisdom also, he says, he does not speak. By all this, therefore, holy Scripture teaches us that there are certain invisible enemies that fight against us, and against whom it commands us to arm ourselves. Whence, also, the more simple among the believers in the Lord Christ are of opinion, that all the sins which men have committed are caused by the persistent efforts of these opposing powers exerted upon the minds of sinners, because in that invisible struggle these powers are found to be superior (to man). For if, for example, there were no devil, no single human being271 would go astray.

2. We, however, who see the reason (of the thing) more clearly, do not hold this opinion, taking into account those (sins) which manifestly originate as a necessary consequence of our bodily constitution.272 Must we indeed suppose that the devil is the cause of our feeling hunger or thirst? Nobody, I think, will venture to maintain that. If, then, he is not the cause of our feeling hunger and thirst, wherein lies the difference when each individual has attained the age of puberty, and that period has called forth the incentives of the natural heat? It will undoubtedly follow, that as the devil is not the cause of our feeling hunger and thirst, so neither is he the cause of that appetency which naturally arises at the time of maturity, viz., the desire of sexual intercourse. Now it is certain that this cause is not always so set in motion by the devil that we should be obliged to suppose that bodies would nor possess a desire for intercourse of that kind if the devil did not exist. Let us consider, in the next place, if, as we have already shown, food is desired by human beings, not from a suggestion of the devil, but by a kind of natural instinct, whether, if there were no devil, it

were possible for human experience to exhibit such restraint in partaking of food as never to exceed the proper limits; i.e., that no one would either take otherwise than the case required, or more than reason would allow; and so it would result that men, observing due measure and moderation in the matter of eating, would never go wrong. I do not think, indeed, that so great moderation could be observed by men (even if there were no instigation by the devil inciting thereto), as that no individual, in partaking of food, would go beyond due limits and restraint, until he had learned to do so from long usage and experience. What, then, is the state of the case? In the matter of eating and drinking it was possible for us to go wrong, even without any incitement from the devil, if we should happen to be either less temperate or less careful (than we ought); and are we to suppose, then, in our appetite for sexual intercourse, or in the restraint of our natural desires, our condition is not something similar?273 I am of opinion, indeed, that the same course of reasoning must be understood to apply to other natural movements as those of covetousness, or of anger, or of sorrow, or of all those generally which through the vice of intemperance exceed the natural bounds of moderation. There are therefore manifest reasons for holding the opinion, that as in good things the human will274 is of itself weak to accomplish any good (for it is by divine help that it is brought to perfection in everything); so also, in things of an opposite nature we receive certain initial elements, and, as it were, seeds of sins, from those things which we use agreeably to nature;275 but when we have indulged them beyond what is proper, and have not resisted the first movements to intemperance, then the hostile power, seizing the occasion of this first transgression, incites and presses us hard in every way, seeking to extend our sins over a wider field, and furnishing us human beings with occasions and beginnings of sins, which these hostile powers spread far and wide, and, if possible, beyond all limits. Thus, when men at first for a little desire money, covetousness begins to grow as the passion increases, and finally the fall into avarice takes place. And after this, when blindness of mind has succeeded passion, and the hostile powers, by their suggestions, hurry on the mind, money is now no longer desired, but stolen, and acquired by force, or even by shedding human blood. Finally, a confirmatory evidence Of the fact that vices of such enormity proceed from demons, may be easily seen in this, that those individuals who are oppressed either by immoderate love, or incontrollable anger, or excessive sorrow, do not suffer less than those who are bodily vexed by devils. For it is recorded in certain histories, that some have fallen into madness from a state of love, others from a state of anger, not a few from a state of sorrow, and even from one of excessive joy; which results, I think, from this, that those opposing powers, i.e., those demons, having gained a lodgment in their minds which has been already laid open to them by intemperance, have taken complete possession of their sensitive nature,276 especially when no feeling of the glory of virtue has aroused them to resistance.

3. That there are certain sins, however, which do not proceed from the opposing powers, but take their beginnings from the natural movements of the body, is manifestly declared by the Apostle Paul in the passage: "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would."277 If, then, the flesh lust against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, we have occasionally to wrestle against flesh and blood, i.e., as being men, and walking according to the flesh, and not capable of being tempted by greater than human temptations; since it is said of us, "There hath no temptation taken you, but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able."278 For as the presidents of the public games do not allow the competitors

to enter the lists indiscriminately or fortuitously, but after a careful examination, pairing in a most impartial consideration either of size or age, this individual with that-boys, e.g., with boys, men with men, who are nearly related to each other either in age or strength; so also must we understand the procedure of divine providence, which arranges on most impartial principles all who descend into the struggles of this human life, according to the nature of each individual's power, which is known only to Him who alone beholds the hearts of men: so that one individual fights against one temptation of the flesh,279 another against a second; one is exposed to its influence for so long a period of time, another only for so long; one is tempted by the flesh to this or that indulgence, another to one of a different kind; one has to resist this or that hostile power, another has to combat two or three at the same time; or at one time this hostile influence, at another that; at some particular date having to resist one enemy, and at another a different one; being, after the performance of certain acts, exposed to one set of enemies, after others to a second. And observe whether some such state of things be not indicated by the language of the apostle: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above what ye are able,"280 i.e., each one is tempted in proportion to the amount of his strength or power of resistance.281 Now, although we have said that it is by the just judgment of God that every one is tempted according to the amount of his strength, we are not therefore to suppose that he who is tempted ought by all means to prove victorious in the struggle; in like manner as he who contends in the lists, although paired with his adversary on a just principle of arrangement, will nevertheless not necessarily prove conqueror. But unless the powers of the combatants are equal, the prize of the victor will not be justly won; nor will blame justly attach to the vanquished, because He allows us indeed to be tempted, but not "beyond what we are able: "for it is in proportion to our strength that we are tempted; and it is not written that, in temptation, He will make also a way to escape so as that we should bear it, but a way to escape so as that we should be able to bear it.282 But it depends upon ourselves to use either with energy or feebleness this power which He has given us. For there is no doubt that under every temptation we have a power of endurance, if we employ properly the strength that is granted us. But it is not the same thing to possess the power of conquering and to be victorious, as the apostle himself has shown in very cautious language, saying, "God will make a way to escape, that you may be able to bear it,"283 not that you will bear it. For many do not sustain temptation, but are overcome by it. Now God enables us not to sustain (temptation), (otherwise there would appear to be no struggle), but to have the power of sustaining it.284 But this power which is given us to enable us to conquer may be used, according to our faculty of free-will, either in a diligent manner, and then we prove victorious, or in a slothful manner, and then we are defeated. For if such a power were wholly given us as that we must by all means prove victorious, and never be defeated, what further reason for a struggle could remain to him who cannot be overcome? Or what merit is there in a victory, where the power of successful resistance285 is taken away? But if the possibility of conquering be equally conferred on us all, and if it be in our own power how to use this possibility, i.e., either diligently or slothfully, then will the vanquished be justly censured, and the victor be deservedly lauded. Now from these points which we have discussed to the best of our power, it is, I think, clearly evident that there are certain transgressions which we by no means commit under the pressure of malignant powers; while there are others, again, to which we are incited by instigation on their part to excessive and immoderate indulgence. Whence it follows that we have to inquire how those opposing powers produce these incitements within us.

4. With respect to the thoughts which proceed from our heart, or the recollection of things which we have done, or the contemplation of any things or causes whatever, we find that they sometimes proceed from ourselves, and sometimes are originated by the opposing powers; not seldom also are they suggested by God, or by the holy angels. Now such a statement will perhaps appear incredible,286 unless it be confirmed by the testimony of holy Scripture, That, then, thoughts arise within ourselves, David testifies in the Psalms, saying, "The thought of a man will make confession to Thee, and the rest of the thought shall observe to Thee a festival day."287 That this, however, is also brought about by the opposing powers, is shown by Solomon in the book of Ecclesiastes in the following manner: "If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place; for soundness restrains great offences."288 The Apostle Paul also will bear testimony to the same point in the words: "Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalted itself against the knowledge of Christ."289 That it is an effect due to God, nevertheless, is declared by David, when he says in the Psalms, "Blessed is the man whose help is in Thee, O Lord, Thy ascents (are) in his heart."290 And the apostle says that "God put it into the heart of Titus."291 That certain thoughts are suggested to men's hearts either by good or evil angels, is shown both by the angel that accompanied Tobias,292 and by the language of the prophet, where he says, "And the angel who spoke in me answered."293 The book of the Shepherd294 declares the same, saying that each individual is attended by two angels; that whenever good thoughts arise in our hearts, they are suggested by the good angel; but when of a contrary kind, they are the instigation of the evil angel. The same is declared by Barnabas in his Epistle,295 where he says there are two ways, one of light and one of darkness, over which he asserts that certain angels are placed;-the angels of God over the way of light, the angels of Satan over the way of darkness. We are not, however, to imagine that any other result follows from what is suggested to our heart, whether good or bad, save a (mental) commotion only, and an incitement instigating us either to good or evil. For it is quite within our reach, when a malignant power has begun to incite us to evil, to cast away from us the wicked suggestions, and to resist the vile inducements, and to do nothing that is at all deserving of blame. And, on the other hand, it is possible, when a divine power calls us to better things, not to obey the call; our freedom of will being preserved to us in either case. We said, indeed, in the foregoing pages, that certain recollections of good or evil actions were suggested to us either by the act of divine providence or by the opposing powers, as is shown in the book of Esther, when Artaxerxes had not remembered the services of that just man Mordecai, but, when wearied out with his nightly vigils, had it put into his mind by God to require that the annals of his great deeds should be read to him; whereon, being reminded of the benefits received from Mordecai, he ordered his enemy Haman to be hanged, but splendid honours to be conferred on him, and impunity from the threatened danger to be granted to the whole of the holy nation. On the other hand, however, we must suppose that it was through the hostile influence of the devil that the suggestion was introduced into the minds of the high priests and the scribes which they made to Pilate, when they came and said, "Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again."296 The design of Judas, also, respecting the betrayal of our Lord and Saviour, did not originate in the wickedness of his mind alone. For Scripture testifies that the "devil had already put it into his heart to betray Him."297 And therefore Solomon rightly commanded, saying, "Keep thy heart with all diligence."298 And the Apostle Paul warns us: "Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest perhaps we should let them slip."299 And when he says, "Neither give place to the devil,"300 he

shows by that injunction that it is through certain acts, or a kind of mental slothfulness, that room is made for the devil, so that, if he once enter our heart, he will either gain possession of us, or at least will pollute the soul, if he has not obtained the entire mastery over it, by casting on us his fiery darts; and by these we are sometimes deeply wounded, and sometimes only set on fire. Seldom indeed, and only in a few instances, are these fiery darts quenched, so as not to find a place where they may wound, i.e., when one is covered by the strong and mighty shield of faith. The declaration, indeed, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, "We wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places,"301 must be so understood as if "we" meant, "I Paul, and you Ephesians, and all who have not to wrestle against flesh and blood: "for such have to struggle against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, not like the Corinthians, whose struggle was as yet against flesh and blood, and who had been overtaken by no temptation but such as is common to man.

5. We are not, however, to suppose that each individual has to contend against all these (adversaries). For it is impossible for any man, although he were a saint, to carry on a contest against all of them at the same time. If that indeed were by any means to be the case, as it is certainly impossible it should be so, human nature could not possibly bear it without undergoing entire destruction.302 But as, for example, if fifty soldiers were to say that they were about to engage with fifty others, they would not be understood to mean that one of them had to contend against the whole fifty, but each one would rightly say that "our battle was against fifty," all against all; so also this is to be understood as the apostle's meaning, that all the athletes and soldiers of Christ have to wrestle and struggle against all the adversaries enumerated,-the struggle having, indeed, to be maintained against all, but by single individuals either with individual powers, or at least in such manner as shall be determined by God, who is the just president of the struggle. For I am of opinion that there is a certain limit to the powers of human nature, although there may be a Paul, of whom it is said, "He is a chosen vessel unto Me; "303 or a Peter, against whom the gates of hell do not prevail; or a Moses, the friend of God: yet not one of them could sustain, without destruction to himself,304 the whole simultaneous assault of these opposing powers, unless indeed the might of Him alone were to work in him, who said, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."305 And therefore Paul exclaims with confidence, "I can do all things through Christ, who strengtheneth me; "306 and again, "I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me."307 On account, then, of this power, which certainly is not of human origin operating and speaking in him, Paul could say, "For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor power, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."308 For I do not think that human nature can alone of itself maintain a contest with angels, and with the powers of the height and of the abyss,309 and with any other creature; but when it feels the presence of the Lord dwelling within it, confidence in the divine help will lead it to say, "The Lord is my light, and my salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the protector of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? When the enemies draw near to me, to eat my flesh, my enemies who trouble me, they stumbled and fell. Though an host encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, in Him shall I be confident."310 From which I infer that a man perhaps would never be able of himself to vanquish an opposing power, unless he had the benefit of divine assistance. Hence, also, the angel is said to have

wrestled with Jacob. Here, however, I understand the writer to mean, that it was not the same thing for the angel to have wrestled with Jacob, and to have wrestled against him; but the angel that wrestles with him is he who was present with him in order to secure his safety, who, after knowing also his moral progress, gave him in addition the name of Israel, i.e., he is with him in the struggle, and assists him in the contest; seeing there was undoubtedly another angel against whom he contended, and against whom he had to carry on a contest. Finally, Paul has not said that we wrestle with princes, or with powers, but against principalities and powers. And hence, although Jacob wrestled, it was unquestionably against some one of those powers which, Paul declares, resist and contend with the human race, and especially with the saints. And therefore at last the Scripture says of him that "he wrestled with the angel, and had power with God," so that the struggle is supported by help of the angel, but the prize of success conducts the conqueror to God.

6. Nor are we, indeed, to suppose that struggles of this kind are carried on by the exercise of bodily strength, and of the arts of the wrestling school;311 but spirit contends with spirit, according to the declaration of Paul, that our struggle is against principalities, and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world. Nay, the following is to be understood as the nature of the struggles; when, e.g., losses and dangers befall us, or calumnies and false accusations are brought against us, it not being the object of the hostile powers that we should suffer these (trials) only, but that by means of them we should be driven either to excess of anger or sorrow, or to the last pitch of despair; or at least, which is a greater sin, should be forced, when fatigued and overcome by any annoyances, to make complaints against God, as one who does not administer human life justly and equitably; the consequence of which is, that our faith may be weakened, or our hopes disappointed, or we may be compelled to give up the truth of our opinions, or be led to entertain irreligious sentiments regarding God. For some such things are written regarding Job, after the devil had requested God that power should be given him over his goods. By which also we are taught, that it is not by any accidental attacks that we are assailed, whenever we are visited with any such loss of property, nor that it is owing to chance when one of us is taken prisoner, or when the dwellings in which those who are dear to us are crushed to death, fall in ruins; for, with respect to all these occurrences, every believer ought to say, "Thou couldst have no power at all against Me, except it were given thee from above."312 For observe that the house of Job did not fall upon his sons until the devil had first received power against them; nor would the horsemen have made an irruption in three bands,313 to carry away his camels or his oxen, and other cattle, unless they had been instigated by that spirit to whom they had delivered themselves up as the servants of his will. Nor would that fire, as it seemed to be, or thunderbolt, as it has been considered, have fallen upon the sheep of the patriarch, until the devil had said to God, "Hast Thou not made a hedge about all that is without and within his house and around all the rest of his property? But now put forth Thy hand, and touch all that he hath, (and see) if he do not renounce Thee to Thy face."314

7. The result of all the foregoing remarks is to show, that all the occurrences in the world which are considered to be of an intermediate kind, whether they be mournful or otherwise are brought about, not indeed by God, and yet not without Him; while He not only does not prevent those wicked and opposing powers that are desirous to bring about these things (from accomplishing their purpose), but even permits them to do so, although only on certain occasions and to certain individuals, as is said with respect to Job himself, that for a certain time he was made to fall under

the power of others, and to have his house plundered by unjust persons. And therefore holy Scripture teaches us to receive all that happens as sent by God, knowing that without Him no event occurs. For how can we doubt that such is the case, viz., that nothing comes to man without (the will of) God, when our Lord and Saviour declares, "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father who is in heaven."315 But the necessity of the case has drawn us away in a lengthened digression on the subject of the struggle waged by the hostile powers against men, and of those sadder events which happen to human life, i.e., its temptations-according to the declaration of Job, "Is not the whole life of man upon the earth a temptation? "316 -in order that the manner of their occurrence, and the spirit in which we should regard them, might be clearly shown. Let us notice next, how men fall away into the sin of false knowledge, or with what object the opposing powers are wont to stir up conflict with us regarding such things.

Chapter III.-On Threefold Wisdom.

1. The holy apostle, wishing to teach us some great and hidden truth respecting science and wisdom, says, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of the world, that come to nought: but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory: which none of the princes of the world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."317 In this passage, wishing to describe the different kinds of wisdom, he points out that there is a wisdom of this world, and a wisdom of the princes of this world, and another wisdom of God. But when he uses the expression "wisdom of the princes of this world," I do not think that he means a wisdom common to all the princes of this world, but one rather that is peculiar to certain individuals among them. And again, when he says, "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory,"318 we must inquire whether his meaning be, that this is the same wisdom of God which was hidden from other times and generations, and was not made known to the sons of men, as it has now been revealed to His holy apostles and prophets, and Which was also that wisdom of God before the advent of the Saviour, by means of which Solomon obtained his wisdom, and in reference to which the language of the Saviour Himself declared, that what He taught was greater than Solomon, in these words, "Behold, a greater than Solomon is here,"319 -words which show, that those who were instructed by the Saviour were instructed in something higher than the knowledge of Solomon. For if one were to assert that the Saviour did indeed Himself possess greater knowledge, but did not communicate more to others than Solomon did, how will that agree with the statement which follows: "The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment, and condemn the men of this generation, because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here? "There is therefore a wisdom of this world, and also probably a wisdom belonging to each individual prince of this world. But with respect to the wisdom of God alone, we perceive that this is indicated, that it operated to a less degree in ancient and former times, and was (afterwards)more fully revealed and manifested through Christ. We shall inquire, however, regarding the wisdom of God in the proper place.

2. But now, since we are treating of the manner in which the opposing powers stir up those contests, by means of which false knowledge is introduced into the minds of men, and human souls led astray, while they imagine that they have discovered wisdom, I think it necessary to

name and distinguish the wisdom of this world, and of the princes of this world, that by so doing we may discover who are the fathers of this wisdom, nay, even of these kinds of wisdom.320 I am of opinion, therefore, as I have stated above, that there is another wisdom of this world besides those (different kinds of) wisdom321 which belong to the princes of this world, by which wisdom those things seem to be understood and comprehended which belong to this world. This wisdom, however, possesses in itself no fitness for forming any opinion either respecting divine things,322 or the plan of the world's government, or any other subjects of importance, or regarding the training for a good or happy life; but is such as deals wholly with the art of poetry, e.g., or that of grammar, or rhetoric, or geometry, or music, with which also, perhaps, medicine should be classed. In all these subjects we are to suppose that the wisdom of this world is included. The wisdom of the princes of this world, on the other hand, we understand to be such as the secret and occult philosophy, as they call it, of the Egyptians, and the astrology of the Chaldeans and Indians, who make profession of the knowledge of high things,323 and also that manifold variety of opinion which prevails among the Greeks regarding divine things. Accordingly, in the holy Scriptures we find that there are princes over individual nations; as in Daniel324 we read that there was a prince of the kingdom of Persia, and another prince of the kingdom of Graecia, who are clearly shown, by the nature of the passage, to be not human beings, but certain powers. In the prophecies of Ezekiel,325 also, the prince of Tyre is unmistakeably shown to be a kind of spiritual power. When these, then, and others of the same kind, possessing each his own wisdom, and building up his own opinions and sentiments, beheld our Lord and Saviour professing and declaring that He had for this purpose come into the world, that all the opinions of science, falsely so called, might be destroyed, not knowing what was concealed within Him, they forthwith laid a snare for Him: for "the kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers assembled together, against the Lord and His Christ."326 But their snares being discovered, and the plans which they had attempted to carry out being made manifest when they crucified the Lord of glory, therefore the apostle says, "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect, but not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, who are brought to nought, which none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory."327

3. We must, indeed, endeavour to ascertain whether that wisdom328 of the princes of this world, with which they endeavour to imbue men, is introduced into their minds by the opposing powers, with the purpose of ensnaring and injuring them, or only for the purpose of deceiving them, i.e., not with the object of doing any hurt to man; but, as these princes of this world esteem such opinions to be true, they desire to impart to others what they themselves believe to be the truth: and this is the view which I am inclined to adopt. For as, to take an illustration, certain Greek authors, or the leaders of some heretical sect, after having imbibed an error in doctrine instead of the truth, and having come to the conclusion in their own minds that such is the truth, proceed, in the next place, to endeavour to persuade others of the correctness of their opinions; so, in like manner, are we to suppose is the procedure of the princes of this world, in which to certain spiritual powers has been assigned the rule over certain nations, and who are termed on that account the princes of this world. There are besides, in addition to these princes, certain special energies329 of this world, i.e., spiritual powers, which bring about certain effects, which they have themselves, in virtue of their freedom of will, chosen to produce, and to these belong those princes who practise the wisdom of this world: there being, for example, a peculiar energy and power, which is the inspirer of poetry; another, of geometry; and so a separate power, to remind us of each of the arts and

professions of this kind. Lastly, many Greek writers have been of opinion that the art of poetry cannot exist without madness;330 whence also it is several times related in their histories, that those whom they call poets331 were suddenly filled with a kind of spirit of madness. And what are we to say also of those whom they call diviners,332 from whom, by the working of those demons who have the mastery over them, answers are given in carefully constructed verses? Those persons, too, whom they term Magi or Malevolent,333 frequently, by invoking demons over boys of tender years, have made them repeat poetical compositions which were the admiration and amazement of all. Now these effects we are to suppose are brought about in the following manner: As holy and immaculate souls, after devoting themselves to God with all affection and purity, and after preserving themselves free from all contagion of evil spirits,334 and after being purified by lengthened abstinence, and imbued with holy and religious training, assume by this means a portion of divinity, and earn the grace of prophecy, and other divine gifts; so also are we to suppose that those who place themselves in the way of the opposing powers, i.e., who purposely admire and adopt their manner of life and habits,335 receive their inspiration, and become partakers of their wisdom and doctrine. And the result of this is, that they are filled with the working of those spirits to whose service they have subjected themselves.

4. With respect to those, indeed, who teach differently regarding Christ from what the rule of Scripture allows, it is no idle task to ascertain whether it is from a treacherous purpose that these opposing powers, in their struggles to prevent a belief in Christ, have devised certain fabulous and impious doctrines; or whether, on hearing the word of Christ, and not being able to cast it forth from the secrecy of their conscience, nor yet to retain it pure and holy, they have, by means of vessels that were convenient to their use,336 and, so to speak, through their prophets, introduced various errors contrary to the rule of Christian truth. Now we are to suppose rather that apostate and refugee powers,337 which have departed from God out of the very wickedness of their mind and will,338 or from envy of those for whom there is prepared (on their becoming acquainted with the truth) an ascent to the same rank, whence they themselves had fallen, did, in order to prevent any progress of that kind, invent these errors and delusions of false doctrine. It is then clearly established, by many proofs, that while the soul of man exists in this body, it may admit different energies, i.e., operations, from a diversity of good and evil spirits. Now, of wicked spirits there is a twofold mode of operation: i.e., when they either take complete and entire possession of the mind,339 so as to allow their captives340 the power neither of understanding nor feeling; as, for instance, is the case with those commonly called possessed,341 whom we see to be deprived of reason, and insane (such as those were who are related in the Gospel to have been cured by the Saviour); or when by their wicked suggestions they deprave a sentient and intelligent soul with thoughts of various kinds, persuading it to evil, of which Judas is an illustration, who was induced at the suggestion of the devil to commit the crime of treason, according to the declaration of Scripture, that "the devil had already put it into the heart of Judas Iscariot to betray him."342 But a man receives the energy, i.e., the working, of a good spirit, when he is stirred and incited to good, and is inspired to heavenly or divine things; as the holy angels and God Himself wrought in the prophets, arousing and exhorting them by their holy suggestions to a better course of life, yet so, indeed, that it remained within the will and judgment of the individual, either to be willing or unwilling to follow the call to divine and heavenly things. And from this manifest distinction, it is seen how the soul is moved by the presence of a better spirit, i.e., if it encounter no perturbation or alienation of mind whatever from the impending inspiration, nor lose the free control of its will; as,

for instance, is the case with all, whether prophets or apostles, who ministered to the divine responses without any perturbation of mind.343 Now, that by the suggestions of a good spirit the memory of man is aroused to the recollection of better things, we have already shown by previous instances, when we mentioned the cases of Mordecai and Artaxerxes.

5. This too, I think, should next be inquired into, viz., what are the reasons why a human soul is acted on at one time by good (spirits), and at another by bad: the grounds of which I suspect to be older than the bodily birth of the individual. as John (the Baptist) showed by his leaping and exulting in his mother's womb, when the voice of the salutation of Mary reached the ears of his mother Elisabeth; and as Jeremiah the prophet declares, who was known to God before he was formed in his mother's womb, and before he was born was sanctified by Him, and while yet a boy received the grace of prophecy.344 And again, on the other hand it is shown beyond a doubt, that some have been possessed by hostile spirits from the very beginning of their lives: i.e., some were born with an evil spirit; and others, according to credible histories, have practised divination.345 from childhood. Others have been under the influence of the demon called Python, i.e., the ventriloquial spirit, from the commencement of their existence. To all which instances, those who maintain that everything in the world is under the administration of Divine Providence (as is also our own belief), can, as it appears to me, give no other answer, so as to show that no shadow of injustice rests upon the divine government, than by holding that there were certain causes of prior existence, in consequence of which the souls, before their birth in the body, contracted a certain amount of guilt in their sensitive nature, or in their movements, on account of which they have been judged worthy by Divine Providence of being placed in this condition. For a soul is always in possession of free-will, as well when it is in the body as when it is without it; and freedom of will is always directed either to good or evil. Nor can any rational and sentient being, i.e., a mind or soul, exist without some movement either good or bad. And it is probable that these movements furnish grounds for merit even before they do anything in this world; so that onaccount of these merits or grounds they are, immediately on their birth, and even before it, so to speak, assorted by Divine Providence for the endurance either of good or evil.

Let such, then, be our views respecting those events which appear to befall men, either immediately after birth, or even before they enter upon the light. But as regards the suggestions which are made to the soul, i.e, to the faculty of human thought, by different spirits, and which arouse men to good actions or the contrary, even in such a case we must suppose that there sometimes existed certain causes anterior to bodily birth. For occasionally the mind, when watchful, and casting away from it what is evil, calls to itself the aid of the good; or if it be, on the contrary, negligent and slothful, it makes room through insufficient caution for these spirits, which, lying in wait secretly like robbers, contrive to rush into the minds of men when they see a lodgment made for them by sloth; as the Apostle Peter says, "that our adversary the devil goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour."346 On which account our heart must be kept with all carefulness both by day and night, and no place be given to the devil; but every effort must be used that the ministers of God-those spirits, viz., who were sent to minister to them who are called to be heirs of salvation347 -may find a place within us, and be delighted to enter into the guest-chamber348 of our soul, and dwelling within us may guide us by their counsels; if, indeed, they shall find the habitation of our heart adorned by the practice of virtue and holiness. But let that be sufficient which we have said, as we best could, regarding those powers which are hostile to

the human race.

Chapter IV.-On Human Temptations.

1. And now the subject of human temptations must not, in my opinion, be passed over in silence, which take their rise sometimes from flesh and blood, or from the wisdom of flesh and blood, which is said to be hostile to God. And whether the statement be true which certain allege, viz., that each individual has as it were two souls, we shall determine after we have explained the nature of those temptations, which are said to be more powerful than any of human origin, i.e., which we sustain from principalities and powers, and from the rulers of the darkness of this world, and from spiritual wickedness in high places, or to which we are subjected from wicked spirits and unclean demons. Now, in the investigation of this subject, we must, I think, inquire according to a logical method whether there be in us human beings, who are composed of soul and body and vital spirit, some other element, possessing an incitement of its own, and evoking a movement towards evil. For a question of this kind is wont to be discussed by some in this way: whether, viz., as two souls are said to co-exist within us, the one is more divine and heavenly and the other inferior; or whether, from the very fact that we inhere in bodily structures which according to their own proper nature are dead, and altogether devoid of life (seeing it is from us, i.e., from our souls, that the material body derives its life, it being contrary and hostile to the spirit), we are drawn on and enticed to the practice of those evils which are agreeable to the body; or whether, thirdly (which was the opinion of some of the Greek philosophers), although our soul is one in substance, it nevertheless consists of several elements, and one portion of it is called rational and another irrational, and that which is termed the irrational part is again separated into two affections-those of covetousness and passion. These three opinions, then, regarding the soul, which we have stated above, we have found to be entertained by some, but that one of them, which we have mentioned as being adopted by certain Grecian philosophers, viz., that the soul is tripartite, I do not observe to be greatly confirmed by the authority of holy Scripture; while with respect to the remaining two there is found a considerable number of passages in the holy Scriptures which seem capable of application to them.

2. Now, of these opinions, let us first discuss that which is maintained by some, that there is in us a good and heavenly soul, and another earthly and inferior; and that the better soul is implanted within us from heaven, such as was that which, while Jacob was still in the womb, gave him the prize of victory in supplanting his brother Esau, and which in the case of Jeremiah was sanctified from his birth, and in that of John was filled by the Holy Spirit from the womb. Now, that which they term the inferior soul is produced, they allege, along with the body itself out of the seed of the body, whence they say it cannot live or subsist beyond the body, on which account also they say it is frequently termed flesh. For the expression, "The flesh lusteth against the Spirit,"349 they take to be applicable not to the flesh, but to this soul, which is properly the soul of the flesh. From these words, moreover, they endeavour notwithstanding to make good the declaration in Leviticus: "The life of all flesh is the blood thereof."350 For, from the circumstance that it is the diffusion of the blood throughout the whole flesh which produces life in the flesh, they assert that this soul, which is said to be the life of all flesh, is contained in the blood. This statement, moreover, that the flesh struggles against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; and the further statement, that "the life of all flesh is the blood thereof," is, according to these writers, simply calling the wisdom of the flesh by another name, because it is a kind of material spirit, which is not subject to the law of God,

nor can be so, because it has earthly wishes and bodily desires. And it is with respect to this that they think the apostle uttered the words: "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."351 And if one were to object to them that these words were spoken of the nature of the body, which indeed, agreeably to the peculiarity of its nature, is dead, but is said to have sensibility, or wisdom352 which is hostile to God, or which struggles against the spirit; or if one were to say that, in a certain degree, the flesh itself was possessed of a voice, which should cry out against the endurance of hunger, or thirst, or cold, or of any discomfort arising either from abundance or poverty,-they would endeavour to weaken and impair the force of such (arguments), by showing that there were many other mental perturbations353 which derive their origin in no respect from the flesh, and yet against which the spirit struggles, such as ambition, avarice, emulation, envy, pride, and others like these; and seeing that with these the human mind or spirit wages a kind of contest, they lay down as the cause of all these evils, nothing else than this corporal soul, as it were, of which we have spoken above, and which is generated from the seed by a process of traducianism. They are accustomed also to adduce, in support of their assertion, the declaration of the apostle, "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, poisonings,354 hatred, contentions, emulations, wrath, quarrelling, dissensions, heresies, sects, envyings, drunkenness, revellings, and the like; "355 asserting that all these do not derive their origin from the habits or pleasures of the flesh, so that all such movements are to be regarded as inherent in that substance which has not a soul, i.e., the fresh. The declaration, moreover, "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men among you according to the flesh are called,"356 would seem to require to be understood as if there were one kind of wisdom, carnal and material, and another according to the spirit, the former of which cannot indeed be called wisdom, unless there be a soul of the flesh, which is wise in respect of what is called carnal wisdom. And in addition to these passages they adduce the following: "Since the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh, so that we cannot do the things that we would."357 What are these things now respecting which he says, "that we cannot do the things that we would? "It is certain, they reply, that the spirit cannot be intended; for the will of the spirit suffers no hindrance. But neither can the flesh be meant, because if it has not a soul of its own, neither can it assuredly possess a will. It remains, then, that the will of this soul be intended which is capable of having a Will of its own, and which certainly is opposed to the will of the spirit. And if this be the case, it is established that the will of the soul is something intermediate between the flesh add the spirit, undoubtedly obeying and serving that one of the two which it has elected to obey. And if it yield itself up to the pleasures of the flesh, it renders men carnal; but when it unites itself with the spirit, it produces men of the Spirit, and who on that account are termed spiritual. And this seems to be the meaning of the apostle in the words, "But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit."358

We have accordingly to ascertain what is this very will (intermediate) between flesh and spirit, besides that will which is said to belong to the flesh or the spirit. For it is held as certain, that everything which is said to be a work of the spirit is (a product of) the will of the spirit, and everything that is called a work of the flesh (proceeds from) the will of the flesh. What else then, besides these, is that will of the soul which receives a separate name,359 and which will, the apostle being opposed to our executing, says: "Ye cannot do the things that ye would? "By this it would seem to be intended, that it ought to adhere to neither of these two, i.e., to neither flesh nor

spirit. But some one will say, that as it is better for the soul to execute its own will than that of the flesh; so, on the other hand, it is better to do the will of the spirit than its own will. How, then, does the apostle say, "that ye cannot do the things that ye would? "Because in that contest which is waged between flesh and spirit, the spirit is by no means certain of victory, it being manifest that in very many individuals the flesh has the mastery.

3. But since the subject of discussion on which we have entered is one of great profundity, which it is necessary to consider in all its bearings,360 let us see whether some such point as this may not be determined: that as it is better for the soul to follow the spirit when the latter has overcome the flesh, so also, if it seem to be a worse course for the former to follow the flesh in its struggles against the spirit, when the latter would recall the soul to its influence, it may nevertheless appear a more advantageous procedure for the soul to be under the mastery of the flesh than to remain under the power of its own will. For, since it is said to be neither hot nor cold, but to continue in a sort of tepid condition, it will find conversion a slow and somewhat difficult undertaking. If indeed it clung to the flesh, then, satiated at length, and filled with those very evils which it suffers from the vices of the flesh, and wearied as it were by the heavy burdens of luxury and lust, it may sometimes be converted with greater ease and rapidity from the filthiness of matter to a desire for heavenly things, and (to a taste for) spiritual graces. And the apostle must be supposed to have said, that "the Spirit contends against the flesh, and the flesh against the Spirit, so that we cannot do the things that we would" (those things, undoubtedly, which are designated as being beyond the will of the spirit, and the will of the flesh), meaning (as if we were to express it in other words) that it is better for a man to be either in a state of virtue or in one of wickedness, than in neither of these; but that the soul, before its conversion to the spirit, and its union with it,361 appears during its adherence to the body, and its meditation of carnal things, to be neither in a good condition nor in a manifestly bad one, but resembles, so to speak, an animal. It is better, however, for it, if possible, to be rendered spiritual through adherence to the spirit; but if that cannot be done, it is more expedient for it to follow even the wickedness of the flesh, than, placed under the influence of its own will, to retain the position of an irrational animal.

These points we have now discussed, in our desire to consider each individual opinion, at greater length than we intended, that those views might not be supposed to have escaped our notice which are generally brought forward by those who inquire whether there is within us any other soul than this heavenly and rational one, which is naturally opposed to the latter, and is called either the flesh, or the wisdom of the flesh, or the soul of the flesh.

4. Let us now see what answer is usually returned to these statements by those who maintain that there is in us one movement, and one life, proceeding from one and the same soul, both the salvation and the destruction of which are ascribed to itself as a result of its own actions. And, in the first place, let us notice of what nature those commotions362 of the soul are which we suffer, when we feel ourselves inwardly drawn in different directions; when there arises a kind of contest of thoughts in our hearts, and certain probabilities are suggested us, agreeably to which we lean now to this side, now to that, and by which we are sometimes convicted of error, and sometimes approve of our acts.363 It is nothing remarkable, however, to say of wicked spirits, that they have a varying and conflicting judgment, and one out of harmony with itself, since such is found to be the case in all men, whenever, in deliberating upon an uncertain event, council is taken, and men consider and consult what is to be chosen as the better and more useful course. It is not therefore

surprising that, if two probabilities meet, and suggest opposite views, they should drag the mind in contrary directions. For example, if a man be led by reflection to believe and to fear God, it cannot then be said that the flesh contends against the Spirit; but, amidst the uncertainty of what may he true and advantageous, the mind is drawn in opposite directions. So, also, when it is supposed that the flesh provokes to the indulgence of lust, but better counsels oppose allurements of that kind, we are not to suppose that it is one life which is resisting another, but that it is the tendency of the nature of the body, which is eager to empty out and cleanse the places filled with seminal moisture; as, in like manner, it is not to be supposed that it is any opposing power, or the life of another soul, which excites within us the appetite of thirst, and impels us to drink, or which causes us to feel hunger, and drives us to satisfy it. But as it is by the natural movements of the body that food and drink are either desired or rejected,364 so also the natural seed, collected together in course of time in the various vessels, has an eager desire to be expelled and thrown away, and is so far from never being removed, save by the impulse of some exciting cause, that it is even sometimes spontaneously emitted. When, therefore, it is said that "the flesh struggles against the Spirit," these persons understand the expression to mean that habit or necessity, or the delights of the flesh, arouse a man, and withdraw him from divine and spiritual things. For, owing to the necessity of the body being drawn away, we are not allowed to have leisure for divine things, which are to be eternally advantageous. So again, the soul, devoting itself to divine and spiritual pursuits, and being united to the spirit, is said to fight against the flesh, by not permitting it to be relaxed by indulgence, and to become unsteady through the influence of those pleasures for which it feels a natural delight. In this way, also, they claim to understand the words, "The wisdom of the flesh is hostile to God,"365 not that the flesh really has a soul, or a wisdom of its own. But as we are accustomed to say, by an abuse366 of language, that the earth is thirsty, and wishes to drink in water, this use of the word "wishes" is not proper, but catachrestic,-as if we were to say again, that this house wants to be rebuilt,367 and many other similar expressions; so also is the wisdom of the flesh to be understood, or the expression, that "the flesh lusteth against the Spirit." They generally connect with these the expression, "The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto Me from the ground."368 For what cries unto the Lord is not properly the blood which was shed; but the blood is said improperly to cry out, vengeance being demanded upon him who had shed it. The declaration also of the apostle, "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind,"369 they so understand as if he had said, That he who wishes to devote himself to the word of God is, on account of his bodily necessities and habits, which like a sort of law are ingrained in the body, distracted, and divided, and impeded, lest, by devoting himself vigorously to the study of wisdom, he should be enabled to behold the divine mysteries.

5. With respect, however, to the following being ranked among the works of the flesh, viz., heresies, and envyings, and contentions, or other (vices), they so understand the passage, that the mind, being rendered grosser in feeling, from its yielding itself to the passions of the body, and being oppressed by the mass of its vices, and having no refined or spiritual feelings, is said to be made flesh, and derives its name from that in which it exhibits more vigour and force of will.370 They also make this further inquiry, "Who will be found, or who will be said to be, the creator of this evil sense, called the sense of the flesh? "Because they defend the opinion that there is no other creator of soul and flesh than God. And if we were to assert that the good God created anything in His own creation that was hostile to Himself, it would appear to be a manifest absurdity. If, then, it is written, that "carnal wisdom is enmity against God,"371 and if this be declared to be a result of

creation, God Himself will appear to have formed a nature hostile to Himself, which cannot be subject to Him nor to His law, as if it were (supposed to be) an animal of which such qualities are predicated. And if this view be admitted, in what respect will it appear to differ from that of those who maintain that souls of different natures are created, which, according to their natures,372 are destined either to be lost or saved? But this is an opinion of the heretics alone, who, not being able to maintain the justice of God on grounds of piety, compose impious inventions of this kind. And now we have brought forward to the best of our ability, in the person of each of the parties, what might be advanced by way of argument regarding the several views, and let the reader choose out of them for himself that which he thinks ought to be preferred.

Chapter V.-That the World Took Its Beginning in Time.

1. And now, since there is one of the articles of the Church373 which is held principally in consequence of our belief in the truth of our sacred history, viz. that this world was created and took its beginning at a certain time, and, in conformity to the cycle of time374 decreed to all things, is to be destroyed on account of its corruption, there seems no absurdity in re-discussing a few points connected with this subject. And so far, indeed, as the credibility of Scripture is concerned, the declarations on such a matter seem easy of proof. Even the heretics, although widely opposed on many other things, yet on this appear to be at one, yielding to the authority of Scripture.

Concerning, then, the creation of the world, *83tion of Scripture can give us more information regarding it, than the account which Moses has transmitted respecting its origin? And although it comprehends matters of pro-founder significance than the mere historical narrative appears to indicate, and contains very many things that are to be spiritually understood, and employs the letter, as a kind of veil, in treating of profound and mystical subjects; nevertheless the language of the narrator shows that all visible things were created at a certain time. But with regard to the consummation of the world, Jacob is the first who gives any information, in addressing his children in the words: "Gather yourselves together unto me, ye sons of Jacob, that I may tell you what shall be in the last days," or "after the last days."375 If, then, there be "last days," or a period "succeeding the last days," the days which had a beginning must necessarily come to an end. David, too, declares: "The heavens shall perish, but Thou shall endure; yea, all of them shall wax old as doth a garment: as a vesture shalt Thou change them, and they shall be changed: but Thou art the same, and Thy years shall have no end."376 Our Lord and Saviour, indeed, in the words, "He who made them at the beginning, made them male and female,"377 Himself bears witness that the world was created; and again, when He says, "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My word shall not pass away,"378 He points out that they are perishable, and must come to an end. The apostle, moreover, in declaring that "the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of Him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God,"379 manifestly announces the end of the world; as he does also when he again says, "The fashion of this world passeth away."380 Now, by the expression which he employs, "that the creature was made subject to vanity," he shows that there was a beginning to this world: for if the creature were made subject to vanity on account of some hope, it was certainly made subject from a cause; and seeing it was from a cause, it must necessarily have had a beginning: for, without some beginning, the creature could not be subject to vanity, nor could that (creature) hope to be freed from the bondage of corruption, which had not begun to serve. But any one who chooses to search at his

leisure, will find numerous other passages in holy Scripture in which the world is both said to have a beginning and to hope for an end.

2. Now, if there be any one who would here oppose either the authority or credibility of our Scriptures,381 we would ask of him whether he asserts that God can, or cannot, comprehend all things? To assert that He cannot, would manifestly be an act of impiety. If then he answer, as he must, that God comprehends all things, it follows from the very fact of their being capable of comprehension, that they are understood to have a beginning and an end, seeing that which is altogether without any beginning cannot be at all comprehended. For however far understanding may extend, so far is the faculty of comprehending illimitably withdrawn and removed when there is held to be no beginning.

3. But this is the objection which they generally raise: they say, "If the world had its beginning in time, what was God doing before the world began? For it is at once impious and absurd to say that the nature of God is inactive and immoveable, or to suppose that goodness at one time did not do good, and omnipotence at one time did not exercise its power." Such is the objection which they are accustomed to make to our statement that this world had its beginning at a certain time, and that, agreeably to our belief in Scripture, we can calculate the years of its past duration. To these propositions I consider that none of the heretics can easily return an answer that will be in conformity with the nature of their opinions. But we can give a logical answer in accordance with the standard of religion,382 when we say that not then for the first time did God begin to work when He made this visible world; but as, after its destruction, there will be another world, so also we believe that others existed before the present came into being. And both of these positions will be confirmed by the authority of holy Scripture. For that there will be another world after this, is taught by Isaiah, who says, "There will be new heavens, and a new earth, which I shall make to abide in my sight, saith the Lord; "383 and that before this world others also existed is shown by Eccelesiastes, in the words: "What is that which hath been? Even that which shall be. And what is that which has been created? Even this which is to be created: and there is nothing altogether new under the sun. Who shall speak and declare, Lo, this is new? It hath already been in the ages which have been before us."384 By these testimonies it is established both that there were ages385 before our own, and that there will be others after it. It is not, however, to be supposed that several worlds existed at once, but that, after the end of this present world, others will take their beginning; respecting which it is unnecessary to repeat each particular statement, seeing we have already done so in the preceding pages.

4. This point, indeed, is not to be idly passed by, that the holy Scriptures have called the creation of the world by a new and peculiar name, terming it katabolh/, which has been very improperly translated into Latin by "constitutio; "for in Greek katabolh/ signifies rather "dejicere," i.e., to cast downwards,-a word which has been, as we have already remarked, improperly translated into Latin by the phrase "constitutio mun-di," as in the Gospel according to John, where the Saviour says, "And there will be tribulation in those days, such as was not since the beginning of the world; "386 in which passage katabolh/ is rendered by beginning (constitutio), which is to be understood as above explained. The apostle also, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, has employed the same language, saying, "Who hath chosen us before the foundation of the world; "387 and this foundation he calls katabolh/, to be understood in the same sense as before. It seems worth while, then, to inquire what is meant by this new term; and I am, indeed, of opinion388 that, as the end

and consummation of the saints will be in those (ages) which are not seen, and are eternal, we must conclude (as frequently pointed out in the preceding pages), from a contemplation of that very end, that rational creatures had also a similar beginning. And if they had a beginning such as the end for which they hope, they existed undoubtedly from the very beginning in those (ages) which are not seen, and are eternal.389 And if this is so, then there has been a descent from a higher to a lower condition, on the part not only of those souls who have deserved the change by the variety of their movements, but also on that of those who, in order to serve the whole world, were brought down from those higher and invisible spheres to these lower and visible ones, although against their will-"Because the creature was subjected to vanity, not willingly, but because of Him who subjected the same in hope; "390 so that both sun, and moon, and stars, and angels might discharge their duty to the world, and to those souls which, on account of their excessive mental defects, stood in need of bodies of a grosser and more solid nature; and for the sake of those for whom this arrangement was necessary, this visible world was also called into being. From this it follows, that by the use of the word a descent from a higher to a lower condition, shared by all in common, would seem to be pointed out. The hope indeed of freedom is entertained by the whole of creation-of being liberated from the corruption of slavery-when the sons of God, who either fell away or were scattered abroad,391 shall be gathered together into one, or when they shall have fulfilled their other duties in this world, which are known to God alone, the Disposer of all things. We are, indeed, to suppose that the world was created of such quality and capacity as to contain not only all those souls which it was determined should be trained in this world, but also all those powers which were prepared to attend, and serve, and assist them. For it is established by many declarations that all rational creatures are of one nature: on which ground alone could the justice of God in all His dealings with them be defended, seeing every one has the reason in himself, why he has been placed in this or that rank in life.

5. This arrangement of things, then, which God afterwards appointed (for He had, from the very origin of the world, clearly perceived the reasons and causes affecting those who, either owing to mental deficiencies, deserved to enter into bodies, or those who were carried away by their desire for visible things, and those also who, either willingly or unwillingly, were compelled, (by Him who subjected the same in hope), to perform certain services to such as had fallen into that condition), not being understood by some, who failed to perceive that it was owing to preceding causes, originating in free-will, that this variety of arrangement had been instituted by God, they have concluded that all things in this world are directed either by fortuitous movements or by a necessary fate, and that nothing is within the power of our own will. And, therefore, also they were unable to show that the providence of God was beyond the reach of censure.

6. But as we have said that all the souls who lived in this world stood in need of many ministers, or rulers, or assistants; so, in the last times, when the end of the world is already imminent and near, and the whole human race is verging upon the last destruction, and when not only those who were governed by others have been reduced to weakness, but those also to whom had been committed the cares of government, it was no longer such help nor such defenders that were needed, but the help of the Author and Creator Himself was required to restore to the one the discipline of obedience, which had been corrupted and profaned, and to the other the discipline of rule. And hence the only-begotten Son of God, who was the Word and the Wisdom of the Father, when He was in the possession of that glory with the Father, which He had before the world was, divested

Himself392 of it, and, taking the form of a servant, was made obedient unto death, that He might teach obedience to those who could not otherwise than by obedience obtain salvation. He restored also the laws of rule and government393 which had been corrupted, by subduing all enemies under His feet, that by this means (for it was necessary that He should reign until He had put all enemies under His feet, and destroyed the last enemy-death) He might teach rulers themselves moderation in their government. As He had come, then, to restore the discipline, not only of government, but of obedience, as we have said, accomplishing in Himself first what He desired to be accomplished by others, He became obedient to the Father, not only to the death of the cross, but also, in the end of the world, embracing in Himself all whom He subjects to the Father, and who by Him come to salvation, He Himself, along with them, and in them, is said also to be subject to the Father; all things subsisting in Him, and He Himself being the Head of all things, and in Him being the salvation and the fulness of those who obtain salvation. And this consequently is what the apostle says of Him: "And when all things shall be subjected to Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject to Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."

7. I know not, indeed, how the heretics, not understanding the meaning of the apostle in these words, consider the term394 "subjection" degrading as applied to the Son; for if the propriety of the title be called in question, it may easily be ascertained from making a contrary supposition. Because if it be not good to be in subjection, it follows that the opposite will be good, viz., not to be in subjection. Now the language of the apostle, according to their view, appears to indicate by these words, "And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him,"395 that He, who is not now in subjection to the Father, will become subject to Him when the Father shall have first subdued all things unto Him. But I am astonished how it can be conceived to be the meaning, that He who, while all things are not yet subdued to Him, is not Himself in subjection, should-at a time when all things have been subdued to Him, and when He has become King of all men, and holds sway over all things-be supposed then to be made subject, seeing He was not formerly in subjection; for such do not understand that the subjection of Christ to the Father indicates that our happiness has attained to perfection, and that the work undertaken by Him has been brought to a victorious termination, seeing He has not only purified the power of supreme government over the whole of creation, but presents to the Father the principles of the obedience and subjection of the human race in a corrected and improved condition.396 If, then, that subjection be held to be good and salutary by which the Son is said to be subject to the Father, it is an extremely rational and logical inference to deduce that the subjection also of enemies, which is said to be made to the Son of God, should be understood as being also salutary and useful; as if, when the Son is said to be subject to the Father, the perfect restoration of the whole of creation is signified, so also, when enemies are said to be subjected to the Son of God, the salvation of the conquered and the restoration of the lost is in that understood to consist.

8. This subjection, however, will be accomplished in certain ways, and after certain training, and at certain times; for it is not to be imagined that the subjection is to be brought about by the pressure of necessity (lest the whole world should then appear to be subdued to God by force), but by word, reason, and doctrine; by a call to a better course of things, by the best systems of training, by the employment also of suitable and appropriate threatenings, which will justly impend over those who

despise any care or attention to their salvation and usefulness. In a word, we men also, in training either our slaves or children, restrain them by threats and fear while they are, by reason of their tender age, incapable of using their reason; but when they have begun to understand what is good, and useful, and honourable, the fear of the lash being over, they acquiesce through the suasion of words and reason in all that is good. But how, consistently with the preservation of freedom of will in all rational creatures, each one ought to be regulated, i.e., who they are whom the word of God finds and trains, as if they were already prepared and capable of it; who they are whom it puts off to a later time; who these are from whom it is altogether concealed, and who are so situated as to be far from hearing it; who those, again, are who despise the word of God when made known and preached to them, and who are driven by a kind of correction and chastisement to salvation, and whose conversion is in a certain degree demanded and extorted; who those are to whom certain opportunities of salvation are afforded, so that sometimes, their faith being proved by an answer alone,397 they have unquestionably obtained salvation;398 -from what causes or on what occasions these results take place, or what the divine wisdom sees within them, or what movements of their will leads God so to arrange all these things, is known to Him alone, and to His only-begotten Son, through whom all things were created and restored, and to the Holy Spirit, through whom all things are sanctified, who proceedeth from the Father,399 to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Chapter VI.-On the End of the World.

1. Now, respecting the end of the world and the consummation of all things, we have stated in the preceding pages, to the best of our ability, so far as the authority of holy Scripture enabled us, what we deem sufficient for purposes of instruction; and we shall here only add a few admonitory remarks, since the order of investigation has brought us back to the subject. The highest good, then, after the attainment of which the whole of rational nature is seeking, which is also called the end of all blessings,400 is defined by many philosophers as follows: The highest good, they say, is to become as like to God as possible. But this definition I regard not so much as a discovery of theirs, as a view derived from holy Scripture. For this is pointed out by Moses, before all other philosophers, when he describes the first creation of man in these words: "And God said, Let Us make man in Our own image, and after Our likeness; "401 and then he adds the words: "So God created man in His own image: in the image of God created He him; male and female created He them, and He blessed them."402 Now the expression, "In the image403 of God created He him," without any mention of the word" likeness,"404 conveys no other meaning than this, that man received the dignity of God's image at his first creation; but that the perfection of his likeness has been reserved for the consummation,-namely, that he might acquire it for himself by the exercise of his own diligence in the imitation of God, the possibility of attaining to perfection being granted him at the beginning through the dignity of the divine image, and the perfect realization of the divine likeness being reached in the end by the fulfilment of the (necessary) works. Now, that such is the case, the Apostle John points out more clearly and unmistakeably, when he makes this declaration: "Little children, we do not yet know what we shall be; but if a revelation be made to us from the Saviour, ye will say, without any doubt, we shall be like Him."405 By which expression he points out with the utmost certainty, that not only was the end of all things to be hoped for, which he says was still unknown to him, but also the likeness to God, which will be conferred in proportion to the completeness of our deserts. The Lord Himself, in the Gospel, not only declares

that these same results are future, but that they are to be brought about by His own intercession, He Himself deigning to obtain them from the Father for His disciples, saying, "Father, I will that where I am, these also may be with Me; and as Thou and I are one, they also may be one in Us."406 In which the divine likeness itself already appears to advance, if we may so express ourselves, and from being merely similar, to become the same,407 because undoubtedly in the consummation or end God is "all and in all." And with reference to this, it is made a question by some408 whether the nature of bodily matter, although cleansed and purified, and rendered altogether spiritual, does not seem either to offer an obstruction towards attaining the dignity of the (divine) likeness, or to the property of unity,409 because neither can a corporeal nature appear capable of any resemblance to a divine nature which is certainly incorporeal; nor can it be truly and deservedly designated one with it, especially since we are taught by the truths of our religion that that which alone is one, viz., the Son with the Father, must be referred to a peculiarity of the (divine) nature.

2. Since, then, it is promised that in the end God will be all and in all, we are not, as is fitting, to suppose that animals, either sheep or other cattle, come to that end, lest it should be implied that God dwelt even in animals, whether sheep or other cattle; and so, too, with pieces of wood or stones, lest it should be said that God is in these also. So, again, nothing that is wicked must be supposed to attain to that end, lest, while God is said to be in all things, He may also be said to be in a vessel of wickedness. For if we now assert that God is everywhere and in all things, on the ground that nothing can be empty of God, we nevertheless do not say that He is now "all things" in those in whom He is. And hence we must look more carefully as to what that is which denotes the perfection of blessedness and the end of things, which is not only said to be God in all things, but also "all in all." Let us then inquire what all those things are which God is to become in all.

3. I am of opinion that the expression, by which God is said to be "all in all," means that He is "all" in each individual person. Now He will be "all" in each individual in this way: when all which any rational understanding, cleansed from the dregs of every sort of vice, and with every cloud of wickedness completely swept away, can either feel, or understand, or think, will be wholly God; and when it will no longer behold or retain anything else than God, but when God will be the measure and standard of all its movements; and thus God will be "all," for there will no longer be any distinction of good and evil, seeing evil nowhere exists; for God is all things, and to Him no evil is near: nor will there be any longer a desire to eat from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, on the part of him who is always in the possession of good, and to whom God is all. So then, when the end has been restored to the beginning, and the termination of things compared with their commencement, that condition of things will be re-established in which rational nature was placed, when it had no need to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; so that when all feeling of wickedness has been removed, and the individual has been purified and cleansed, He who alone is the one good God becomes to him "all," and that not in the case of a few individuals, or of a considerable number, but He Himself is "all in all." And when death shall no longer anywhere exist, nor the sting of death, nor any evil at all, then verily God will be "all in all." But some are of opinion that that perfection and blessedness of rational creatures, or natures, can only remain in that same condition of which we have spoken above, i.e., that all things should possess God, and God should be to them all things, if they are in no degree prevented by their union with a bodily nature. Otherwise they think that the glory of the highest blessedness is impeded by the intermixture of

any material substance.410 But this subject we have discussed at greater length, as may be seen in the preceding pages.

4. And now, as we find the apostle making mention of a spiritual body, let us inquire, to the best of our ability, what idea we are to form of such a thing. So far, then, as our understanding can grasp it, we consider a spiritual body to be of such a nature as ought to be inhabited not only by all holy and perfect souls, but also by all those creatures which will be liberated from the slavery of corruption. Respecting the body also, the apostle has said, "We have a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,"411 i.e., in the mansions of the blessed. And from this statement we may form a conjecture, how pure, how refined, and how glorious are the qualities of that body, if we compare it with those which, although they are celestial bodies, and of most brilliant splendour, were nevertheless made with hands, and are visible to our sight. But of that body it is said, that it is a house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens. Since, then, those things "which are seen are temporal, but those things which are not seen are eternal,"412 all those bodies which we see either on earth or in heaven, and which are capable of being seen, and have been made with hands, but are not eternal, are far excelled in glory by that which is not visible, nor made with hands, but is eternal. From which comparison it may be conceived how great are the comeliness, and splendour, and brilliancy of a spiritual body; and how true it is, that "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, what God hath prepared for them that love Him."413 We ought not, however, to doubt that the nature of this present body of ours may, by the will of God, who made it what it is, be raised to those qualities of refinement, and purity, and splendour (which characterize the body referred to), according as the condition of things requires, and the deserts of our rational nature shall demand. Finally, when the world required variety and diversity, matter yielded itself with all docility throughout the diverse appearances and species of things to the Creator, as to its Lord and Maker, that He might educe from it the various forms of celestial and terrestrial beings. But when things have begun to hasten to that consummation that all may be one, as the Father is one with the Son, it may be understood as a rational inference, that where all are one, there will no longer be any diversity.

5. The last enemy, moreover, who is called death, is said on this account to be destroyed, that there may not be anything left of a mournful kind when death does not exist, nor anything that is adverse when there is no enemy. The destruction of the last enemy, indeed, is to be understood, not as if its substance, which was formed by God, is to perish, but because its mind and hostile will, which came not from God, but from itself, are to be destroyed. Its destruction, therefore, will not be its non-existence, but its ceasing to be an enemy, and (to be) death. For nothing is impossible to the Omnipotent, nor is anything incapable of restoration414 to its Creator: for He made all things that they might exist, and those things which were made for existence cannot cease to be.415 For this reason also will they admit of change and variety, so as to be placed, according to their merits, either in a better or worse position; but no destruction of substance can befall those things which were created by God for the purpose of permanent existence.416 For those things which agreeably to the common opinion are believed to perish, the nature either of our faith or of the truth will not permit us to suppose to be destroyed. Finally, our flesh is supposed by ignorant men and unbelievers to be destroyed after death, in such a degree that it retains no relic at all of its former substance. We, however, who believe in its resurrection, understand that a change only has been produced by death, but that its substance certainly remains; and that by the

will of its Creator, and at the time appointed, it will be restored to life; and that a second time a change will take place in it, so that what at first was flesh (formed) out of earthly soil, and was afterwards dissolved by death, and again reduced to dust and ashes ("For dust thou art,"417 it is said, "and to dust shall thou return"), will be again raised from the earth, and shall after this, according to the merits of the indwelling soul, advance to the glory of a spiritual body.

6. Into this condition, then, we are to suppose that all this bodily substance of ours will be brought, when all things shall be re-established in a state of unity, and when God shall be all in all. And this result must be understood as being brought about, not suddenly, but slowly and gradually, seeing that the process of amendment and correction will take place imperceptibly in the individual instances during the lapse of countless and unmeasured ages, some outstripping others, and tending by a swifter course towards perfection,418 while others again follow close at hand, and some again a long way behind; and thus, through the numerous and uncounted orders of progressive beings who are being reconciled to God from a state of enmity, the last enemy is finally reached, who is called death, so that he also may be destroyed, and no longer be an enemy. When, therefore, all rational souls shall have been restored to a condition of this kind, then the nature of this body of ours will undergo a change into the glory of a spiritual body. For as we see it not to be the case with rational natures, that some of them have lived in a condition of degradation owing to their sins, while others have been called to a state of happiness on account of their merits; but as we see those same souls who had formerly been sinful, assisted, after their conversion and reconciliation to God, to a state of happiness; so also are we to consider, with respect to the nature of the body, that the one which we now make use of in a state of meanness, and corruption, and weakness, is not a different body from that which we shall possess in incorruption, and in power, and in glory; but that the same body, when it has cast away the infirmities in which it is now entangled, shall be transmuted into a condition of glory, being rendered spiritual, so that what was a vessel of dishonour may, when cleansed, become a vessel unto honour, and an abode of blessedness. And in this condition, also, we are to believe, that by the will of the Creator, it will abide for ever without any change, as is confirmed by the declaration of the apostle, when he says, "We have a house, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." For the faith of the Church419 does not admit the view of certain Grecian philosophers, that there is besides the body, composed of four elements, another fifth body, which is different in all its parts, and diverse from this our present body; since neither out of sacred Scripture can any produce the slightest suspicion of evidence for such an opinion, nor can any rational inference from things allow the reception of it, especially when the holy apostle manifestly declares, that it is not new bodies which are given to those who rise from the dead, but that they receive those identical ones which they had possessed when living, transformed from an inferior into a better condition. For his words are: "It is sown an animal body, it will rise a spiritual body; it is sown in corruption, it will arise in incorruption: it is sown in weakness, it will arise in power: it is sown in dishonour, it will arise in glory."420 As, therefore, there is a kind of advance in man, so that from being first an animal being, and not understanding what belongs to the Spirit of God, he reaches by means of instruction the stage of being made a spiritual being, and of judging all things, while he himself is judged by no one; so also, with respect to the state of the body, we are to hold that this very body which now, on account of its service to the soul, is styled an animal body, will, by means of a certain progress, when the soul, united to God, shall have been made one spirit with Him (the body even then ministering, as it were, to the spirit), attain to a spiritual condition and

quality, especially since, as we have often pointed out, bodily nature was so formed by the Creator, as to pass easily into whatever condition he should wish, or the nature of the case demand.

7. The whole of this reasoning, then, amounts to this: that God created two general natures,-a visible, i.e., a corporeal nature; and an invisible nature, which is incorporeal. Now these two natures admit of two different permutations. That invisible and rational nature changes in mind and purpose, because it is endowed with freedom of will,421 and is on this account found sometimes to be engaged in the practice of good, and sometimes in that of the opposite. But this corporeal nature admits of a change in substance; whence also God, the arranger of all things, has the service of this matter at His command in the moulding, or fabrication, or re-touching of whatever He wishes, so that corporeal nature may be transmuted, and transformed into any forms or species whatever, according as the deserts of things may demand; which the prophet evidently has in view when he says, "It is God who makes and transforms all things."422

8. And now the point for investigation is, whether, when God shall be all in all, the whole of bodily nature will, in the consummation of all things, consist of one species, and the sole quality of body be that which shall shine in the indescribable glory which is to be regarded as the future possession of the spiritual body. For if we rightly understand the matter, this is the statement of Moses in the beginning of his book, when he says, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."423 For this is the beginning of all creation: to this beginning the end and consummation of all things must be recalled, i.e., in order that that heaven and that earth may be the habitation and resting-place of the pious; so that all the holy ones, and the meek, may first obtain an inheritance in that land, since this is the teaching of the law, and of the prophets, and of the Gospel. In which land I believe there exist the true and living forms of that worship which Moses handed down under the shadow of the law; of which it is said, that "they serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things"424 -those, viz., who were in subjection in the law. To Moses himself also was the injunction given, "Look that thou make them after the form and pattern which were showed thee on the mount."425 From which it appears to me, that as on this earth the law was a sort of schoolmaster to those who by it were to he conducted to Christ, in order that, being instructed and trained by it, they might more easily, after the training of the law, receive the more perfect principles of Christ; so also another earth, which receives into it all the saints, may first imbue and mould them by the institutions of the true and everlasting law, that they may more easily gain possession of those perfect institutions of heaven, to which nothing can be added; in which there will be, of a truth, that Gospel which is called everlasting, and that Testament, ever new, which shall never grow old.

9. In this way, accordingly, we are to suppose that at the consummation and restoration of all things, those who make a gradual advance, and who ascend (in the scale of improvement), will arrive in due measure and order at that land, and at that training which is contained in it, where they may be prepared for those better institutions to which no addition can be made. For, after His agents and servants, the Lord Christ, who is King of all, will Himself assume the kingdom; i.e., after instruction in the holy virtues, He will Himself instruct those who are capable of receiving Him in respect of His being wisdom, reigning in them until He has subjected them to the Father, who has subdued all things to Himself, i.e., that when they shall have been made capable of receiving God, God may be to them all in all. Then accordingly, as a necessary consequence, bodily nature

will obtain that highest condition426 to which nothing more can be added. Having discussed, up to this point, the quality of bodily nature, or of spiritual body, we leave it to the choice of the reader to determine what he shall consider best. And here we may bring the third book to a conclusion.

1: Diebus quadragesimae.

2: Daemones.

3: Evangelicae lucernae lumine diabolicas ignorantiae tenebras.

4: Salvâ fidei Catholicae regula. [This remonstrance of Rufinus deserves candid notice. He reduces the liberties he took with his author to two heads: (1) omitting what Origen himself contradicts, and (2) what was interpolated by those who thus vented their own heresies under a great name. "To our own belief," may mean mean what is contrary to the faith, as reduced to technical formula, at Nicaea; i.e., Salva regula fidei . Note examples in the parallel columns following.] 5: Comoediarum ridiculas fabulas.

6: The whole of this chapter has been preserved in the original Greek, which is literally translated in corresponding portions on each page, so that the differences between Origen's own words and amplifications and alterations of the paraphrase of Rufinus may be at once patent to the reader.

7: peri tou autecousiou .

8: Natura ipsius arbitrii voluntatisque.

9: thn ennoian autou anaptucai .

10: Quaecunque hujusmodi sunt, quae solo habitu materiae suae vel corporum constant.

11: Non tamen animantia sunt.

12: Phantasia.

13: Voluntas vel sensus.

14: Mella, ut aiunt, aeria congregandi. Rufinus seems to have read, in the original, aeroplastein instead of khroplastein , - an evidence that he followed in general the worst readings (Redepenning).

15: upo ecewj monhj .

16: fantasiaj .

17: fusewj fantastikhj .

18: kai oudenoj allou meta thn fantastikhn autou fusin pepisteumenou tou zwou .

19: Ordinatior quidem motus.

20: Incentivo quodam et naturali motu.

21: poswj .

22: para taj aformaj .

23: Ita ut etiam verisimilibus quibusdam causis intra cordis nostri tribunalia velut judici residenti ex utrâque parte adhiberi videatur assertio, ut causis prius expositis gerendi sententia de rationis judicio proferatur.

24: Causa ei perfecta et absoluta vel necessitas praevaricandi.

25: dia tasde taj piqanothtaj .

26: hskhkoti .

27: egguj ge tou bebaiwqhnai gegenhmenoj .

28: Naturalem corporis intemperiem; uilhn thn kataskeuhn .

29: Contra rationem totius eruditionis. In the Greek, "contra rationem" is expressed by para to enargej esti : and the words logou paideutikou (rendered by Rufinus "totius eruditionis," and connected with "contra rationem") belong to the following clause.

30: Quibus nihil ad turpitudinem deest.

31: paraxarattein .

32: yilhn thn kataskeuhn .

33: logou paideutikou .

34: hmerothtoj

35: ecetasthn .

36: Mic. vi. 8.

37: Deut. xxx. 15.

38: Isa. i. 19, 20.

39: Ps. lxxxi. 13, 14.

40: Matt. v. 39.

41: Matt. v. 39.

42: Matt. v. 28.

43: Matt. vii. 24.

44: Matt. vii. 26.

45: Matt. xxv. 34 sq.

46: The words in the text are: His qui secundum patientiam boni operis, gloria et incorruptio, qui quaerunt vitam eternam.

47: Rom. ii. 4-10.

48: Mic. vi. 8.

49: Cf. Deut. xxx. 15, 16, cf. 19.

50: Isa. i. 19, 20.

51: Ps. lxxxi. 13, 14.

52: Matt. v. 39.

53: Matt. v. 39.

54: Matt. v. 28.

55: eulogwj .

56: Cf. Matt. vii. 26.

57: Matt. xxv. 34.

58: Matt. xxv. 41.

59: dialegetai .

60: Rom. ii. 4-10.

61: Secundum pietatis reuglam.

62: Ex. iv. 21, etc.

63: Ezek. xi. 19, 20.

64: Justificationes.

65: The word "now" is added, as the term "flesh" is frequently used in the New Testament in a bad sense (Redepenning).

66: Mark iv. 12.

67: Rom. ix. 16.

68: Phil. ii. 13.

69: Rom. ix. 18 sq.

70: Ex. iv. 21, cf. vii. 3.

71: Ezek. xi. 19, 20.

72: Cf. Mark iv. 12 and Luke viii. 10.

73: Rom. ix. 16.

74: Cf. Phil. ii. 13.

75: Gal. v. 8.

76: Rom. ix. 20, 21.

77: Rom. ix. 18.

78: Obstupefactus.

79: Naturaliter.

80: Commentitias fabulas introducunt.

81: Cf.Rom. ix. 18.

82: xrhzei de autou o Qeoj ... epi pleion apeiqountoj .

83: Quid faciente vel quid prospiciente.

84: Prospectus et intuitus Dei. Such is the rendering of ennoia by Rufinus.

85: Ex. ix. 17, cf. xi. 5 and xii. 12.

86: ennoian .

87: Cf. Ex. iv. 23 and ix. 17.

88: Cf. Ex. xii. 12.

89: eugnwmonh .

90: tranwj .

91: apograyamenoj tij gumnh th kefalh istato proj to ponhron einai ton dhmiourgan .

92: Heb. vi. 7, 8.

93: Ex personâ imbrium.

94: Dure.

95: Bonitas et aequitas imbrium.

96: Propositum.

97: energeia .

98: dia to thj kakiaj upokeimenon tou par eautoiskakou .

99: Heb. vi. 7, 8.

100: dusfhmon .

101: Limum.

102: Cum utique secundum naturam unum sit.

103: Malitiae suae intentione conceperat.

104: Cf. Ex. viii. 27-29.

105: Tropum vel figuram sermonis.

106: Rom. ii. 4, 5.

107: para to upokeimenon .

108: kai to kata to braxu de anagegrafqai .

109: Cf. Ex. viii. 28, 29.

110: ouk atopon de kai pop sunhqeiaj ta toiauta paramuqhsasqai .

111: Rom. ii. 4, 5.

112: Et apostolicae similitudinis munimenti habere adhus videtur assertio.

113: Isa. lxiii. 17, 18. Here the Septuagint differs from the Masoretic text 114: Jer. xx. 7.

115: Morali utique tropo accipiendum.

116: Ferratum calcem.

117: Frenis ferratis.

118: Heb. xii. 6.

119: Rom. viii. 35.

120: Rationabilibus coelestibusque virtutibus.

121: Primatus.

122: Immaculatus.

123: Luke xviii. 14.

124: 1 Cor. i. 29.

125: duspeiqeij .

126: biaioi .

127: Isa. lxiii. 17, 18.

128: Jer. xx. 7.

129: idiothtoj .

130: fusiwsin .

131: amwmoj .

132: Cf. Luke xiv. 11.

133: Cf. 1 Cor. i. 29.

134: Non tamen sine certâ ratione.

135: Digeri. The rendering "dispersed" seems to agree best with the meaning intended to be conveyed.

136: In the Greek the term is penthkontaetian .

137: tonapeiron aiwna .

138: ton apeiron aiwna .

139: penthkontaetian . Rufinus has " sexaginta annos ."

140: aperanton aiwna .

141: Haec.

142: Persecrutationis improbitas.

143: Substantialiter.

144: Wisd. vii. 16.

145: Capitulum.

146: Rom. ix. 18.

147: eikoni .

148: Haec.

149: Persecrutationis improbitas.

150: Substantialiter.

151: Wisd. vii. 16.

152: Capitulum.

153: Rom. ix. 18.

154: Ezek. xi. 19, 20.

155: Ezek. xi. 19, 20.

156: apo twn yilwn rhtwn to ef hmin anairwn .

157: xeiragwghsein .

158: Mark iv. 12.

159: Mark iv. 12.

160: wmothj .

161: dhmiourgou .

162: h amuntikh kai antapodotikh twn xeironwn proairesij .

163: eugnwmonwj .

164: oudenoj elatton .

165: Prospera sanitas.

166: Aula.

167: Mentes.

168: Evidentissimâ assertione pietatis regulam teneamus.

169: Dispensatio humana.

170: Futuri status casusam praestat semper anterior meritorum status.

171: ewramenouj ou bebaiouj esesqai en th epistrofh .

172: twn baquterwn .

173: wj eikoj mallon porrw ontej thj aciaj twn ecw .

174: ei mh mallon hmeij proj tw ecetastikw kai to eusebej panth agwnizomeqa threin peri Qeou , etc.

175: diaqeseij .

176: Rom. ix. 16.

177: Ad finem boni.

178: Medium est velle bona.

179: Rom. ix. 16.

180: Ps. cxxvii. 1.

181: Procinctum juvenum.

182: Supernae vocationis.

183: Valde consequenter.

184: 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7.

185: "Nostra perfectio non quidem nobis cessantibus et otiosis efficitur." There is an ellipsis of some such words as, "but by activity on our part."

186: Rom. ix. 16.

187: kataskeuhj .

188: kataskeuasantoj .

189: proairesewj .

190: para thn enargeian .

191: ta kreittona .

192: twn meswn esti .

193: asteion .

194: Rom. ix. 16.

195: wdh twn anabaqmwn .

196: Ps. cxxvii. 1.

197: ouk an ptaioimen .

198: 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7.

199: h hmetera teleiwsij ouxi mhden hmwn pracantwn hinetai .

200: apartizetai .

201: pnohn .

202: eukrasian .

203: ariqmon .

204: eij uperbolhn pollaplasion .

205: eklambanein .

206: eceilhfasi ta kata ton topon .

207: Cf. Phil. ii. 13.

208: Hoc ipsum, quod homines sumus.

209: Sicut dicamus, quod movemur, ex Deo est.

210: Hoc ipsum, quod movetur.

211: Cf. Phil. ii. 13.

212: ta diaferonta .

213: hmeij men edocamen, o de Qeoj tauta edwrhsato .

214: to kaqolou qelein .

215: eulogwj .

216: to eidikon tode .

217: to men genidon, to kineisqai.

218: dhmiourgou .

219: Rom. ix. 18-21.

220: 2 Tim. i. 16-18.

221: 2 Cor. v. 10.

222: Ex ipsâ conditoris creatione.

223: 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21.

224: Rom. ix. 18-21.

225: 2 Tim. i. 16-18.

226: ou kata ton auton dh apostolon esti .

227: para thn aitian tou dhmiourgou .

228: ugiej .

229: 2 Cor. v. 10.

230: epi touto pracewj .

231: 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21.

232: aperikaqarton eauton periidwn .

233: prognwsin .

234: prokatakrinei h prodikaioi .

235: ek presbuterwn aitiwn .

236: Secundum praecedentes meritorum causas.

237: Ex. xix. 19.

238: Diversas animarum naturas.

239: Quodammodo.

240: oson epi th upokeimenh fusei .

241: enoj furamatoj twn logikwn upostasewn .

242: Cf. Ex. xix. 19.

243: kata filoneikian .

244: swzousi .

245: ekproterwn tinwn katorqwmatwn .

246: [Elucidation II.] 247: to ef hmin .

248: episthmh : probably in the sense of prognwsij .

249: thj kataxrhsewj tou kat acian tou ef hmin . "Nec sine usu liberi nostri arbitrii, quod peculiare nobis et meriti nostri est" (Redepenning).

250: oute tou epi tw Qew monon .

251: ulhn tina diaforaj .

252: Gen. iii.

253: This apocryphal work, entitled in Hebrew hm try+p

254: Gen. xxii. 12. The reading in the text is according to the Septuagint and Vulgate, with the exception of the words "quem dilexisyi," which are an insertion.

255: Cf. Ex. iv. 24-26.

256: Ex. xii. 23, exterminator. Percussor , Vulgate; oloqreuwn , Sept.

257: Lev. xvi. 8. Apopompaioj is the reading of the Sept., "Caper emissarius" of the Vulgate, lz)z(258: 1 Sam. xviii. 10, effocare. Septuagint has epese : Vulgate, "invasit;" the Masoretic text xlct 259: 1 Kings xxii. 19-23.

260: 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

261: Atterere.

262: Eccles. x. 4. "For yielding pacifieth great offences." The words in the text are, "Quniam sanitas compescet multa peccata." The Vulgate has, "Curatio faciet cessare peccata maxima." The Septuagint reads, Iama katapausei amartiaj megalaj : while the Masoretic text has)brm 263: Zech. iii. 1.

264: Isa. xxvii. 1.

265: Isa. xxvii. 1.

266: Ezek. xxviii. 12 sq.

267: Cf. John xiii. 27.

268: Eph. vi. 13.

269: Eph. vi. 12.

270: Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 6.

271: Nemo hominum omnino.

272: Ex corporali necessitate descendunt.

273: Quod non simile aliquid pateremur?

274: Propositum.

275: Quae in usu naturaliter habentur.

276: Sensum eorum penitus possederint.

277: Gal. v. 17.

278: 1 Cor. x. 13.

279: Carnem talem.

280: 1 Cor. x. 13.

281: Pro virtutis suae quantitate, vel possibilitate.

282: Nec tamen scriptum est, quia faciet in tentatione etiam exitum sustinendi, sed exitum ut sustinere possimus.

283: 1 Cor. x. 13.

284: Ut sustinere possimus.

285: Repugnandi vincendique.

286: Fabulosum.

287: Ps. lxxvi. 10. Such is the reading of the Vulgate and of the Septuagint. The authorized version follows the Masoretic text.

288: Eccles. x. 4; cf. note 8, p. 329.

289: 2 Cor. x. 5.

290: Ps. lxxxiv. 5. The words in the text are: Beatus vir, cujus est susceptio apud te, Domine, adscensus in corde ejus. The Vulgate reads: Beatus vir, cujus est auxilium abs te: ascensiones in corde suo disposuit. The Septuagint the same. The Masoretic text has twlsm 291: 2 Cor. viii. 16.

292: [See book of Tobit, chaps. v. vi. S.]

293: Zech. i. 14. The Vulgate, Septuagint, and Masoretic text all have "in me," although the Authorized Version reads "with me."

294: Shepherd of Hermas , Command. vi. 2. See vol. ii. p. 24.

295: Epistle of Barnabas . See vol. i. pp. 148, 149.

296: Matt. xxvii. 63.

297: John xiii. 2.

298: Prov. iv. 23.

299: Heb. ii. 1.

300: Eph. iv. 27.

301: Eph. vi. 12.

302: Sine maxima subversione sui.

303: Acts ix. 15.

304: Sine aliquâ pernicie sui.

305: John xvi. 33.

306: Phil. iv. 13.

307: 1 Cor. xv. 10.

308: Rom. viii. 38, 39. The word "virtus," dunamij , occurring in the text, is not found in the text. recept . Tischendorf reads Dunameij in loco (edit. 7). So also Codex Siniaticus.

309: Excelsa et profunda.

310: Ps. xxvii. 1-3.

311: Palaestricae artis exercitiis.

312: John xix. 11.

313: Tribus ordinibus.

314: Cf. Job i. 10, 11. "Nisi in faciem benedixerit tibi." The Hebrew verb r7b@ 315: Matt. x. 29.

316: Cf. Job vii. 1. The Septuagint reads, poteron ouxi peirathrion , etc.; the Vulgate, "militia," the Masoretic text has)bc 317: 1 Cor. ii. 6-8.

318: 1 Cor. ii. 7.

319: Matt. xii. 42.

320: Sapientiarum harum.

321: Sapientias illas.

322: De divinitate.

323: De scientiâ excelsi pollicentium.

324: Cf. Dan. x.

325: Cf. Ezek. xxvi.

326: Ps. ii. 2.

327: 1 Cor. ii. 6-8.

328: Istae sapientiae.

329: Energiae.

330: Insania.

331: Vates.

332: Divinos.

333: Magi vel malefici.

334: Daemonum.

335: Id est, industria vita, vel studio amico illis et accepto.

336: Per vasa opportuna sibi.

337: Apostatae et refugae virtutes.

338: Propositi.

339: Penitus ex integro.

340: Eos quos obsederint.

341: Energumenos.

342: John xix. 2.

343: [See Oehler's Old Testament Theology , §207, "Psychological Definition of the Prophetic State in Ancient Times," pp. 468, 469. S.] 344: Jer. i. 5, 6.

345: Divinasse.

346: 1 Pet. v. 8.

347: Heb. i. 14.

348: Hospitium.

349: Gal. v. 17.

350: Lev. xvii. 14.

351: Rom. vii. 23.

352: Sensum vel sapientiam.

353: Passiones animae.

354: Veneficia. Farmakeia . "Witchcraft" (Auth. Version).

355: Gal. v. 19-21.

356: 1 Cor. i. 26.

357: Gal. v. 17.

358: Rom. viii. 9.

359: The text here is very obscure, and has given some trouble to commentators. The words are: "Quae ergo ista est praeter haec voluntas animae quae extrinsecus nominatur," etc. Redepenning understands "extrinsecus" as meaning "seorsim," "insuper," and refers to a note of Origen upon the Epistle to the Romans (tom. i. p. 466): "Et idcirco extrinsecus eam (animam, corporis et spiritus mentione facta, Rom. i. 3, 4) apostolus non nominat, sed carnem tantum vel spiritum," etc. Schnitzer supposes that in the Greek the words were, Thj ecw kaloumenhj , where ecw is to be taken in the sense of katw , so that the expression would mean "anima inferior."

360: In quâ necesse est ex singulis quibusque partibus quae possunt moveri discutere.

361: Priusquam - unum efficiatur cum eo.

362: Passiones.

363: Quibus nunc quidem arguimur, nunc vero nosmet ipsos amplectimur.

364: Evacuantur.

365: Cf. Rom. viii. 2.

366: Abusive = improperly used.

367: Recomponi vult.

368: Gen. iv. 10.

369: Rom. vii. 23.

370: Plus studii vel propositi.

371: Rom. viii. 7.

372: Naturaliter.

373: De ecclesiasticis definitionibus unum.

374: Consummationem saeculi.

375: Gen. xlix. i. The Vulgate has, "In diebus novissimis;" the Sept. Ep esxatwn twn hmerwn : the Masoretic text, tyrx)b@ 376: Ps. cii. 26, 27.

377: Matt. xix. 4.

378: Matt. xxiv. 35.

379: Rom. viii. 20, 21.

380: 1 Cor. vii. 31.

381: Auctoritate Scripturae nostrae, vel fidei.

382: Regulam pietatis.

383: Cf. Isa. lxvi. 22.

384: Cf. Eccles. i. 9, 10. The text is in conformity with the Septuag.: Ti to gegonoj\ Auto to genhsomenon. Kai ti to pepoihmenon\ Auto to poihqhsomenon. Kai ouk esti pan prosfaton upo ton hlion. Oj lalhsei kai erei. Ide touto kainon estin hdh gegonen en toij aiwsi toij genomenoij apo emtrosqen hmwn .

385: Saecula.

386: Matt. xxiv. 21.

387: Eph. i. 4.

388: The following is Jerome's version of this passage (Epistle to Avitus): "A divine habitation, and a true rest above (apud superos), I think is to be understood, where rational creatures dwell, and where before their descent to a lower position, and removal from invisible to visible (worlds), and fall to earth, and need of gross bodies, they enjoyed a former blessedness. Whence God the Creator made for them bodies suitable to their humble position and created this visible world, and sent into the world ministers for the salvation and correction of those who had fallen: of whom some were to obtain certain localities, and be subject to the necessities of the world; others were to discharge with care and attention the duties enjoined upon them at all times, and which were known to God, the Arranger (of all things). And of these, the sun, moon, and stars, which are called `creature 0' by the apostle, received the more elevated places of the world. Which `creature 0' was made subject to vanity, in that it was clothed with gross bodies, and was open to view, and yet was subject to vanity not voluntarily, but because of the will of Him who subjected the same in hope." And again: "While others, whom we believe to be angels, at different places and times, which the Arranger alone knows, serve the government of the world." And a little further on: "Which order of things is regulated by the providential government of the whole world, some powers falling down from a loftier position others gradually sinking to earth: some falling voluntarily, others befog cast down against their will: some undertaking, of their own accord, the service of stretching out the hand to those who fall others being compelled to persevere for so long a time in the duty which they have undertaken." And again: "Whence it follows that, on account of the various movements, various worlds also are created, and after this world which we now inhabit, there will be another greatly disimilar, But no other being save God alone, the Creator of all things,can arrange the deserts (of all), both to the time to come and to that which preceded. suitably to the differing lapses and advances (of individuals), and to the rewards of virtues or the punishment of vices, both in the present and in the future, and in all (times), and to conduct them all again to one end: for He knows the causes why He allows some to enjoy their own will, and to fall from a higher rank to the lowest condition: and why He begins to visit others, and bring them back gradually, as if by giving them His hand to their pristine state, and placing them in a lofty position" (Ruaeus).

389: [According to Hagenbach (History of Doctrines , vol. i. p.. 167), "Origen formally adopts the idea of original sin, by asserting that the human soul does not come into the world in a state of innocence, because it has already sinned in a former state... And yet subsequent times, especially after Jerome, have seen in Origen the precursor of Pelagius. Jerome calls the opinion that man can be without sin. Origenis ramusculus ." S.] 390: Cf. Rom.. viii. 20, 21.

391: Dispersi.

392: Exinanivit semet ipsum.

393: Regendi regnandique.

394: [Elucidation II.] 395: 1 Cor. xv. 28.

396: Cum non solum regendi ac regnandi summam, quam in universam emendaverit creaturam, verum etiam obedientae et subjectione correcta reparataque humani generis Patri offerat instituta.

397: By a profession of faith in baptism.

398: Indubitatam ceperit salutem.

399: It was not until the third Synod of Toledo, a.d. 589, that the "Filoque" clause was added to the Creed of Constantinople, - this difference forming, as is well known, one of the dogmatic grounds for the disunion between the Western and Eastern Churches down to the present day, the latter Church denying that the Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son . [See Elucidation III.] 400: Finis omnium: "bonorum" understood.

401: Gen. i. 26.

402: Gen. i. 27, 28.

403: Imago.

404: Similitudo.

405: Cf. 1 John iii. 2.

406: Cf. John xvii. 24; cf. 21.

407: Ex simili unum fieri.

408: Jerome, in his Epistle to Avitus , No. 94, has the passage thus: "Since, as we have already frequently observed, the beginning is generated again from the end, it is a question whether then also there will be bodies, or whether existence will be maintained at some time without them when they shall have been annihilated, and thus the life of incorporeal beings must be believed to be incorporeal, as we know is the case with God And there is no doubt that if all the bodies which are termed visible by the apostle, belong to that sensible world, the life of incorporeal beings will be incorporeal." And a little after: "That expression, also, used by the apostle, `The whole creation will be freed from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God 0' (Rom.. viii. 21). we so understand, that we say it was the first creation of rational and incorporeal beings which is not subject to corruption, because it was not clothed with bodies: for wherever bodies are, corruption immediately follows. But afterwards it will be freed from the bondage of corruption, when they shall have received the glory of the sons of God, and God shall be all in all." And in the same place: "That we must believe the end of all things to be incorporeal, the language of the Saviour Himself leads us to think, when He says, `As I and Thou are one, so may they also be one in Us 0' (John xvii., 21), For we ought to know what God is, and what the Saviour will be in the end, and how the likeness of the Father and the Son has been promised to the saints; for as they are one in Him, so they also are one in them. For we must adopt the view, either that the God of all things is clothed with a body, and as we are enveloped with flesh, so He also with some material covering, that the likeness of the life of God may be in the end produced also in the saints: or if this hypothesis is unbecoming, especially in the judgment of those who desire, even in the smallest degree, to feel the majesty of God, and to look upon the glory of His uncreated and all-surpassing nature we are forced to adopt the other alternative, and despair either of attaining any likeness to God, if we are to inhabit for ever the same bodies, or if the blessedness of the same life with God is promised to us, we must live in the same state as that in which God lives." All these points have been omitted by Rufinus as erroneous, and statements of a different kind here and there inserted

instead (Ruaeus).

409: Ad unitatis proprietatem

410: "Here the honesty of Rufinus in his translation seems very suspicious: for Origen's well-known opinion regarding the sins and lapses of blessed spirits he here attributes to others. Nay, even the opinion which he introduces Origen as ascribing to others, he exhibits him as refuting a little further on, sec. 6, in these words: `And in this condition (of blessedness) we are to believe that, by the will of the Creator, it will abide for ever without any change, 0' etc. I suspect, therefore, that all this is due to Rufinus himself, and that he has inserted it, instead of what is found in the beginning of the chapter, sec. I, and which in Jerome's Epistle to Avitus stands as follows: `Nor is there any doubt that, after certain intervals of time, matter will again exist, and bodies be formed, and a diversity be established in the world, on account of the varying wills of rational creatures who, after (enjoying) perfect blessedness down to the end of all things, have gradually fallen away to a lower condition and received into them so much wickedness that they are converted) into an opposite condition, by their unwillingness to retain their original state, and to preserve their blessedness uncorrupted. Nor is this point to be suppressed, that many rational creatures retain their first condition (principium) even to the second and third and fourth worlds, and allow no room for any change within them while others, again, will lose so little of their pristine state, that they will appear to have lost almost nothing, and some are to be precipitated with great destruction into the lowest pit. And God, the disposer of all things, when creating His worlds, knows how to treat each individual agreeably to his merits, and He is acquainted with the occasions and causes by which the government (gubernacula) of the world is sustained and commenced: so that he who surpassed all others in wickedness, and brought himself completely down to the earth, is made in another world, which is afterwards to be formed, a devil, the beginning of the creation of the Lord (Job xl. 19), to be mocked by the angels who have lost the virtue of their original condition 0' (exordii virtutem)." -Ruaeus.

411: 2 Cor. v. 1.

412: 2 Cor. iv. 18.

413: 1 Cor. ii. 9; cf. Isa. lxiv., 4.

414: 400 Insanabile.

415: ["Origen went so far, that, contrary to the general opinion, he allowed Satan the glimmer of a hope of future grace... He is here speaking of the last enemy, death: but it is evident, from the context, that he identifies death with the devil," etc. (Hagenbach's History of Doctrines , vol. i. p. 145-147. See also, supra , book i. vi. 3. p. 261.) S.] 416: Ut essent et permanerent.

417: Gen. iii. 19.

418: Ad summa.

419: [Elucidation IV.] 420: 1 Cor. xv. 28.

421: [Elucidation V.] 422: Cf. Ps. cii. 25, 26.

423: Gen. i. 1.

424: Heb. viii. 5.

425: Ex. xxv. 40.

426: Jerome (Epistle to Avitus , No. 94) says that Origen, "after a most lengthened discussion, in which he asserts that all bodily nature is to be changed into attenuated and spiritual bodies, and that all substance is to be converted into one body of perfect purity, and more brilliant than any splendour (mundissimum et omni splendore purius), and such as the human mind cannot now conceive," adds at the last, "And God will be `all in all, 0' so that the whole of bodily nature may be reduced into that substance which is better than all others, into the divine, viz., than which none is better." From which, since it seems to follow that God possesses a body, although of extreme tenuity (licet tenuissimum), Rufinus has either suppressed this view, or altered the meaning of Origen's words (Ruaeus).

De Principiis - Book 4

Book IV. From the Latin.

Summary (of Doctrine) Regarding the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the Other Topics Discussed in the Preceding Pages.

Book IV. From the Latin.

24. This descent of the holy fathers into Egypt will appear as granted to this world by the providence of God for the illumination of others, and for the instruction of the human race, that so by this means the souls of others might be assisted in the work of enlightenment. For to them was first granted the privilege of converse with God, because theirs is the only race which is said to see God; this being the meaning, by interpretation, of the word "Israel."1 And now it follows that, agreeably to this view, ought the statement to be accepted and explained that Egypt was scourged with ten plagues, to allow the people of God to depart, or the account of what was done with the people in the wilderness, or of the building of the tabernacle by means of contributions from all the people, or of the wearing of the priestly robes, or of the vessels of the public service, because, as it is written, they truly contain within them the "shadow and form of heavenly things." For Paul openly says of them, that "they serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things."2 There are, moreover, contained in this same law the precepts and institutions, according to which men are to live in the holy land. Threatenings also are held out as impending over those who shall transgress the law; different kinds of purifications are moreover prescribed for those who required purification, as being persons who were liable to frequent pollution, that by means of these they may arrive at last at that one purification after which no further pollution is permitted. The very people are numbered, though not all; for the souls of children are not yet old enough to be numbered according to the divine command: nor are those souls who cannot become the head of another, but are themselves subordinated to others as to a head, who are called "women," who certainly are not included in that numbering which is enjoined by God; but they alone are numbered who are called "men," by which it might be shown that the women could not be counted separately,3 but were included in those called men. Those, however, especially belong to the sacred number, who are prepared to go forth to the battles of the Israelites, and are able to fight against those public and private enemies4 whom the Father subjects to the Son, who sits on His right hand that He may destroy all principality and power, and by means of these bands of His soldiery, who, being engaged in a warfare for God, do not entangle themselves in secular business, He may overturn the Kingdom of His adversary; by whom the shields of faith are borne, and the weapons of wisdom brandished; among whom also the helmet of hope and salvation gleams forth, and the breastplate of brightness fortifies the breast that is filled with God. Such soldiers appear to me to be indicated, and to be prepared for wars of this kind, in those persons who in the sacred books are ordered by God's command to be numbered. But of these, by far the more perfect and distinguished are shown to be those of whom the very hairs of the head are said to be numbered. Such, indeed, as were punished for their sins, whose bodies fell in the wilderness, appear to

possess a resemblance to those who had made indeed no little progress, but who could not at all, for various reasons, attain to the end of perfection; because they are reported either to have murmured, or to have worshipped idols, or to have committed fornication, or to have done some evil work which the mind ought not even to conceive. I do not consider the following even to be without some mystical meaning,5 viz., that certain (of the Israelites), possessing many flocks and animals, take possession by anticipation of a country adapted for pasture and the feeding of cattle, which was the very first that the right hand of the Hebrews had secured in war.6 For, making a request of Moses to receive this region, they are divided off by the waters of the Jordan, and set apart from any possession in the holy land. And this Jordan, according to the form of heavenly things, may appear to water and irrigate thirsty souls, and the senses that are adjacent to it.7 In connection with which, even this statement does not appear superfluous, that Moses indeed hears from God what is described in the book of Leviticus, while in Deuteronomy it is the people that are the auditors of Moses, and who learn from him what they could not hear from God. For as Deuteronomy is called, as it were, the second law, which to some will appear to convey this signification, that when the first law which was given through Moses had come to an end, so a second legislation seems to have been enacted, which was specially transmitted by Moses to his successor Joshua, who is certainly believed to embody a type8 of our Saviour, by whose second law-that is, the precepts of the Gospel-all things are brought to perfection.

25. We have to see, however, whether this deeper meaning may not perhaps be indicated, viz., that as in Deuteronomy the legislation is made known with greater clearness and distinctness than in those books which were first written, so also by that advent of the Saviour which He accomplished in His state of humiliation, when He assumed the form of a servant, that more celebrated and renowned second advent in the glory of His Father may not be pointed out, and in it the types of Deuteronomy may be fulfilled, when in the kingdom of heaven all the saints shall live according to the laws of the everlasting Gospel; and as in His coming now He fulfilled that law which has a shadow of good things to come, so also by that (future) glorious advent will be fulfilled and brought to perfection the shadows of the present advent. For thus spake the prophet regarding it: "The breath of our countenance, Christ the Lord, to whom we said, that under Thy shadow we shall live among the nations; "9 at the time, viz., when He will more worthily transfer all the saints from a temporal to an everlasting Gospel, according to the designation, employed by John in the Apocalypse, of "an everlasting Gospel."10

26. But let it be sufficient for us in all these matters to adapt our understanding to the rule of religion, and so to think of the words of the Holy Spirit as not to deem the language the ornate composition of feeble human eloquence, but to hold, according to the scriptural statement, that" all the glory of the King is within,"11 and that the treasure of divine meaning is enclosed within the flail vessel of the common letter. And if any curious reader were still to ask an explanation of individual points, let him come and hear, along with ourselves, how the Apostle Paul, seeking to penetrate by help of the Holy Spirit, who searches even the "deep things" of God, into the depths of divine wisdom and knowledge, and yet, unable to reach the end, so to speak, and to come to a thorough knowledge, exclaims in despair and amazement, "Oh the depth of the riches of the knowledge and wisdom of God!"12 Now, that it was from despair of attaining a perfect understanding that he uttered this exclamation, listen to his own words: "How unsearchable are God's judgments! and His ways, how past finding out! "13 For he did not say that God's judgments were difficult to

discover, but that they were altogether inscrutable; nor that it was (simply) difficult to trace out His ways, but that they were altogether past finding out. For however far a man may advance in his investigations, and how great soever the progress that he may make by unremitting study, assisted even by the grace of God, and with his mind enlightened, he will not be able to attain to the end of those things which are the object of his inquiries. Nor can any created mind deem it possible in any way to attain a full comprehension (of things); but after having discovered certain of the objects of its research, it sees again others which have still to be sought out. And even if it should succeed in mastering these, it will see again many others succeeding them which must form the subject of investigation. And on this account, therefore, Solomon, the wisest of men, beholding by his wisdom the nature of things, says, "I said, I will become wise; and wisdom herself was made far from me, far further than it was; and a profound depth, who shall find? "14 Isaiah also, knowing that the beginnings of things could not be discovered by a mortal nature, and not even by those natures which, although more divine than human, were nevertheless themselves created or formed; knowing then, that by none of these could either the beginning or the end be discovered, says, "Tell the former things which have been, and we know that ye are gods; or announce what are the last things, and then we shall see that ye are gods."15 For my Hebrew teacher also used thus to teach, that as the beginning or end of all things could be comprehended by no one, save only our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, so under the form of a vision Isaiah spake of two seraphim alone, who with two wings cover the countenance of God, and with two His feet, and with two do fly, calling to each other alternately, and saying, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabaoth; the whole earth is full of Thy glory."16 That the seraphim alone have both their wings over the face of God, and over His feet, we venture to declare as meaning that neither the hosts of holy angels, nor the "holy seats," nor the "dominions," nor the "principalities," nor the "powers," can fully understand the beginning of all things, and the limits of the universe. But we are to understand that those "saints" whom the Spirit has enrolled, and the "virtues," approach very closely to those very beginnings, and attain to a height which the others cannot reach; and yet whatever it be that these "virtues" have learned through revelation from the Son of God and from the Holy Spirit-and they will certainly be able to learn very much, and those of higher rank much more than those of a lower-nevertheless it is impossible for them to comprehend all things, according to the statement, "The most part of the works of God are hid."17 And therefore also it is to be desired that every one, according to his strength, should ever stretch out to those things that are before, "forgetting the things that are behind," both to better works and to a clearer apprehension and understanding, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, to whom be glory for ever!

27. Let every one, then, who cares for truth, be little concerned about words and language, seeing that in every nation there prevails a different usage of speech; but let him rather direct his attention to the meaning conveyed by the words, than to the nature of the words that convey the meaning, especially in matters of such importance and difficulty: as, e.g., when it is an object of investigation whether there is any "substance" in which neither colour, nor form, nor touch, nor magnitude is to be understood as existing visible to the mind alone, which any one names as he pleases; for the Greeks call such a0sw/maton, i.e., "incorporeal," while holy Scripture declares it to be "invisible," for Paul calls Christ the "image of the invisible God," and says again, that by Christ were created all things "visible and invisible." And by this it is declared that there are, among created things, certain "substances" that are, according to their peculiar nature, invisible. But although these are not themselves "corporeal," they nevertheless make use of bodies, while they are themselves

better than any bodily substances. But that "substance" of the Trinity which is the beginning and cause of all things, "from which are all things, and through which are all things, and in which are all things," cannot be believed to be either a body or in a body, but is altogether incorporeal. And now let it suffice to have spoken briefly on these points (although in a digression, caused by the nature of the subject), in order to show that there are certain things, the meaning of which cannot be unfolded at all by any words of human language, but which are made known more through simple apprehension than by any properties of words. And under this rule must be brought also the understanding of the sacred Scripture, in order that its statements may be judged not according to the worthlessness of the letter, but according to the divinity of the Holy Spirit, by whose inspiration they were caused to be written.

Summary (of Doctrine) Regarding the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and the Other Topics Discussed in the Preceding Pages.

28. It is now time, after the rapid consideration which to the best of our ability we have given to the topics discussed, to recapitulate, by way of summing up what we have said in different places, the individual points, and first of all to restate our conclusions regarding the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

Seeing God the Father is invisible and inseparable from the Son, the Son is not generated from Him by "prolation," as some suppose. For if the Son be a "prolation" of the Father (the term "prolation" being used to signify such a generation as that of animals or men usually is), then, of necessity, both He who "prolated" and He who was "prolated" are corporeal. For we do not say, as the heretics suppose, that some part of the substance of God was converted into the Son, or that the Son was procreated by the Father out of things non-existent,18 i.e., beyond His own substance, so that there once was a time when He did not exist; but, putting away all corporeal conceptions, we say that the Word and Wisdom was begotten out of the invisible and incorporeal without any corporeal feeling, as if it were an act of the will proceeding from the understanding. Nor, seeing He is called the Son of (His) love, will it appear absurd if in this way He be called the Son of (His) will. Nay, John also indicates that "God is Light,"19 and Paul also declares that the Son is the splendour of everlasting light.20 As light, accordingly, could never exist without splendour, so neither can the Son be understood to exist without the Father; for He is called the "express image of His person,"21 and the Word and Wisdom. How, then, can it be asserted that there once was a time when He was not the Son? For that is nothing else than to say that there was once a time when He was not the Truth, nor the Wisdom, nor the Life, although in all these He is judged to be the perfect essence of God the Father; for these things cannot be severed from Him, or even be separated from His essence. And although these qualities are said to be many in understanding,22 yet in their nature and essence they are one, and in them is the fulness of divinity. Now this expression which we employ-"that there never was a time when He did not exist"-is to be understood with an allowance. For these very words "when" or "never" have a meaning that relates to time, whereas the statements made regarding Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are to be understood as transcending all time, all ages, and all eternity. For it is the Trinity alone which exceeds the comprehension not only of temporal but even of eternal intelligence; while other things which are not included in it23 are to be measured by times and ages. This Son of God, then, in respect of the Word being God, which was in the beginning with God, no one will logically suppose to be contained in any place; nor yet in respect of His being "Wisdom," or

"Truth," or the "Life," or "Righteousness," or "Sanctification," or "Redemption: "for all these properties do not require space to be able to act or to operate, but each one of them is to be understood as meaning those individuals who participate in His virtue and working.

29. Now, if any one were to say that, through those who are partakers of the "Word" of God, or of His "Wisdom," or His "Truth," or His "Life," the Word and Wisdom itself appeared to be contained in a place, we should have to say to him in answer, that there is no doubt that Christ, in respect of being the "Word" or "Wisdom," or all other things, was in Paul, and that he therefore said, "Do you seek a proof of Christ speaking in me? "24 and again, "I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me."25 Seeing, then, He was in Paul, who will doubt that He was in a similar manner in Peter and in John, and in each one of the saints; and not only in those who are upon the earth, but in those also who are in heaven? For it is absurd to say that Christ was in Peter and in Paul, but not in Michael the archangel, nor in Gabriel. And from this it is distinctly shown that the divinity of the Son of God was not shut up in some place; otherwise it would have been in it only, and not in another. But since, in conformity with the majesty of its incorporeal nature, it is confined to no place; so, again, it cannot be understood to be wanting in any. But this is understood to be the sole difference, that although He is in different individuals as we have said-as Peter, or Paul, or Michael, or Gabriel-He is not in a similar way in all beings whatever. For He is more fully and clearly, and, so to speak, more openly in archangels than in other holy men.26 And this is evident from the statement, that when all Who are saints have arrived at the summit of perfection, they are said to be made like, or equal to, the angels, agreeably to the declaration in the Gospels.27 Whence it is clear that Christ is in each individual in as great a degree as the amount of his deserts allows.28

30. Having, then, briefly restated these points regarding the nature of the Trinity, it follows that we notice shortly this statement also, that "by the Son" are said to be created "all things that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him; and He is before all, and all things consist by Him, who is the Head."29 In conformity with which John also in his Gospel says: "All things were created by Him; and without Him was not anything made."30 And David, intimating that the mystery of the entire Trinity was (concerned) in the creation of all things, says: "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the Spirit of His mouth."31

After these points we shall appropriately remind (the reader) of the bodily advent and incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, with respect to whom we are not to suppose that all the majesty of His divinity is confined within the limits of His slender body, so that all the "word" of God, and His "wisdom," and "essential truth," and "life," was either rent asunder from the Father, or restrained and confined within the narrowness of His bodily person, and is not to be considered to have operated anywhere besides; but the cautious acknowledgment of a religious man ought to be between the two, so that it ought neither to be believed that anything of divinity was wanting in Christ, nor that any separation at all was made from the essence of the Father, which is everywhere. For some such meaning seems to be indicated by John the Baptist, when he said to the multitude in the bodily absence of Jesus, "There standeth one among you whom ye know not: He it is who cometh after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose."32 For it certainly could not be said of Him, who was absent, so far as His bodily presence is concerned, that He was standing in the midst of those among whom the Son of God was not bodily present.

31. Let no one, however, suppose that by this we affirm that some portion of the divinity of the Son of God was in Christ, and that the remaining portion was elsewhere or everywhere, which may be the opinion of those who are ignorant of the nature of an incorporeal and invisible essence. For it is impossible to speak of the parts of an incorporeal being, or to make any division of them; but He is in all things, and through all things, and above all things, in the manner in which we have spoken above, i.e., in the manner in which He is understood to be either "wisdom," or the "word," or the "life," or the "truth," by which method of understanding all confinement of a local kind is undoubtedly excluded. The Son of God, then, desiring for the salvation of the human race to appear unto men, and to sojourn among them, assumed not only a human body, as some suppose, but also a soul resembling our souls indeed in nature, but in will and power33 resembling Himself, and such as might unfailingly accomplish all the desires and arrangements of the "word" and "wisdom." Now, that He had a soul,34 is most clearly shown by the Saviour in the Gospels, when He said, "No man taketh my life from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again."35 And again, "My soul is sorrowful even unto death."36 And again, "Now is my soul troubled."37 For the "Word" of God is not to be understood to be a "sorrowful and troubled" soul, because with the authority of divinity He says, "I have power to lay down my life." Nor yet do we assert that the Son of God was in that soul as he was in the soul of Paul or Peter and the other saints, in whom Christ is believed to speak as He does in Paul. But regarding all these we are to hold, as Scripture declares, "No one is clean from filthiness, not even if his life lasted but a single day."38 But this soul which was in Jesus, before it knew the evil, selected the good; and because He loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, therefore God "anointed Him with the oil of gladness above His fellows."39 He is anointed, then, with the oil of gladness when He is united to the "word" of God in a stainless union, and by this means alone of all souls was incapable of sin, because it was capable of (receiving) well and fully the Son of God; and therefore also it is one with Him, and is named by His titles, and is called Jesus Christ, by whom all things are said to be made. Of which soul, seeing it had received into itself the whole wisdom of God, and the truth, and the life, I think that the apostle also said this: "Our life is hidden with Christ in God; but when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall we also appear with him in glory."40 For what other Christ can be here understood, who is said to be hidden in God, and who is afterwards to appear, except Him who is related to have been anointed with the oil of gladness, i.e., to have been filled with God essentially,41 in whom he is now said to be hidden? For on this account is Christ proposed as an example to all believers, because as He always, even before he knew evil at all, selected the good, and loved righteousness, and hated iniquity, and therefore God anointed Him with the oil of gladness; so also ought each one, after a lapse or sin, to cleanse himself from his stains, making Him his example, and, taking Him as the guide of his journey, enter upon the steep way of virtue, that so perchance by this means, as far as possible we may, by imitating Him, be made partakers of the divine nature. according to the words of Scripture: "He that saith that he believeth in Christ, ought so to walk, as He also walked."42 This "word," then, and this "wisdom," by the imitation of which we are said to be either wise or rational (beings), becomes "all things to all men, that it may gain all; "and because it is made weak, it is therefore said of it, "Though He was crucified through weakness, yet He liveth by the power of God."43 Finally, to the Corinthians who were weak, Paul declares that he "knew nothing, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."44

32. Some, indeed, would have the following language of the apostle applied to the soul itself, as soon as it had assumed flesh from Mary,45 viz., "Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but divested Himself (of His glory)46 taking upon Himself the form of a servant; "47 since He undoubtedly restored it to the form of God by means of better examples and training, and recalled it to that fulness of which He had divested Himself. As now by participation in the Son of God one is adopted as a son,48 and by participating in that wisdom which is in God is rendered wise, so also by participation in the Holy Spirit is a man rendered holy and spiritual. For it is one and the same thing to have a share in the Holy Spirit, which is (the Spirit) of the Father and the Son, since the nature of the Trinity is one and incorporeal. And what we have said regarding the participation of the soul is to be understood of angels and heavenly powers in a similar way as of souls, because every rational creature needs a participation in the Trinity.

Respecting also the plan of this visible world-seeing one of the most important questions usually raised is as to the manner of its existence-we have spoken to the best of our ability in the preceding pages, for the sake of those who are accustomed to seek the grounds of their belief in our religion, and also for those who stir against us heretical questions, and who are accustomed to bandy about49 the word "matter," which they have not yet been able to understand; of which subject I now deem it necessary briefly to remind (the reader).

33. And, in the first place, it is to be noted that we have nowhere found in the canonical Scriptures,50 up to the present time, the word "matter" used for that substance which is said to underlie bodies. For in the expression of Isaiah, "And he shall devour u\ #lh," i.e., matter, "like hay,"51 when speaking of those who were appointed to undergo their punishments, the word "matter" was used instead of "sins." And if this word "matter" should happen to occur in any other passage, it will never be found, in my opinion, to have the signification of which we are now in quest, unless perhaps in the book which is called the Wisdom of Solomon, a work which is certainly not esteemed authoritative by all.52 In that book, however, we find written as follows: "For thy almighty hand, that made the world out of shapeless matter, wanted not means to send among them a multitude of bears and fierce lions."53 Very many, indeed, are of opinion that the matter of which things are made is itself signified in the language used by Moses in the beginning of Genesis: "In the beginning God made heaven and earth; and the earth was invisible, and not arranged: "54 for by the words "invisible and not arranged" Moses would seem to mean nothing else than shapeless matter. But if this be truly matter, it is clear then that the original elements of bodies55 are not incapable of change. For those who posited "atoms"-either those particles which are incapable of subdivision, or those which are subdivided into equal parts-or any one element, as the principles of bodily things, could not posit the word "matter" in the proper sense of the term among the first principles of things. For if they will have it that matter underlies every body-a substance convertible or changeable, or divisible in all its parts-they will not, as is proper, assert that it exists without qualities. And with them we agree, for we altogether deny that matter ought to be spoken of as "unbegotten" or "uncreated," agreeably to our former statements, when we pointed out that from water, and earth, and air or heat, different kinds of fruits were produced by different kinds of trees; or when we showed that fire, and air, and water, and earth were alternately converted into each other, and that one element was resolved into another by a kind of mutual consanguinity; and also when we proved that from the food either of men or animals the substance of the flesh was derived, or that the moisture of the natural seed was converted into solid flesh and

bones;-all which go to prove that the substance of the body is changeable, and may pass from one quality into all others.

34. Nevertheless we must not forget that a substance never exists without a quality, and that it is by an act of the understanding alone that this (substance) which underlies bodies, and which is capable of quality, is discovered to be matter. Some indeed, in their desire to investigate these subjects more profoundly, have ventured to assert that bodily nature56 is nothing else than qualities. For if hardness and softness, heat and cold, moisture and aridity, be qualities; and if, when these or other (qualities) of this sort be cut away, nothing else is understood to remain, then all things will appear to be "qualities." And therefore also those persons who make these assertions have endeavoured to maintain, that since all who say that matter was uncreated will admit that qualities were created by God, it may be in this way shown that even according to them matter was not uncreated; since qualities constitute everything, and these are declared by all without contradiction to have been made by God. Those, again, who would make out that qualities are superimposed from without upon a certain underlying matter, make use of illustrations of this kind: e.g., Paul undoubtedly is either silent, or speaks, or watches, or sleeps, or maintains a certain attitude of body; for he is either in a sitting, or standing, or recumbent position. For these are "accidents" belonging to men, without which they are almost never found. And yet our conception of man does not lay down any of these things as a definition of him; but we so understand and regard him by their means, that we do not at all take into account the reason of his (particular) condition either in watching, or in sleeping, or in speaking, or in keeping silence, or in any other action that must necessarily happen to men.57 If any one, then, can regard Paul as being without all these things which are capable of happening, he will in the same way also be able to understand this underlying (substance) without qualities. When, then, our mind puts away all qualities from its conception, and gazes, so to speak, upon the underlying element alone, and keeps its attention closely upon it, without any reference to the softness or hardness, or heat or cold, or humidity or aridity of the substance, then by means of this somewhat simulated process of thought58 it will appear to behold matter clear from qualities of every kind.

35. But some one will perhaps inquire whether we can obtain out of Scripture any grounds for such an understanding of the subject. Now I think some such view is indicated in the Psalms, when the prophet says, "Mine eyes have seen thine imperfection; "59 by which the mind of the prophet, examining with keener glance the first principles of things, and separating in thought and imagination only between matter and its qualities, perceived the imperfection of God, which certainly is understood to be perfected by the addition of qualities. Enoch also, in his book, speaks as follows: "I have walked on even to imperfection; "60 which expression I consider may be understood in a similar manner, viz., that the mind of the prophet proceeded in its scrutiny and investigation of all visible things, until it arrived at that first beginning in which it beheld imperfect matter (existing) without "qualities." For it is written in the same book of Enoch, "I beheld the whole of matter; "61 which is so understood as if he had said: "I have clearly seen all the divisions of matter which are broken up from one into each individual species either of men, or animals, or of the sky, or of the sun, or of all other things in this world." After these points, now, we proved to the best of our power in the preceding pages that all things which exist were made by God, and that there was nothing which was not made, save the nature of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; and that God, who is by nature good, desiring to have those upon whom He might confer

benefits, and who might rejoice in receiving His benefits, created creatures worthy (of this), i.e., who were capable of receiving Him in a worthy manner, who, He says, are also begotten by Him as his sons. He made all things, moreover, by number and measure. For there is nothing before God without either limit or measure. For by His power He comprehends: all things, and He Himself is comprehended by the strength of no created thing, because that nature is known to itself alone. For the Father alone knoweth the Son, and the Son alone knoweth the Father, and the Holy Spirit alone searcheth even the deep things of God. All created things, therefore, i.e., either the number of rational beings or the measure of bodily matter, are distinguished by Him as being within a certain number or measurement; since, as it was necessary for an intellectual nature to employ bodies, and this nature is shown to be changeable and convertible by the very condition of its being created (for what did not exist, but began to exist, is said by this very circumstance to be of mutable nature), it can have neither goodness nor wickedness as an essential, but only as an accidental attribute of its being. Seeing, then, as we have said, that rational nature was mutable and changeable, so that it made use of a different bodily covering of this or that sort of quality, according to its merits, it was necessary, as God foreknew there would be diversities in souls or spiritual powers, that He should create also a bodily nature the qualities of which might be changed at the will of the Creator into all that was required. And this bodily nature must last as long as those things which require it is a covering: for there will be always rational natures which need a bodily covering; and there will therefore always be a bodily nature whose coverings must necessarily be used by rational creatures, unless some one be able to demonstrate by arguments that a rational nature can live without a body. But how difficult-nay, how almost impossible-this is for our understanding, we have shown in the preceding pages, in our discussion of the individual topics.

36. It will not, I consider, be opposed to the nature of our undertaking, if we restate with all possible brevity our opinions on the immortality of rational natures. Every one who participates in anything, is unquestionably of one essence and nature with him who is partaker of the same thing. For example, as all eyes participate in the light, so accordingly all eyes which partake of the light are of one nature; but although every eye partakes of the light, yet, inasmuch as one sees more dearly, and another more obscurely, every eye does not equally share in the light. And again, all hearing receives voice or sound, and therefore all hearing is of one nature; but each one hears more rapidly or more slowly, according as the quality of his hearing is clear and sound. Let us pass now from these sensuous illustrations to the consideration of intellectual things. Every mind which partakes of intellectual light ought undoubtedly to be of one nature with every mind which partakes in a similar manner of intellectual light. If the heavenly virtues, then, partake of intellectual light, i.e., of divine nature, because they participate in wisdom and holiness, and if human souls, have partaken of the same light and wisdom, and thus are mutually of one nature and of one essence,-then, since the heavenly virtues are incorruptible and immortal, the essence of the human soul will also be immortal and incorruptible. And not only so, but because the nature of Father, and Son, and Holy Spirit, whose intellectual light alone all created things have a share, is incorruptible and eternal, it is altogether consistent and necessary that every substance which partakes of that eternal nature should last for ever, and be incorruptible and eternal, so that the eternity of divine goodness may be understood also in this respect, that they who obtain its benefits are also eternal. But as, in the instances referred to, a diversity in the participation of the light was observed, when the glance of the beholder was described as being duller or more acute,

so also a diversity is to be noted in the participation of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, varying with the degree of zeal or capacity of mind. If such were not the case,62 we have to consider whether it would not seem to be an act of impiety to say that the mind which is capable of (receiving) God should admit of a destruction of its essence;63 as if the very fact that it is able to feel and understand God could not suffice for its perpetual existence, especially since, if even through neglect the mind fall away from a pure and complete reception of God, it nevertheless contains within it certain seeds of restoration and renewal to a better understanding, seeing the "inner," which is also called the "rational" man, is renewed after "the image and likeness of God, who created him." And therefore the prophet says, "All the ends of the earth shall remember, and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee."64

37. If any one, indeed, venture to ascribe essential corruption to Him who was made after the image and likeness of God, then, in my opinion, this impious charge extends even to the Son of God Himself, for He is called in Scripture the image of God.65 Or he who holds this opinion would certainly impugn the authority of Scripture, which says that man was made in the image of God; and in him are manifestly to be discovered traces of the divine image, not by any appearance of the bodily frame, which is corruptible, but by mental wisdom, by justice, moderation, virtue, wisdom, discipline; in fine, by the whole band of virtues, which are innate in the essence of God, and which may enter into man by diligence and imitation of God; as the Lord also intimates in the Gospel, when He says, "Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful; "66 and, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father also is perfect."67 From which it is clearly shown that all these virtues are perpetually in God, and that they can never approach to or depart from Him, whereas by men they are acquired only slowly, and one by one. And hence also by these means they seem to have a kind of relationship with God; and since God knows all things, and none of things intellectual in themselves can elude His notice68 (for God the Father alone, and His only-begotten Son, and the Holy Spirit, not only possess a knowledge of those things which they have created, but also of themselves), a rational understanding also, advancing from small things to great, and from things visible to things invisible, may attain to a more perfect knowledge. For it is placed in the body, and advances from sensible things themselves, which are corporeal, to things that are intellectual. But lest our statement that things intellectual are not cognisable by the senses should appear unbecoming, we shall employ the instance of Solomon, who says, "You will find also a divine sense; "69 by which he shows that those things which are intellectual are to be sought out not by means of a bodily sense, but by a certain other which he calls "divine." And with this sense must we look on each of those rational beings which we have enumerated above; and with this sense are to be understood those words which we speak, and those statements to be weighed which we commit to writing. For the divine nature knows even those thoughts which we revolve within us in silence. And on those matters of which we have spoken, or on the others which follow from them, according to the rule above laid down, are our opinions to be formed.

1: Cf. Gen. xxxii. 28-30.

2: Heb. viii. 5.

3: Extrinsecus.

4: Hostes inimicosque.

5: Ne illud quidem sacramento aliquo vacuum puto.

6: Quem primum omnium Israelitici belli dextra defenderat.

7: Rigare et inundare animas sitientes, et sensus adjacentes sibi.

8: Formam.

9: Lam. iv. 20.

10: Cf. Rev. xiv. 6.

11: Omnis gloria regis intrinsecus est. Heb., Sept., and Vulgate all read, "daughter of the king." Probably the omission of "filiae" in the text may be due to an error of the copyists. [Cf. Ps. xlv. 13.]
12: Rom. xi. 33.

13: Rom. xi. 33.

14: [Eccles. vii. 23, 24.] The Septuagint reads: Eipa, Sofisqhsomai 15: Cf. Isa. xli. 22, 23.

16: Isa. vi. 3.

17: Cf. Ecclus. xvi. 21.

18: Ex nullis substantibus.

19: 1 John i. 5.

20: Cf. Heb. i. 3.

21: Cf. Heb. i. 3.

22: Quae quidem quamvis intellectu multa esse dicantur.

23: Quae sunt extra Trinitatem.

24: Cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 3.

25: Gal. ii. 20.

26: Quam in aliis sanctis viris. "Aliis" is found in the mss., but is wanting in many editions.

27: Cf. Matt. xxii. 30 and Luke xx. 36.

28: Unde constat in singulis quibusque tantum effici Christum, quantum ratio indulserit meritorum.

29: Cf. Col. i. 16-18.

30: John i. 3.

31: Ps. xxxiii. 6.

32: Cf. John i. 26, 27.

33: Proposito vero et virtute similem sibi.

34: Animam.

35: John x. 18.

36: Matt. xxvi. 38.

37: John xii. 27.

38: Cf. Job xv. 14.

39: Ps. xlv. 7.

40: Cf. Col. iii. 3, 4.

41: Substantialiter.

42: Cf. 1 John ii. 6.

43: 2 Cor. xiii. 4.

44: 1 Cor. ii. 2.

45: De Maria corpus assumsit.

46: Semet ipsum exinanivit.

47: Phil. ii. 6, 7.

48: In filium adoptatur.

49: Ventilare.

50: In Scripturis canonicis.

51: Isa. x. 17, kai fagetai wsei xorton thn ulhn , Sept. The Vulgate follows the Masoretic text.

52: [Elucidation VI].

53: Wisd. xi. 17.

54: Gen. i. 2, "invisibilis et incomposita;" "inanis et vacua," Vulg.

55: Initia corporum.

56: Naturam corpoream.

57: Nec tamen sensus noster manifeste de eo aliquid horum definit, sed ita eum per haec intelligimus, vel consideramus, ut non omnino rationem status ejus comprehendamus, vel in eo, quod vigilat, vel in eo, quod dormit, aut in quo loquitur, vel tacet, et si qua alia sunt, quae accidere necesse est hominibus.

58: Tunc simulata quodammodo cogitatione.

59: Ps. cxxxix. 16, to akatergaston mou eidosan oi ofqalmoi sou , Sept.; "Imperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui," Vulg. (same as in the text.) yCny(w@)r ymln% 60: Ambulavi usque ad imperfectum; cf. Book of Enoch, chap. xvii.

61: Universas materias perspexi: cf. Book of Enoch, chap. xvii. [On this apocryphal book, see the learned remarks of Dr. Pusey in his reply to Canon Farrar, What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment ; pp. 52-59. London, 1881.]

62: Alioquin.

63: Substantialem interitum.

64: Ps. xxii. 27.

65: Cf. Col. i. 15 and 2 Cor. iv. 4.

66: Luke vi. 36.

67: Matt. v. 48.

68: Nihil eum rerum intellectualium ex se lateat.

69: Cf. Prov. ii. 5, epignwsin Qeou eurhseij (Sept.), Scientiam Dei invenies (Vulg.).)cmxsyhl) t(r@

Homilies on Luke

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Just as in the old people, many claimed to prophesy, but some of them were false prophets and some were truly prophets, and the people had the gift of discerning spirits, by which the true prophet and the false one were distinguished; so also now in the New Testament many have desired to write the Gospels, but the reliable money changers did not approve everything, but chose some of them. Perhaps also the term "attempted" contains a hidden accusation against those who came to the writing of the Gospels without a gift. For Matthew did not "attempt," but wrote by the Holy Spirit, as did Mark and John, and similarly Luke. However, those who wrote the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the Gospel according to the Twelve "attempted" to write. And already Basilides also dared to write his Gospel according to Basilides. "Many, therefore, have taken in hand" - for there is also the Gospel according to Thomas and the Gospel according to Matthias and several others. These are attempts; the church of God has approved only the four. However, Luke, when he said, "concerning the things fully believed among us," shows his disposition, that he confirmed everything with confidence as one who knew well, not doubting nor guessing. For he was assured and in no way doubted whether it was so or not. This occurs among those who firmly believe and pray and obtain and say, "confirm me in your words." For the apostle also speaks about those who are firm, saying, "that you may be rooted and established in the faith." Nothing so confirms as mind and reason; for vision does not confirm, since things are not judged by visible signs and wonders, but by reason, which determines what is true and what is false. "The eyewitnesses," he says, "and ministers of the word." In Exodus it is written that "the people saw the voice of the Lord." Although a voice is heard, not seen, it is strangely indicated that the voice of God is seen by those who see it. But in the Gospel, the voice is not seen, but the word that is greater than the voice is seen. Therefore, "as they delivered them to us, who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." Thus, the apostles were "eyewitnesses of the word," not only having seen Jesus in the flesh but also the word of God. For if seeing Jesus in the flesh made one an "eyewitness of the word," then Pilate, condemning him, and Judas the betrayer, and all those who said, "crucify him, crucify him," would have been "eyewitnesses of the word." But it is unreasonable to say that those were "eyewitnesses of the word." Thus the seeing of the Word is understood there, where the Savior said: "He who has seen me has seen the Father who sent me." And something good, which is also hidden, is taught to us by Luke here, that of certain contemplations the end is contemplation itself, but of certain contemplations the end is action. Therefore, to indicate this through the word "eyewitnesses" he speaks of the contemplative aspect, and through the word "ministers" he presents the practical aspect of those things, saying "eyewitnesses and ministers." "It seemed good to me also, having followed all things closely from the first," he says, "I do not write mere hearsay, but having followed all things accurately from the start, I affirm it, that I have followed not just some of the things said, but all." The Apostle also praises the blessed Luke, saying: "whose praise is in the gospel." It is reasonable to think that he

wrote the gospel for someone named Theophilus. But all of us, if we are such as to be loved by God and be dear to Him, we are Theophili. And if one is 'Theophilus,' he is also 'most excellent;' for no 'Theophilus' is weak. And just as it was written regarding the people coming out of Egypt that "there was no one feeble among their tribes," so I would say that every 'Theophilus' is 'most excellent,' having strength and power from God and his Word; and thus one will know "the certainty of the words" regarding which he was instructed, understanding the Word of the gospel. "And they were both righteous," it says.

Those who wish to justify their own sins think it impossible for anyone to be entirely without sin and use the words of Job: "No one is clean from filth." Sinlessness is understood in two ways: one, in never having sinned; the other, in no longer sinning. Therefore, from never having sinned, no one would be sinless; for all humans have sinned at some point, even if they become 'righteous' later. But it is possible from no longer sinning to become sinless; for thus Christ "presented to Himself the Church without spot or wrinkle," not because the Church was never spotted or was never in the wrinkle of the 'old man,' but because it no longer has 'wrinkle.' An example of a person being able to be called sinless, apart from not sinning anymore, is found in the case of Zacharias and Elizabeth. For it says, "They were righteous and walked blamelessly." It could have been written, "They were righteous in the commandments," but now the addition is necessary of "before God." For it is possible for someone to be righteous in appearance before men, but in the hiddenness of their mind not to be such, having acquired evil thoughts lurking within. For when a man has nothing base to say about me, but observing my visible actions, he praises me, I am righteous "before" men. However, men do not know my hidden things, such as when I sinned by looking at a woman to lust after her, so that adultery in my heart is accounted to me. Paul indicates something similar when he says concerning some, "whose praise is not from men, but from God." For men do not know how to praise worthily, but only God knows how to both praise the praiseworthy worthily and to judge the blameworthy worthily. Thus, it is necessarily added, "they were righteous before God." Solomon also calls for this when he says, "Take care to do what is right before the Lord and men." Let us consider the praise of these blessed ones: "walking in the commandments," it says, "and ordinances of the Lord." When we judge others rightly, we "walk in the ordinances of the Lord," and when we do this or that, we "walk in the commandments of God." Perhaps knowing this distinction, Luke, seeing that they lived by these things, rendered this praise, "walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blamelessly." Perhaps someone might say: why is "blameless" added to these things? It would have sufficed for them to "walk in all the ways of God and the ordinances," unless it is indeed possible to "walk in all the commandments and ordinances," but not "blamelessly." How then, [he says], is it possible to "walk in all the commandments" and yet not "blamelessly"? I say to him, therefore, that if it were not so, it would not be said, "justly pursue justice"; for even what is good is not good when it is not done rightly. Therefore, when we do the commandments so as to have in our conscience the stain of vanity or human-pleasing or something else of this sort, even if we seem to be doing the commandment, we are not doing it "blamelessly." Therefore, it is work to walk "in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord blamelessly" in order to be praised by God in the divine judgment.

Sensible things, for the purpose of being seen, do nothing, but the healthy eye, having placed them whether it wants the sensible thing to be seen or not, sees it. But divine things are not like this, nor are they seen in the present apart from their own activity. And indeed, by grace, God

"appeared" to Abraham or some of the saints, not because the eye of the soul of Abraham alone was the cause of seeing God, but because God presented himself to the righteous for manifestation, being worthy of his vision. But even an angel, as long as he does not wish to be seen by any of us, being present, is not seen. Do not wonder, therefore, if God, willing, "appeared" to Abraham, but not willing, did not "appear" to another, and "an angel appeared" to Zechariah, and not willing, would not have "appeared" to him. But even after the "present age," if we depart, know that God or the angels do not appear to everyone, but each of those seeing, with a pure heart and prepared to see God, will see God. And in the same place, two, one having a pure heart, the other a defiled one; the one will see, for God is not seen in place, but in a pure heart, and the other will not see him. Thus also one must think about Christ. Do not think that all those who saw Christ saw him. They saw the body of Christ, but Christ, as he is Christ, they did not see. He was seen only by those worthy to see his greatness. And the scripture has also promised: "for he is found by those who do not tempt him, and he is revealed to those who do not disbelieve him."

"Zechariah was troubled," it says, "seeing"; for a vision appearing to a man is not customary for him to endure; however, the angel turns him from fear, saying, "Do not be afraid, Zechariah," and reassures him by announcing the birth of John, saying, "Your prayer has been heard." But the saying, "He will be great," signifies the greatness of John's soul, and the greatness seen by God. There is a certain greatness of soul according to virtue, which is seen by the Lord, and there is a certain smallness of soul. I thus understand the word in the gospel: "Do not despise one of these little ones," those in the church. For there, "little one" denotes the opposite of "great," not needing a command concerning the great, so that he also says this; for the great is never despised. That "the little one" is not just anyone is clear from: "whoever causes one of these little ones to stumble." For the great is not caused to stumble; the great is above all scandal. The people do not yet know the Savior already performing "signs and wonders," but John, still in his mother's womb, leaps for joy when the mother of Jesus comes. "For behold," she says, "as soon as the voice of your greeting sounded in my ears, the baby leaped in my womb for joy." John thus had the Holy Spirit even while in his mother's womb. He himself is said "to have turned many." John "turned many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God," according to the angel’s voice, but our Lord Jesus Christ enlightened all to the knowledge of the truth. For this is his work: "And he will turn many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God." For it is not said "in the soul of Elijah" – for there is no transmigration of souls – but "in the spirit and power of Elijah." For the spirit and power were upon Elijah, whether a spiritual gift, as also upon each of the prophets. Thus, the spirit which was in Elijah came to be in John. That one was taken up, while this one became the forerunner of the Savior. He died before the Savior, so that, having become the forerunner of the Savior even to those in Hades, he might proclaim the descent of Jesus Christ.

Zacharias the priest, the minister of God who offered sacrifices, is condemned to be silent, and he is silent and only made signs, and he remained mute until the birth of John. What is the meaning of these things? The silence of Zacharias is the silence of the prophets in the ancient people of God. For God no longer speaks to them, but the Word that was in the beginning— the Word that was with God, the Word that was God—has passed over to us and does not remain silent with us, but has ceased to speak with them. Therefore, the prophet Zacharias is silent; for he is also said to have become a prophet. What is meant by "he made signs to them"? To "make signs" is to remain mute. Actions without words are no different from signs, but actions with words are not signs; they

are adorned by the Word. So if you see the conduct of the Jews as irrational, unable to give an account of what they are doing, observe the type that occurred with Zacharias, who remained mute and made signs to them. Thus, circumcision is a sign without words to them, as are Passover and prayers. For the people are now mute and without speech; and how could they not be mute, irrational, and without speech, having cast out the Word from themselves and being unable to give an account of anything legal or prophetic? every time is given even to those in marriage for marital intercourse, but there is a time when it is necessary for those already advanced in years and prevented by providence from conceiving due to the works of marriage to abstain from it.

Therefore, this happened for the purpose of the angel's word "she conceived," she was ashamed if [not] being an elder she lay with a man, and "she hid herself for five months" until Mary also conceives. For when Mary conceived and came to her, and "when the greeting" of Mary "came to her ears," "the child leaped with joy in Elizabeth's womb," and Elizabeth prophesied and spoke the recorded words "from the Holy Spirit." And "all these things were spoken about in the hill country." Therefore, speaking of them as concerning a divine conception and a prophet about to be born among the people, she no longer "hid herself," but, if it is necessary to speak thus, she spoke freely, asserting that her offspring was the forerunner of the Lord. Then, after these things, it is written that "in the sixth month," i.e., from Elizabeth’s conception, "the angel Gabriel was sent by God to a virgin betrothed to a man whose name was Joseph." For what reason did God, deciding that the Savior should be born from a virgin, not choose a virgin who was not betrothed? Might it have been, then, an economy for her to conceive while having a betrothed, so that it might not appear as a disgrace upon her body for her to conceive? For it is rightly written in one of the letters of a certain martyr—I mean Ignatius, the second bishop of Antioch after the blessed Peter, who fought with beasts in Rome during the persecution—“and the virginity of Mary escaped the notice of the ruler of this age.” So, if it had not been for what seemed to be a marriage, it would not have escaped his notice, but the ruler of this age would have known that Mary, having never slept with a man, conceived, and thus the conception must be divine. The Savior wished through the entire economy to elude the devil, and indeed ordered the disciples not to make him manifest. But even when he was tempted by the devil, nowhere did he openly declare that he is the Son of God, but merely said: it is not necessary for me to worship you, it is not necessary for me to make stones into bread, it is not necessary for me to throw myself down from above. Also, the Apostle says that the economy of the passion was done in forgetfulness of the opposing power: “which none of the rulers of this age understood; for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory.” If it was not hidden from the demon—for it said: “We know who you are, the Son of God”—see, the lesser in evil knew the Savior, but the greater in evil was hindered by the magnitude of his wickedness from beholding him. And our wickedness, if it is lesser, we are helped by it being lesser to live well; if our wickedness is found to be greater, there is a greater struggle to cast it off. He spoke a strange greeting to her which I have found in no scripture: come, let us examine this. The phrase “Rejoice, favored one” is said nowhere; nor has this been said to any man, but this greeting was kept for her. Why then was the virgin troubled by a strange greeting as one learned in the law? She was troubled by the saying, which is why he said to her: “Do not be afraid.” “He will be great,” he says. This was also said of John; but when the truly “great” one came, that one was small. For “he was the burning and shining lamp.” But the greatness of him was not then so manifested as it now appears. See the magnitude of his power: “for their voice has gone out to all

the earth, and their words to the ends of the world.” And with those in Britain and with those in Mauritania and with those believing everywhere and generally extending. For ascend with the word into heaven and see him fulfilling the things there: "He was seen by angels." Descend with the word into the abyss; for he also descended there. "He who descended is also the one who ascended, that he might fill all things," "that at the name of him every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth." Behold this power: for he passed through the whole world; it is said that Jesus, the Son of God, has passed through the heavens. If then you see these things, you will see that it is not a mere word: "He shall be great," but it is shown by deed that "great is our Lord Jesus Christ both absent and present." The greater ones come to the lesser, that they may benefit them. Thus also the Savior came to John, that he might sanctify his baptism; thus Mary, having heard from the angel that she will conceive the Savior and having learned that her relative Elizabeth has conceived, came to her. For Jesus in her was already about to benefit John, already in Elizabeth. And this is evident from John not leaping before Mary came and greeted Elizabeth, but as soon as Mary's greeting, imparted by the word of God, Christ, was heard, moved by the activity of the Holy Spirit, the forerunner leapt in joy in Elizabeth's womb and as if from then started to make him a prophet. It was necessary for the blessed Mary, after Gabriel's visit and the annunciation, to go up "to the hill country" and not delay but proceed with haste, led by the Holy Spirit who had come upon her and by the power of the Most High overshadowing her. Thus, in the greeting, "Elizabeth was filled with the Holy Spirit" because of her son; for it was not the mother who was first filled with the Holy Spirit but John, and then the mother, having him who was filled with the Holy Spirit. It must not be neglected to say, lest anyone be deceived by those using specious arguments and falsely teaching, that someone dared to speak against Mary, asserting that the Savior rejected her since, it is said, she was joined with Joseph after giving birth to the Savior. If such words are ever promoted by heretics, one must respond thus: Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Spirit, said: "Blessed are you among women." If she is blessed by the Holy Spirit, how did the Savior deny her? But neither do they have proof that He engaged in intercourse with her after the birth of the Savior; for the sons of Joseph were not from Mary, nor does anyone have this demonstration from Scripture. As for the phrase, "How can this be?" Elizabeth, being filled with the Holy Spirit, does not say, "I am ignorant that from God the mother of 'my Lord' came to me," but rather, "How did this happen to me?" meaning, "What great good deed has been done to me, 'that the mother of my Lord should come to me?' From what righteousness or good deeds have I obtained this?" "For behold, as soon as the voice of your greeting reached my ears, the babe in my womb leaped for joy." The soul of John was marvelous, and already existing in the womb of the mother and about to come into being, it recognized Him whom Israel did not know. It did not simply "leap," but "for joy"; for it sensed that the Lord came in the mother, to sanctify him beforehand. Because "you believed that what was spoken to you by the Lord would be fulfilled," you are blessed. Why? Because there will be a fulfillment of those things, and they were not spoken in vain by the angel.

Before John, Elizabeth prophesies, and before the birth of our Savior, Mary prophesies. And just as sin began "from the woman" and then reached the man, so too the good things began with women to show that women, laying aside weakness and femininity, should aspire to the lives of these blessed ones. Let us then consider the virginal prophecy, which says: "My soul magnifies the Lord," not only the body but also "my soul." How does "the soul magnify the Lord" must be understood. For someone might say: the Lord neither becomes greater nor lesser but remains as

He is; how then can a soul magnify the Lord? Because "He is the image of the invisible God," not a created image, but "according to the image" pre-existing before itself, if we live worthily according to the image of the Creator and resemble the prototype through good works to the extent possible. Each of us, perfecting and advancing our soul to blessedness, presents it as an image of Christ, either imitating the prototype, the Son of God, the image of God. When then I make significant the image of the image, meaning the soul, magnifying it with words, deeds, thoughts, then it is said to magnify. Just as "the soul" of the righteous "magnifies the Lord" according to the greatness of life and word, so too does someone belittle Him correspondingly according to the wickedness inherent in them. Thus Mary's "soul magnifies the Lord," and "her spirit rejoices in God her Savior." Well, it ascends with the advancements of works; first, her soul magnified, then her spirit rejoiced. For one rejoices in spirit in God the Savior in the progress of lives, coming from magnification to this. "For He has regarded," she says, "the lowliness of His handmaiden." "Lowliness" is indeed no different from humility; it is therefore fitting for God to look upon virtues, and humility is a virtue, "He has regarded the lowliness of His handmaiden." For many think it redundant: "the time came for her to give birth, and she gave birth to a son." For what woman is able to bear a son without the time of conception being fulfilled? It must be observed in all the Old and New Scriptures if anywhere it is found concerning the birth of a sinner the saying, "the time was fulfilled to give birth"; for it will never be found, I think, but where such a thing is named, the one born is righteous. Therefore, the days are fulfilled for the birth of the righteous and his coming into the world. Fulfillment pertains to the righteous, whereas emptiness pertains to the coming of the wicked. Thus it is now said, "Elizabeth’s time to give birth was fulfilled," since she bore a holy one. When the relatives wished, in honor of the father, to name the child Zacharias, Elizabeth, being a prophetess and moved by the Holy Spirit, although she had not heard the revelation the name of the child had been made known to her husband, recognized by the Spirit the name given by the angel and said the child was to be called John. When they also made signs to the father to learn of the name, as he could not hear or speak, Zacharias, agreeing with his wife, wrote the name of the child on a tablet, causing all to marvel, and they began to wonder, "What then will this child be?" John means "the grace of God"; therefore, after Zacharias wrote on the tablet, "His name is John," by the grace of God, his mouth was immediately opened, the bond of his tongue was loosed, and he regained his speech, no longer bound by unbelief; for when his tongue was bound by unbelief, it was human, but when it was loosed, it was so no longer, for he now "spoke blessing God" and prophesied the things written. Zacharias prophesies two general prophecies, the former concerning Christ and the latter concerning John; and it’s evident from the words that the former are about Christ as already present and living among us, and later concerning John. He says, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he has visited and redeemed his people." It may be that during the three months Mary stayed with him, receiving aid through mysterious power, he gradually came to be filled with the Spirit and to prophesy the things written. For since "Christ came in the flesh from the seed of David and was truly a ‘horn of salvation for us in the house of David his servant’," he prophesies these things. And that Christ is the horn is indicated by the prophecy, "A vineyard was produced in a horn." In what horn? This Christ, concerning whom it is said, "He has raised up a horn for us." "He has raised up," he says, "a horn of salvation for us"—Christ—according to the proclamation of his "holy prophets"; for the mystery concerning Christ has been announced by all the prophets, who has saved "us from our enemies and from the hand of all who hate us", not of perceptible enemies, but of intelligible ones. For Christ the Lord came, "mighty in war," to destroy all our enemies. But

the phrase "to perform mercy with our fathers" I think this indicates how, perhaps during the coming of Christ, both our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the whole chorus of his holy prophets and righteous ones enjoyed the mercy of God. For I do not say that they were previously benefited, but were not benefited during the coming of Christ. What do I say about this regarding the fathers? I will rise with the word and say, being convinced by the Scriptures, that during the presence of Christ, not only the things on earth benefited from his coming and his dispensation, but also those in the heavens. For the apostle indeed says, "making peace through the blood of his cross, whether things on earth or things in heaven"; and if he made peace, why do you hesitate to accept that even towards the fathers the visitation occurred during the coming of Christ, and this was what his descent to Hades accomplished, in order to fulfill: "to show mercy with our fathers; to remember the covenant made with Abraham." "To grant us," it says, "that we, being delivered out of the hand of our enemies, might serve him without fear." Often some are delivered out of the hand of enemies, but with fear. But now the coming of Christ has made us "to be delivered out of the hand of our enemies without fear"; for we were not aware of the plot of the enemies, but it took us suddenly, not being aware of the plot of the enemies; and if it needs to be said thus, it transported us insensibly away from them "to his lot and portion." Therefore, we also ought "to serve him in holiness and righteousness before him," which happens through the fulfillment of all his holy commandments, not only for a short time, but "all the days of our life." "And you, child," it says. I wondered to myself why it didn't say the prophecy about John as referring to him, but as addressing him; for it says, "And you, child, shall be called the prophet of the Highest." For it is superfluous to speak to one not hearing; why then does he say these things as if addressing one who hears? Might it be then that John, having received an extraordinary birth—since an archangel announced it and since Mary after conceiving the Lord was present with Elizabeth and he was already being born—already had an extraordinary follow-up from the beginning? But if you are incredulous, if John followed instantly upon birth the prophecy and heard the words: "And you, child, shall be called the prophet of the Highest," consider a more marvelous thing, that "he leaped in joy in the womb, as soon as the voice of the greeting came." But if, while in the womb, he leaped and rejoiced, why do you disbelieve if, being born, he immediately upon birth heard his father prophesying and saying to him: "And you, child, shall be called the prophet of the Highest; for you shall go before the face of the Lord to prepare His ways?" Therefore, the father prophesied promptly with him present, knowing that, as a prophet, shortly he would not have him in his care, but that he would dwell "in the deserts." For "the child was in the deserts until the day of his manifestation to Israel." For John was indeed a marvelous being, about whom it was also said: "I send My messenger before Your face"; thus, as an angel sent forth, he heard his father prophesying the written things. For "growth" is twofold: one is bodily, where human free will does not cooperate; the other is spiritual, where free will is the cause of growth. Therefore, he recorded the superior growth; for the whole saying is: "he grew in spirit"; for not remaining in himself, as he was from the beginning, did the spirit grow, but the spirit grew in itself, and as it grew daily in greater measure, his soul grew accordingly with the spirit. And if God commands saying imperatively: "Grow and multiply," those who hear it according to the flesh, I do not know how they can grow. For let us understand "multiply," as multiplication increases the number of those being multiplied—how then does God command growth in the saying? Every person wishes to grow in stature, but not all succeed; therefore, if the imperative exists and it is possible to fulfill the command, it is within our power to "grow." An example is written concerning Isaac: "And Isaac

advanced and became greater, until he became very great"; this means increasing in the measure of free will towards the good, the growth of the soul towards excellence, the growth of the mind towards greater insight, the growth of memory towards greater effectiveness, so as to remember more. Thus the one who cultivates all the powers of his soul fulfills the command that says: "Grow." So John, being blessed and still a child, grew; and it was rare among us to find a child growing with the spirit. There is a difference between “growing” and “becoming strong.” Human nature is weak and, in order to become strong, needs the help of a stronger power. What help then is necessary for it to be strengthened? The Spirit. Therefore, the one who is truly going to be strengthened is strengthened “in spirit”; for many are strengthened according to the flesh, in flesh, but the athletes of God are strengthened “in spirit” and by being strengthened in it, become powerful against “the disposition of the flesh”; for when the spirit wrestles with the flesh, it is the spirit that prevails in the one in whom the spirit’s strengthening takes place. “And he was in the deserts,” it says. Just as his birth was extraordinary—for he “leapt for joy” recognizing Christ—and just as it was spoken to him [at that very moment] as one hearing it from the father, “And you, child, will be called a prophet,” so he did not remain with his father and mother, but withdrew, fleeing the city noise and the disgust of the crowds, so that being in the deserts, since the Lord had not yet willed him to serve the mystery of baptism, he might devote himself to prayer, being raised in an extraordinary manner. "For," it says, “his food was locusts and wild honey” according to Matthew; for since he was a servant of Christ’s first coming, his food was not tame honey—for the tame and refined honey was reserved for the Lord—and since he proclaimed and administered the things before the coming, his food was a small winged creature taken from the earth, locusts, a small and clean animal. The word wishes to present a great mystery, that Jesus Christ should be recorded in the census of the whole world, so that being recorded alongside those in the world, he might sanctify the world and transform this registration “into the book of the living,” so that the “names” of those recorded along with him and who believe in him “may be inscribed in heaven.” Why then did the angel not go to Jerusalem, why did he not seek out the scribes and Pharisees, why did he not enter the synagogue of the Jews, but found “shepherds living out in the fields and keeping watch over their flock by night” and announced it to them? Does the word not hint at anything but truly the presenting matter, that the angel came to such ignorant shepherds, and does it signify nothing other than that? But the angel announces Christ to the shepherds of the churches. For they, unless that shepherd comes, cannot well shepherd by themselves; their shepherding is incomplete, unless Christ co-works with them. "For," he says, "we are co-workers with God." And indeed he has appointed "in the church apostles, prophets, teachers, evangelists, shepherds, all for the perfecting of the saints." These things are on the easiest level. But if it is necessary to ascend and speak in a more mystical way, I say that there were some shepherds, angels entrusted, if it must be said, with men; and while each of these was keeping watch over his own charge and laboring and all in need of help for the good management of the nations under them, the angel came at the birth of Jesus saying, "Do not be afraid; for behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy." Truly, great joy has indeed come to those governing men, because Christ Jesus has visited. As indeed there are two angels present to each person, one of righteousness and one of wickedness, and when good things rise in our heart, clearly it is the angel of God who converses with us; but when evil things rise in our heart, it is the angel of the devil who converses with us. Therefore, just as each person has two angels, so do I think that among the nations there are angels, some better, some opposite. For instance, in Ephesus it is likely that an angel was

appointed over the sinners, as well as over the believers, so that an angel was over the church of the Ephesians, in this way everywhere, even before the visitation of Christ. Just as the angels are empowered to establish churches everywhere from the nations because of the proclamation of the angel concerning Christ. And the angelic host joins in the hymn saying, "Glory to God in the highest," and, "Peace on earth among men of goodwill," since they had labored to assist people and saw that they could not accomplish the work entrusted to them without the Savior. Through "peace on earth," it is revealed that good things be brought about on earth and in heaven through His visitation. For since God's angels saw men as enemies due to sins, they sought to make them friends and did what they could to heal them, yet they were not healed; seeing Him who would heal, they glorified and said, "Peace on earth." But one may inquire within the text: if the Savior says, "I did not come to bring peace on earth, but a sword," how then do the angels at his birth say, "Peace on earth"? He Himself says elsewhere, "Peace I leave with you." But if it were only written, "Peace on earth," stopping there and the text ended at that point, the question would have a point. Now the addition solves the inquiry, which also follows: "peace on earth" is: "among men of good will." If the Savior says that He does not give "peace on earth," it is not "peace of good will." For He does not deny giving peace, but simply says: "I have not come to bring peace on earth." He did not say "peace of good will;" but the angels spoke these things to the shepherds. And even if holy shepherds do not have angels shepherding with them, it will be said: "unless the Lord guards the city, the watchman stays awake in vain." It is possible to say from the Scripture, that there are two bishops of every church, one visible and sensed, the other invisible and intelligible; and the man is praised for managing well, so is the angel. For it is written in the Revelation of John: "but you have a few names in Sardis who have not defiled their garments;" and again: "you have there those who hold to this teaching," and He reproaches the angels. If He reproaches the angels entrusted with the churches and caring for them, to whom are entrusted angels, what should we say about humans, how much fear must they have, so that they can be saved with the angels sailing together with them? For as both bishops are co-workers in the work, I mean the angel entrusted with the church is the intelligible one and the visible bishop. They hastened and came, not walking nor sluggishly; therefore they found Him "in a manger." This is the mystery spoken of by the prophet: "The ox knows its owner, and the donkey its master's manger," which is a sign of the mystery; the ox a clean animal, the donkey unclean. The people did not know their Lord's manger, that is, those from Israel, but the unclean animal, those from the Gentiles. "Christ who died," "died to sin," not because He sinned—for "He committed no sin, and no deceit was found in His mouth"—but because He died, so that we who died together with Him, the One who died "to sin," might no longer live "for sin." Therefore it is said: "if we died with Him, we will also live with Him;" just as we died with Him dying then, so we were circumcised with Him circumcised then; and after that circumcision, the administration through the former purification took place. For this reason, we no longer circumcise, because His circumcision has taken place on our behalf: "In whom you were circumcised," says Paul, "with a circumcision made without hands, in the removal of the body of the flesh, in the circumcision of Christ; having been buried with Him in baptism, in which you were also raised up with Him through faith." Therefore, His death also happened on our behalf, as well as the resurrection and the circumcision. The evangelist necessarily noted, saying: "His name was called Jesus, which was named by the angel." For He did not need to be first called by men nor glorified by them, but from those who are superior to human nature (He was named) the name worthy of reverence and honorable and "above every

name." But if it was for the "purification" of Mary alone, we would inquire nothing further; now it says for the "purification of them." Does then Jesus need purification too? But look at the audacity of the statement; remember the mystical sayings in Job: "No one is pure from filth, even if his life is but one day upon the earth"; He did not say from sin, but from "filth." And because these are not the same, says Isaiah: "The Lord will wash away the filth of the sons and daughters of Zion and cleanse the blood from their midst"; thus, every soul clothed in a human body is soiled. Hear Zechariah: "Jesus was clothed in filthy garments." This statement is also useful against those who say that the Savior did not take human flesh, but brought a spiritual body from heaven, considering that a spiritual body could be soiled. Because they will be able to say and accept this, note them saying that in the promises, when it says: "It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body," we are raised soiled, which ought not to be said. Therefore, the Savior needed, as "clothed in filthy garments," the human and earthly body, to be offered for cleansing also. The children are baptized "for the remission of sins." Which sins? When have they sinned? But perhaps, since "no one is pure from filth," someone removes the filth through the mystery of baptism, therefore children are baptized as well. Mystically, "the days" being fulfilled; for purification is not simultaneous with birth, but as it is written in the law: "if a male is born, she shall be unclean for seven days in impure blood, then thirty-three days in pure blood," both she and the child. Thus, since "the law has a shadow of the good things to come," one can see the purification occurring later. Perhaps if we arise from the dead, [we need] the mystery [of the one] purifying us... I marvel if anyone arises cleansed from every impurity. In this regeneration, therefore, there will be such a mystery of purification, which Jesus performed at His own birth. Therefore, since males are holy "as they open the womb," it was necessary to be offered to the Lord at the altar; only Christ, having been born from a virgin, opened the womb, for nothing else before Christ touched that sacred womb. Though all firstborns, being firstborn, do not open the womb first, but the consort does. Being in the prison of the body and seeing that no one releases him from it, so as to be released from the world with hope, or the one whom he held "in his arms," he says: "now you release your servant according to your word." And see the addition, "in peace"; he does not simply wish to be released, but "in peace," according to what was said to Abraham, "you shall be gathered to your fathers in peace." And who is the one released "in peace" except the one who has understood that "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself" and no longer having any work of enmity with God, but having taken up all peace through good works. But on what kind of "things spoken about him" were Joseph and his mother marveling? On those from the shepherds, of whom the fame was spreading, that Christ had been born, and by Simeon in his very words: "Now you release," which was the crowning statement spoken about him. And to the father Joseph marvelously it was placed, not proclaiming him as father by saying this, but further prophesying about the child, blessing the father and the mother, and saying: "Behold, this one is set for the fall and rising of many." And similar to it is in John: "for judgment I came into this world, that those who do not see may see and those who see may become blind"; just as therefore "those who do not see" from the Gentiles "see," and those from Israel "become blind," thus he came for the "fall and rising" of many. For those standing have fallen and those fallen have risen at Christ's coming. This also has a deeper narration; I have something standing within me; let this fall, "the inner man" of mine had fallen, my outer man had been standing. Before faith, what condition did we have? The superior part had fallen, the inferior had been raised. But when Christ came, then that which stood in me, the inferior, fell; "put to death," it says, "the members which are upon the earth: fornication,

uncleanness," and so forth. But since a fall has occurred – "for where the carcass is, there the vultures will gather" – this fall is good on which Jesus first came. The blessed Luke, having clearly showed to us, that the Savior was a virgin-born, not from a man, now called father Joseph. Why then did he call father the one who neither begot nor was the cause of his birth? More simply, it might be said, that the Holy Spirit honored him with the title of father, because he had raised him. But if something deeper must be said, we will state: since the genealogy traced Joseph back to David, so that the genealogy coming upon Joseph might not seem needless as merely the betrothed of the virgin not having begotten the Savior, for the genealogy to have a suitable reason, Joseph was called the father of the Lord, even if "before they came together she was found to be with child." I think "for the fall and rising" of many the Lord is, not of different ones who fall and others who rise, but of the same person, "for the fall" of the worse part "and the rising" of the better, with the worse part falling and the better part being raised; for the appearance of the Lord brings down bodily passions and raises the qualities of the soul. But one must think thus, that the one standing in sin through repentance falls and dies to that sin. The first benefit is for the one standing in sin to fall and die to sin, then to live in righteousness and rise, the faith in Christ granting each to us; let the worse things fall, so that the better may have the chance to rise. If fornication does not fall, chastity does not rise; if folly is not crushed, the rational part in us does not flourish; thus then, the fall and rise of many. Then he says: "And a sword will pierce your own soul too"; and by sword he means doubt and trial, which pierced her soul at the time of the crucifixion. It appears that at the time of the passion everyone was scandalized; for he himself said, "You will all be scandalized because of me." Do we think that Mary alone was free from scandal? But if all fall short of the glory of God, being justified ... by his grace ... Therefore Simeon also prophesies about the holy virgin Mary, that: standing by the cross and seeing what happened and hearing the voices of the murderers, after Gabriel's testimony, after the unspeakable knowledge of the divine conception, after the great display of miracles, even for you who have been taught from above about the Lord, there will be some disturbance in your soul and some discernment will touch you, that is, the "sword", when you see such a one crucified and suffering a human death. "So that thoughts might be revealed"; there were evil thoughts in these people; then they were revealed so that, once revealed, he who is dying for human sins might destroy them. For as long as they were hidden, it was not possible to completely destroy them; therefore we are also commanded to say if we sin: "I recognized my iniquity, and my sin I did not hide." And the order is blameless; for the woman is not first of the man, but first Simeon is introduced. Therefore it was not written according to the word of her, but that "she confessed to God and spoke about him." It seems that justly she became a prophetess, the Holy Spirit being able to find a place in her because of her purity and cleanliness; for "having lived seven years from her virginity with a husband", therefore she became a prophetess; for the Holy Spirit did not dwell in her by chance. It is good indeed if anyone can remain a virgin; but if not able to do this, let them be widowed, if something human happens, and let them keep this in view even being with a husband, so that their virginity may be justified before God. He could have said: he advanced in wisdom, but since "he emptied himself", he said "being filled", to show that what he emptied he refilled and took again these things from which he had willingly emptied himself. "He grew" therefore, since "he did not regard equality with God something to be grasped" but "humbled himself"; he "became strong" "taking the form of a servant" and "bearing our weaknesses"; he was being filled "with wisdom", since "he emptied himself"; for a mere man of twelve years cannot contain the fullness of wisdom;

but the cause of his growing and becoming strong was his being filled with wisdom. What does it mean that they “were seeking him”? Was he lost like a child or wandering about? Perish the thought! This was neither fitting for Mary, who received many divine revelations about him, nor for Joseph. It is rather like when you search for a scripture; you seek it in anguish, not as one who is lost or deceived, but as something that holds true and mystical meaning not yet revealed to you. In this way, they were seeking our Lord Jesus Christ, worrying that he might have departed from them or left them behind. They were “in agony” seeking the Son of God and did not find him “among their relatives,” for he was beyond their kin. Therefore, he said to them, “Why were you seeking me?” Can the Savior be lost? Did you not leave me here?

Appropriately, as a child, Jesus was “in the midst of the teachers,” not teaching but “listening and asking questions,” setting an example for the young not to be rash, but to evoke thoughtful inquiries. “Did you not know that I must be in my Father’s house?” As regards this saying, let us be armed against the atheistic heresies that claim that the Creator is not the Father of Jesus Christ, nor is the God of the Law or the God of the Temple, the Father of Christ. Hearing his voice, those from Valentinus might be ashamed, for he said, “I must be in my Father’s house,” acknowledging this saying. Would they have been so obtuse to not understand that he was speaking about “my Father’s house,” referring to the temple? Or does he hint at some mystery—if one is of the Father, they have Christ within them. For I see the living temple of the Father, the good and the noble, rather than that temple, for he “departed” from that temple saying, “Your house is left to you desolate,” and went to the temple of the Father, the churches everywhere.

Giving an example to all sons to honor their parents, not only by nature but also by position, and to do whatever they command. So Mary kept all these things as treasures, being knowledgeable of the matters. She was not listening as to a twelve-year-old child, but as to a perfect being, she kept all his sayings. Not the age of the body, which advances by nature, but the age of the soul, which is within our power, and which he strengthened, “abolishing what pertains to infancy.” In the prophetic word proclaimed only among the Jews, only the kingdom of the Jews is mentioned. For “The vision which Isaiah saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah” and I know no other king mentioned in the time of prophecy except the king of Judah, and in some prophecies also the king of Israel. But when John had to proclaim the mystery of the gospel, it is written not only about the Jewish king Herod nor only Roman Tiberius. Since the mystery of the gospel had to be proclaimed in the whole world, and Tiberius was considered the ruler of the whole world, therefore it is written “in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar” and the rest followed. And if indeed only those from the Gentiles were going to be saved, and salvation was entirely closed to the sons of Israel, it would have sufficed to say, "In the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar." But since it was necessary for those from Galilee and those from Iturea and Trachonitis and Abilene to also believe, these kingdoms or rather tetrarchies are also recorded. Never did "the word of God" come to any of the prophets "in the desert," except now for some mystical vision. Since "the children of the deserted one"—that is, the church from the Gentiles—were destined to be many "more than of the one having" as "a husband," I mean the synagogue of the Jews having the law, therefore "the word of God came to John in the desert." For if this were not so, it would be superfluous for him to be "preaching in the desert." But he was the forerunner of Christ, "the voice of one crying in the desert," to a soul not at war; and not just then, but even now the first "burning and shining lamp" comes "preaching a

baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins," then after him comes "the true light," about which the lamp says, "He must increase, but I must decrease." "And he went into all the region around the Jordan." For where else should the baptist go except "into the region around the Jordan," so that if anyone wishes to repent, he can easily find the river? The Jordan is interpreted as "descending." Truly, the river of God is a descent, the true water, the saving water. And he preaches "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins." "For the forgiveness of sins" to whom? To the one who no longer sins; for forgiveness of sins is not given to one who still sins. Then he presents Isaiah saying the same thing. What does he say? "The voice of one crying in the desert." He wishes to find the way of the Lord within you so that He may accompany your souls. Since John was the forerunner of the Word, he was rightly called a "voice," not a word; for the "voice" precedes the word; first the "voice" reaches our ears, then the word heard through the voice. He does not mean a physical "way" but the internal one in the heart, which He travels walking in the hearts of the saints. "Every valley" that is deep and hollow is every unbeliever, who, believing in Christ, is filled with the fruits of the Spirit, that is, virtues; "mountain" and "hill" signify the proud people of the Jews, being humbled. Among the Gentiles, this has happened, but with the humbled people that: "every mountain and hill shall be brought low"; once they were "a mountain" and "a hill," but now they have been leveled and humbled. Or you may thus understand that "mountains" and "hills" are the opposing powers, which were humbled through Christ's advent, and the "valleys" are the people filled with good works. Also, "the crooked places have been made straight." For each of us was crooked; hence, after the coming of Christ in the soul, "the crooked places become straight." And again, our life was rough and our word irregular; but our Lord, coming, has made all smooth. Those who once were "flesh" in their mind, now with the spirit we see "the salvation of God"; or, while still carrying flesh, we paradoxically see "the salvation of God." And you ask about "all" and "every," and when these things that have begun shall be fully completed both generally and individually. See how great is "the coming wrath"; it destroys the world, punishes those who have asked for correction; and each one makes material for it out of what he has done. "Therefore, produce fruits worthy of repentance." What are the fruits? "Peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faith, gentleness, self-control," and their likenesses, which are also called "fruits of the spirit." Therefore, he prophesies the purification of that people and the calling of the nations; for to those boasting of Abraham, he says: "Do not begin to say among yourselves, 'We have Abraham as our father,'" then concerning the Gentiles, he says: "For I tell you that God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham." For he says to Abraham: "I have made you a father of many nations," that is, of those through faith in Christ. What stones? He was not pointing to inanimate stones, but to people who, being senseless, were stones, since they worshipped stones and wood, and what was written came to pass concerning them: "May those who make them become like them, and all who trust in them." Furthermore, it is also written concerning the stones in the song in Exodus: "Let the nations be stunned until this people whom you have acquired passes," clearly indicating that after the people had passed, they should no longer be stunned, but should receive also a rational human soul. He introduced three ranks of those questioning John; one he called "crowds coming to baptism," another "tax collectors," the third "soldiers." What then does John say to them? "The one who has two tunics should share with the one who has none." When I was in that place, I sought whether this command, as far as it concerns the stated matter, does not suit the crowd but the apostles: "the one who has two tunics should share with the one who has none"; for it is clear from what is

written and said by the Savior to them, among which he told them "do not take two tunics for the road." But see if you can understand what is said about clothing in relation to the word concerning nakedness: "the one who has two tunics should share with the one who has none." Going deeper, I say: the word desires us not to have and wear "two tunics," in one part the old, in another part the new, but to put off the one and have the other. At the same time, I sought the meaning of: "should share with the one who has none." Who is the one who does not have a single garment upon his skin and is not covered so that I may give to him? – I do not say this, for it cannot also be excessively urging towards the necessity of clothing the poor and not neglecting the commandment, but because it can also be said more mystically; [otherwise] the devil who has nothing good, he who does not have God. Just as it is written, that we ought to remove our sins as “casting them into the depths of the sea,” so we must cast our sins upon him as the cause and knowing us to be sinners. The same also applies to food; on the surface, it should be shared with him who does not have nourishment, and in hiding, the wicked things should be cast to the demons. “But tax collectors also came to be baptized.” This should persuade tax collectors that beyond the prescription, they should not take more from those who are taxed; for whoever exceeds “more than what is required” violates the command, not of John, but of the Holy Spirit within him. I know also other tax collectors, who after our departure from here sit at the ends of the world, as if they are taxing us and detaining us, unless something of them is in us. Therefore it is written: “The prince of this world comes, and he finds nothing in me.” What things, then, are we going to possess from those tax collectors who search everything, whenever someone is taken in full as a payment? But Jacob was not such; for he confidently says to the seeming tax collector Laban: “Recognize if there is anything of yours with me.” And indeed the scripture testifies concerning Jacob saying: “And Laban found nothing of his with Jacob.” If you are holy, you are baptized “in the Holy Spirit”; but if you are sinful, you are baptized “with fire”; for the same baptism becomes “fire” and judgment for those unworthy and badly baptized, but for those who go down well and for salvation, it becomes “Holy Spirit” and salvation. This baptizer “in the Holy Spirit and fire” is said to “have his winnowing fork in his hand and to thoroughly cleanse his threshing floor, and to gather the wheat into his granary, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.” And I wish to see, in what way my Lord Jesus has a “winnowing fork,” and with what kind of wind blowing, and that strongly—for in calm weather the winnowing fork is useless—the “chaff” is separated into its own place, but the “wheat,” having overcome the wind, is collected into itself. And see, lest the temptations separating the "chaff" are the wind showing the "wheat," that it is wheat. So when your soul is tempted and you are defeated, it is not the temptation that has made you "chaff," but being "chaff" or light and unbelieving it has convicted you. But when, during a temptation, you endure the temptation, it is not the temptation that made you faithful and enduring, but it revealed the enduring power already within you. The one teaching the word of the Gospel does not evangelize one thing but many, for the proclamation has a mind that "many" things are evangelized. "Many other things" John also evangelized, but it is not written, because, since it was likely something greater than the writing, Luke remained silent. This man unlawfully took his brother's wife against the law of Moses. But the undaunted John, who showed no partiality, not fearing royal authority, nonetheless fulfilling prophetic boldness, rebuked Herod for the illegality of his marriage. Hence, he was also confined "in prison," and not worrying about death, he was concerned with Christ. [Either] through meekness and purity, that we too might imitate the meekness and purity of the dove and the ability to soar mentally above earthly things. Our Lord

Jesus Christ is genealogized, although being without genealogy according to deity, he entered into genealogy for you. And he is genealogized not similarly by the evangelists, which troubled many who encountered the writing. For Matthew, starting from Abraham, genealogizes him and continues until he says, "Now the birth of Jesus Christ was in this way." And Matthew does not genealogize the one baptized but the one coming into the world; while Luke, genealogizing, does not bring down the genealogy but brings it up to God, the one being baptized. And the descent and ascent of the genealogy are not through the same persons. For the one who brings him down with the word brings him down also through sinful women, mentioning only those with faults, but the one genealogizing the baptized does not mention women in his genealogy: Tamar, who unlawfully came together with her father-in-law; Ruth the Moabitess; Rahab, whom we do not even know; and the one of Uriah. For since he came to take the sins of men, and "he who knew no sin, for our sake was made sin" by God, thus descending he took on sinful persons and is born through Solomon, whose sins are recorded, and Rehoboam, whose failings are mentioned in the Kings, and the others of whom many "did evil in the sight of the Lord." He, ascending from baptism, goes up through a genealogy not through Solomon, but through Nathan, who rebuked his father over the birth of Solomon and over the killing of Uriah. There the names of the birth are always mentioned, but here the names of ancestry are omitted. "Abraham begot Isaac, Isaac begot Jacob, Jacob begot Judah and his brothers, Judah begot Perez and Zerah by Tamar"; and until the end the phrase "begot" is used. Here, however, Jesus ascends, "being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph," and nowhere here is the term "birth" but only "was supposed." There, it never begins with birth, but here, since he rises from baptism, it is said "he began"; for it says, "Jesus himself began to be about thirty years old." For at his baptism, when he took on the mystery of regeneration, that you too might abolish the former birth and rise again through rebirth, then it is said "to begin." Just as those being in Egypt had no start to months nor a month for festivals, but when they already came out, it was legislated to them, saying, "This month shall be the beginning of months, it shall be the first month of the year to you." So the one not yet baptized has not "begun," but the one baptized has "begun." For it was not without reason that it added to "and Jesus himself" the phrase "began." Let us consider also the phrase "being about thirty years old." Who, being thirty years old, began his ministry concerning him? Joseph. For it is written, "he was thirty years old," when he was released from bonds and interpreted the dream to Pharaoh and was entrusted with the rule of Egypt and gathered abundant grain for Pharaoh, in order to distribute it during the famine. Perhaps those thirty years of Joseph were a type of the thirty years of my Christ. For this Joseph does not gather similar grain as that Joseph, but the true grain, that he might gather during his time of abundance, to distribute it when a famine comes upon the earth, "not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord." For he gathers the words of the prophets, the law, and the apostles during the time of abundance, that when scripture is no longer written, the teachings gathered by Jesus into the storehouses of the apostolic souls and their successors might feed Egypt, the world, especially his brothers, concerning whom it is written, "I will declare your name to my brothers." Other people also have words about wisdom, words about righteousness, words about other virtues. This is the grain that Joseph gave to the Egyptians. But another grain, which he distributes to his own brothers from Goshen, from the eastern land, this is the grain that Jesus gave to his disciples; the evangelical and apostolic grain. Through this, we make bread, but let us not take up "old leaven," so that we may make new bread from the sacred scriptures. "Tell this stone to become bread." Every

temptation, which humans were about to be tempted, the Savior was first tempted as a human; what I say is this: If you see those from heresies eating the false word as bread, know that this word is the stone that the devil shows. For what was the temptation for the stone to become bread and for the Savior to eat? But the Lord teaches by what he said, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God," because this was not the word of God, but the word of God that nourishes and gives life. For it is by that word that man lives. Note also that he speaks according to what is human, not because he was God. For as he replies concerning man and says, "It is written, man shall not live by bread alone," it is clear that as a man he is tempted. Having arrived at this place, I have the reason to say why John did not write down the temptation, but Matthew, Mark, and Luke did. Since John began from God, he did not genealogize him as God. Therefore, because he is God, he was not tempted; but the others, narrating the human aspects of the Savior, introduce him as being tempted. "He showed him all the kingdoms of the world." The kingdoms of the world, he says, of worldly men, in the way that some are ruled by fornication, others by love of money, others by vanity and other passions. He did not show him the kingdoms of the world, as if to say the administration of the Persians or the Indians, but "he showed him the kingdoms of the world," in the way they are powerful in ruling, to entice him to do what he thought would prevail over Christ. If you want, he says, to rule over these and have come for this, to fight and remove those ruled by me, do not struggle, I ask one thing: "fall down and worship me," and take all the kingdom under me. But the Savior wants to rule and subjugate all the nations, so that they become slaves of righteousness and truth and every virtue, but to rule not with sin, nor does he want immediately to subjugate himself to receive a crown, nor immediately to take all "the kingdoms of the world" and their glory subject to his power. Therefore, he says to him, "It is written: you shall worship the Lord your God and serve only him." I want, he says, all of these to be ruled by me, so that they may worship "the Lord God" and serve only him; this is the will of my kingdom. But you want me to begin with sin, which I wish to abolish. See, how wickedly he tempts using the scriptures. He wants to take away the glory of the Lord, as if he needed angelic assistance, as if he were about to stumble if angels did not help him. It was not spoken concerning Christ, nor does the master of the angels need angels. But I say the opposite to you, o devil; if Jesus does not help the angels, they stumble. And you have fallen "from heaven" because you considered yourself self-sufficient and not needing the help of Jesus. But to know that the things written are not spoken concerning Jesus, but are referred to a righteous man, listen. For it is written: "He who dwells in the help of the Most High shall lodge in the shelter of the God of heaven." This applies more to a righteous man than to the Son of God. And again: "A thousand shall fall at your side, and ten thousand at your right hand." This also refers to the righteous man. These words are said in the ninety-first Psalm; but they do not speak about Christ, but about the righteous. For Christ does not fear the midday demon nor the night demon, nor does He need the help of angels, He Himself keeping them unscathed to God; but even if it is said concerning Christ, it skillfully omits the intermediate matter. For it continues: "You shall tread upon the adder and the basilisk, and you shall trample the lion and the dragon." For these things were He Himself. Since He was about to be tested in the temptation against the devil, the term "spirit" is mentioned twice without any addition; but when He had fought and overcome the three recorded temptations, pay attention to the accuracy of the text, what it says about the spirit, that "Jesus returned in the power of the spirit," and it added "in the power" because of the athlete who had overcome. He said He had sent Himself "to preach the gospel to the poor," meaning the Gentiles, the unbelievers; for they were

poor, having nothing, possessing neither God in knowledge, nor law, nor prophets; and they all being spiritually impoverished and naked of all things, of prophecy, of temple, and the like. To these, then, He preached the kingdom of heaven; He rescued the captives, having overthrown the apostate tyrant, which is Satan. For the people of circumcision were the homeland of the prophets, among whom they are not accepted. But we, being strangers to the covenants and foreigners to the promises, received the prophets with our whole soul, proclaiming Christ rather than they did; just as the widow in Zarephath of Sidon received Elijah "when a famine occurred" in Israel "to hear the word of God." Concerning this widow, the prophet says that "many are the children of the desolate, more than of the one who has the husband," and again another scripture says that "the barren has borne seven and she who has many children has grown weak." Clearly in these it is shown that the life proclaimed by God the creator of the world and His old scriptures is eternal life, which also the Savior proclaims. When the lawyer asked, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life," He referred him to the law, that from there he might gather commands that lead the doer of them to eternal life, saying to him, "You have answered correctly; do this and you will live," namely, the eternal life about which the lawyer inquired and the Savior teaches. Therefore, He bears witness to him who received from the law: "You shall love the Lord your God" from Deuteronomy and the following, and from Leviticus: "You shall love your neighbor as yourself." And the Savior declared concerning these two commandments, saying that on them "hang all the law and the prophets". The Word teaches; for none other than the one who keeps the commandment becomes a neighbor, each one making himself a neighbor to the one who needs help. For this is what is spoken in the parable: "Which of these three do you think was a neighbor to the one who fell among robbers?" And thus the lawyer said, "The one who showed mercy on him," and he heard: "Go and do likewise." Man is related to Adam; Jerusalem to Paradise; Jericho to the world; the robbers to adverse actions; the priest to the law; the Levite to the prophetic word; the Samaritan to Christ who took flesh from Mary; the wounds to disobedience; the beast to the body of Christ; the inn to the church; the two denarii to the knowledge of the Father and the Son; the innkeeper to the angels overseeing the church; the return of the Samaritan to the second coming of Christ. Those who came before Christ were false teachers; the wounds to ... the sins, the priest indicates the law; the Levite the prophetic word; thus the Samaritan walking, which is interpreted as guardian, who is Christ; who neither slumbers nor sleeps in guarding Israel, he saw the one lying half-dead, and he thought it fitting to lay him on his own beast, which is his body, out of love for humanity, by which "all who labor and are heavily burdened" find rest; the inn is also the church, which receives and contains all; hence also the innkeepers ... may be interpreted as the angels of the churches; to whom the Savior, ascending into the heavens, "gave two denarii," commanding them to take diligent care of the sick; some say the "two denarii" signify the proper knowledge of the Father and the Son; and adding that "whatever more you spend, when I return, I will repay you." And you note for me that in the Gospel of Matthew one of the characters is missing and one is changed. The "ruler" is omitted, but instead of "executor" there is "servant"; however, the "adversary" and the "judge" are kept. "For there are two angels," as the Shepherd says, "with every person, one of justice and one of injustice." Some of the little angels in the church "see the face of the Father in heaven"; but those outside the church are not worthy of this, being served by another. And the ruler, as some have said, is the leader of each nation, such as the kingdom of the Persians or Medes, as Daniel says; and the adversary is one of the angels under them. Note that the "ruler" is without the article as one of many, but "adversary" with the article, and that it has "your"; for the

adversaries are not indefinite; each one has his own one accompanying him. "So then," he says, "as you are going with your adversary," who wishes to bring you to his own ruler and separate you from your ruler—so "while you are on the way with your adversary to the ruler," before you go "to the judge," before you become worthy of imprisonment, while you are still on the way, "give effort to be freed" from the adversary or the judge, to whom the adversary is dragging you; this means doing good, being temperate, just, brave, prudent, wise—"for behold, the man and his works are before him"—so that you may be able to "be freed from your adversary"; becoming familiar with him, yet estranged from God, making a covenant with the adversary. Therefore, standing on the way that says, "I am the way," "give effort to be freed." The word "drag you" is good, to show that we are dragged against our will, as if going to condemnation unwillingly. The judge is our Lord Jesus Christ; the executor is the angel appointed to each person; a "little thing" is the smallest sin, and a "quadrant," as Matthew says, is the multitude of sins. Blessed is the one who owes nothing, that is, the one who owes little and is worthy of forgiveness. Therefore, let us do good to be freed from the adversary, so that we may become familiar with our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the glory and the power unto the ages of ages. Bethany is interpreted as "house of obedience", while Bethphage as "jaw bones", a place belonging to priests; for the jaw bones were given to the priests, as it is written in the law. Therefore, where there is obedience and a holy place, there the Lord sends the apostles to untie a "colt tied, on which no man ever sat". Instead of: No rational man ever sat on it, neither Moses' word nor Isaiah's nor any other prophet's. When Christ came, He told the disciples to go and loosen the colt. He told them: "If anyone asks you, why are you untying the colt, you will say that the Lord has need of it." Note, however, that Jesus said: "If anyone asks you," and did not name the Lord, but the Evangelist says that they said, "The Lords of it." Many were the lords of the donkey before being dominated by the Savior, but we know that once one becomes the Lord's, he cannot have many masters; for when a man serves evil, he is a slave of many passions. The disciples take the word and seat it into the souls of those who listen; then they take off their garments and lay them in the way. Therefore, the garments of the apostles are on us, their good deeds and words adorn us; the disciples wish us to tread on their garments, that is to examine the apostolic words. When do we remain silent? When the love of the many waxes cold, when what the Savior said comes to pass: "When the Son of man comes, will He find faith on earth?" I seek, lest the Lord's weeping comes upon us too. For we are the Jerusalem that is wept over, the more discerning ones. If after the mysteries of truth are revealed to us and the word of salvation preached, we sin, we are wept over. No Gentile is wept over, but this kind of Jerusalem is wept over because her enemies surround her in sin, the opposing forces, and they will barricade her and hem her in and not leave one stone upon another in her; if after a long time of sobriety or practicing another virtue, one is conquered, his building is demolished. "For I will not remember," He says, "his former righteousness; in the sin which he sins, in it I will judge him." He does not drive out the buyers—the buyer takes what is bought—but those who sell their own useful things and receive in exchange the supposed valuable things but not the valuable. Thus, the Savior drives you out from the temple. If you sell, you become like the prodigal son, who took his paternal inheritance and squandered everything; I fear lest this happen to one of us. For if I sell what is spoken through the Holy Spirit for a reward, what else do I do but sell the Holy Spirit for a reward? Therefore, they ask: "In the resurrection," when all rise, "whose wife will she be?" thinking to confound Him. Some, moreover, upon reading the prophetic texts are led astray concerning the mind of scripture—let us cite from Isaiah, "My chosen ones will not give birth for a curse," and in

Deuteronomy among the blessings, "Blessed are the offspring of your womb"—supposing these to be in the "resurrection of the dead," not understanding the spiritual blessings. Therefore, to those taking things bodily among the Sadducees from the Jews, the Savior said, "You are mistaken, not knowing the scriptures." Furthermore, man became in the beginning, as it is written in Genesis, "in the image of God," but later due to his disobedience, he also took on an "earthly" image. Just as a coin bears the image of the ruling king of nations, thus the one doing the works of the "ruler of the world" bears his image. The Savior exhorts to give up and put away this image and to bear the image which was from the beginning created in the likeness of God. Following this, Paul also says, "As we have borne the image of the earthly, let us also bear the image of the heavenly." Therefore, this signifies: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." He asks from us, not because He has need of anything, but so that He might reward us with His own things. For the one who multiplies tenfold the mina and presents it to the Lord who gave it, receives, in addition to such things, another. For He commands that it be taken from the one who did not multiply the mina and given to the one having ten minas. "Take, then," He says to those standing by, "the mina from him and give it to the one who has the ten minas," for God rewards us with the good things in addition.

Letter of Origen to Gregory

Letter of Origen to Gregory.

1. Gregory is Urged to Apply His Gentile Learning to the Study of Scripture.

2. This Procedure is Typified by the Story of the Spoiling of the Egyptians.

3. Personal Appeal.

Letter of Origen to Gregory. When and to whom the Learning derived from Philosophy may be of Service for the Exposition of the Holy Scriptures; with a lively Personal Appeal. This letter to Gregory, afterwards bishop of Caesarea, and called Thaumaturgus, was preserved in the Philocalia, or collection of extracts from Origen's works drawn up by Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea. It is printed by Delarue and Lommatzsch in the forefront of their editions of the works. It forms a good preface to the commentaries, as it shows how Origen considered the study of Scripture to be the highest of all studies, and how he regarded scientific learning, in which he was himself a master, as merely preparatory for this supreme learning. Dräseke1 has shown that it was written about 235, when Origen, after having had Gregory as his pupil at Caesarea for some years, had fled before the persecution under Maximinus Thrax to Cappadocia;while Gregory, to judge from the tenor of this Epistle, had gone to Egypt. The Panegyric on Origen,2 pronounced by Gregory at Caesarea about 239, when the school had reassembled there after the persecution, shows that the master's solicitude for his pupil's true advancement was not disappointed.

1. Gregory is Urged to Apply His Gentile Learning to the Study of Scripture.

All hail to thee in God, most excellent and reverend Sir, son Gregory, from Origen. A natural quickness of understanding is fitted, as you are well aware, if it be diligently exercised, to produce a work which may bring its owner so far as is possible, if I may so express myself, to the consummation of the art the which he desires to practise, and your natural aptitude is sufficient to make you a consummate Roman lawyer and a Greek philosopher too of the most famous schools. But my desire for you has been that you should direct the whole force of your intelligence to Christianity as your end, and that in the way of production. And I would wish that you should take with you on the one hand those parts of the philosophy of the Greeks which are fit, as it were, to serve as general or preparatory studies for Christianity, and on the other hand so much of Geometry and Astronomy as may be helpful for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The children of the philosophers speak of geometry and music and grammar and rhetoric and astronomy as being ancillary to philosophy; and in the same way we might speak of philosophy itself as being ancillary to Christianity.

2. This Procedure is Typified by the Story of the Spoiling of the Egyptians.

It is something of this sort perhaps that is enigmatically indicated in the directions God is represented in the Book of Exodus1 as giving to the children of lsrael. They are directed to beg from their neighbours and from those dwelling in their tents vessels of silver and of gold, and

raiment; thus they are to spoil the Egyptians, and to obtain materials for making the things they are told to provide in connection with the worship of God. For out of the things of which the children of Israel spoiled the Egyptians the furniture of the Holy of Holies was made, the ark with its cover, and the cherubim and the mercy-seat and the gold jar in which the manna, that bread of angels, was stored. These probably were made from the finest of the gold of the Egyptians, and from a second quality, perhaps, the solid golden candlestick which stood near the inner veil, and the lamps on it, and the golden table on which stood the shewbread, and between these two the golden altar of incense. And if there was gold of a third and of a fourth quality, the sacred vessels were made of it. And of the Egyptian silver, too, other things were made; for it was from their sojourn in Egypt that the children of Israel derived the great advantage of being supplied with such a quantity of precious materials for the use of the service of God. Out of the Egyptian raiment probably were made all those requisites named in Scripture in embroidered work; the embroiderers working2 with the wisdom of God,3 such garments for such purposes, to produce the hangings and the inner and outer courts. This is not a suitable opportunity to enlarge on such a theme or to show in how many ways the children of Israel found those things useful which they got from the Egyptians. The Egyptians had not made a proper use of them; but the Hebrews used them, for the wisdom of God was with them, for religious purposes. Holy Scripture knows, however, that it was an evil thing to descend from the land of the children of Israel into Egypt; and in this a great truth is wrapped up. For some it is of evil that they should dwell with the Egyptians, that is to say, with the learning of the world, after they have been enrolled in the law of God and in the Israelite worship of Him. Ader the Edomite,4 as long as he was in the land of Israel and did not taste the bread of the Egyptians, made no idols; but when he fled from the wise Solomon and went down into Egypt, as one who had fled from the wisdom of God he became connected with Pharaoh, marrying the sister of his wife, and begetting a son who was brought up among the sons of Pharaoh. Therefore, though he did go back to the land of Israel, he came back to it to bring division into the people of God, and to cause them to say to the golden calf, "These are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." I have learned by experience and can tell you that there are few who have taken of the useful things of Egypt and come out of it, and have then prepared what is required for the service of God; but Ader the Edomite on the other hand has many a brother. I mean those who, founding on some piece of Greek learning, have brought forth heretical ideas, and have as it were made golden calves in Bethel, which is, being interpreted, the house of God. This appears to me to be intended to convey that such persons set up their own images in the Scriptures in which the Word of God dwells, and which therefore are tropically called Bethel. The other image is said in the word to have been set up in Dan. Now the borders of Dan are at the extremities and are contiguous to the country of the heathens, as is plainly recorded in the Book of Jesus, son of Nave. Some of these images, then, are close to the borders of the heathen, which the brothers, as we showed, of Ader have devised.

3. Personal Appeal. Do you then, sir, my son, study first of all the divine Scriptures. Study them I say. For we require to study the divine writings deeply, lest we should speak of them faster than we think; and while you study these divine works with a believing and God-pleasing intention, knock at that which is closed in them, and it shall be opened to thee by the porter, of whom Jesus says,5 "To him the porter openeth." While you attend to this divine reading seek aright and with unwavering faith in God the hidden sense which is present in most passages of the divine Scriptures. And do not be content with knocking and seeking, for what is most necessary for

understanding divine things is prayer, and in urging us to this the Saviour says not only,6 "Knock, and it shall be opened to you," and "Seek, and ye shall find," but also "Ask, and it shall be given you." So much I have ventured on account of my fatherly love to you. Whether I have ventured well or not, God knows, and His Christ, and he who has part of the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ. May you partake in these; may you have an always increasing share of them, so that you may be able to say not only, "We are partakers of Christ,"7 but also "We are partakers of God."

1: Jahrbucher fur Prot. Theol. 1881, I.

2: see Ante-Nicene Fathers , vol. vi.

1: ix. 2.

2: Reading with Draseke, rafideuoutwn, surraptontwn twn rafideutwn .

3: Exod. xxxi. 3, 6; xxxvi. 1, 2, 8.

4: 1 Kings xi. 14 (Hadad). Origen confuses him with Jeroboam

5: John x. 3.

6: Matt. vii. 7 7: Heb. iii. 14.

On Prayer - On Prayer

Origen, On Prayer (Unknown date). Translation.

[Translated by William A. Curtis]

I. INTRODUCTION

Things in themselves so supremely great, so far above man, so utterly above our perishable nature, as to be impossible for the race of rational mortals to grasp, as the will of God became possible in the immeasurable abundance of the Divine grace which streams forth from God upon men, through Jesus Christ the minister of His unsurpassable grace toward us, and through the cooperant Spirit. Thus, though it is a standing impossibility for human nature to acquire Wisdom, by which all things have been established—for all things, according to David, God made in wisdom—from being impossible it becomes possible through our Lord Jesus Christ, who was made for us wisdom from God and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. For what or who is man that he shall know the counsel of God, or who shall conceive what that Lord willeth? Since the thoughts of mortals are weakling and our purposes are prone to fail; for the body that is corruptible weighs down soul, and mind with its store of thought is burdened by it's earthly tabernacle; and things on earth we forecast with difficulty, but things in heaven whoever yet traced out? Who would not say that it is impossible for man to trace out things in heaven? Yet this impossible thing, by the surpassing grace of God, becomes possible; for he who was caught up unto a third heaven traced out things in the three heavens through having heard unutterable utterances which it was not permitted for man to speak. Who can say that it is possible for the mind of the Lord to be known by man? But this, too, God graciously gives through Christ who said to His disciples: "No longer do I call you servants, because the servant knows not what his lord's will is, but I have called you friends, because all the things that I have heard from my Father I have made known to you; so that through Christ there is made known to them the will of one who, when He teaches them the will of the Lord, has no desire to be their lord any longer but instead becomes a friend to those whose lord he was before." Moreover, as no one knows the things of man save the Spirit of man that is in him, so also no one knows the things of God save the Spirit of God.

Now if no one knows the things of God save the Spirit of God, it is impossible that a man should know the things of God. But mark how this too becomes possible: but we, he says, have received not the spirit of the world but the spirit which is from God, that we may know the things graciously given to us by God, and these also we speak not in words taught of human wisdom but in those taught of the Spirit. But I think, right pious and industrious Ambrosius, and right discreet and manful Tatiana, from whom I avow that womanly weakness has disappeared as truly as it had from Sarah of old, you are wondering to what purpose all this has been said in preface about things impossible for man becoming possible by the grace of God, when the subject prescribed for our discourse is Prayer. The fact is, I believe it to be itself one of those things which, judged by our weakness, are impossible, clearly to set forth with accuracy and reverence a complete account of prayer, and in particular of how prayer ought to be offered, what ought to be said to God in prayer,

which seasons are more, which less, suitable for prayer . . . The very apostle who by reason of the abundance of the revelations is anxious that no one should account to him more than he sees or hears from him, confesses that he knows not how to pray as he ought, for what we ought to pray, he says, we know not how to as we ought. It is necessary not merely to pray but also to pray as we ought and to pray what we ought. For even though we are enabled to understand what we ought to pray, that is not adequate if we do not add to it the right manner also. On the other hand what is the use of the right manner to us if we do not know to pray for what we ought? Of these two things the one, I mean the 'what we ought' of prayer, is the language of the prayer, while the 'as we ought' is the disposition of him who prays. Thus the former is illustrated by "Ask for the great things and the little shall be added unto you," and "Ask for the heavenly things and the earthly shall be added unto you," and "Pray for them that abuse you," and "Entreat therefore the Lord of the harvest that He send out workers unto his harvest," and "Pray that you enter not into temptation," and "Pray that your flight be not in winter or on a Sabbath," and "In praying babble not" and the like passages: the latter by "I desire therefore that men pray in ever place lifting up holy hands without anger and questioning, and in like manner that women array themselves decently in simplicity, with modesty and discretion, not in or gold or pearls or costly raiments, but, as becomes women of pious profession, through good works. Instructive too, for prayer 'as we ought' is the passage:

"If then you art offering your gift at the altar and there think you that your brother hath aught against you, leave there your gift before the altar, and go back—first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift;" for what greater gift can be sent up to God from a rational creature than fragrant words of prayer that is offered from a conscience devoid of taint from Sin? Similarly instructive is "Deprive not one another, save by agreement for a season that you may give yourselves to prayer and may be together at another time again, in order that Satan may not have occasion to exalt over you by reason of your incontinence. For prayer 'as we ought' is restrained unless the marriage mysteries which claim our silence be consummated with more of solemnity and deliberation and less of passion, the 'agreement' referred to in the passage obliterating the discord of passion, and destroying incontinence, and preventing Satan's malicious exultation. Yet again instructive for prayer 'as we ought' is the passage: "If you are standing at prayer, forgive aught that you have against any man;" and also the passage in Paul "Any man who prays or preaches with covered head dishonours his head, and any woman who prays or preaches with unveiled head dishonors her head" is descriptive of the right manner of prayer.

Paul knows all these sayings, and could cite, with subtle statement in each

case, manifold more from law and prophets and gospel fulfillment, but in the

moderation, yes, and in the truthfulness of his nature, and because he sees how

much, after all of them, is lacking to knowledge of the right way to pray what

he ought, he says "but what we ought to pray we know not how to as we

ought," and adds thereto the source from which a man's deficiency is made

up if though ignorant he has rendered himself worthy to have the deficiency made

up within him:

"The Spirit himself more than intercedes with God in sighs unspeakable and He that searches hearts knows what is the mind of the Spirit, because His intercession on behalf of saints is according to God." Thus the Spirit who cries "Abba Father" in the hearts of the blessed, knowing with solicitude that their sighing in this tabernacle can but weigh down the already fallen or transgressors, "more than intercedes with God in sighs unspeakable," for the great love and sympathy He feels for men taking our sighs upon himself; and, by virtue of the wisdom that resides in Him, beholding our Soul humbled 'unto dust' and shut within the body 'of humiliation,' He employs no common sighs when He more than intercedes with God but unspeakable ones akin to the unutterable words which a man may not speak. Not content to intercede with God, this Spirit intensifies His intercession, "more than intercedes," for those who more than conquer, as I believe such as Paul was, who says "Nay in all these we more than conquer."

He simply "intercedes," I think, not for those who more than conquer, nor again for those who are conquered, but for those who conquer. Akin to the saying "what we ought to pray we know not how to as we ought, but the Spirit more than intercedes with God in sighs unspeakable," is the passage "I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit; and I will sing with the understanding also." For even our understanding is unable to pray unless the spirit leads it in prayer within hearing of it as it were, anymore than it can sing or hymn, with rhythmic cadence and in unison, with true measure and in harmony, the Father in Christ, unless the Spirit who searches all things even the depth of God first praise and hymn Him whose depth He has searched and, as He had the power, comprehended. I think it must have been the awakened consciousness of human weakness falling short of prayer in the right way, above all realized as he listened to great words of intimate knowledge falling from the Savior's lips in prayer to the Father, that moved one of the disciples of Jesus to say to the Lord when He ceased praying, "Lord, teach us to pray, even as John also taught his disciples." The whole train of language is as follows: "And it came to pass, as He was at prayer in a certain place, that one of His disciples said to Him when He ceased "Lord, teach us to pray even as John also taught his disciples." For is it conceivable that a man who had been brought up under instruction in the law and hearing of the words of the prophets and was no stranger to the synagogue had no knowledge whatsoever of prayer until he saw the Lord praying in a certain place? It is absurd to pretend that he was one who did pray after the Jewish practice but saw that he needed fuller knowledge as to the place in reference to prayer. What was it, too, in reference to prayer that John used to teach the disciples who came to him for baptism from Jerusalem and all Judea and the country round about, but certain things of which, as one who was greater than a prophet, he had vision in reference to prayer, which I believe he would not deliver to all who were baptized but privately to those who

were disciples with a view to baptism?

Such are the prayers, which are really spiritual because the spirit was praying in the heart of the saints, recorded in scripture, and they are full of unutterably wonderful declarations. In the first book of Kings there is the prayer of Hannah, partially, because the whole of it was not committed to writing since she was 'speaking in her heart' when she perservered in prayer before the Lord; and in Psalms, the seventeenth psalm is entitled "A prayer of David," and the ninetieth "A prayer of Moses, man of God," and the hundred and second "A prayer of a poor man at a time he is weary and pours forth his supplication before the Lord."

These are prayers which, because truly prayers made and spoken with the spirit, are also full of the declarations of the wisdom of God, so that one may say of the truths they proclaim "Who is wise that he shall understand them? And understanding, then he shall fully know them." Since therefore it is so great an undertaking to write about prayer, in order to think and speak worthily of so great a subject, we need the special illumination of the Father, and the teaching of the first born Word himself, and the inward working of the Spirit, I pray as a man—for I by no means attribute to myself any capacity for prayer—that I may obtain the Spirit of prayer before I discourse upon it, and I entreat that a discourse full and spiritual may be granted to us and that the prayers recorded in the Gospels may be elucidated. So let us now begin our discourse on Prayer.

II. SCRIPTURAL USES OF THE GENERAL WORDS FOR PRAYER So far as I have observed, the first instance of the term prayer that I find is when Jacob, a fugitive from his brother Esau's wrath, was on his way to Mesopotamia at the suggestion of Isaac and Rebecca. The passage runs: And Jacob vowed a vow (prayed a prayer), saying—If the Lord God will be with me, and guard me in this way that I am going, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, and bring me back in safety to my father's house, then shall the Lord be my God and this stone which I have set up as a pillar shall be for me God's house, and of all that you will give me I will give you tithe.

It should also to be remarked that the term prayer is in many places is different from prayer as we speak of it—as when applied in the case of one who professes that he will do certain things in exchange for obtaining certain other things from God. The expression prayer is, however, employed in our usual sense [in early texts]. Thus in Exodus after the scourge of frogs, the second in order of the ten, "Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron and said to them: Pray unto the Lord for me that He withdraw the frogs from me and from my people; and I will send the people forth that they may sacrifice to the Lord." And if, because Pharaoh's word is aw-thar' anyone should be sceptical as to aw-thar' meaning here prayer as well as vow, he should observe what follows: "Moses said to Pharaoh, 'Kindly tell me when I am to pray (aw-thar') for you and for your officials and for your people, that the frogs may be removed from you and your houses and be left only in the Nile.'" In the case of the fleas, the third scourge, I have observed that neither does Pharaoh entreat that prayer be made nor does Moses pray. In the case of the flies, the fourth, he says: Pray

therefore unto the Lord for me.

Then Moses also said: I will go out from you and pray unto God and the flies shall go away from Pharaoh and his servants and his people tomorrow. And shortly after: So Moses went out from Pharaoh and prayed unto God. Again in the case of the fifth and the sixth scourge neither did Pharaoh entreat that prayer should be made nor did Moses pray, but in the case of the seventh Pharaoh sent and called for Moses and Aaron and said to them: I have sinned this time; the Lord is righteous, I and my people are impious. Therefore pray unto the Lord that there be an end of thunder and hail and fire. And shortly after: Moses went out from Pharaoh outside the city, and stretched forth his hands unto the Lord and there was an end to the thunder. Why is it not as in the foregoing cases? And he prayed, but he stretched forth his hands unto the Lord. That is a question to be considered more conveniently elsewhere. In the case of the eighth scourge, however, Pharaoh says . . . and pray (aw-thar') to the LORD your God that at the least he remove this deadly thing from me." So Moses went out from Pharaoh and prayed (aw-thar') unto God. We said that the term prayer (aw-thar') is, as in Jacob's case, in many places employed in a sense other than the customary. In Leviticus for instance: The Lord spoke to Moses saying: Speak to the children of Israel; and you shall say unto them:

Whoever vows (naw-dar') a vow (neh'-der), setting a price upon his soul to the Lord, his price, if a male from twenty to sixty years, shall be fifty didrachims of silver, sanctuary standard. And in Numbers: And the Lord spoke to Moses saying: Speak to the Children of Israel; and you shall say unto them: Man or woman, whoever vows (naw-dar') a great vow of consecration to the Lord, shall be consecrate from wine and strong drink—and so on of the so-called Nazarite; then, shortly after: and shall hallow his head in that day in which he was hallowed to the Lord for the days of the vow. And again shortly after: This is the law for him that has vowed when he shall have fulfilled the days of his vow . . . ; and again shortly after: And after that, he that has vowed will drink wine. This is the law for him that has vowed, whoever has vowed his votive gift to the Lord, apart from what his hand may find by virtue of his vow which he has vowed according to the law of consecration. And towards the end of Numbers: And Moses spoke to the rulers of the tribes of the Children of Israel saying, This is the thing which the Lord has decreed: A man who has vowed a vow to the Lord or sworn an oath or entered a bond, on his soul shall not desecrate his word: all that has gone out of his mouth shall he do. And if a woman has vowed a vow to the Lord or entered a bond in the house of her father in her youth, and her father has heard her vows and her bonds that she entered into against her soul, and her father has let them pass in silence, all her vows shall stand, and her bonds that she entered into against her soul shall remain: after which he lays down sundry other laws for such a woman. In this sense it is written in Proverbs: [I have a peace offering: today I pay my vows; and a foolish son is a father's shame: unhallowed are vows from a harlot's hire; and] it is a snare to a man to hallow hastily anything of his own: for after vowing comes repenting. And in Ecclesiastes: Better not vow than vow without paying; and in the Acts of the Apostles: There are among us four men of their own accord under a vow. I thought it not out of place first to distinguish the meaning of prayer (aw-thar') in its two senses, and similarly of prayer (neh'-der), for the latter turn in addition to its common and customary general usage, is also employed, in the sense which we are accustomed to attach to vow in what is told of Hannah in the first book of Samuel: Now Eli the priest was sitting on a seat at the doorway of the temple of the Lord. And she was in bitterness of soul and prayed (paw-lal') unto the Lord and wept sore. And she vowed

(naw-dar') a vow (neh'-der) and said: O Lord of hosts, if you will indeed look on the humiliation of your bondwoman and remember me and forget not your bondwoman and will give to your bondwoman male seed, then will I give him in gift to the Lord all the days of his life, and no razor shall come upon his head. And yet in this instance, one may, not without plausibility, with special regard to the words "she prayed (paw-lal') unto the Lord," "and she vowed a vow," Ask whether, as she has done both of two things, that is "prayed unto the Lord" "and vowed a vow," the word prayed (paw-lal') on the one hand is not employed in our customary signification of prayer (aw-thar'), and "vowed a vow" on the other hand in the sense in which it is employed in Leviticus and Numbers. For "I will give him in gift to the Lord all the days of his life, and no razor shall come upon his head" is strictly not a prayer but such a vow as Jephthah also vowed in the passage; and Jephthah vowed a vow to the Lord and said: If you will indeed deliver the children of Ammon into my hand, then it shall be that whoever comes out of the doors of my house to meet me on my return in peace from the Children of Ammon shall be the Lord's and I will offer him up as a burnt offering.

III. OBJECTIONS TO PRAYER

If then I must next, as you have urged, set forth in the first place the arguments of those who told that nothing is accomplished as a result of prayers and therefore allege that prayer is superfluous, I shall not hesitate to do that also according to my ability—the term prayer being now used in its more common and general sense. In such disrepute indeed is the view and to such a degree has it failed to obtain champions of distinction that, among those who admit a Providence and set a God over the universe, not a soul can be found who does not believe in prayer. The opinion (sentiment) belongs either to utter atheists who deny the existence of God, or assume a God, as far as the name goes, but deprive Him of providence. Already, it must be said, the adverse inworking, with intent to wrap the most impious of opinions around the name of Christ and around the teaching of the Son of God, has made some converts on the needlessness of prayer—a sentiment which find champions in those who by every means do away with outward forms, eschewing baptism and eucharist alike, misrepresenting the Scriptures as not actually meaning this that we call prayer but as teaching something quite different from it.

Those who reject prayers, while, that is to say, setting a God over the universe

and affirming Providence—for it is not my present task to consider the

statements of those who by every means do away with a God or Providence—might

reason as follows: God knows all things before they come to be. There is nothing

that upon its entrance into existence is then first known by Him as previously

unknown. What need to send up prayer to One who, even before we pray, knows what

things we have need of? For the heavenly Father knows what things we have need

of before we ask Him.

It is reasonable to believe that as Father and Artificer of the universe who loves all things that are and abhors nothing that He has made, quite apart from prayer He safely manages the affairs of

each like a father who champions his infant children without awaiting their entreaty when they are either utterly incapable of asking or through ignorance often desirous of getting the opposite of what is to their profit and advantage. We men come further short of God even than the merest children of the intelligence of their parents. And in all likelihood the things that are to be are not only foreknown but prearranged by God, and nothing takes place contrary to His prearrangement. Were anyone to pray for sunrise he would be thought a simpleton for entreating through prayer for the occurrence of what was to take place quite apart from his prayer: In like manner a man would be a fool to believe that his prayer was responsible for the occurrence of what was to take place in any case even had he never prayed. And again, as it is the height of madness to imagine that, because one suffers discomfort and fever under the sun at Summer Solstice, the Sun is through prayer to be transferred to the Springtime Zodiac, in order that one may have the benefit of temperate air, so it would be the height of infatuation to imagine that by reason of prayer one would not experience the misfortunes that meet the race of men by necessity. Moreover, if it be true that sinners are estranged from birth and the righteous man has been set apart from his mother's womb, and if, while as yet they are unborn and have done neither good nor evil, it is said the elder shall serve the younger, that the elective purpose of God may stand based not on works but on the Caller, it is in vain that we entreat for forgiveness of sins or to receive a spirit of strength to the end that, Christ empowering us, we may have strength for all things.

If we are sinners, we are estranged from birth: if on the other hand we were set

apart from our mother's womb, the best of things will come our way even though

we do not pray. It is prophesied before his birth that Jacob shall be over Esau

and that his brother shall serve him: what has prayer to do with that? Of what

impiety is Esau guilty that he is hated before his birth? To what purpose does

Moses pray, as is found in the ninetieth psalm, if God is his refuge since

before the mountains were settled and the earth and world were formed. Besides,

of all that are to be saved, it is recorded in the Epistle to Ephesians that the

Father elected them in Him, in Christ, before the world's foundation, that they

should be holy and blameless before Him, preordaining them unto adoption as His

sons through Christ.

Either, therefore, a man is elect, of the number of those who are so since

before the world's foundation, and can by no means fall from his election in

which case he has therefore no need of prayer; or he is not elect nor yet

preordained, in which case he prays in vain, since, though he should pray ten

thousand times, he will not be listened to. For whom God foreknew, them He also

preordained to conformity with the image of His Son's glory; and whom He

preordained, them He also called; and whom He called, them He also justified; and whom He justified, them He also glorified.

Why is Josiah distressed, or why has he anxiety as to whether or not he will be listened to in prayer, when, many generations before, he was prophesied by name and his future action not only foreknown but foretold in the hearing of many. To what purpose, too, does Judas pray with the result that even his prayer turned to sin, when from David's times it is pre-announced that he will lose his overseership, another receiving it in his stead.

It is self-evidently absurd, God being unchangeable and having pre-comprehended all things and adhering to His prearrangements, to pray in the belief that through prayer one will change His purpose, or, as though He had not already prearranged but awaited each individual's prayer, to make intercession that He may arrange what suits the supplicant by reason of his prayer, there and then appointing what He approves as reasonable though He has previously not contemplated it. At this point the propositions you formulated in your letter to me may be set down word for word thus: Firstly, if God is foreknower of the future and it must come to pass, prayer is vain. Secondly, if all things come to pass by virtue of God's will, and His decrees are fixed, and nothing that He wills can be changed, prayer is vain. Towards a solution of the difficulties which benumb the instinct of prayer, the following, as I believe, helpful considerations may be advanced.

IV. ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS: MAN'S FREEWILL AND GOD'S FOREKNOWLEDGE Of objects that move, some have the cause of motion outside them. Such are objects which are lifeless and in passive motion simply by force of condition, and those which are moved by force of nature and of life in the same manner and not like things which move occasionally, for stones and stocks that have been quarried or cut off from growth, being in passive motion simply by force of condition, have the cause of motion outside them.

Such too are dead bodies of animals and movable parts of plants, which change position under compulsion and not as animals and plants themselves change their position but in the same manner as stones and stocks cut off from growth—although even these may be said to move in respect that, all bodies in decay being in flux, they possess the motion inherently attendant upon decay. Besides these a second class of moving objects are those which move by force of their internal nature or life, which are said by those who use terms in their stricter sense to move of

themselves. A third kind of movement is that in animals, which is termed spontaneous movement, whereas, in my opinion, the movement of rational beings is independent movement. If we withdraw from an animal spontaneous movement, it cannot be any longer conceived as even an animal; it will be like either a plant moving by mere force of nature or a stone borne along by some force external to it: Whenever an object follows its own peculiar movement, since that is what we have termed independent movement, it must needs be rational. Thinkers therefore who will have it that nothing is in our power, will necessarily assent to a most foolish statement, firstly that we are not animals, and secondly that neither are we rational beings, but that, what we are believed to do, we may be said to do by force as it were of some external cause of motion and in no sense moving ourselves.

Let anyone, moreover, with special regard to his own feelings, see whether without shame he can deny that it is himself that wills, eats, walks, gives assent to and accepts certain opinions, dissents from others as false. There are certain opinions to which a man cannot possibly assent though he puts them with innumerable refinements of argument and with plausible reasoning: and similarly it is impossible to assent to any view of human affairs in which our free will is in no sense preserved. Who assents to the view that nothing is comprehensible, or lives as in complete suspense of judgement: Who that has received a sense perception of a domestic misdeed, forebears to reprove the servant? And who is there that does not censure a son who fails to pay the duty owed to parents, or does not blame and find fault with an adulteress as having committed a shameful act? Truth forces and compels us, in spite of innumerable refinements, to impulsive praise and blame, on the basis of our retention of free will with the responsibility in which it involves us.

If our free will is in truth preserved with innumerable inclinations towards

virtue or vice, towards either duty or its opposite, its future must like other

things have been known by God, before coming to pass, from the world's creation

and foundation; and in all things prearranged by God in accordance with what He

has seen of each act of our free wills. He has with due regard to each movement

of our free wills prearranged what also is at once to occur in His providence

and to take place according to the train of future events. God's foreknowledge

is not the cause of all future events including those that are to have their

efficient cause in our freewill guided by impulse.

Even though we should suppose God ignorant of the future, we shall not on that account be incapacitated for effecting this and willing that. Rather it ensues from His foreknowledge that our individual free wills receive adjustment to suit the universal arrangement needful for the constitution of the world. If, therefore, our individual free wills have been known by Him, and if in His providence He has on that account been careful to make due arrangement for each one, it is reasonable to believe that He has also pre-comprehended what a particular man is to pray in that faith, what his disposition, and what his desire. That being so, in His arrangement it will accordingly have been ordained somewhat after this wise: This man I will hear for the sake of the

prayer that he will pray, because he will pray wisely: but that man I will not hear, either because he will be unworthy of being heard, or because his prayer will be for things neither profitable for the suppliant to receive nor becoming me to bestow: and in the case of this prayer, of some particular person, let us say, I will not hear him, but in the case of that I will. Should the fact of God's unerring foreknowledge of the future disquiet anyone by suggesting that things have been necessarily determined, we must tell him that it is a real part of God's fixed knowledge that a particular man will not with any fixed certainty choose the better or so desire the worse as to become incapable of a change for his good. And again I will do this for this man when he prays, as becomes me seeing that he will pray without reproach and will not be negligent in prayer: upon that man who will pray for a certain amount, I will bestow this abundantly in excess of his asking or thinking, for it becomes me to surpass him in well doing and to furnish more than he has been capable of asking. To this other man of a particular character I will send this angel as minister, to cooperate from a certain time in his salvation and to be with him for a certain period: to that other, who will be a better man than he, that angel of higher rank than his. From this man who, after having devoted himself to the higher views will gradually relax and fall back upon the more material, I will withdraw this superior cooperator, upon whose withdrawal that duly inferior power, having found an opportunity to get at his slackness, will set upon him and when he has given himself up in readiness to sin, will incite him to these particular sins. So we may imagine the Prearranger of All saying:

Amos will beget Josiah, who will not emulate his father's faults but will find

his way leading on to virtue, and will by aid of these companions be noble and

good, so that he will tear down the evilly erected altar of Jeroboam. I also

know that Judas, in the sojourn of my son among the race of men, will at the

first be noble and good but later turn aside and fall away to human sins so that

he will rightly suffer thus for them. This foreknowledge, it may be in regard to

all things, certainly in regard to Judas and other mysteries, exists in the Son

of God also, who in His discernment of the evolution of the future has seen

Judas and the sins to be committed by him, so that, even before Judas came into

existence, He in His comprehension has said through David the words beginning

"O God, keep you not silence at my praise."—Knowing as I do the

future and what an influence Paul will have in the cause of religion, ere yet I

set me to begin creation and found the world I will make choice of him: I will

commit him from the moment of his birth to these powers that cooperate in men's

salvation.

I will set him apart from his mother's womb. I will permit him at the first to fall in youth into an ignorant zeal and in the avowed cause of religion to persecute believers in my Christ and to keep

the garments of them that stone my servant and witness Stephen, so that later at the close of his youthful wilfulness he may be given a fresh start and change for the best and yet not boast before me but may say: "I am not fit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God," and realizing the kindness that he will receive from me after his faults committed in youth in the avowed cause of religion may declare "It is by God's grace that I am what I am"; and, being restrained by conscience by reason of the deeds he wrought while still young against Christ, he will not be excessively elated by the exceeding abundance of the revelations which in kindness I shall show him. To the objection in reference to prayer for the rising of the Sun we may reply as follows. The Sun also possesses a certain free will, since he with the moon joins in praising God, for "Praise Him, Sun and Moon" it says: as also manifestly the moon and all the stars conformably, for it says "Praise Him all the stars and light." As, therefore, we have said that God has employed the free will of individual beings on earth for the service of beings on earth in arranging them aright, so we may suppose that He has employed the free will, fixed and certain and steadfast and wise as it is, of sun, moon and stars in arranging the whole world of heaven with the course and movement of the stars in harmony with the whole.

If I do not pray in vain for what concerns any other freewill, much more shall I

pray for what concerns the freewill of the stars which tread in heaven their

world-conserving measures. It may indeed be said of beings on earth that certain

appearances in our surroundings call out now our instability, now our better

inclination to act or speak in certain ways: but in the case of beings in heaven

what appearances can interpose to oust and remove from the course that benefit

the world beings which have each a life so adjusted by Reason independently of

them, and which enjoy so ethereal and supremely pure a frame?

V. ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS: CONDITIONS NECESSARY TO PRAYER With a view to impel men to pray and to turn them from neglect of prayer, we may not unreasonably further use an illustration such as this. Just as, apart from woman and apart from recourse to the function requisite for procreation, man cannot procreate, so one may not obtain certain things without prayer in a certain manner, with a certain disposition, with a certain faith, after a certain antecedent mode of life. Thus we are not to babble or ask for little things or pray for earthly things or enter upon prayer with anger and with thoughts disturbed. Nor again is it possible to think of giving oneself to prayer apart from purification. Nor again is forgiveness of sins possible to the supplicant unless from the heart he forgives his brother who has done wrong and entreats him to obtain his pardon. That benefit accrues to him who prays rightly or according to his ability strives to do so, follows, I consider, in many ways: It is, first of all, surely in every sense a spiritual advantage to him who is intent upon prayer, in the very composure of prayer to present himself to God and in His presence to speak to Him with a vivid sense that he looks on and is present. For just as certain mental images and particular recollections connected with the objects recollected may sully the thoughts suggested by certain other images, in the same way we may believe that it is advantageous to remember God as the object of our faith—the One who discerns the movements within the inner sanctuary of the soul as it disposes itself to please the Examiner of Hearts and

Inquisitor of Reins as One who is present and beholds and penetrates into every mind.

Even though further benefit than this be supposed to accrue to him who has composed his thoughts for prayer, no ordinary gain is to be conceived as gotten by one who has devoutly disposed himself in the season of prayer. When this is regularly practiced, how many sins it keeps us from, and how many achievements it brings us to, is known only to those who have given themselves up with some degree of constancy to prayer. For if the recollection and recontemplation of a man who has found fame and benefit in wisdom incites us to evaluate him and sometimes restrains our lower impulses, how much more does the recollection of God the Father of All, along with prayer to Him, become advantageous to those who are persuaded that they stand before and speak to a present and hearing God!

What I have said may be established from the divine scriptures in the following way. He who prays must lift up holy hands, forgiving everyone who has wronged him, with the passion of anger banished from his soul and in wrath with none. And again, to prevent his mind from being made turbid by irrelevant thoughts, he must while at prayer forget for the time everything outside prayer—surely a state of supreme blessedness! As Paul teaches in the first Epistle to Timothy when he says: "I desire therefore that men pray in every place lifting up holy hands without anger and disputations. And further, a woman ought, most of all at prayer, to preserve simplicity and decency in soul and body, above all and especially while she prays reverencing God and expelling from her intellect every wanton womanish recollection, arrayed not in chaplets and gold or pearls or costly raiment, but in the things in which it becomes a woman of pious profession to be arrayed, (and I marvel that anyone should hesitate, were it on the strength of such a condition alone, to pronounce her blessed who has thus presented herself for prayer) as Paul has taught in the same Epistle when he says, "in like manner that women array themselves decently in simplicity with modesty and discretion, not in chaplets and gold or pearls or costly raiment, but, as becomes woman of pious profession, through good works." (1Tim.2:9) And besides, the prophet David speaks of much else that the saint possesses in prayer. We may, not irreverently, cite these passages as showing that, even if this alone be considered, the attitude and preparation for prayer of one who has offered himself to God is of the highest benefit. He says: "Unto you have I lifted mine eyes, who dwellest in heaven and unto you have I lifted my soul, O God." For when the eyes of thought are lifted up from dwelling on earthly things and being filled with the imagination of material objects, and are elevated to such a height as to look beyond begotten things and to be engaged solely in contemplation of God and in solemn converse with Him becoming to the Hearer.

Surely those eyes themselves have already got the highest advantage in

reflecting the glory of the Lord with face unveiled and being transformed into

the same image from glory to glory, for they then partake of a certain divine

perception shown by the words: "the light of your face, O Lord, hath been

signalized upon us." (Ps.4:6) And indeed the soul being lifted up, and

parting from body to follow spirit, and not only following the spirit but also

merging in it, as is shown by the words "Unto you have I lifted my

soul," is surely already putting off its existence as soul and becoming

spiritual. And if forgiveness is a very high accomplishment, so high as

according to the prophet Jeremiah to embrace a summary of the whole law, for he

says, "I laid not those commands upon your fathers as they were gone forth

from Egypt, but this command I laid:

Let each man not be unforgiving to his neighbor in his heart," and if in

entering upon prayer with unforgiveness left behind us we keep the Savior's

command, "If you're standing at prayer forgive aught that you have against

any man." (Mk.11:25) It is plain that those who stand in that temper to

pray have already received the best of possessions.

VI. ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS: HE WHO PRAYS PRAYS NOT ALONE So far, I have said that, even on the supposition that nothing else is going to follow our prayer, we receive the best of gains when we have come to perceive the right way to pray and when we achieve it. But it is certain that he who thus prays, having previously cast aside all discontent with Providence, will, if intent to mark the inworking of the Hearer, in the very act hear the response "Here am I." The above condition is expressed in the words "If you withdraw your bonds and protests and murmuring utterance," for he that is content with what comes to pass becomes free from every bond, and does not protest against God for ordaining what He wills for our discipline, and does not even in the secrecy of his thoughts murmur inaudibly; for they who murmur thus, not daring to abuse Providence roundly for what occurs with voice and soul but desiring as it were to escape the observation even of the Lord of All in their discontent, are like bad domestics who rail, but not openly, against their masters' orders. And I think the same thing is meant in the passage in Job: "In all these ocurrences Job sinned not with his lips in the sight of God"; and it is just this that the saying in Deuteronomy enjoins must not happen, when it says: "Take heed lest a secret utterance be ever in your heart to break the law, saying the seventh year draws nigh" and so on. So then he who prays thus, becomes, as already so greatly benefited, more fit to mingle with the Spirit of the Lord that fills the whole world and fills all the earth and the heaven and says by the prophet: "'Do not I fill the heaven and the earth?' says the Lord." And further, through the afore mentioned purification as well as through prayer, he will enjoy the good office of the Word of God, who is standing in the midst even of those who do not know Him and who fails the prayer of none, to pray to the Father along with Him for whom He mediates. For the Son of God is high priest of our offerings and our pleader with the Father. He prays for those who pray, and pleads along with those who plead. He will not, however, consent to pray, as for his intimates, on behalf of those who do not with some constancy pray through Him, nor will he be Pleader with the Father, as for men already His own, on behalf of those who do not obey His teaching to the effect that they ought at all times to pray and not lose heart. For it says, "He spoke a parable to the end that they ought at all times to pray and not lose heart. 'There was a certain judge in a certain city,'" and so on; and earlier he said unto them, "Who of you shall have a friend, and shall go unto him at midnight and shall say to him:

Friend, lend me three loaves since a friend of mine has come to me after a journey and I have naught to set before him"; and a little later, "I tell you, even though he will not rise and give him because he is his friend, he will yet because of his being unabashed get up and give him as many as he wants." And who that believes the guileless lips of Jesus can but be stirred to unhesitating prayer when He says, "Ask and it shall be given you for everyone that asks receives," since the kind Father gives to those who have received the spirit of adoption from the Father, the living bread when we ask Him, not the stone which the adversary would have become food for Jesus and His disciples, and since The Father gives the good gift in rain from heaven to those that ask him. But these pray along with those who genuinely pray—not only the high priest but also the angels who "rejoice in heaven over one repenting sinner more than over ninety-nine righteous that need not repentance," and also the souls of the saints already at rest. Two instances make this plain. The first is where Raphael offers their service to God for Tobit and Sarah. After both had prayed, the scripture says, "The prayer of both was heard before the presence of the great Raphael and he was sent to heal them both," and Raphael himself, when explaining his angelic commission at God's command to help them, says:

"Even now when you prayed, and Sarah your daughter-in-law, I brought the memorial of your prayer before the Holy One," and shortly after, "I am Raphael, one of the Seven angels who present the prayers of saints and enter in before the glory of the Holy One. Thus, according to Raphael's account at least, prayer with fasting and almsgiving and righteousness is a good thing. The second instance is in the Books of the Maccabees where Jeremiah appears in exceeding "white haired glory" so that a wondrous and most majestic authority was about him, and stretches forth his right hand and delivers to Judas a golden sword, and there witnesses to him another saint already at rest saying, "This is he who prays much for the people and the sacred city, God's prophet Jeremiah." For it is absurd when knowledge, though manifested to the worthy through a mirror and in a riddle for the present, is then revealed face to face not to think that the like is true of all other excellences as well, that they who prepare in this life beforehand are made strictly perfect then.

Now one of these excellences in the strictest sense according to the divine word is love for one's neighbor, and this accordingly we are compelled to think of as possessed in a far higher degree by saints already at rest than by those who are in human weakness and wrestle on along with the weaker. It is not only here that "if one member suffers, all the members suffer with it and if one member is glorified, all the members rejoice with it" in the experience of those who love their brethren, for it beseems the love also of those who are beyond the present life to say "I have anxiety for all the churches: Who is weak and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble and I do not burn?" Especially when Christ avows that according as such one of the saints may be weak, He is weak in like manner, and in prison and naked and a stranger and hungry and athirst. For who that reads the gospel is ignorant that Christ, in taking on himself whatever befalls believers, counts their sufferings His own? And if angels of God came to Jesus and ministered to Him, and if we are not to think of the ministry of the angels to Jesus as having been limited to the brief space of His bodily sojourn among men while He was still in the midst of believers not as one that reclined at table but as one that ministered, how many angels, I wonder, must now be ministering to Jesus when He would "bring together the Children of Israel one by one" and gather them from the dispersion, saving those who fear God and call upon Him, and must be cooperating more than the

apostles in the increase and enlargement of the church! Thus in John certain angels are spoken of in the Apocalypse as actually presiding over the churches. Not in vain do angels of God ascend and descend unto the Son of Man, beheld of eyes that have been enlightened with the light of knowledge. In the very season of prayer, accordingly, being reminded by the suppliant of his needs, they satisfy them as they have ability by virtue of their general commission. To further the acceptance of our view we may make use of some such image as the following in support of this argument.

Suppose that a righteously minded physician is at the side of a sick man praying for health, with knowledge of the right mode of treatment for the disease about which the man is offering prayer. It is manifest that he will be moved to heal the suppliant, surmising, it may well be not idly, that God has had this very action in mind in answer to the prayer of the suppliant for release from the disease. Or suppose that a man of considerable means, who is generous, hears the prayer of a poor man offering intercession to God for his wants. It is plain that he, too, will fulfil the objects of the poor man's prayer, becoming a minister of the fatherly counsel of Him who at the season of the prayer had brought together him who was to pray and him who was able to supply and by virtue of the rightness of his principles, incapable of overlooking one who has made that particular request. As therefore we are not to believe that these events are fortuitous, when they take place because He who has numbered all the hairs of the head of saints, has aptly brought together at the season of the prayer the hearer who is to be minister of His benefaction to the suppliant and the man who has made his request in faith; so we may surmise that the presence of the angels who exercise oversight and ministry for God is sometimes brought into conjunction with a particular suppliant in order that they may join in breathing his petitions.

Nay more, beholding ever the face of the Father in heaven and looking on the

Godhead of our Creator, the angel of each man, even of "little ones"

within the church, both prays with us, and acts with us where possible, for the

objects of our prayer.

VII. ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS: THE TRUE

PLACE OF PRAYER IN MAN'S LIFE

Again I believe the words of the prayer of the saints to be full of power above

all when praying "with the spirit," they pray "also with the

understanding," which is like a light rising from the suppliant's mind and

proceeding from his lips to gradually weaken by the power of God the mental

venom injected by the adverse powers into the intellect of such as neglect

prayer and fail to keep that saying of Paul's in accordance with the

exhortations of Jesus, "Pray without ceasing." For it is as if a dart

from the suppliant's soul, sped by knowledge and reason or by faith, proceeds

from the saint and wounds to their destruction and dissolution the spirits

adverse to God and desirous of casting round us the bonds of sin.

Now, since the performance of actions enjoined by virtue or by the commandments is also a constituent part of prayer, he prays without ceasing who combines prayer with right actions, and becoming actions with prayer. For the saying "pray without ceasing" can only be accepted by us as a possibility if we may speak of the whole life of a saint as one great continuous prayer. Of such prayer what is usually termed prayer is indeed a part, and ought to be performed at least three times each day, as is plain from the account of Daniel who, in spite of the grave danger that impended, prayed three times daily. Peter furnishes an instance of the middle prayer of the three when he goes up to the housetop about the sixth hour to pray on that occasion on which he also saw the vessel which descended from heaven let down by four corners. The first is spoken of by David: "In the morning shall you hear my prayer: in the morning will I present myself to you and keep watch." The last is indicated in the words: "the lifting up of my hands in evening sacrifice." Indeed we shall not rightly speak even the season of night without such prayer as David refers to when he says "at midnight I arose to make acknowledgment to you for your righteous judgments" and as Paul exemplifies when, as it is said in the Acts of the Apostles, along with Silas he offers prayer and praise to God "about midnight" in Phillipi so that the prisoners also heard them.

VIII. ANSWER TO OBJECTIONS: SIGNAL INSTANCES OF PRAYER

If Jesus prays and does not pray in vain, if He obtains His requests through

prayer and it may be would not have received them without prayer, who of us is

to neglect prayer? Mark tells us that "in the morning long before daybreak

he arose and went out and departed to a lonely place and there prayed."

Luke says: "And it came to pass, as He was at prayer in a certain place,

that one of His disciples said to Him when He ceased, . . . and elsewhere: And

He passed the night in prayer to God." John records a prayer of Him in the

words:

"These things spoke Jesus, and lifting up His eyes unto heaven He said, 'Father the hour is come; glorify your Son that your Son may also glorify

you.'" And the Lord's saying, "I knew that you hear me always,"

recorded in the same writer shows that it is because He is always praying that

He is always heard.

What need is there to tell the tale of those who, through right prayer, have

obtained the greatest of things from God, when it is open to everyone to select

any number of them for himself from the Scriptures? Hannah did service to the

birth of Samuel, who is numbered along with Moses, because though barren she prayed in faith unto the Lord. Hezekiah, who while still childless learned from Isaiah that he was about to die, is included in the Savior's genealogy because he prayed. When the people were already on the point of perishing under a single decree as the result of Haman's conspiracy, it was the heard prayer with fasting of Mordecai and Esther that added to the Mosaic festivals and gave rise to the Mordecaic day of rejoicing for the people.

It was, moreover, after offering holy prayer that Judith with God's help overcame Holophernes, and thus a single woman of the Hebrews wrought shame upon the house of Nebuchadnezzar. It was on being heard that Ananiah and Azariah and Mishael became worthy to receive a hissing rain and wind which kept the flame of the fire from taking effect. Through Daniel's prayers the lions in the Babylonians' pit were muzzled.

Even Jonah, because he did not despair of being heard from the belly of the monster that had swallowed him, was able to quit the monster's belly and complete his interrupted prophet's mission to the Ninevites. And further, how many things could each of us recount should he choose to recall with gratitude the benefits conferred upon him and to offer praise to God for them! Souls that have long been barren but have become conscious of their intellects' sterility and the barrenness of their mind, through persevering prayer have conceived of the Holy Spirit and given birth to thoughts and words of salvation full of contemplated truth.

How many of our foes have been dispersed, when often countless thousands in the adverse host were wearing us down with intent to sweep us away from the divine faith, and we rejoiced, when their appeal was to chariots and horses but ours to the name of the Lord, to see that in truth deceptive is a horse for safety! Many a time indeed does he whose trust is in praise to God—for Judith means praise—cut his way through guileful and persuasive speech, that chief commander of the adversary who brings numbers even of reputed believers to their

knees.

What need is there to go on to tell of all who many a time have fallen among

temptations hard to overcome, whose burn was sharper than any flame, and have

suffered naught under them but emerged from them in every way unscathed, without

so much of scathe as the slightest odor of the hostile fire; or again of all the

brutes exasperated against us, in the form of wicked spirits or cruel men, that

we have encountered and often muzzled by our prayers, so that they were impotent

to fasten their fangs in our members which had become those of Christ. Often in

each saint's experience has the Lord dashed together the teeth of lions, and

they were brought to nothing, as water flowing by.

We know that often fugitives from God's commands who have been swallowed by death, which at the first prevailed against them, have been saved by reason of repentance from so great an evil, because they did not despair of being able to be saved though already overpowered in the belly of death: for death prevailed and swallowed, and again God took away every tear from every face. What I have said after my enumeration of persons who have been benefited through prayer, I consider to have been most necessary to my purpose of turning aspirants after the spiritual life in Christ from prayer for little earthly things, and urging readers of this writing towards the mystical things of which the above mentioned were types. For it is always and wholly prayer for the spiritual, mystical things which we have instanced, that is practised by him who does not war according to the flesh but with the Spirit mortifies the body's actions, preference being given to the things suggested by analogy and study over the benefaction apparently indicated by the language of scripture as having accrued to those who had prayed. For in ourselves also we are to strive, hearing the spiritual law with spiritual ears, that barrenness or sterility may not arise, but that we may like Hannah and Hezekiah be heard, being freed from barrenness or sterility, and like Mordecai and Esther and Judith be delivered from plotting enemies—in our case the spiritual powers of evil. Inasmuch as Egypt is an iron furnace and also a symbol of every earthly place, let every one who has escaped from the wickedness of the life of men without having been scorched by sin or having had his heart like an oven full of fire, give thanks no less than the men who experienced rain amid fire.

Let him, too, who has been heard when he has prayed and said "Deliver not

to the brutes a soul that makes acknowledgment to you," and who has

suffered naught from asp and basilisk because through Christ he has trod on

them, and who has trampled lion and snake and enjoyed the good authority

bestowed by Jesus to walk over serpents and scorpions and upon the whole power

of the enemy, without having been injured by any of them, give thanks more than

Daniel as having been delivered from brutes more terrible and harmful.

Let him, moreover, who has learned by experience what manner of monster that which swallowed Jonah typified, perceiving that it is of such that Job has spoken, "May He curse it that curses that day, He that is to worst the great monster," if he should ever come by reason of any disobedience to be in the belly of the monster, pray in penitence, and he shall come out thence; and if, after coming out, he abides in obedience to the commands of God, he shall be able according to the kindness of the Spirit to be a prophet to perishing Ninevites of today and to become a means to their salvation, without discontent with the kindness of God or desire that He should abide in severity towards penitents. The very highest thing that Samuel is said to have done through prayer is spiritually possible of achievement today by every genuine dependant upon God who has become worthy to be heard. It is written: "And now do but stand and see this great thing which the Lord does under you eyes. Is it not wheat harvest today? I will call upon the Lord and He will give thunders and rain." And then shortly after it says "and Samuel called upon the Lord, and the Lord gave thunders and rain in that day." To every saint who is genuinely in discipleship to Jesus it is said by the Lord, "Lift up your eyes and behold how the fields are white already unto harvest. He that harvests receives wages and gathers fruit unto life eternal." In this time of harvest the Lord does a great thing under the eyes of those who hear the prophets; for when he that is adorned by the Spirit calls upon the Lord, God gives from heaven thunders and rain that waters the Soul, in order that he who was before in vice may deeply fear the Lord and the minister of God's benefaction whose claim to reverence and veneration has been attested through the hearing of his prayers. Elijah indeed by a divine word opened the heavens after they had been shut to the impious three years and six months, a thing which anyone may accomplish at any time when through prayer he receives the Soul's rain, if he be one who has hitherto been deprived of it because of sin.

IX. THE CONTENT OF PRAYER: ITS FOUR MOODS

After thus interpreting the benefactions which have accrued to saints through

their prayers, let us turn our attention to the words "ask for the great

things and the little shall be added unto you: and ask for the heavenly things

and the earthly shall be added unto you." All symbolical and typical things

may be described as little and earthly in comparison with the true and the

spiritual.

And, I believe, the divine Word, in urging us on to imitate the prayers of the saints, speaks of the heavenly and great things set forth through those concerned with the earthly and little, in order that we may make our requests according to the reality of which their achievements were typical. He says in effect: Do you who would be spiritual ask for the heavenly and great, in order that obtaining in them heavenly things you may inherit a kingdom of heaven, and as obtaining great things you may enjoy the greatest blessings, while as for the earthly and little that you require by reason of your bodily necessities, your Father will supply them to you in due measure. In the first Epistle to Timothy the Apostle has employed four terms corresponding to four things in close relation to the subject of devotion and prayer. It will therefore be of service to cite his language and see whether

we can satisfactorily determine the strict meaning of each of the four. He says, "I exhort therefore first of all that requests, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings be made on behalf of all men," and so on.

Request I take to be that form of prayer which a man in some need offers with supplication for its attainment; prayer, that which a man offers in the loftier sense for higher things with ascription of glory; intercession, the addressing of claim to God by a man who possesses a certain fuller confidence; thanksgiving, the prayerful acknowledgment of the attainment of blessings from God, he who returns the acknowledgment being impressed by the greatness, or what seems to the recipient the greatness, of the benefactions conferred. Of the first, examples are found in Gabriel's speech to Zachariah who, it is likely, had prayed for the birth of John: "Fear not, Zachariah, because your request hath been heard and your wife Elizabeth shall beget you a Son and you shall call his name John;" in the account in Exodus of the making of the Calf: "And Moses made request before the Lord God, and said: To what purpose, Lord, art you in anger wroth with your people whom you hast brought out of the land of Egypt in great might?" In Deuteronomy: "And I made request before the Lord a second time even as also the former time forty days and forty nights bread I ate not and water I drank not for all your sins that you sinned;" and in Esther: "Mordecai made request of God, recalling all the works of the Lord, and said; Lord, Lord, King Almighty," and Esther herself "made request of the Lord God of Israel and said: Lord our King . . . " Of the second, examples are found in Daniel: "And Azariah drew himself up and prayed thus, and opening his mouth amid the fire said . . . ;" and in Tobit: "And with anguish I prayed saying, 'Righteous art you, O Lord, and all your works; all your ways are mercy and truth, and judgment true and righteous dost you judge forever.'" Since however, the circumcised have marked the passage in Daniel spurious as not standing in the Hebrew, and dispute the Book of Tobit as not within the Testament, I shall cite Hannah's case from the first book of Kings.

"And she prayed unto the Lord, and wept exceedingly, and vowed a vow, and said, 'O Lord of Hosts, if you will indeed have regard unto the humiliation of your bondmaid,'" and so on; and in Habakkuk: "A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet, set to song. O Lord, I have hearkened to your voice and was afraid; I did mark your works and was in ecstasy. In the midst of two living beings you shall be known; as the years draw nigh you shall be fully known;" a prayer which eminently illustrates what I said in defining prayer that it is offered with ascription of glory by the suppliant. And in Jonah also, Jonah prayed unto the Lord his God from the belly of the monster, and said, "I cried in my affliction unto the Lord my God, and he heard me. You heard my wail from the belly of death, my cry; you flung me away into the depths of the heart of the sea, and streams encircled me." Of the third, we have an example in the Apostle where he with good reason employs prayer in our case, but intercession in that of the Spirit as excelling us and having confidence in approaching Him with whom He intercedes; for as to what we are to pray, he says, "as we ought we know not, but the Spirit Himself more than intercedes with God in sighs unspeakable, and He that searches hearts knows what is the mind of the Spirit because His intercession on behalf of saints is according to God;" for the Spirit more than intercedes, and intercedes, whereas we pray.

What Joshua said concerning the sun's making a stand over against Gabaoth is, I think, also intercession: Then spake Joshua to the LORD in the day when the LORD delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, "Here spoke Joshua to the Lord in the day when God delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun,

stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon;" and in Judges, it is, I think, in intercession that Samson said, "Let my soul die together with the aliens" when he leaned in might and the house fell upon the princes and upon all the people in it. Even though it is not explicitly said that Joshua and Samson interceded but that they said, their language seems to be intercession, which, if we accept the terms in their strict sense, is in our opinion distinct from prayer. Of thanksgiving an example is our Lord's utterance when He says: "I make acknowledgment to you, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that you did hide these things from the wise and understanding and reveal them to infants;" for I make acknowledgment is equivalent to I give thanks.

X. THE RECIPIENT OF PRAYER IN ITS FOUR MOODS

Now request and intercession and thanksgiving, it is not out of place to offer

even to men—the two latter, intercession and thanksgiving, not only to saintly

men but also to others. But request to saints alone, should some Paul or Peter

appear, to benefit us by making us worthy to obtain the authority which has been

given to them to forgive sins—with this addition indeed that, even should a

man not be a saint and we have wronged him, we are permitted our becoming

conscious of our sin against him to make request even of such, that he extend

pardon to us who have wronged him.

Yet if we are offer thanksgiving to men who are saints, how much more should we give thanks to Christ, who has under the Father's will conferred so many benefactions upon us? Yes and intercede with Him as did Stephen when he said, "Lord, set not this sin against them." In imitation of the father of the lunatic we shall say, "I request, Lord, have mercy" either on my son, or myself, or as the case may be. But if we accept prayer in its full meaning, we may not ever pray to any begotten being, not even to Christ himself, but only to the God and Father of All to whom our Savior both prayed himself, as we have already instanced, and teaches us to pray. For when He has heard one say. "Teach you us to pray," He does not teach men to pray to Himself but to the Father saying, "Our Father in heaven," and so on. For if, as is shown elsewhere, the Son is other than the Father in being and essence, prayer is to be made either to the Son and not the Father or to both or to the Father alone. That prayer to the Son and not the Father is most out of place and only to be suggested in defiance of manifest truth, one and all will admit. In prayer to both it is plain that we should have to offer our claims in plural form, and in our prayers say, "Grant you both, Bless you both, Supply you both, Save you both," or the like, which is self-evidently wrong and also incapable of being shown by anyone to stand in the scriptures as spoken by any.

It remains, accordingly, to pray to God alone, the Father of All, not however

apart from the High Priest who has been appointed by the Father with swearing of

an oath, according to the words He hath sworn and shall not repent, "You

art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." In thanksgiving to

God, therefore, during their prayers, saints acknowledge His favors through

Christ Jesus.

Just as the man who is scrupulous about prayer ought not to pray to one who

himself prays but to the Father upon whom our Lord Jesus has taught us to call

in our prayers, so we are not to offer any prayer to the Father apart from Him.

He clearly sets this forth himself when He says, "Verily, verily, I tell

you, whatsoever you may ask of my Father He shall give you in my house. Until

but now you have not asked aught in my name. Ask and you shall receive, that

your joy may be fulfilled."

He did not say, "Ask of me," nor yet simply "Ask of the father," but "Whatsoever you may ask of the Father, He will give you in my name." For until Jesus taught this, no one had asked of the Father in the name of the Son. True was the saying of Jesus, "Until but now you have not asked aught in my name"; and true also the words, "Ask and you shall receive, that your joy may be fulfilled." Should anyone, however who believes that prayer ought to be made to Christ himself, confused by the sense of the expression make obeisance, confront us with that acknowledged reference to Christ in Deuteronomy, "Let all God's angels make obeisance to Him," we may reply to him that the church, called Jerusalem by the prophet, is also said to have obeisance made to her by kings and queens who become her foster sires and nurses, in the words, "Behold, I lift up my hand upon the nations, and upon the isles will I lift up my sign: and they shall bring your sons in their bosom and your daughters they shall lift up on their shoulders; and kings shall be your foster sires, their queens they nurses: to the face of the earth shall they make obeisance to you, and the dust of your feet shall they lick: and you shall know that I am the Lord and shall not be ashamed." And how does it not accord with Him who said, "Why callest you me good? None is good save One—God the Father" to suppose that He would say, "Why pray you to me? To the Father alone ought you to pray, to whom I also pray, as indeed you learn from the holy Scriptures. For you ought not to pray to one who has been appointed high priest for you by the Father and has received it from the Father to be advocate, but through a high priest and advocate able to sympathize with your weaknesses, having been tried in all points like you but, by reason of the Father's free gift to me, tried without sin.

Learn you therefore how great a free gift you have received from my Father in having received through regeneration in me the Spirit of adoption, that you may be called sons of God and my brethren. For you have read my utterance spoken through David to the Father concerning you, 'I will proclaim your name to my brethren; in the midst of the church will I sing hymns to you.' It is not reasonable that those who have been counted worthy of one common Father should pray to a brother.To the Father alone ought you, with me and through me, to send up prayer." So then hearing Jesus speak to such effect, let us pray to God through Him, all with one accord and without division concerning the manner of prayer. Are we not indeed divided if we pray some to the Father, others to the Son—those who pray to the Son, whether with the Father or without the Father, committing a crude error in all simplicity for lack of discrimination and examination?

Let us therefore pray as to God, intercede as with a Father, request as of a Lord, give thanks as to God and Father and Lord, though in no way as to a servant's lord; for the Father may reasonably be considered Lord not only of the Son but also of those who through Him are become sons also, though, just as He is not God of dead but of living men, so He is not Lord of baseborn servants but of such as at the first are ennobled by means of fear because they are as infants, but serve thereafter according to love in a service more blessed than that which is in fear. For within the soul itself, visible to the Seer of Hearts alone, these are distinctive characters of servants and sons of God.

XI. THE OBJECTS OF PRAYER

Everyone who asks for the earthly and little things from God disregards Him who has enjoined the asking of heavenly and great things. God is incapable of bestowing anything either earthly or little. Should anyone suggest instances to the contrary in which the material things bestowed upon the saints in the past as a result of prayer, and indeed the express language of the Gospel when it teaches that the earthly and the little are to be added unto us, we may reply to him as follows. When someone bestows upon us a particular material object, we should not say that the person has bestowed upon us the shadow of the object, for it is unintentional to present two things, object and shadow. The giver's intention is to give a material object; our receipt of its shadow is a consequence of the gift. In like manner if, with mind grown nobler, we have discerned the gifts that are principally given to us by God, we shall most properly describe as consequences of the great and heavenly spiritual gifts of grace the material things which are given to each of the saints for his good or in proportion to his faith or according as the Giver wills, and wisely does He will, even though we are unable to describe a cause and reason worthy of the Giver for each of His gifts.

Greater fruit had been borne by Hannah's soul in being turned from sterility than was her body in conceiving Samuel. Diviner had been the offspring begotten by Hezekiah's mind than that which was begotten of the material seed of his body. Higher had been the deliverances of Esther and Morecai and the people from spiritual plots than was that from Haman and his conspirators. Mightier was the prince that sought to ruin her soul, whose power Judith had cut through than he whom she met in Holophermes. Who would not acknowledge that in the spiritual blessing which comes home to all the saints and which Isaac spoke of to Jacob, "God give you of the rain of heaven," a higher rain had fallen to Ananiah and those with him than the material rain that overcame Nebuchadnezzar's flame? Greater had been the muzzling of the unseen lions by the prophet Daniel so that they were unable to work anything against his soul, than that of the visible lions to which all of us who read the passage have understood it to refer. And who as a saint, becoming a fit recipient of the holy spirit, had ever, like Jonah, escaped the belly of a monster that swallowed every fugitive from God and which has been defeated by Jesus our Savior? It need not cause surprise if, to keep the metaphor, the corresponding shadow is not given to all who receive objects capable of making shadows, while to some a shadow is what is given. Students of

questions relating to sundials and of the relation of shadows to the illuminating body clearly observe what is the case with bodies generally, that at a particular time some projectors are shadowless, others are short shadowed, others are more or less long-shadowed.

It is therefore not astonishing that, as the Giver's plan is to bestow the principal things in accordance with certain unutterable and mystic guiding principles and suitable to the recipients and occasions, when the principal objects are being given there should sometimes go with them no shadows at all for the recipients. At other times shadows are but few; at other times shadows which are smaller in comparison accompany different objects. As the presence or absence of the shadow of bodies neither pleases nor pains the man whose object of search is solar beams, he possesses his chief necessity in being illumined or freed from shadow or in having more or less of shadow as the case may be. If the spiritual things are ours, and we are being illumined by God for complete possession of true blessings, we shall not quibble over a matter so paltry as concerns the shadow. For material and physical things count as fleeting feeble shadow, in no way comparable to the saving holy gifts of the God of All. What comparison is there between material riches and the riches that are in every word and all wisdom? Who in his senses would compare health of flesh and bone with health of mind, strength of soul, and consistency of thought—things which, if kept in measure by God's word, make bodily sufferings a paltry scratch, and even slighter if we can grasp it.

He that has discerned the meaning of the beauty of the bride whom the bridegroom

Word of God loves, a soul blooming with more than heavenly and more than mundane

beauty, will be ashamed to dignify with the same name of beauty the physical

beauty of woman or child or man. For of beauty in the strict sense flesh is not

capable, being deformity throughout. For all flesh is as grass, and the glory

thereof, which is manifest in the so called beauty of women and children, is

according to the prophet's language compared to a flower, "All people are

grass, their constancy is like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the

flower fades, when the breath of the LORD blows upon it; surely the people are

grass. The grass withers, the flower fades; but the word of our God will stand

forever."

Again, who that has perceived the nobility of the sons of God shall any longer

give the name of nobility to what passes as such among men? After contemplating

Christ's kingship over kings, how shall the mind not dispel all kingship upon

earth? When the human mind, so far as capable while still bound to a body, has

once beheld as clearly as may be an army of angels, and among them

chief-commanders of the Lord's hosts, and archangels and thrones and lordships

and principalities and more than heavenly authorities, and has come to

understand that it can obtain from the Father their equivalent, how shall it not

despise those things which though frailer than shadow are the admiration of the

foolish, even if they should all be given to it, as most shadowy and in

comparison insignificant, and look beyond in order not to fall short of

obtaining the true principalities and diviner authorities?

We should therefore pray for the principal and truly great and heavenly things,

and as for those concerned with the shadows accompanying the principal, commit

them to the God who knows before we ask Him what things, by reason if our

perishable body, we have need.

XII. THE LORD'S PRAYER: THE PREFACE IN MATTHEW

What I have said, according to my capacity to receive the grace which has been given by God through His Christ, and as I trust in the Holy Spirit also—whether it be so you will judge when you read it—may suffice by way of examination of the general subject of prayer. I shall now proceed to the next task, to consider how full of meaning is the prayer outlined by the Lord. It is first of all to be observed that to most people Matthew and Luke might seem to have recorded the same prayer sketched as a pattern for right prayer. Matthew's words run thus: Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one. But Luke's run as follows:

Father, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Give us each day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins, for we ourselves forgive everyone indebted to us. And do not bring us to the time of trial. To those who suppose it to be the same prayer we may reply that the utterances, though they certainly resemble one another, also appear to differ, as I shall set forth in investigating them. In the second place it is not possible that the same prayer should be said on the mountain where "When Jesus saw the crowds, he went up the mountain; and after he sat down, his disciples came to him. Then he began to speak, and taught them, saying"—for it is in the course of the recital of the Beatitudes and the subsequent injunctions that it is found recorded in Matthew. It also have been said, "He was praying in a certain place, and after he had finished, one of his disciples said to him, "Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples."

It is surely impossible that the same words should be described as having been spoken in the course of continuous utterance without any question to precede them and as being announced in response to a disciple's request. One might, however, say the prayers are equivalent and were spoken as one. On the one occasion in continuous discourse, on the other in response to the request of a different disciple who in all likelihood was not present when He spoke the form in Matthew or had not mastered what had earlier been spoken. But perhaps it is better that the prayers be regarded as different, with certain portions in common. In Mark, though I have

searched there also in case the record of an equivalent should escape me, I have not found so much as a vestige of a prayer contained. I have already said that before praying one must first be composed and disposed in a particular manner. Let us therefore glance at the words preceding the prayer contained in Matthew, which were uttered by our Savior. They are as follows: And whenever you pray, do not be like the hypocrites; for they love to stand and pray in the synagogues and at the street corners, so that they may be seen by others.

Truly I tell you, they have received their reward. But whenever you pray, go

into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret; and

your Father who sees in secret will reward you. When you are praying, do not

heap up empty phrases as the Gentiles do; for they think that they will be heard

because of their many words. Do not be like them, for your Father knows what you

need before you ask him.

Pray then in this way: Our Savior often appears as inveighing against the love

of glory as a deadly passion, just as He has done in this place where He

dissuades us from the practice of actors at the season of prayer, for it is a

practice of actors rather to plume themselves in piety before men rather than to

have communion with God.

Remembering then the words, "How can you believe when you accept glory from one another and do not seek the glory that comes from the one who alone is God?" we ought to despise all glory with men even though it be thought honorably gained and to seek the strict and true glory which is from Him alone who glorifies the deserving in a manner becoming to Himself and exceeding the desert of the person glorified. The very act which would in itself be thought honorable and is thought praiseworthy is polluted when we do it to be glorified by men or to appear to men, and on that account it is attended by no recompense from God. Unerring as the whole of Jesus' language is, it becomes even more so when it is spoken with His accustomed oath. Of those who for human glory seem to do good to their neighbor, or pray in synagogues and at broadway corners, he says. "Truly I tell you, they have received their reward." For as the rich man according to Luke had good things in his human life, being no longer capable of obtaining them after the present life because he had had them, so he that has his reward, as having sown not "unto the spirit" but "unto the flesh" shall "reap corruption" but shall not "reap eternal life" in his giving or in his prayers.

It is sowing unto the flesh when one does alms, with trumpeting before him, in

synagogues and thoroughfares to be glorified by men, or likes to pray standing

in synagogues and at broadway corners to appear to men and thought a pious and a

holy person among the onlookers. Indeed every wayfarer along the broad and

spacious way leading to destruction without rightness or straightness but

crooked and cornered throughout, (for the straight line is broken in it to the utmost), is standing no less than he who prays at broadway corners, not in one but through his love of pleasure in a number of streets in which beings who as men are perishing because they have fallen away from their divinity, are to be found glorifying and pronouncing blessed those whom they have thought to act piously.

There are always many who are rather pleasure-loving than God-loving in their seeming prayer who debauch prayer amid banqueting and carousing, standing in truth at the broadway corners and praying. For everyone who has made pleasure his rule of life has in his passion for the spacious fallen out of the narrow straitened way of Jesus Christ that is without a single bend and has no corner at all.

There is a certain difference between Church and Synagogue. The church in the strict sense is without "a spot or wrinkle or anything of the kind," is holy and blameless. Into it enters neither child of harlot, nor eunuch or emasenlate, nor yet Egyptian or Edomite unless sons born to them in the third generation enables them with difficulty to join the church, nor Moabite and Ammonite, unless the tenth generation is complete and the aeon passed. The Synagogue on the other hand may be built by a centurion, as was the case in times preceding the sojourn of Jesus when as yet witness had not yet been borne that the man possessed faith such as the Son of God did not find even in Israel. Now he who likes to pray in synagogues is not far from broadway corners. But it is not so with the saint, for he loves, not likes to pray, in churches, not broadway corners, in the straightness of the narrow straitened way, not to appear to men, but to present himself before the Lord God, a male in the sense that he observes the acceptable year of the Lord and keeps the commandment which says, "Thrice in the year shall every male present himself before the Lord God."

We are to attend to the word "appear" carefully, since no appearance is a good inasmuch as it only seems to exist and not in truth, and misleads the senses and expresses nothing exactly and truly. As actors of plays in theatres are not what they profess nor are really what the mask they wear makes them look like, so too all who appear to assume the outward sensible form of goodness and are not righteous but actors of righteousness, acting moreover in a theatre of their own—namely synagogues and broadway corners. But he that is no actor but has cast off all that is alien to him and sets himself to please in that theatre which is inconceivably greater than any which has been mentioned, enters into

his own storeroom to the riches therein treasured up, and shuts up after him his

treasury of wisdom and knowledge.

Never turning his glance outwards or doting on things outside, having shut up every door of the senses that he may not be drawn away by sensations or have their sensible presentation stealing into his mind, prays to the Father who does not shun or desert a place so secret but dwells in it, the Only Begotten also being present with Him. For He says "I and the Father will come unto him and make abode with him." And plainly, if we do pray thus, we shall be interceding not only with a God but also with a Father who is righteous, who does not desert us as His children but is present in our secret place and watches it and increases the contents of the storeroom if we shut up its door. When we pray let us not babble but use godly speech. We babble when, without scrutiny of ourselves or of the devotional words we are sending up, we speak of the corrupt in deed or word or thought, things which are mean and reprehensible and alien to the incorruptibleness of the Lord. He, then, that babbles in prayer is in a synagogic disposition worse than any yet described and in a harder way than those who are at broadway corners, preserving not as much as a vestige even of acting in goodness. For according to the passage in the Gospel only heathen babble, being quite insensible of great or heavenly petitions and therefore sending up every prayer for the material and the external. To a babbling heathen, then, is he like who asks for things below from the Lord who dwells in heaven and above the heights of the heavens.

He who is wordy also seems to be a babbler and he who babbles to be wordy. There

is no unity in matter and in bodily substances, but every such supposed unity is

split up and divided and disintegrated into many units to the loss of its union.

Good is one; many are the base. Truth is one; many are the false. True

righteousness is one; many are the states that act it as a part. God's wisdom is

one; many are the wisdoms of this age and of the rulers of this age which come

to nought. The word of God is one, but many are the words alien to God.

Therefore no one shall escape Sin as the result of wordiness, and no one who

thinks to be heard as the result of wordiness can be heard. For this reason we

ought not to make our prayers like heathen babbling or wordiness or other

practice after the likeness of the serpent, for the God of saints, being a

Father, knows of what things His children have need, since such things are

worthy of Fatherly knowledge.

He who knows not God knows not the things of God also—knows not the things of

which he has need, for the things of which he thinks he has need are mistaken.

But he who has contemplated the better and diviner things of which he is in need

shall obtain the objects of his contemplation which are known by God and which have been known by the Father even before asking. After these remarks upon the preface to the prayer in the Gospel according to Matthew, let us now proceed to consider what the prayer sets forth.

XIII. THE LORD'S PRAYER—OUR FATHER IN HEAVEN Our Father in Heaven. It deserves a somewhat careful observation of the so-called Old Testament to discover whether it is possible to find anywhere in it a prayer of one who addresses God as Father. For though I have made examination to the best of my ability, I have up to the present failed to find one. I do not say that God is not spoken of as Father or that accounted believers in God are not called sons of God, but that I have not yet found in prayer that confidence in calling God Father which the Savior has proclaimed. That God is spoken of as Father and those who have waited on God's word as sons, may be seen in many places, as in Deuteronomy, "You have forsaken God your parent and forgotten God your nourisher," and again, "Is He not your Father himself that got you and made you and created you?" and again, "Sons who have not faith in them." And in Isaiah, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me"; and in Malachi, "A son honors his father, and a servant his master: if then I be a father, where is my honor? and if I be a master, where is my fear?" So then, even though God is termed Father and their Sons who have been begotten by reason of their faith in Him, yet sure and unchangeable sonship is not to be seen in the ancient people. The very passages I have cited since the subjection of those so-called sons, since according to the apostle "the heir, as long as he is a child, differs nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; But is under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father." But the fullness of time is in the sojourn of our Lord Jesus Christ, when they who desire receive adoption as sons, as Paul teaches in the words, "For you did not receive a spirit of slavery unto fear, but you received a spirit of adoption as sons, wherein we cry 'Abba Father'"; and as it is in the Gospel according to John, "To as many as received Him He gave authority to become children of God if believers on His name"; and it is by reason of this Spirit of adoption as sons, we learn in the Catholic Epistle of John regarding the begotten of God, that "Everyone that is begotten of God does no sin because His seed abides in him, and he cannot sin because he is begotten of God." And yet if we think of the meaning of the words which are written in Luke, "When you pray say: Father . . . ," we shall hesitate to address this expression to Him unless we have become genuine sons in case, in addition to our other sins, we should also become liable to a charge of impiety. My meaning is as follows. In the first Epistle to Corinthians Paul says, "No one can say 'Jesus is Lord' save in a holy spirit, and no one that speaks in God's spirit says 'cursed be Jesus' calling the same thing a holy spirit and God's spirit." What is meant by speaking in a holy spirit of Jesus as Lord is not quite clear, as countless actors and numbers of heterodox people, and at times even demons conquered by the power in the name, utter the expression. No one therefore will venture to declare that anyone of these calls Jesus 'Lord' in a holy spirit. For the same reason, indeed, they could not be shown to call Jesus Lord at all, since they alone call Jesus Lord who express it from inward disposition in service to the word of God and in proclaiming no other Lord than Him in all their conduct. And if it be such who say Jesus is Lord, it may be that everyone who sins, in that he curses the divine Word through his transgression, has through his actions called out, "Cursed be Jesus." And accordingly, as the one type of man says "Jesus is Lord," and the man of opposite

disposition "Cursed be Jesus," "so everyone that hath been begotten of God and does not sin" because he is partaker of God's seed which turns him from all sin, says through his conduct "Our Father in Heaven," the spirit himself witnessing with their spirit that they are children of God and heirs to Him and joint heirs with Christ, since as suffering with Him they reasonably hope with Him also to be glorified. But in order that theirs may be no one-sided utterance of the words "Our Father," in addition to their actions they have a heart—a fountain and source of good actions—believing unto righteousness, in harmony with which their mouth makes acknowledgment unto salvation. So then their every act and word and thought, formed by the only begotten word in accord with Him, imitates the image of the invisible God and has come to be "in accordance with the image of the Creator" who makes "the sun to rise upon evil men and good and rains upon righteous and unrighteous," that there may be in them the image of the heavenly One who is himself also an image of God. Saints, therefore, as an image of an Image himself, a son, receive the impress of Sonship, becoming conformed not only to the glorified body of Christ but also to Him who is in that body, and they become conformed to Him who is in a glorified body through being transformed by the renewing of their mind. And if such men through out the whole of life voice the words "Our Father in the Heavens," plainly he that does sin, as John says in the Catholic Epistle, "is of the devil because the devil sins from the beginning" and just as God's seed abiding in the begotten of God produces inability to sin in him who is formed in accordance with the only begotten Word, so the devil's seed is in everyone that does sin, to the extent in which it is present within the soul—not suffering its possessor to have power to prosper. But since "for this end was the Son of God manifested that He might undo the actions of the devil," it is possible, through the undoing of the actions of the devil by the sojourn of the Word of God within our Soul, for the evil seed implanted in us to be utterly removed and for us to become children of God.

Let us, therefore, not think that it is words we are taught to say in any

appointed season of prayer. On the contrary, if we understand our former

consideration of prayer without ceasing, let our whole life of prayer without

ceasing speak the words "Our Father in the Heavens," having its

commonwealth in no wise on earth but in every way in heaven, which is God's

throne because of the foundation of the kingdom of God in all who wear the image

of the Heavenly One and therefore become heavenly. When the Father of saints is

said to be in the heavens, we are not to suppose that He is circumscribed by

material form and dwells in heaven.

Since, in that case, as contained God will be formed to be less than the heavens

because they contain Him, whereas the ineffable might of His godhead demands our

belief that all things are contained and held together by Him. And, in general,

passages which taken literally are thought by the simpler order of minds to

assert that God is in space are to be otherwise taken in a sense more becoming

to great spiritual concepts of God.

Such are those passages in the Gospel according to John: Before the feast of the

Passover, Jesus, knowing that His hour had come that He should pass from this

world to the Father, as He had loved His own who were in the world, loved them

to the end; and shortly after: knowing that the Father had given all into His

hands, and that He had come forth from God and was returning to God; and later:

you heard that I said to you: I return and come unto you. If you loved me you

would have rejoiced that I go to the Father; and again later; Now I return to

Him that sent me and none of you asks me: Where do you return?

If these things are to be taken spacially, so also plainly is: Jesus answered and said to them, "If any one love me he will keep my word and my Father will love him and we shall come unto him and make abode with him." But surely the words do not imply a spacial transition of the Father and the Son to the lover of the word of Jesus and are therefore not to be taken spacially. On the contrary, the Word of God, in condescension for us and, in regard to His proper desert, in humiliation while among men, is said to pass from this world unto the Father so that we also may behold Him perfectly there in reversion to His proper fullness from the emptiness among us whereby He emptied himself—where we also, enjoying His guidance, shall be filled and freed from all emptiness. To such an end the Word of God well may leave the world and depart to Him that sent Him, and go to the Father! And as for that passage near the end of the Gospel according to John, "Cling not to me, for I am not yet gone up unto my Father," let us seek to conceive it in the more mystical sense:

Let ours be the more reverent conception of the ascension of the Son to the Father with sanctified insight, an ascension rather of soul than of body. I think it right to have linked these considerations to the clause Our Father in the Heavens for the sake of doing away with a low conception of God held by those who think that He is in heaven spacially, and of preventing anyone from saying God is in material space since it follows that He also is physical, which leads to opinions most impious\—to belief that He is divisible and material and corruptible. For every material thing is divisible and corruptible. Or else let them tell us, not on the strength of vague sensation but with a claim to clear understanding, how it can be of any other than a material nature. Since, then, in writings before Christ's bodily sojourn there are also many statements which seem to say that God is in physical space, it appears to me to be not out of place to cite a few of them also for the sake of doing away with any doubt in those who, because they know no better, confine God, who is over all, within small and scanty space on their own scale. First, in Genesis it says Adam and Eve heard the sound of the lord God walking at evening in the garden, and both Adam and his wife hid themselves from the Lord God amid the wood of the Garden.

I shall put the question to those who not only refuse to enter into the treasures of the passage but do not so much as knock at all at its door, whether they are able to imagine the Lord God, who fills the heaven and the earth, who as they themselves suppose in the more physical sense uses

heaven as throne and the earth as a footstool for His feet, as contained by so scanty a space in comparison with the whole heaven and the earth that a garden which they suppose to be material is not filled by God but so far exceeds Him in greatness as to hold Him even when walking while a sound from the tread of His feet is heard? Absurder still on their interpretation is the hiding of Adam and Eve, in fear of God by reason of their transgression, from before God amid the wood of the Garden. For it is not even said that they merely desired to hide but that they actually hid themselves. And how is it in their view that God inquires of Adam saying: Where are you? I have discussed these matters at greater length in my examination of the contents of Genesis, yet here, too—in order not to pass by so grave a subject in complete silence—it will suffice if I recall what is said by God in Deuteronomy: I will dwell in them and walk in them. For as is His walk in saints such is His walk in the Garden also, since everyone that sins hides from God and shuns His oversight and renounces his confidence with Him. So it was that Cain also went out from before God and dwelt in the land of Nod over against Eden. In the same way, therefore, as He dwells in saints. So also does He dwell in heaven (that is, in every saint who wears the image of the Heavenly One, or Christ, in whom all who are being saved are luminaries and stars of heaven, or else because saints are in heaven) according to the saying: Unto you who dwells in heaven have I lifted up my eyes. And yet the passage in Ecclesiastes: Be not in haste to utter speech before God, because God is in heaven above, and you on Earth below, means to show the interval which separates those who are in the body of humiliation from Him who is with the angels and holy powers who are being exalted by the help of the Word also and with Christ himself. For it is not unreasonable that He should be strictly at the Father's throne, allegorically called heaven, while His church, termed Earth, is a footstool at His feet.

I have cited a few Old Testament utterances, thought to represent God in space,

for the sake of urging the reader by every means within the power given me to

accept the divine scripture in the higher and more spiritual sense whenever it

seems to teach that God is in space. And it was fitting that these

considerations should be linked to the clause Our Father in the Heavens inasmuch

as it distinguishes the essence of God from all created beings. For it is upon

such as do not share in that essence that a certain glory of God and a power

from Him, an outflow of the deity, comes.

XIV. HALLOWED BE THY NAME

Hallowed be Thy name. Although this may represent either that the object of

prayer has not yet come to pass, or after its attainment, that it is not

permanent in which case the request is for its retention; the language in this

instance makes it plain that it is with the implication that the name of the

Father has not yet been hallowed, that we are bidden—according to Matthew and

Luke, that is—to say "Hallowed be Thy Name." Then how, one might

say, should a man request the hallowing of God's name as though not hallowed?

Let us understand what the Father's name, and what the hallowing of it, means. A

name is a summary designation descriptive of the peculiar character of the thing

named.

Thus the Apostle Paul has a certain peculiar character, partly of soul which is accordingly of a certain kind, partly of intellect which is accordingly contemplative of certain things, and partly of body which is accordingly of a certain kind. It is the peculiar in these characteristics, the unique combination—for there is not another being identical with Paul—that is indicated by means of the appellation Paul. In the case of men, however, whose peculiar characteristics are changed, their names also by a sound usage are changed according to scripture. When the character of Abram was transformed, he was called Abraham; when that of Simon he was named Peter, and when that of Saul the persecutor of Jesus, he was designated Paul. But in the case of God, inasmuch as He is himself ever unchangeable and unalterable, the proper name which even He may be said to bear is ever one, that mentioned in Exodus, "He that is," or the like. Since therefore, though we all have some notion of God, conceiving of Him in various ways, but not all of what He is, for few and, be it said, fewer than few are they who comprehend His compete holiness—we are with good reason taught to attain to a holy conception of Him in order that we may see His holiness as creator, provider, judge, elector, abandoner, acceptor, rejector, rewarder and punisher of each according to his desert. For it is in such and similar terms that God's peculiar character may be said to be sketched which I take to be the meaning of the expression, God's name according to the scriptures in Exodus: Thou shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain; in Deuteronomy: Be my utterance awaited as rain: as dew let my words descend, as showers upon herbage and as moisture upon grass: for I have called on the Lord's name; and in Psalms: They shall remember your name in every generation.

It is he who associates the thought of God with wrong things that takes the name

of the Lord God in vain, and he who is able to utter rain that cooperates with

his hearers in the fruit bearing of their souls, and who addresses words of

exhortation that are like dew, and who in the edifying torrent of his words

turns upon his listeners showers most helpful or moisture most efficacious is

able to do so because he has perceived his need of God as the accomplisher and

calls in the real supplier of those things; and everyone who penetrates the very

things of God recalls to mind rather than learns the mysteries of piety even

when he seems to be told them by another or thinks that he discovers them. And

as the suppliant ought at this point to reflect that his asking is for the

hallowing of God's name, so in Psalms it is said Let us Exalt His name together,

the patriarch enjoining attainment to the true and exalted knowledge of God's peculiar nature with all harmony, in the same mind, and in the same will.

It is exalting the name of God together when, after one has participated in an outflow of deity in having been sustained by God and having overcome his enemies so that they are unable to rejoice over his fall, he exalts the power of God in which he has participated, as is shown in the twenty-ninth psalm by the words: I will exalt you, O Lord, for you have sustained me and not made my enemies to rejoice over me. A man exalts God when he has consecrated to Him a house within himself, since the superscription of the Psalm also runs thus: A Psalm of singing for the consecration of the House of David.

It is further to be observed regarding the clause Hallowed be your Name and its successors in imperative form, that the translators also continually made use of imperatives instead of ablatives, as in the Psalms: Speechless let the guileful lips be, that speak lawlessness against the righteous instead of 'may they be' and Let the creditor search out all his possessions: Let him possess no helper, concerning Judas in the one hundred and eighth; for the whole Psalm is a petition concerning Judas that certain things may befall him. But Tatian, failing to perceive that let there be does not always signify the ablative but is occasionally also imperative, has most impiously supposed that God said Let there be light in prayer rather than in command that the light should be; since, as he puts it in his godless thought, God was in darkness. In reply to him it may be asked, how is he going to take the other sayings? Let the Earth grow grass, and Let the water below heaven be gathered together, and Let the waters bring forth creeping things with living souls, and Let the earth bring forth a living soul. Is it for the sake of standing upon firm ground that He prays that the water below heaven be gathered together into one meeting place, or for the sake of partaking of the things that grow from the earth that He prays Let the Earth grow . . . ?

What manner of need, to match His need of light; has He of creatures of water, air, and land that He should pray for them also? If even on Tatian's view it is absurd to think of Him as praying for these things which occur in imperative expressions, may the same not be said of Let be there light—that it is an imperative and not an ablative expression? I thought that, in view of the fact that prayer is expressed in imperative forms, some reference was necessary to his perversion for the sake of those—I myself have met with cases who have been misled into accepting his impious teaching.

XV. THY KINGDOM COME

Thy Kingdom Come. According to the word of our Lord and Savior, the Kingdom of God does not come observably, nor shall men say 'Lo it is here', or 'Lo is it there', but the Kingdom of God is within us; for the utterance is exceedingly near in our mouth and in our heart. It is therefore plain that he who prays for the coming of the kingdom of God prays with good reason for rising and fruit bearing and perfecting of God's kingdom within him. For every saint is ruled over by God and obeys the Spiritual laws of God, and conducts himself like a well-ordered city; and the Father is present with him, and Christ rules together with the Father in the perfected Soul, according to the saying that I mentioned shortly before: We will come unto him and make abode with him. By God's kingdom I understand the blessed condition of the mind and the settled order of wise reflection; by Christ's kingdom the issue of words of salvation to their hearers and the practice of acts of righteousness and the other excellences; for the son of God is word and righteousness. But every sinner is tyrannized by the ruler of this world, since every sinner is in conformity with the present evil world, and does not yield himself to Him who gave Himself for us sinners that He might release us from the present evil world and release us according to the will of God our Father, as it is expressed in the Epistle to Galatians. And he who, by reason of deliberate sin is tyrannized by the ruler of this world, is also ruled over by sin: wherefore we are bidden by Paul to be no longer subject to sin that would rule over us, and we are enjoined in these words, Let sin therefore not rule in our mortal body that we should obey its lusts. But in reference to both clauses Hallowed Be Thy Name and Thy Kingdom Come, it may be urged that, if the suppliant prays them with a view to being heard and ever is heard, plainly his will be an instance, answering to what has just been said, of the name of God being hallowed and of the rise of the Kingdom of God, in which event how shall he any longer with propriety pray for things already present as though they not present, saying Hallowed be Thy Name: Thy Kingdom Come:?—And in that case it will sometimes be proper not to say Hallowed Be Thy Name: Thy Kingdom Come. To this it may be replied that just as he who prays to obtain a word of knowledge and a word of wisdom will with propriety pray for them continually with the prospect of continually receiving fuller contemplations of wisdom and knowledge through being heard, although his knowledge of such things as he may be able in the present to receive is partial, whereas the perfect that annuls the partial shall then be manifested when the mind confronts its objects face to face without sensation—so perfection in our individual hallowing of the name of God and in the rise of His kingdom within us is not possible unless there also come perfection of knowledge and wisdom and it may be the other excellences.

We are wayfaring toward perfection if we forget the things behind, pressing on

toward those before us. The kingdom of God within us will therefore be

consummated in us as we advance without ceasing, when, the saying in the Apostle

is fulfilled, that Christ, His enemies all made subject to Him, shall deliver

the kingdom to God the Father that God may be All in All. For this reason let us

pray without ceasing with a disposition made divine by the Word, and say to our

Father in heaven: Hallowed Be Thy Name: Thy Kingdom Come. Of the kingdom of God

it is further to be said by way of distinction that as righteousness has no

partnership with lawlessness and light no community with darkness and Christ no

argument with Belial, so a kingdom of sin is incompatible with the Kingdom of God.

If, accordingly we would be ruled over by God, by no means let sin rule in our mortal body nor let us obey its commands when it calls our soul forth to the works of the flesh that are alien to God, but let us mortify our members that are on earth and bear the fruits of the Spirit that the Lord may walk in us as in a spiritual garden, ruling alone over us with His Christ seated within us on the right of the Spiritual power that we pray to receive, sitting until all His enemies within us become a footstool for His feet and every rule and authority and power be undone from us.

These things may come to pass in the case of each of us, and death the last energy be undone, so that Christ may say within us also O death, where is your sting? O grave! Where is your victory? Even now, therefore, let our corruptible put on the holiness and incorruptibleness that consists in chastity and purity, and our mortal, death undone, wrap itself in the paternal immortality, so that, being ruled over by God, we may even now live amid the blessings of regeneration and resurrection.

XVI. THY WILL BE DONE ON EARTH ALSO AS IN HEAVEN

Thy Will be done on Earth also as in Heaven. After the clause Thy Kingdom come Luke has passed over these words in silence and placed the clause Give us daily our Needful Bread. Let us therefore examine next in succession the words I have placed first as set down in Matthew alone. As suppliants who are still on earth, believing that the will of God is done in heaven among all the household of the heavens, let us pray that the will of God may be done by us also who are on earth in like manner with them, as will come to pass when we do nothing contrary to His will. And when the will of God as it is in heaven has been accomplished by us also who are on earth, we shall inherit a kingdom of heaven as having, alike with them, worn the image of the Heavenly One, while those who come after us on earth are praying to become in turn like us who have come to be in heaven. So far as Matthew alone is concerned the words on Earth also as in Heaven can be taken in common, so that what we are enjoined to say in prayer would run thus: Hallowed be Thy Name on Earth also as in Heaven: Thy Kingdom come on Earth also as in Heaven: Thy Will be done on Earth also as in Heaven. For alike the name of God has been hallowed among those who are in heaven, and the kingdom of God is risen in them, and the will of God has been done in their midst—things indeed which are all unrealized by us but which can be acquired by us through rendering ourselves worthy to obtain God's hearing in reference to them all. The words Thy Will be done on Earth also as in Heaven may raise the question how has the will of God been done in

Heaven where the spiritual forces of evil are, by reason of which the sword of God shall drink deep even in heaven? If we pray thus that the will of God be done on Earth just as it is being done in heaven may we not thoughtlessly be praying that the very opposite may abide on earth where such things already come from heaven since much that is bad on earth is due to the overcoming spiritual forces of evil which are in the heavenly places?

Anyone who allegorizes heaven and asserts that it is Christ, and Earth the church—what throne so worthy of the Father as Christ? What footstool of the feet of God as the Church?—will easily solve the question by replying that everyone in the church ought to pray to receive the paternal will in such wise as Christ has done, who came to do the will of His Father and accomplished if completely. For it is possible by being joined to Him to become one spirit with Him and therefore receptive of the will to the end that, as it has been accomplished in heaven, so it may be accomplished on earth also; for he that is joined to the Lord, according to Paul, is one spirit. And I believe that one who carefully considers it will find this an interpretation not to be despised. But someone may dispute it by citing what is said to the eleven disciples by the Lord after the resurrection at the close of the this gospel: There hath been given to me all authority on earth also as in heaven. That is, having authority over the things that are in heaven, He says that He has also received it over those on earth:

Whereas those that are in heaven have already been illumined by the Word, it is at the consummation of the world that those on earth are also, in imitation of those over which the Savior received authority, brought to a successful issue by reason of the authority given to the Son of God: accordingly His will is to receive those who are disciples under Him as in a sense cooperants through their prayers to the Father in order that, in like manner with the things in heaven that are subject to Truth and Word, He may lead the things on Earth, restored by reason of the authority which He has received on earth also as in heaven, to an end fraught with bliss for the objects of His authority. On the other hand one who would take heaven to be the Savior and Earth the church, asserting that it is the firstborn of all creation, on whom the Father reposes as on a throne, that is heaven, would find that it is the man whom He put on after having been fitted for such power because He had humbled himself and having been obedient till death, who says after the resurrection There hath been given to me all authority on Earth also as in heaven—the man in the Savior having received His authority over the things in heaven, as the proper possessions of the Only-begotten, in order to be in communion with Him, mingling in His divinity and becoming one with Him. But if this second thought does not yet solve the difficulty as to how the will of God can be in heaven when the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places wrestle against those who are on earth, it will be possible to solve the question from this consideration—It is not by virtue of place but of principle that one who is still on earth but has a commonwealth in heaven and lays up treasure in heaven and has his heart in heaven and wears the image of the Heavenly One, is no longer of the earth nor of the world below but of heaven and of the heavenly world that is better than this.

So, too, the spiritual forces of evil which still dwell in the heavenly places but have their commonwealth on earth and plot against men the means whereby they wrestle against mankind, and lay up treasure on Earth, and wear an image of the Earthly One who the beginning of the Lord's fashioning made to be mocked by the angels, are not heavenly nor by reason of their vicious disposition do they dwell in the heavens. Accordingly when it is said: Thy will be done on

Earth also as in Heaven, we are not to reckon those beings as in heaven at all, because through pride they have fallen along with Him who fell from heaven like a thunderbolt. And it may well be that our Savior, in saying that we ought to pray that the Father's will may be done on Earth also as in heaven, does not by any means order prayer for things spacially on earth that they may be made like things spacially in heaven, but His will in enjoining prayer is that all things on earth, that is things inferior and conformed to the earthly, be made like the better which have their commonwealth in heaven, which have all become heaven. For he that sins, wherever he may be, is earth, and will turn into the like somehow, unless he repents, whereas he that does the will of God and does not disobey the spiritual laws of salvation is heaven. Whether therefore we are still earth because of sin, let us pray that the will of God may extend restoringly to us also as it has already reached those who have become or are heaven before us: or if we are already accounted not earth but heaven by God, let our request be that, in like manner with heaven, on earth also, in inferior things I mean, the will of God may be fulfilled unto what I may term earth's heaven-making, so that there shall be no longer earth but all things become heaven. For if, on this interpretation, the will of God be done on earth also as in heaven, earth will not remain earth, just as to make my meaning clearer with another illustration—if the will of God be done in the case of the wanton as it has been with the temperate, the wanton will be temperate, or if it should be in the case of the unrighteous as it has been with the righteous, the unrighteous will be righteous. If, therefore, the will of God be done on earth also as it has been in heaven, we shall all be heaven; for though flesh that helps not; and blood that is akin to it, are unable to inherit God's kingdom, they may be said to inherit it if they be changed from flesh and earth and clay and blood to the heavenly essence.

XVII. GIVE US TODAY OUR NEEDFUL BREAD

Give us today our Needful Bread, or as Luke has it, Give us daily our Needful Bread. Seeing that some suppose that it is meant that we should pray for material bread, their erroneous opinion deserves to be done away with and the truth about the needful bread set forth, in the following manner. We may put the question to them—how can it be that He, who says that heavenly and great things ought to be asked for as if, on their view, He has forgotten His teaching now enjoins the offering of intercession to the Father for an earthly and little thing, since neither is the bread which is assimilated into our flesh a heavenly thing nor is it asking a great thing to request it? For my part I shall follow the Teacher's own teaching as to the bread and cite the passages in detail. To men who have come to Capernaum to seek Him He says, in the Gospel according to John, Verily, verily, I tell you you seek me not because you saw signs but because you ate of the loaves of bread and were filled . . . for he that has eaten and been filled with the loaves of bread which have been blessed by Jesus seeks the more to grasp the Son of God more closely and hastens toward Him.

Wherefore He will enjoin: Work not for the food that perishes but for the food that abides unto life eternal which the Son of Man shall give you. And when, upon that, they who had heard inquired and said: What are we to do that we may work the works of God? Jesus answered and said to them: This is the work of God that you believe on him whom He has sent. As it is written in Psalms, God sent His Word and healed them, that is the diseased, and believers in that Word work the works of God which are food that abides unto life eternal. And my Father, He says, gives you the true bread from heaven, for the bread of God is that which comes down from heaven and gives life to the world. It is true bread that nourishes the true man who is made in God's image,

and he that has been nourished by it also becomes in the Creator's likeness. What is more nourishing to the soul than Word, or what more precious to the mind of him that is capable of receiving it than the Wisdom of God?

What is more congenial to the rational nature than Truth? Should it be urged in objection to this view that He would not in that case teach men to ask for needful bread as if something other than Himself, it is to be noted that He also discourses in the Gospel according to John sometimes as if it were other than Himself but at other times as if He is Himself the Bread. The former in the sense of the words: Moses hath given you the bread from heaven yet not the true bread, but my Father gives you the true bread from heaven. In the latter sense, to those who had said to Him Ever give us this bread, He says: I am the bread of life: he that comes unto me shall not hunger, and he that believes on me shall not thirst; and shortly after: I am the living bread that is come down from heaven: if anyone eat of this bread he shall live unto eternity: yea and the bread which I shall give is my flesh which I shall give for the sake of the life of the world.

Now since all manner of nourishment is spoken of as bread according to Scripture as is clear from the fact that it is recorded of Moses that he ate not bread and drank not water forty days, and since the nourishing Word is manifold and various, not all being capable of nourishment by the solidity and strength of the divine teachings, He is therefore pleased to offer strenuous nourishment befitting men more perfect, where He says: The bread which I shall give is my flesh which I shall give for the sake of the life of the world: and shortly after: Except you eat the flesh of the son of Man and drinks His blood, you have not life in yourselves. He that eats my flesh and drinks my blood hath life eternal, and I will raise him up in the last day. for my flesh is true food and my blood is true drink. He that eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.As the living Father sent me and I live because of the Father, so also he that eats me—he too shall live because of me. This is the true food, Christ's flesh, which being Word has become flesh, as it is said And the Word became flesh. When we eat and drink the Word He tabernacles in us. When He is assimilated the words are fulfilled: We beheld His glory. This is the bread that is come down from heaven. Not as the fathers ate and died, he that eats this bread shall live unto eternity. Discoursing to infant Corinthians who walk in the way of man Paul says: I gave you milk to drink, not meat, for you were not yet able. Nay even now you are not yet able, for you are still of the flesh; and in the Epistle to Hebrews: And you are become in need of milk, not of solid nourishment. For any one who partakes of milk is devoid of moral reason, for he is infant. But solid nourishment is for mature men who by force of use have their senses trained to discriminate good and evil. In my opinion the words: One man hath faith to eat anything, but he that is weak eats vegetables are also in his intention meant to refer not to material forms of nourishment but to the words of God that nourish the soul: Of these the man most faithful and mature is able to partake of any, he being denoted in the words One man hath faith to eat anything, whereas the weaker and more immature is content with simpler teachings that do not quite produce full strength in him, reference being intended to him in the words But he that is weak eats vegetables.

There is also in Solomon a saying in the Proverbs which I think teaches that the

man who by reason of simplicity is incapable of the stronger and greater

sentiments is better, short of false thought, than the man who, though more

ready and keener and of greater insight into things, fails to penetrate the principle of peace and harmony in all. Solomon's passage runs as follows: Better is hospitality of vegetables served with friendship and grace than a fatted calf with enmity.

Many a time do we accept untutored simpler entertainment, accompanied by good conscience, as guests at the table of those who are unable to furnish us with more, with greater satisfaction than any elevation of words upreared against the knowledge of God and proclaiming with ample plausibility a sentiment alien to the Father of our Lord Jesus who has given the law and the prophets. In order, therefore, that we may neither fall sick of soul for lack of nourishment nor die to God because of famine of the Lord's word, let us in obedience to the teaching of our Savior, with righter faith and life, ask the Father for the living bread which is the same as the needful bread.

Let us now consider what the word epiousion, needful, means. First of all it should be known that the word epiousion is not found in any Greek writer whether in philosophy or in common usage, but seems to have been formed by the evangelists. At least Matthew and Luke, in having given it to the world, concur in using it in identical form. The same thing has been done by translators from Hebrew in other instances also; for what Greek ever used the expression enotizou or akoutisthete instead of eistaota dexai or akousai poice se.

Exactly like the expression epiousion, needful, is one found in Moses' writings, spoken by God: Ye shall be my periousios—peculiar people. Either word seems to me to be a compund of ousia—essence—the former signifying the bread that contributes to the essence, the latter denoting the people that has to do with the essence and is associated with it. As for ousia, essence, in the strict sense, by those who assert the priority of the substance of immaterial things, it is ranked with immaterial things which are in possession of permanent being and neither receive addition nor suffer subtraction. For addition and subtraction are characteristic of material things in reference to which growth

and decay take place owing to their being in a state of flux, in need of

imported support and nourishment.

If the import exceeds the waste in a period growth takes place, if it is less, diminuation; and if, as in conceivable, there are things receiving no import at all, they are in what I may term unmitigated diminuation. Those on the other hand who hold the substance of immaterial things to be posterior and that of material things to be prior, define essence in these terms: It is the primary matter of existing things out of which they are or the matter of bodily things out of which they are; or that of terms out of which they are; or the primary unqualified substance or presubstance of existing things; or that which admits of all transformations and modifications though itself as such inherently incapable of modification; or that which undergoes all modification and transformation. On their view essence is inherently unqualified and inarticulate as such. It is even indeterminate in magnitude, but it is involved in all quality as a kind of ready ground for it. By qualities they mean distinctively like the actualities and the activities in which movements and articulations of the essence have come to be, and they say that the essence as such has no part in these inherently though it is always incidentally inseparable from some of them and equally receptive of all the agent's actualizations however it may act and transform. (For it the force associated with the essence, pervading all that would be responsible for all quality and the particular dispositions involving it.) And they say that it is throughout transformable and throughout divisible, and that any essence can coalesce with any other, all being a unity not withstanding. What I have said in this discussion of essence raised by the expressions the needful bread and the peculiar people has been to distinguish the meanings of essence. And since we have already seen that it is spiritual bread for which we ought to ask, we must needs understand the essence to be akin to the bread, so that just as material bread on assimilation into the body of the nourished passes into its essence, so the living bread which is come down from heaven being assimilated into the mind and soul may impart its own power to him who has lent himself to nourishment from it, and so become the needful bread for which we ask. And again, in like manner, as the nourished attains strength varying according to the character of the nourishment whether solid and fit for athletes or of the nature of milk and vegetables, so it follows that when the word of God is given either as milk as befits children, or as vegetables as suits invalids, or as flesh as is proper for combatants, each of the nourished acquires this or that power or nature according to the word to which he has lent himself.

Moreover, there is a kind of reputed nourishment which is in reality harmful, a

second that is productive of disease, and another that cannot even be

assimilated, and all of these may be transferred by analogy to varieties of

reputedly nourishing teachings. Needful, therefore, is the bread which

corresponds most closely to our rational nature and is akin to our very essence,

which invests the soul at once with well being and with strength, and, since the

Word of God is immortal, imparts to its eater its own immortality.

It is just this needful bread that seems to me to be otherwise termed in

Scripture a tree of life, he who stretches forth his hand to which and takes of it shall live unto eternity. And under a third name this tree is termed wisdom of God in Solomon's words: She is a tree of life to all that take hold upon her and to those that lean upon her as upon the Lord she is safe. And since the angels also are nourished by God's wisdom receiving power for the accomplishment of their proper works from their contemplation in truth with wisdom, it is said in Psalms that the angels also are nourished, men of God designated Hebrews holding communion with the angels and, as it were, even becoming messfellows with them.

Such is the meaning of the saying:Bread of angels hath man eaten. Far from us be such poverty of mind as to suppose that it is of some material bread, such as is recorded to have come down from heaven upon those who had quitted Egypt, that the angels continually partake and are nourished, as though it was actually in this that the Hebrews had communion with the angels, God's ministering spirits. And while we are considering the needful bread and the tree of life and the wisdom of God and the common nourishment of saintly men and angels, it is not untimely to refer to the three men recorded in Genesis who were entertained by Abraham and partook of three measures of fine flour of wheat kneaded into ember-cakes, and to observe that this may perhaps simply be told in a figurative sense.

It would show that saints are able upon occasion to impart spiritual and rational nourishment not only to men but also to divine powers, either for their benefit or for the exhibition of their most nourishing acquisitions, the angels being cheered and nourished in such display and becoming the readier to cooperate in every way and henceforth to conspire in the apprehension of fuller and greater things by the man who has cheered and so to say nourished them with his store of nourishing teachings already acquired. No wonder that a man may nourish angels when even Christ avows himself to stand before the door and knock in order that He may enter into him that opens to Him and sup with him on his fare, thereafter Himself in turn to impart His own to him who first according to his individual power has entertained the Son of God. So then the partaker of the needful bread, having his heart confirmed, becomes a son of God whereas he that has portion in the serpent is none other than a spiritual Ethiopian and himself in turn changes into a snake by reason of the serpent's toils so that, even should he express a desire for baptism, he is reproached by the Word and hears it said: Snakes, offspring of vipers, who hath prompted you to flee from the coming wrath? And David speaks of the serpent body being fed on by Ethiopians: Thou has

shattered the heads of the serpents in the water, you hast crushed the serpent's head, you hast given him to be food for the Ethiopian peoples. If it is not absurd to suppose that, since the Son of God and also the Adversary are of essential substances, either of them may become nourishment to this soul or that, why need we hesitate in the case of all powers, better and worse, including human beings, to believe that each one of us may derive nourishment from any of them? As Peter was about to commune with the centurion Cornelius and those who met together with him in Caesarea, and thereafter to impart the words of God to the Gentiles also, he saw, the vessel let down from heaven by four corners, in which were all manner of quadrupeds and reptiles and beasts of the earth, whereupon he was also bidden rise up and stay and eat, and after he had said in deprecation: Thou knowest that nothing common or unclean hath ever entered my mouth, he was commanded to call no man common or unclean because what God had made clean ought not to be made common by Peter; in the words of the passage, what things God hath made clean make not you common.

Accordingly the clean and unclean food distinguished according to the law of Moses in terms of various animals bear an analogy to the differing characters of rational beings and teaches that some are nourishing for us but others the reverse until God has cleansed and made all, or those from every race, nourishing. But while that is indeed so and while there is such diversity among foods, the needful bread, for which we ought to pray in order to be counted worthy of it, and, being nourished by the Word that was God with God in the beginning to be made divine God, is one and transcends all the foods mentioned. But it will be said that the word epiousion, needful, is formed from epienai, to go on, so that we are bidden to ask for the bread proper to the coming age, in order that God may take it in advance and bestow it on us now. Thus what was to be given as it were tomorrow would be given us today, today being taken to mean the present age, tomorrow the coming. Since, however, as far as I can judge, the preceding interpretation is better, let us go on to consider the added reference to today in Matthew or the expression daily written in Luke. To call the whole present age today is a usage frequent in the Scriptures, as in the passages: He is father of the Moabites until today, and He is father of the Ammonites until today, and this account has been reported among Jews until today, and in the Psalms, Today if you hear His voice harden not your hearts. In Joshua, this is expressed very clearly: Turn not away from the Lord in the days of today. And if today means the whole present age, yesterday is probably the bygone age. That I have understood to be its meaning in Psalms and in Paul in the Epistle to Hebrews. In Psalms it is thus: A thousand years are in thine eyes as a yesterday that had passed—whatever the much talked of millennium means, it is likened to yesterday as opposed to today; and in the apostle it is written, Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and unto the ages. No wonder that the whole of an age counts with God as the space of a single day with us, aye and less as I think. We may also consider whether the accounts of feasts or assemblies recorded in terms of days or months or seasons or years have symbolical references to ages. For if the law contains a shadow of coming things, its many Sabbaths must be a shadow of many days and its moons come round in the course of intervals of time, completed by some manner of a moon's conjunction with some sun. And if a first month and tenth till fourteenth day and a feast of unleavened bread from fourteenth till twenty-first contain a shadow of coming things, who is wise and to such a degree God's friend as to have vision of the first among many months and its tenth day and so on? What need I say of that feast of seven weeks of days, and of that seventh month whose new moon is a day of trumpets and on whose tenth day falls a day of atonement, which are known to God alone

who has enacted them? Who has to such a degree received the mind of Christ as to interpret those seventh years of freedom for Hebrew domestic slaves and of remission of debts and of cessation from tillage of the holy land? And over and above the feast of every seven years there is yet another year, the so-called Jubilee, clearly to imagine whose nature even partially, or the true laws to be fulfilled in it, is for no one save Him who has contemplated the Father's counsel in reference to the order in all the ages according to His unsearchable judgments and His univestigable ways. In trying to reconcile two apostolic passages it has often occurred to me to raise the question how there can be consummation of ages at which Jesus has been manifested once for all unto abolition of sins if there are going to be ages following after this. The Apostles' passages are as follows: In the Epistle to Hebrews, but now at a consummation of the ages He hath been manifested once for all unto abolition of sins through His sacrifice; but in the Epistle to Ephesians, in order that He may show forth, in the years following, the exceeding riches of His Grace in kindness toward us.

Well, in conjecture as to matters so great, I believe that, just as the year's consummation is it's last month after which arises another month's beginning, so probably the present age is a consummation of numerous ages completing as it were a year of ages, and after it certain coming ages will arise whose beginning is the coming age, and in those coming ages God shall show forth the riches of His Grace in kindness, when the greatest sinner, who for having spoken ill against the Holy Spirit is held fast by his sin throughout the present age and the coming one from beginning to end, shall after that, I know not how, receive a dispensation. When a man has had vision of these things and has given thought to a week of ages with intent to contemplate a kind of holy sabbath—keeping and a month of ages to see God's holy new moon, and a year of ages to survey the feasts of the year when every male must appear before the Lord God, and the corresponding years of so many ages to discern the seventh holy year, and seven weekly years of ages to sing a hymn to the Enactor of Laws so great, how can he after such consideration cavil over what is the merest fraction of an hour in the day of such an age, instead of doing everything to become, through his preparation here, worthy of obtaining the needful bread and to receive it while it is today and daily, what daily means being already clear from the foregoing explanations. For he who prays today to God, who is from infiniti to infiniti, not only for today but also in a sense for that which is daily shall be enabled to receive from Him who hath power to bestow exceedingly above what we ask or think even things—to use extreme language—which transcend those that eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard and that have not gone up into the heart of man. These considerations seem to me to have been very necessary for the understanding of both the expressions today and daily when we are praying that the needful bread be given us from His Father.

XVIII. AND FORGIVE US OUR DEBTS AS WE ALSO HAVE FORGIVEN OUR DEBTORS And forgive us our Debts as we also have forgiven our Debtors, or as Luke has it, And forgive us our Sins, for we also ourselves forgive everyone in Debt to us. Concerning debts the Apostle also says: Pay your debts to all—to whom you owe tribute, tribute, to whom fear, fear, to whom taxes, taxes, to whom honor, honor: owe no man anything save mutual love.

We owe therefore in having certain duties not only in giving but also in kind

speech and corresponding actions, and indeed we owe a certain disposition

towards one another. Owing these things, we either pay them through discharging the commands of the divine law, or failing to pay them, in contempt of the salutary word, we remain in debt. The like reflection applies to debts toward brothers, to those who in the religious sense have been born again with us in Christ, as well as to those who have a common mother or father with us.

We also have a certain debt toward fellow citizens, and another toward all men in common, in particular toward guests and toward men at the age of fatherhood, and another toward such as it is right that we should honor as sons or as brothers. He, therefore, who does not do what is a debt to be discharged to brothers remains a debtor for what he has not done. So, too, should we fail in what falls, at the prompting of the charitable spirit of wisdom, to human beings also at our hands, our indebtedness becomes the greater. Indeed, we also have debt in personal concerns—to use the body in a certain way, so as not to wear out the flesh of the body through love of pleasure, and on the other hand to treat the soul with a certain care, and to take forethought for the keenness of the mind, and for our speech that it be without sting and helpful and not trifling. Whenever we fail to perform what we owe, even to ourselves, the heavier does our debt become.

Besides all these, being above all a creation and formation of God, we owe it to preserve a certain disposition towards Him with love that is from a whole heart and from a whole strength and from a whole mind, and if we fail to achieve this we remain God's debtors, sinning against the Lord. And who in that case shall pray for us? For if a man sinning sin against a man, then shall they pray for him: but if he sin against the Lord, who shall pray for him? as Eli says in the first book of Kings.

Moreover, we are debtors to Christ who bought us with His own blood, just as every house slave is also debtor to his purchaser for the sum of money given for him. We have also a certain indebtedness to the Holy Spirit: we are paying it when we do not grieve Him in whom we were sealed unto a day of redemption, and when, without grieving Him, we bear the fruits demanded of us, He being present with us and quickening our soul. And even though we do not know precisely which is our individual angel that looks upon the face of the Father in heaven, it is at least manifest

to each of us upon reflection that we are debtors to him also for certain things. And inasmuch as we are in a world theater both of angels and of men, one must know that as the performer in a theater owes it to say or do certain things in sight of the spectators, and if he fails to perform this is punished as having insulted the whole theater, so we, too, owe to the whole world, to all the angels and the race of men alike, those things which, if we have the will, we shall learn of wisdom.

Apart from those more general debts, there is a certain indebtedness to a widow who is being provided for by the church, a second to a deacon, another to an elder, while that to a bishop is heaviest of all—being demanded by the Savior of the whole church and avenged if not paid. As already said, the Apostle mentions a certain common debt between husband and wife, when he says: Let the husband pay his indebtedness to the wife and wife likewise to the husband, and continues Deprive not one another. But what need is there, when readers of this writing select their own examples from the record, for me to speak of all the things we owe which we either fail to pay and so come to be restrained or else pay and come to be free? Suffice it to say that it is impossible while in this life to be without debt at any hour of night or day. In owing, a man either pays or else withholds the indebtedness. He may either pay or withhold in this life. Some indeed owe no man anything; others pay off most and owe little; others pay little and owe more; and a man may conceivably pay nothing and owe everything. And besides, he who pays all so as to owe nothing may at sometimes effect his object if he prays for forgiveness for previous indebtedness, inasmuch as such forgiveness may reasonably be thought obtainable by one who has for sometime made it his ambition to reach the position of having no obligation unpaid and thus owing nothing. Our very activities in transgression leave their impression within our mind and become the indictment against us on which we shall be brought to trial when, as it were, the books that have been indicted by us all shall be brought forth, in the time when we shall all stand before the judgment seat of Christ that each may receive what he has earned through the body according to his conduct whether good or bad.

It is also in reference to such indebtedness that it is said in the Proverbs:

Give not yourself in certainty to your shame, for if the man shall not have

ability to pay, they shall take your bed that is under you. But if we owe to so

many, it is certain that men owe to us also. Some owe to us as to human beings,

others as to fellow citizens, others as to fathers, some as to sons, yet others

as wives to husbands or as friends to friends. Whenever, accordingly, any of our

very numerous debtors have behaved too remiss in the matter of payment of there

dues to us, our more charitable course will be to bear them no grudge and to

remember our own indebtedness and how often we have failed to discharge them not

only towards men but also towards God himself.

Remembering what as debtors we have not paid but withheld during the time which it was our duty to have done this or that for our neighbor had run by, we shall be gentler toward those who have fallen in debt to us in turn and have not paid their indebtedness, especially if we do not forget our

transgressions against the Divine and the unrighteousness we have spoken against the Height either in ignorance of the truth or else in displeasure at the misfortunes that have befallen us. But if we refuse to become gentler towards those who have fallen in debt to us, our experience will be that of him who did not remit the hundred shillings to his fellow servant and of whom, according to the parable set down in the gospel, though already pardoned, the master exacts in severity what had already been remitted, saying to him: Wicked servant and slothful, was it not right for you to pity your fellow servant as I also pitied you? Cast him into prison until he pay all that is owed. And the Lord continues: So shall the heavenly Father do to you also if you forgive not each his brother from your hearts.

It is however on profession of penitence that we are to forgive those who have sinned against us, even though our debtor often does so; for He says: If your brother sin against you seven times a day and seven times turn and say, "I repent," you shall forgive him. It is not we who are harsh towards the impenitent, but they who are wicked to themselves, for he that spurns instruction hates himself. Yet even in such cases we should seek in every way that healing arise within him who is so completely perverted as not even to be conscious of his own ills but to be drunken with a drunkenness more fatal than from wine, from the darkening of evil. When Luke says Forgive us our Sins he means the same as Matthew, since sins are constituted when we owe and do not pay, though he does not appear to lend support to him who would forgive only penitent debtors when he says that it is enacted by the Savior that we ought in prayer to add: for we ourselves also forgive everyone in debt to us. And it would seem that we have all authority to forgive the sins that have been committed against us as is clear from both clauses: as we also have forgiven our debtors; and for we ourselves also forgive everyone in debt to us. But it is when a man is inspired by Jesus as were the apostles, when he can be known from his fruits to have received the Spirit that is Holy and to have become spiritual through being led by the Spirit after the manner of a Son of God unto every reasonable duty, that he forgives whatsoever God has forgiven and holds those sins that are irremediable, and as the prophets served God in speaking not their own message but that of the divine Will, so he too serves the God who alone has authority to forgive. In the Gospel according to John the language referring to the forgiveness exercised by the apostles runs thus: Receive the Holy Spirit: whosoever's sins you forgive, they are forgiven unto them: whosoever's you hold, they are held. Anyone taking these words without discrimination might blame the apostles for not forgiving all men in order that all might be forgiven but holding the sins of some so that they are held with God also on their account.

It is helpful to take an example from the Law with a view to understand God's

forgiveness of sins through men. Legal priests are prohibited from offering

sacrifice for certain sins in order that the persons for whom the sacrifices are

made may have their misdeeds forgiven; and though the priest has authority to

make offerings for certain involuntary or willful misdeeds, he of course does

not presume to offer a sacrifice for sin in cases of adultery or willful murder

or any other more serious offence.

So, too, the apostles, and those who have become like apostles, being priests

according to the Great High Priest and having received knowledge of the service of God, know under the Spirit's teaching for which sins, and when, and how they ought to offer sacrifices, and recognize for which they ought not to do so. Thus Eli the priest, knowing that his sons Hophni and Phineahas are sinners, with a sense of his inability to cooperate with them for forgiveness of sins, confesses his despair of such a result in his words:

If a man sins against a man, then shall they pray for him, but if he sin against the Lord, who shall pray for him? I know not how it is, but there are some who have taken upon themselves what is beyond priestly dignity, perhaps through utter lack of accurate priestly knowledge, and are proud of their ability to pardon even acts of idolatry and to forgive acts of adultery and fornication, claiming that even sin unto death is absolved through their prayer for those who have dared to commit such.

They do not read the words: There is sin unto death; not for it do I say that a man should ask. Nor should we omit to mention the resolute Job's offering of sacrifice for his sons, with the words: Perhaps my sons have had evil thoughts in their minds toward God. Though the sinful thoughts are doubtful and at worst have not reached the lips, he offers his sacrifice for them.

XIX. AND BRING US NOT INTO TEMPTATION BUT DELIVER US FROM EVIL And bring us not into Temptation but deliver us from Evil. In Luke the words but deliver us from Evil are omitted. Assuming that the Savior does not command us to pray for the impossible, it appears to me to deserve consideration in what sense we are bidden to pray not to enter into temptation when all human life on earth is a test. In that on earth we are beset by the flesh which wars against the spirit and whose intent is emnity to God as it is by no means capable of being subject to the law of God, we are in temptation. That all human life on earth is a trial we have learned from Job in the words: Is not the life of men on earth a trial, and the same thing is made plain from the seventeenth psalm in the words: In you will I be delivered from trial. Paul, too, writing to the Corinthians says that God bestows not freedom from temptation but freedom from temptation beyond one's power.

More than human temptation has not possessed you, and God is to be trusted not to let you be tempted beyond your power but to make the temptation be accompanied by the outlet of power to endure it. Whether our wrestling is with the flesh that lusts or wars against the spirit, or with the soul of all flesh—in other words the ruling faculty, called the heart, of the body in which it resides—as is the wrestling of those who are tempted with human temptations, or, as advanced

and maturer athletes, who no longer wrestle with blood and flesh nor are reviewed in the human temptations which they have already trampled down, our struggles are with the principalities and authorities and world-rulers of His darkness and the Spiritual forces of evil, we have no release from temptation. In what sense then does the Savior bid us pray not to enter into temptation, when God in some sense tempts all men? Think you, says Judith, not only to the elders of that day but also to all readers of her writing, of all that He did with Abraham and all His temptations of Isaac and all that befell Jacob in Mesopotamia of Syria while he shepherded the flocks of Laban, his mother's brother. For it is not that whereas He tested them by fire for the proving of their hearts, the Lord who, for their admonishment, scourges those who approach Him, now wreaks vengeance upon us. And David declares as a general truth concerning all righteous men that Many are the afflictions of the righteous, while in the acts the Apostle says: because it is through many afflictions that we must enter into the kingdom of God. And if we failed to understand what escapes most men in reference to prayer that we enter not into temptation, we would at this point say that the apostles were not heard in their prayers since throughout their whole time they endured countless sufferings: in toils more abundantly, in blows more abundantly, in prisons above measure, in deaths often, while Paul in particular: five times received forty stripes save one at the hands of Jews, thrice was beaten with rods, once was stoned, thrice was shipwrecked, passed a night and a day in the deep, a man in every way afflicted, in straits, persecuted, cast down, confessing: Until the present hour we have hungered, thirsted, gone naked, been buffeted, lacked rest, toiled at work with our own hands. Reviled, we have blessed; persecuted, we have borne up; slandered, we have exhorted. When the apostles have failed in prayer, we might ask what hope there is for any of their inferiors to obtain God's hearing when one prays? One ignorant of the true meaning of the Savior's command will have reason to suppose that the words in the twenty-fifth psalm, Test me, O Lord, and try me; assay my reins and my heart with fire, are in opposition to our Lord's teaching about prayer. And when has anyone ever believed that those of whom he had complete knowledge were free of temptations? And what time can be conceived during which a man could be lighthearted as though he did not struggle to avoid sinning? Is a man poor? Let him beware lest one day he steal and forswear by the name of God. Again, is he rich? Let him not be lighthearted, for he may become completely false and say in exaltation, "Who sees me?" Even Paul, for all his riches, in all manner of discourse and in all manner of knowledge, is not released from the danger of sinning on their account through excessive exaltation, but needs a stake of Satan to buffet him in order that he may not be excessively exalted. Even though a man may have a comparatively good conscience and fly up in alarm from things evil, let him read what is said in the second book of the Chronicles of Hezekiah, who is said to have fallen from the elevation of his heart. And if, because I have not dwelt on the case of the poor, someone is lighthearted—as though poverty involved no temptation—he must know that the Plotter plots to cast down the needy and the poor, especially since according to Solomon, the needy endure no threats. And what need is there to tell how many, because of their material riches which they had failed to manage rightly, have found a place in punishment along with the rich man in the Gospel? And how many, because they bore poverty ignobly, with behavior more servile and base than was seemly in Saints, have fallen away from their heavenly hope? Even they who are midway between these extremes of riches and poverty are not by any means released from sinning according to their possession, moderate though it be.

Again, one who is in bodily health and well being imagines that by virtue of his

mere health and well being he is outside of all temptation. And yet, whose sin

it is, apart from those in well being and in health, to corrupt the temple of

God, no one will venture to say because the meaning of the passage is clear to

everyone. And who in sickness has escaped the incitements to corrupt the temple

of God, having leisure at such time and readily admitting thoughts of unclean

things, not to speak of all the others things beside these which trouble him

unless he guards his heart with all vigilance?

Many a man, overcome by troubles and incapable of bearing sickness manfully, has been shown to be suffering at the time from sickness rather of the soul than of the body, and many another, ashamed to bear the name of Christ nobly, has, through shunning disrepute, fallen into eternal shame. Again, a man may think that he has respite from temptation when he is in honor among men. Yet is not the Lord's saying, They have their reward from men, proclaimed to those who are elated over their popularity? Do not the words strike dismay: How can you have come to believe, when you have received glory from one another, and seek not the glory which is from God alone? And what need is there for me to recount the crimes done in pride by the reputed noble, and the fawning submission of the so-called low born towards the reputed noble by reason of their ignorance, a submission which separates from God men who are devoid of genuine friendliness but feign that fairest of human possessions—love. The whole life of man on earth is therefore a trial, as has already been said. Let us for that reason pray for deliverance from trial not through being exempt from it—that is an utter impossibility for beings on earth—but through not succumbing under it.

It is when a man succumbs in the moment of tempting, I take it, that he enters

into temptation, being held in its nets. Into those nets the Savior entered for

the sake of those who had already been caught in them, and in the words of the

Song of Songs, looking out through the meshwork makes answer to those who have

been already caught by them and have entered into temptation, and says to those

who form His bride: Arise, my dear one, my fair one, my dove. To bring home the

fact that every time is one of temptation on earth, I will add that even he who

meditates upon the law of God day and night and makes a practice of carrying out

the saying, A righteous man's mouth shall meditate on wisdom, has no release

from being tempted. How many in their devotion to the examination of the divine

Scriptures have, through misunderstanding the messages contained in Law and

Prophets, devoted themselves to godless and impious or to foolish and ridiculous

opinions?

What need is there for me to answer, when there are countless examples of such mistakes among those who do not seem to be open to the charge of righteousness in their reading? The same fate has also overtaken many in their reading of the Apostles and Gospels inasmuch as, through their own lack of discernment, they fashion in imagination a Son or a Father other than the One divinely conceived and truly recognized by Holy Writ. For one who fails to have true thoughts of God or His Christ has fallen away from the true God and from His Only Begotten, and his worship of the imaginary Father and Son, fashioned by his lack of discernment, is no real worship. Such is his fate through having failed to recognize the temptation present in the reading of Holy Writ to arm himself and take a stand as for a struggle already upon him.

We ought therefore to pray, not that we be not tempted—that is impossible—but that we be not encompassed by temptation, the fate of those who are open to it and are overcome. Now since, outside of the Lord's Prayer, it is written Pray that you enter not into temptation, the force of which may perhaps be clear from what has already been said, whereas in the Lord's prayer we ought to say to God our Father, Bring us not into Temptation, it is worth seeing in what sense we ought to think of God as leading one who does not pray or is not heard into temptation. If entering into temptation means being overcome, it is manifestly out of the question to think that God leads anyone into temptation as though He delivered him to be overcome. The same difficulty awaits one no matter in what sense one may interpret the words Pray that you enter not into temptation, for if it is an evil to fall into temptation, which we pray may not be our fate, must it not be out of place to think of the Good God, who is incapable of bearing evil fruits, as encompassing anyone with evils? It is of service to cite in this connection what Paul has said in the Epistle to Romans—thus: Claiming to be wise they became foolish and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of an image of corruptible man and of winged and four footed and creeping things. Wherefore God delivered them in the lusts of their hearts unto uncleanness to the dishonoring of their bodies among themselves; and shortly after:

Therefore God delivered them unto passions of dishonor: for both their females changed the natural use into the unnatural, and the males likewise setting aside the natural use of the female, were consumed . . . and so on. And again shortly after: And as they proved not to have God in full knowledge, God delivered them unto a reprobate mind to do the unseemly.

We may simply confront dividers of the Godhead with all these passages and put these questions to them since they hold that the good Father of Our Lord is distinct from the God of the law. Is it the good God who leads into temptation one who fails in prayer? Is it the Father of the Lord who

delivers in the lusts of their hearts those who have already done some sin unto uncleanness to the dishonoring of their bodies among themselves? Is it He who, as they themselves say, is free from judging and punishing, who delivers unto passions of dishonor and unto a reprobate mind to do the unseemly men who would not have fallen into the lusts of their hearts had they not been delivered to them by God, who would not have succumbed to passions of dishonor had they not been delivered to them by God, and who would not have lapsed into a reprobate mind but for the fact that the so condemned had been delivered to it by God.

I am well aware that these passages will trouble such thinkers exceedingly.

Indeed they have fashioned in imagination a God other than the Maker of heaven

and earth, because they find many such passages in the Law and the Prophets and

have been offended by the author of such utterances as not good. But I on my

part, for the sake of that question, raised in connection with the words Bring

us not into Temptation, which led to my citation of the apostle's words also,

must now consider whether I in turn find a solution of apparent contradictions

worth considering. Well, it is my belief that God rules over each rational soul,

having regard to its everlasting life, in such a way that it is always in

possession of free will and is itself responsible alike for being, in the better

way, in progress towards the perfection of goodness, or otherwise for descending

as the result of heedlessness to this or that degree of aggravation of vice.

Accordingly, since a swift and somewhat short cure gives rise in some men to a

contempt for the disease into which they have fallen, with the possible result

of their incurring it a second time, He will in such other cases with good

reason allow the vice to increase to a certain extent, suffering it even to be

aggravated in them to the verge of incurableness, in order that they may be

sated through long continuance in the evil and through surfeit of the sin for

which they lust, and may be brought to a sense of their injury, and, having

learned to hate what formerly they welcomed, may be enabled when cured to enjoy

more steadfastly the health which their cure has brought to their souls. So it

was that the mixed throng among the Children of Israel, once fell into lust.

Sitting down they and the Children of Israel cried out saying, "Who will

give us flesh to eat? We remember the fish we used to eat freely in Egypt, and

the cucumbers and melons and leeks and onions and garlic, but now is our soul parched; our eyes are on nothing save the manna." Then, shortly after, it is said: And Moses heard them crying in their tribes; each was at his door. And again shortly after the Lord says to Moses: And you shall say to the people, "Sanctify yourselves for the morrow, and eat flesh, because you have cried before the Lord saying, 'Who will give us flesh to eat, because it was well with us in Egypt,' and the Lord shall give you flesh to eat. So eat flesh! Eat it not one nor two nor five days, not ten nor twenty days; for a month of days eat till it issue from your nostrils, and it shall make you ill, because you have disobeyed the Lord who is among you, and have cried before Him, 'Wherefore have we left Egypt?'" Let us therefore see whether the narrative I have laid before you as a parallel is of help towards a solution of the apparent contradiction in the clause Bring us not into temptation and in the words of the apostle. Having fallen into lust, the mixed throng among the Children of Israel cried and the Children of Israel with them.

Plainly so long as they were without the objects of their lust, they were not able to be sated with them or cease their passion. In fact, it was the will of the benevolent and good God, in giving them the object of their lust, not to give it in such a way that any lust should be left in them. For that reason He tells them to eat the flesh not one day—for had they partaken of the flesh a short time their passion would have remained in their soul which would have been kindled and set ablaze by it—nor does He give them the object of their lust for two days.

It being His will to make it excessive for them, He utters what is, to one who can understand, a threat rather than a promise of their apparent gratification, saying, "Neither shall you pass five days eating the flesh nor twofold those, nor yet twofold those again, but eat flesh for a whole mouth, until such time as your imagined good shall issue from your nostrils with choleric affection, and with it your culpable and base lust for it. So shall I set you

free from all further lust of living, that when you have come out in such

condition you may be pure from lust and may remember all the troubles through

which you were set free from it.

Thus you shall be enabled either not to fall into it again, or, should that ever happen through forgetfulness during the long lapse of time of your sufferings on account of lust, if you take no heed to yourselves and not appropriate the Word that completely frees you from every passion, if you fall into evil and at a later time, through having come to lust again for creation, require a second time to obtain the objects of your lust—in hatred of that object revert again to the good and heavenly nourishment through despising that which you longed for the most." The like fate, accordingly, will overtake those who have changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of an image of corruptible man and of winged and four-footed and creeping things, and who are forsaken of God and thereby delivered in the lusts of their hearts unto uncleanness to the dishonoring of their bodies as men who have brought down to soulless insensible matter the name of Him who has bestowed upon all sentient rational beings not only sense but even rational sense, and to some indeed a complete and excellent sense and intelligence. Such men are reasonably delivered to passion of dishonor by the God whom they have forsaken, being forsaken by Him in return, receiving the requital of error through which they came to love the itch for pleasure. For it is more of a requital of their error for them to be delivered to passions of dishonor than to be cleansed by the fire of Wisdom and to have each of their debts exacted from them in prison to the last farthing. For in being delivered to passions of dishonor which are not only natural but many of the unnatural, they are debased and hardened by the flesh and become as though they had no soul or intelligence any longer but were flesh entirely, whereas in fire and prison they receive not requital of their error but benefaction for the cleansing of the evil contracted in their error, along with salutary sufferings attendant in the pleasure-loving and are thereby set free from all stain and blood in whose defilement and pollution they had to their own undoing been unable even to think of being saved. So their God shall wash away the stain of the sons and daughters of Zion and shall cleanse away the blood from their midst with a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning: for He comes in as the fire of a furnace and as soap, washing and cleansing those who are in need of such remedies because it has not been their clear desire to have knowledge of God. After being delivered to these remedies they will of their own accord hate the reprobate mind, for it is God's will that a man acquire goodness not as under necessity but of his own accord. Some, it may well be, will have had difficulty in perceiving the baseness of evil as the result of long familiarity with it, but then turning away from it as falsely taken to be good.

Consider too, whether God's reason for hardening the heart of Pharaoh also is

that he may, because hardened, be unable to say, as in fact he did, "The

Lord is righteous, but I and my people are impious." Rather it is that he

needs more and more to be hardened and to undergo certain sufferings, in order

that he may not, as the result of a too speedy end to the hardening, despise

hardening as an evil and frequently again deserve to be hardened.

If their nets are not wrongfully stretched for birds, according to the statement in the Proverbs, but God rightly leads men into the snare, as one has said, You led us into the snare, and if not even a sparrow, cheapest of birds, falls into the snare without the counsel of the Father, its fall into the snare being due to the failure to use aright its control of its wings given to it to soar, let us pray to do nothing to deserve being brought into temptation by the righteous judgment of God, as in the case with everyone who is delivered by God in the lusts of his own heart unto uncleanness, or delivered unto passions of dishonor, or as not having proved to have God in full knowledge, is delivered unto a reprobate mind to do the unseemly. The use of temptation is somewhat as follows. Through temptations the content of our soul, which is a secret to all except God, ourselves included, becomes manifest, in order that it may no longer be a secret to us what manner of men we are but that we may have fuller knowledge of ourselves and realize, if we choose, our own evils and be thankful for the blessings manifested to us through temptations. That the temptations which befall us take place for the revealing of our true nature or the discerning of what is hidden in our heart, is set forth by the Lord's saying in Job and by the scripture in Deuteronomy, which runs thus: Think you that I have uttered speech to you for any reason other than that you may be revealed as righteous? And in Deuteronomy: He afflicted you and starved you and gave you manna to eat, and He led you about in the wilderness where biting serpents and scorpions and thirst are, that the things in your heart might be discerned. And if we desire references to plain history, it is matter of knowledge that Eve's readiness to be deceived and unsoundness of thought did not originate when in disobedience to God she hearkened to the serpent, but had already been betrayed, the reason for the serpent's having engaged her being that with its peculiar wisdom it had perceived her weakness. Nor was it the beginning of evil in Cain where he slew his brother, for already the heart-knowing God had little regard for Cain and his sacrifices. It was simply that his wickedness became manifest when he took Abel's life. Had Noah not drunk of the wine that he cultivated and become intoxicated and uncovered himself, neither Ham's indiscretion and irreverence towards his father nor his brother's reverence and modesty towards their parent would have been revealed.

Though Esau's plot against Jacob seemed to have provided an excuse for his being deprived of the blessing, his soul even before that had roots of fornication and profanity. And we should never have known of the splendor of Joseph's self-control, prepared as he was against falling a victim to any lust, had his master's wife not fallen in love with him. Let us therefore, in the intervals between the succession of temptations, make a stand against the impending trial, and prepare ourselves for all possible contingencies—in order that, come what may, we may not be convicted of unreadiness but may be shown to have braced ourselves with the utmost care. For when we have carried out all our part, the deficiency caused by human weakness will be filled up by God who cooperates for good in all things with those who love Him, and whose future growth has been foreseen according to His unerring knowledge. In the words Bring us not into Temptation Luke seems to me to have virtually taught Deliver us from Evil also. In any case it is natural that the Lord should have addressed the briefer form to the disciple as he had already been helped, but the more explicit to the many who were in need of clearer teaching. God delivers us from Evil, not when the enemy does not engage us at all in conflict through any of his own wiles or those of the ministers of his will, but when we make a manful stand against contingencies and are victorious. In that sense I have also taken the words: Many are the afflictions of the righteous: and He delivers them from them all. For God delivers us from afflictions not when afflictions are no more—and

surely Paul's expression in everything afflicted implies that affliction had never yet ceased—but when, by God's help, under affliction we are not straitened.

According to a usage native to Hebrews, 'affliction' denotes misfortune that happens without reference to a human will, whereas 'straitening' refers to the will overcome by affliction and surrendered to it: hence Paul well says: in everything afflicted but not impoverished. And I consider the words in Psalms In affliction you set me at large to be similar, for by 'setting at large' is meant the joyousness and cheerfulness of temper which comes to us from God in the season of misfortune through the cooperation and presence of God's encouraging and saving Word. We are accordingly to understand deliverance from evil in the same way. God delivered Job, not through the Devil's failure to receive authority to beset him with certain temptations—for he did receive it—but through his own avoidance of sin in the sight of God amidst all that befell him and through the exhibition of his righteousness.

Thus he who had said: Does Job revere God for nothing? Have you not fenced about with a circle his goods without and his goods within the house and the goods of all who are his, and blessed his work and made his flocks and herds to abound on the earth? But send forth your hand, and touch all that he has, and surely he will curse you to your face, was put to shame as having thereby spoken falsely against Job, for he, after all his suffering, did not, as the Adversary said, curse God to His face, but even when delivered to the tempter he continued steadfastly blessing God, reproving his wife for saying Speak you some word against God and die, and rebuking her in the words: As one of the senseless women have you spoken.

If we have accepted the good from the Lord's hand, shall we not endure the evil? And a second time concerning Job the Devil said to the Lord: Skin for skin; all that the man has he will pay for his soul. Nay but send forth your hand and touch his bones and his flesh, and surely he will curse you to your face. But he is overcome by the champion of virtue and shown to be a liar, for Job inspite of

the severest sufferings stood firm committing no sin with his lips in the sight of God. Two falls did Job wrestle and conquer, but no third such struggle did he undergo, for the threefold wrestling had to be reserved for the Savior, as it is recorded in the three Gospels, when the Savior known in human form thrice conquered the Enemy. In order therefore to ask of God intelligently that we enter not into temptation and that we be delivered from Evil, let us consider these things and investigate them in our own minds more carefully. Through hearkening unto God let us become worthy to be heard by Him, and let our entreaty be that when tempted we may not be brought to death, and that when assailed by flaming darts of evil, we may not be set on fire by them.

All whose hearts are (as one of the Twelve Prophets says, as an ember-pan) are set on fire by them, but not so they who with the shield of faith quench all the flaming darts aimed at them by the Evil One, since they have within themselves rivers of water springing up into life eternal which do not let the fire of the Evil One prevail but readily undo it with the flood of their inspired and saving thought that is impressed by contemplation of the truth upon the soul of him whose study is to be spiritual.

XX. FORMALITIES OF PRAYER: CONCLUSION

I think it not out of place to add, by way of completing my task in reference to prayer, a somewhat elementary discussion of such matters as the disposition and the posture that is right for one who prays, the place where one ought to pray, the direction towards which one ought except in any special circumstances to look, and the time suitable and marked out for prayer. The seat of disposition is to be found in the soul, that of the posture in the body. Thus Paul, as we observed above, suggests the disposition in speaking of the duty of praying without anger and disputation and the posture in the words lifting up holy hands, which he seems to me to have taken from the Psalms where it stands thus—the lifting up of my hands as evening sacrifice; as to the place I desire therefore that men pray in every place, and as to the direction in the Wisdom of Solomon: that it might be known that it is right to go before the sun to give thanks to you and to intercede with you towards the dawn of light.

Accordingly it seems to me that one who is about to enter upon prayer ought first to have paused awhile and prepared himself to engage in prayer throughout more earnestly and intently, to have cast aside every distraction and confusion of thought, to have bethought him to the best of his ability of the greatness of

Him whom he is approaching and of the impiety of approaching Him frivolously and

carelessly and, as it were, in contempt, and to have put away everything alien.

He ought thus to enter upon prayer with his soul, as it were, extended before his hands, and his mind intent on God before his eyes, and his intellect raised from earth and set toward the Lord of All before his body stands. Let him put away all resentment against any real or imagined injurer in proportion to his desire for God not to bear resentment against himself in turn for his injuries and sins against many of his neighbors or any wrong deeds whatsoever upon his conscience. Of all the innumerable dispositions of the body that, accompanied by outstretching of the hands and upraising of the eyes, standing is preferred—inasmuch as one thereby wears in the body also the image of the devotional characteristics that become the soul. I say that these things ought to be observed by preference except in any special circumstances, for in special circumstances, by reason of some serious foot disease one may upon occasion quite properly pray sitting, or by reason of fevers or similar illnesses, lying, and indeed owing to circumstances, if, let us say, we are on a voyage or if our business does not permit us to retire to pay our debt of prayer, we may pray without any outward sign of doing so.

Moreover, one must know that kneeling is necessary when he is about to arraign

his personal sins against God with supplication for their healing and

forgiveness, because it is a symbol of submission and subjection. For Paul says;

For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father from whom is all fatherhood named

in heaven and on earth. It may be termed spiritual kneeling, because of the

submission and self-humiliation of every being to God in the name of Jesus, that

the apostle appears to indicate in the words: that in the name of Jesus every

knee should bow in heaven and on earth and under the earth.

It should not be supposed that beings in heaven have bodies so fashioned as actually to possess knees, since their bodies have been described possibly as spherical in form by those who have discussed these matters more minutely. He who refuses to admit this will also, unless he outrages reason, admit the uses of each of the members in order that nothing fashioned for them by God may be in vain. One falls into error on either hand, whether he shall assert that bodily members have been brought into being by God for them in vain and not for their proper work, or shall say that the internal organs, the intestine included, perform their proper uses even in heavenly beings. Exceedingly foolish will it be to think that it is only their surface, as with statues, that is human in form and nothing further underneath. This much discussion will suffice, then, of kneeling and of seeing that: in the name of Jesus every knee shall bow in heaven and on earth and under the earth. To the same effect, it is written by the prophet: To me every knee shall bow. In regard to place, it should be known that every place is rendered fit for prayer by one who prays rightly, for in every place sacrifice is offered to me . . . says the Lord, and I desire therefore that men pray in every place. But to secure the performance of one's prayers in peace without distraction, the rule is for every man to make choice, if possible, of what I may term the most solemn spot in his house

before he prays, considering in addition to his general examination of it, whether any violation of law or right has not been done in the place in which he is praying, so as to have made not only himself but also the place of his personal prayer of such a nature that the regard of God has fled from it. And in reference to this matter of place, lengthy consideration leads me to say what may seem to be harsh, but what, if one inquires into it carefully, may possibly not invite contempt, namely that it is a question whether it is reverent and pure to intercede with God in the place of that union which is not unlawful but is conceded by the Apostle's word by way of indulgence not injunction. For if it is not possible to give oneself to prayer as one ought without devoting oneself to it by agreement for a season, the matter of the place also may possibly deserve to be considered if possible.

Yet there is a certain helpful charm in a place of prayer being the spot in which believers meet together. Also it may well be that the assemblies of believers also are attended by angelic powers, by the powers of our Lord and Savior himself, and indeed by the spirits of saints, including those already fallen asleep, certainly of those still in life, though just how is not easy to say. In reference to angels we may reason thus: If an angel of the Lord shall encamp round about those that fear Him and shall deliver them, and if Jacob's words are true, not only of himself but to all who have devoted themselves to God, when we understand him to say the angel who delivers me from all evil . . . it is natural to infer that, when a number of men are genuinely met for Christ's glory, that angel of each man—who is round about each of those that fear—will encamp with the man with whose guardianship and stewardship he has been entrusted, so that when saints assemble together there is a twofold church, the one of men the other of angels. And although it is only the prayer of Tobit, and after him of Sarah who later became his daughter-in-law owing to her marriage to Tobias, that Raphael says he has offered up as a memorial, what happens when several are linked in one mind and conviction and are formed into one body in Christ? In reference to the presence of the power of the Lord with the church Paul says: you being gathered together with my spirit and with the power of the Lord Jesus, implying that the Lord Jesus' power is not only with the Ephesians but also with the Corinthians. And if Paul, while still wearing the body, believed that he assisted in Corinth with his spirit, we need not abandon the belief that the blessed departed in spirit also, perhaps more than one who is in the body, make their way likewise into the churches. For that reason we ought not to despise prayer in churches, recognizing that it possesses a special virtue for him who genuinely joins in. And just as Jesus' power and the spirit of Paul and similar men, and the angels of the Lord who encamp round about each of the saints, are associated and join with those who genuinely assemble themselves together, so we may conjecture that if any man be unworthy of a holy angel and give himself up through sin and transgressions in contempt of God to a devil's angel, he will perhaps, in the event of those like him being few, not long escape that providence of those angels which oversee the church by the authority of the divine will and will bring the misdeeds of such persons to general knowledge; whereas if such persons become numerous and meet as mere human societies with business of the more material sort, they will not be overseen. That is shown in Isaiah when the Lord says: neither if you shall come to appear before me; for I will turn away my eyes from you, and even if you multiply your supplication I will not pay attention. For in place of the already mentioned twofold company of saintly men and blessed angels there may, on the other hand, be a twofold association of impious men and evil angels. Of such a congregation it might be said alike by holy angels and by pious men: I sat not down with the council of vanity, and with transgressors I will not

enter in; I hated the church of evildoers and with the impious I will not sit down. I think that it was also for such a reason that the people in Jerusalem and the whole of Judea, having come to be in a state of great sinfulness, became subject to their enemies through the abandonment by God and the overshielding angels and the saving work of saintly men—having become people who have abandoned the Law. For whole gatherings are at times thus abandoned to fall into temptation in order that even that which they seem to have may be taken away from them. Like the fig tree that was cursed and taken away from the roots because it had not given fruit to the hungering Jesus, they wither and lose any little amount they once had of lively power according to faith. So much for what seem to me to have been necessary observations in considering the place of prayer and in setting forth its special virtue in respect to place in the case of the meetings of saintly men who come together reverently in churches. A few words may now be added in reference to the direction in which one ought to look in prayer. Of the four directions, the North, South, East, and West, who would not at once admit that the East clearly indicates the duty of praying with the face turned towards it with the symbolic suggestion that the soul is looking upon the dawn of the true light? Should anyone, however, prefer to direct his intercessions according to the aperture of the house, whichever way the doors of the house may face, saying that the sight of heaven appeals to one with a certain attraction greater than the view of the wall, and the eastward part of the house having no opening, we may say to him that since it is by human arrangement that houses are open in this or that direction but by nature that the East is preferred to all the other directions, the natural is to be set before the artificial. Besides, on that view why should one who wished to pray when in the open country pray to the East in preference to the West? If, in the one case it is reasonable to prefer the East, why should the same not be done in every case? Enough on that subject.

I have still to treat the topics of prayer, and therewith I purpose to bring

this treatise to an end. Four topics which I have found scattered throughout the

Scriptures appear to me to deserve mention, and according to these everyone

should organize their prayer. The topics are as follows: In the beginning and

opening of prayer, glory is to be ascribed according to one's ability to God,

through Christ who is to be glorified with Him, and in the Holy Spirit who is to

be proclaimed with Him.

Thereafter, one should put thanksgivings: common thanksgivings—into which he introduces benefits conferred upon men in general—and thanksgivings for things which he has personally received from God. After thanksgiving it appears to me that one ought to become a powerful accuser of one's own sins before God and ask first for healing with a view to being released from the habit which brings on sin, and secondly for forgiveness for past actions. After confession it appears to me that one ought to append as a fourth element the asking for the great and heavenly things, both personal and general, on behalf of one's nearest and dearest. And last of all, one should bring prayer to an end ascribing glory to God through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit. As I already said, I have found these points scattered throughout the scriptures. The element of glorious ascription occurs in these words in the one hundred and third psalm:—O Lord, my God, how exceedingly you are magnified. You have put on praise and majesty, who are He that wraps

himself in light as in a mantel, who stretches out the heaven like a curtain, who roofs His upper chambers with waters, who makes clouds His chariot, who walks on wings of winds, who makes winds His angels and flaming fire His ministers, who lays the foundations of the earth for its safety—it shall not swerve for ever and ever; the deep is a mantle of His vestment; on the mountains shall waters stand; from your rebuke shall they flee; from the sound of your thunder shall they shrink in fear.

Indeed most of the psalm contains ascription of glory to the Father. But anyone may select numerous passages for himself and see how broadly the element of glorious ascription is scattered. Of thanksgiving, this may be set forth as an example. It is found in the second book of Kings, and is uttered by David, after promises made through Nathan to David, in astonishment at the bounties of God and in thanksgiving for them. It runs: Who am I, O Lord my Lord, and what is my house, that you have loved me to this extent? I am exceeding small in your sight, my Lord, and yet you have spoken on behalf of the house of your servant for a long time to come. Such is the way of man, O Lord my Lord, and what shall David go on to say more to you? Even now you know your servant, O Lord. For your servant have you wrought and according to your heart have you wrought all this greatness to make it known to your servant that he should magnify you, O Lord my Lord. Of confessions we have an example in: From all my transgressions deliver me. And elsewhere: My wounds have stunk and been corrupt because of my folly. I have been wretched and bowed down utterly; all the day have I gone with sullen face. Of petitions we have an example in the twenty-seventh psalm: Draw me not away with sinners, and destroy me not with workers of unrighteousness, and the like. And it is right as one began with ascription of glory, to bring one's prayers to an end in ascription of glory, singing and glorifying the Father of all through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit—to whom be glory unto eternity.

Thus, Ambrosius and Tatiana, studious and genuine brethren in piety, according to my ability I have struggled through my treatment of the subject of prayer and of the prayer in the Gospels together with its preface in Matthew. But if you press on to the things in front and forget those behind and pray for me in my undertaking, I do not despair of being enabled to receive from God the Giver a fuller and more divine capacity for all these matters, and with it to discuss the same subject again in a nobler, loftier, and clearer way. Meanwhile, however, you will peruse this with indulgence. This text was reformatted by Roger Pearse, 2008. This file and all material on this page is in the public domain - copy freely. Originally uploaded to the web by ("http://tedn.hypermart.net/index.htm") Nottingham Publishing.

Early Church Fathers - Additional Texts

Chapter 38

On Prayer - Preface

Origen, On Prayer (Unknown date). Preface This is a mysterious item which I found on the internet. The translator is given as William A. Curtis, who appears to have been a Scottish divine in Glasgow in the early 20th century. But the originator seems to be a Theodore J. Nottingham, who says that he obtained it from a certain Dr Charles Ashanin, who in turn obtained it from Curtis' papers. Nottingham wrote to Harry Plantinga at CCEL, offering the item thus in January 2001:

I would like to ask that you add a link to a very rare translation that has come into my possession and which is posted free on the Internet. Translated from the original Greek by a reknown (sic) Scottish scholar at the turn of the century, the manuscript of "Origen on Prayer" was passed on to my spiritual mentor, a Church Historian from the former Yugoslavia, who recently passed on. On behalf of his fifty year effort to publish this material, I have placed it, newly edited and updated, at this site: "http://tedn.hypermart.net/origen.htm". Please share it with persons interested in the great master. The item is widely available now online. In case it vanishes, I have placed it here. This text was written by Roger Pearse, 2017. This file and all material on this page is in the public domain - copy freely.

Early Church Fathers - Additional Texts

Philocalia - Footnotes

The Philocalia of Origen (1911) Footnotes to the English translation 1. 1 As "oracles."

2. 2 Matt. x. 18; cf. Mark xiii. 9.

3. 3 Matt. vii. 22 f.; cf. Luke xiii. 26.

4. 4 Cf. Gen. xlix. 10.

5. 5 Hos. iii. 4.

6. 6 For the Heb. teraphim the Sept. has delon. Schleusner shows that this word was used for the clear or shining stones, the Urim and Thummim.

The teraphim were idolatrous means of divination (Pusey). The Seventy appear to have had in view the use of the Urim and Thummim by the high priest.

7. 1 Gen. xlix. 10.

8. 2 Deut. xxxii. 21.

9. 1 1 Cor. i. 26 ff.

10. 2 Ps. xlv. (xliv.) 1 f.

11. 3 Ps. lxxii. (lxxi.) 7 f.

12. 4 Cf. Isa. vii. 14; Matt. i. 215.

13. 5 Isa. viii. 11 f.

14. 6 Matt. ii. 6; cf. Mic. v. 2.

15. 1 Dan. ix. 24.

16. 2 Job iii. 8.

17. 3 Luke x. 19.

18. 4 Cf. Heb. ii. 4.

19. 1 Cf. 2 Cor. iii. 16; Heb. x. 1.

20. 2 2 Cor. iv. 7, 21. 3 Or, "being stored up in the books (of the Bible)," etc.

22. 1 1 Cor. ii. 4 f.

23. 2 Heb. vi. 1.

24. 3 1 Cor. ii. 6 f.

25. 4 Rom. xvi. 25 ff.

26. 5 2 Tim. i. 10.

27. 6 Isa. lxi. i.

28. 7 Isa. xlv. 13.

29. 8 Zech. ix. 10.

30. 9 Isa. vii. 15.

31. 1 Isa. xi. 6 f.

32. 2 Jer. xv. 14.

33. 3 Ex. xx. 5.

34. 4 Cf. 1 Sam. xv. 11, 17, 35.

35. 5 Isa. xlv. 7.

36. 6 Amos iii. 6.

37. 7 Mic. i. 12.

38. 8 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

39. 9 World-builder----Creator.

40. 1 Cf. Gen. xix. 30 ff.

41. 2 Cf. Gen. xvi.

42. 3 Cf Gen. xxix. 21 ff.

43. 4 Cf. Ex. xxv. ff.

44. 1 1 Cor. ii. 16, 12 f.

45. 2 The Greek word is used in the Sept. for the Heb. for network, laced work, and so a lattice. In Eccles. xii. 3, a window, as closed by a lattice, and not with glass. In Hos. xiii. 3, a chimney, or hole for the smoke, covered with lattice-work. See Gesenius and Schleusner.

46. 1 Luke xi. 52.

47. 2 Prov. xxii. 20 f.

48. 3 1 Cor. ii. 6 f.

49. 4 Heb. x. 1.

50. 5 Herm. Vis. ii. 4.

51. 1 Widows and orphans----" Those who are not yet united with the Spouse of the Church, though divorced from their old connection, nor yet adopted children of the Father."----Westcott.

52. 2 "By this he evidently means that certain passages taken literally do not instruct us, for no one can deny that they have a meaning."----Westcott.

53. 3 John ii. 6.

54. 4 Rom. ii. 29.

55. 5 That is, a number equal to the sum of its factors or divisors. Thus 6 = 3 + 2 + 1.

56. 1 1 Cor. ix. 9 f.; cf. Deut. xxv. 4.

57. 2 Heb. viii. 5; x. 1.

58. 3 1 Cor. ii. 7 f.

59. 4 1 Cor. x. 11.

60. 5 1 Cor. x. 4.

61. 6 Heb. viii. 5; cf, Ex. xxv. 40.

62. 7 Gal. iv. 21 ff 63. 1 Col. ii. 16 f.

64. 2 Heb. viii. 5.

65. 3 That is, "inspired."

66. 4 Rom. xi. 4 ; cf. 1 Kings xix. 18, 67. 5 Rom. xi. 5.

68. 6 "Divine."

69. 1 See sec. 14, beginning.

70. 1 Gen. i. 5.

71. 2 Gen. ii. 8 f.

72. 3 Gen. iii. 8.

73. 4 Gen. iv. 16.

74. 1 Matt. iv. 8.

75. 2 Cf. Lev. xi. 14.

76. 3 Gen. xvii. 14.

77. 4 Cf. Deut. xiv. 5, 12.

78. 5 Ex. xvi. 29.

79. 1 Jer. xvii. 21.

80. 2 Luke x. 4.

81. 3 Matt. v. 39.

82. 4 Matt. v. 28 f.

83. 5 1 Cor. vii. 18.

84. 1 See above. The Spirit is supposed to invent some of the history for the sake of the spiritual meaning conveyed.

85. 2 Gen. xxv. 9 f.

86. 3 Gen. xlviii. 22; Josh. xxiv. 32.

87. 4 Ex. xx. 12; cf. Eph. vi. 2 f.

88. 5 "The spiritual world in which the interpretation of Scripture is realised, may be regarded as heavenly, or as Christian and earthly; when we contemplate the former, we explain anagogically, and allegories properly are applied only to the latter. Thus the prophecies which

describe the character and fate of various nations under the Jewish dispensation may be referred, according to the one system (anagoge), to the inhabitants of the celestial regions correlative to the kingdoms on earth, or by the other (allegoria), to spiritual characters unfolded by Christianity."----Westcott.

89. 1 Ex. xx. 13 ff.

90. 2 Matt. v. 22.

91. 3 Matt. v. 34.

92. 4 1 Thess. v. 14.

93. 5 John v. 39.

94. 1 1 Cor. x. 18.

95. 2 Rom. ix. 8, 6.

96. 3 Rom. ii. 28 f.

97. 1 Matt. xv. 24.

98. 1 Rom. ix. 8.

99. 2 Gal. iv. 26 f.

100. 3 Heb. xii. 22 f.

101. 4 Rufinus, "If we listen to the words of Paul as the words of Christ speaking in him."

102. 5 Or, "refers us."

103. 6 That is, "Egyptians," etc., literally.

104. 1 Isa. xiv. 12.

105. 2 Ezek. xxix. 11 f.

106. 3 Matt. xv. 24 ; cf. John xi. 52.

107. 4 Matt. xiii. 44.

108. 1 Col. ii. 3 ; Isa. xlv. 2f.

109. 2 Heb. xi. 12 ; cf. Gen. xxii. 17.

110. 3 Matt. v. 14.

111. 4 Rom. ix. 6.

112. 1 Eccles. v. 1.

113. 2 Ex. xxxiv. 20.

114. 3 Cf. Isa. i. 16.

115. 4 Rom. ix. 33; 1 Pet. ii. 7; cf. Isa. viii. 14.

116. 5 Rom. ix. 33; cf. Isa. xxviii. 16.

117. 6 Or, "reconciling the nmrder of the man with his evident kindliness."

118. 1 Wisd. xvii. 1.

119. 2 1 Cor. ii. 7 f.

120. 3 Rom. xvi. 25 f.

121. 4 2 Tim. i. 10; John i. 1 f.

122. 5 Rom. ii. 28 f.

123. 1 Rom. i. 20.

124. 2 That is, which come within the province of the reason, as opposed to things simply visible.

125. 3 Heb. viii. 5.

126. 4 Ex. xxviii. 32.

127. 5 Rev. iii. 7 f.

128. 1 Rev. v. 1 ff.

129. 2 Isa. xxix. 11 f.

130. 3 Luke xi. 51; cf. Matt. xxiii. 14.

131. 1 1 Cor. ii. 13.

132. 2 See Chap. viii.

133. 3 Ps. xii. (xi.) 7.

134. 4 Cf. Luke i. 2.

135. 5 Matt. v. 18.

136. 1 Or, "providence."

137. 1 This total was made by taking Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremiah. See Sanday, Inspiration, pp. 56 ff., 111 ff., on "the Symbolism of. Numbers." "Origen was the first who pointed out this number was also that of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet (Euseb. H.E. vi. 25, and the coincidence is emphatically repeated by Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Hilary of Poitiers, and Epiphanius, as well as by Jerome. The coincidence, it was thought, could hardly be accidental. The 'twenty-two' books of the Greek Bible must, it was supposed, represent 'twenty-two' books of the Hebrew Bible; hence, it was concluded, the number of the books in the Hebrew Canon was providentially ordained to agree with the number of the Hebrew letters."----Ryle, Canon of the Old Testament, p. 221.

138. 2 "It is noteworthy that the supposed agreement in the number of the Hebrew letters with the number of the Hebrew sacred books seems to be of Greek origin, and does not appear in Hebrew tradition,"----Ryle, p. 222.

139. 1 Or, "inaccurate."

140. 2 I Cor. ii. 4.

141. 3 2 Cor. xi. 6.

142. 4 2 Cor. iv. 7.

143. 5 Col. ii. 3.

144. 6 1 Cor. i. 26 f.

145. 1 Rom. i. 14.

146. 2 2 Cor. iii. 6.

147. 3 1 Cor. ii. 4 f.

148. 4 "Not content with the labour of lecturing and collating MSS., Origen composed numerous books. These were all written to the order of his patron Ambrose, who had at one time been attracted by Gnosticism, but was won over to orthodoxy by Origen. Ambrose made use of his wealth to give the poor but independent scholar the only aid he was likely to accept. He supplied him with quarters and a staff of shorthand writers and copyists. Ambrose not only provided the means, he also prescribed the subjects." ----Origen the Teacher, S.P.C.K., p. 9.

149. 5 Eccles. xii. 12.

150. 1 "Nisi primum, plane secundum; si vero secundum, non primum omnino."

151. 1 Eccles. xii. 12.

152. 2 Prov. x. 19.

153. 3 1 Kings iv. 32 f.

154. 4 Prov. i. 24.

155. 5 Acts xx. 7 f.

156. 6 John i. 1.

157. 7 Lit., "consisting of many theorems."

158. 1 John v. 39.

159. 2 Ps. xl. (xxxix.) 7.

160. 1 Rev. v. 1 ff.

161. 2 Rev. iii. 7.

162. 3 Ps. lxix. (lxviii.) 29.

163. 4 Dan. vii. 10.

164. 5 Ex. xxxii. 32.

165. 6 Isa. xxii. 22; cf. Rev. iii. 7.

166. 1 Ezek. ii. 10.

167. 2 Cf. Rev. x. 10.

168. 3 Rom. ii. 16.

169. 1 2 Cor. iii. 6.

170. 2 Lit., "dictation." According to others, "too boldly give advice."

171. 3 Matt. v. 9.

172. 4 Prov. viii. 8.

173. 5 Ps. lxxii. (lxxi.) 7.

174. 1 R.V., "The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails well fastened are the words of the masters of assemblies, which are given from one shepherd." The margin has for "masters of assemblies " the alternative "collectors of sentences."

175. 2 Eccles. xii. 11.

176. 3 Cf. Luke viii. 8.

177. 1 1 Sam. xvi. 14.

178. 2 That is, "treatment."

179. 3 "Inconsequence in the connections, abruptness in the transitions."

180. 4 A Homily was a popular exposition. Origen's writings were of three kinds----tomes, properly sections (volumina, Jerome), commentaries, homilies.

181. 1 Ps. cix. (cviii.) 1, 8.

182. 2 Acts i. 16.

183. 3 Ex persona Dei. On the prosopopoeia of Scripture, see Schleusner. The verb signifies personas fictos induco, personas fingo, or confingo. Cf. "The heavens declare the glory of God"; "The sea saw that and fled," etc.

184. 4 That is, "inaccurate expressions."

185. 5 Hos. xii. 4.

186. 1 Gen. ii. 16 f.

187. 2 One "thing." Cf. S. John x. 30, and see below.

188. 1 1 Cor. x. 17.

189. 2 Cf. Eph. iv. 5 f.

190. 3 Cf. Rom. xii. 5 ; Gal. iii. 28.

191. 4 2 Cor. xi. 2.

192. 5 The neuter.

193. 6 Cf. John xvii. 11, 21.

194. 7 Rom. xii. 5. ; Eph. iv. 25.

195. 8 Herm. Vis. xi.

196. 9 Rom, vii. 7.

197. 1 Gal. iii. 10; cf. Deut. xxvii. 26.

198. 2 Gal. iii. 19.

199. 3 Gal. iii. 24 ff.

200. 4 Gal. iv. 21 ff.

201. 5 John xv. 25; cf. Ps. xxxv. (xxxiv.) 19.

202. 1 1 Cor. xiv. 21; cf. Isa. xxxviii. 11 f.

203. 2 Rom. vii. 14.

204. 3 Rom. ii. 14f.

205. 4 The governing part, or reason. The Stoics taught that the soul had eight parts, the hegemonicon or governing part, the five senses, the faculty of speech, and the generative force. The word occurs also in xx. 12 (rational and irrational), xx. 22, xxi. 3, xxvii. 2, xxvii. 13.

206. 5 Rom. v. 13.

207. 6 Rom. vii. 7.

208. 1 Jolm iv. 35.

209. 2 That is, "literal." See above.

210. 3 John ix. 39.

211. 4 Cf. Rom. iii. 21.

212. 5 John i. 18.

213. 1 Rom. ix. 33; 1 Pet. ii. 7; cf. Isa. viii. 14.

214. 2 Rom. ix. 33; cf. Isa. xxviii. 16.

215. 3 Matt. xii. 36.

216. 1 Cf. Matt. v. 18.

217. 1 Ezek. xxxiv. 17 ff.

218. 1 Ezek. xxxiv. 19.

219. 1 Ps. ciii. (cii.) 1.

220. 2 1 Cor. xiv. 14.

221. 1 Cf. Matt. ix. 29.

222. 2 Cf. 2 Tim. iii. 16.

223. 1 Gregory Thaumaturgus, so called from his miracles, converted by Origen about 234 A.D., afterwards Bishop of his native place, Neocaesarea in Cappadocia.

224. 2 Ex. xi. 2; xii. 35 f.

225. 3 Lit., "things received," viz. "in the Mount," Ex. xxv. 40, etc.

226. 1 Ex. xxvii. 16.

227. 2 1 Kings xi. 14 ff. In the text, Ader (accurately, Eder, 1 Chron. viii. 15).

228. 1 1 Kings xii. 28 f., Jeroboam.

229. 2 John x. 3.

230. 3 Matt. vii. 7; Luke xi. 9.

231. 1 Heb. iii. 14.

232. 2 Gen. i. 16 ff.

233. 3 "In principatum."

234. 4 "Ut proeessent." In Greek the Infinitive.

235. 5 "In potestatem."

236. 6 "Ut potestatem habeant."

237. 1 John v. 19.

238. 2 John i. 29.

239. 1 2 Cor. v. 19.

240. 2 Lit., "distinction of points, or stops."

241. 1 I take this to be Origen's meaning. Cf. Westcott, Introduction to the Gospel of St. John, p. 50.

242. 1 1 Cor. ii. 4 f.

243. 2 Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 4.

244. 3 "Sermonis gratia allicere ad obsequium: sicut veteres in ore Herculis aureas catenas finxerunt, quae vulgus hominum auribus traherent."----Calvin on Ps. xlv. 3.

245. 4 Ps. lxviii. (lxvii.) 12.

246. 1 Plat. Ep. vii. 341 C, D.

247. 2 Rom. i. 19.

248. 3 Cf. Rom. i. .18 ff.

249. 4 Plat. Ep., ibid.

250. 1 Cf. Plat. Rep. i. 327, A.

251. 2 Cf. Plat. Phaedo, 118, A.

252. 3 "Noumena" as opposed to "phoenomena."

253. 4 Rom. i. 25.

254. 5 1 Cor. i. 27 ff.

255. 1 Or, "Word = Scripture."

256. 2 Cf. Plat. Ep. vii. 341 C, D.

257. 3 Hos. x. 12.

258. 4 John i. 4, 9.

259. 5 Cf. Matt. v. 14.

260. 6 2 Cor. iv. 6.

261. 7 Ps. xxvii. (xxvi.) 1.

262. 8 Ps. cxix. (cxviii.) 105.

263. 9 Ps. iv. 7.

264. 10 Ps. xxxvi. (xxxv.) 10.

265. 11 Isa. lx. 1, 266. 12 Matt. iv. 16, 267. 1 Cf. Isa. ix. 2.

268. 2 Cf. Matt, xxv. 4.

269. 3 Plato, Crito, 49 B.

270. 1 1 Cor. ii. 5; cf. i. 26; 2 Cor. i. 12.

271. 1 Luke vi. 29.

272. 2 Matt. v. 40.

273. 3 Isa. liii. 1 ff.

274. 1 Sept. paidi/on. Heb. Sugens = tenera planta.----Schleusner.

275. 2 Ps. xlv. (xliv.) 4 f.

276. 3 Cf. Matt. xvii. 1 f.

277. 4 Luke ix. 30 f.

278. 5 Isa. liii. 2.

279. 1 Or, "the prophecy," viz. in Ps. xlv. above referred to.

280. 2 "Demiurge."

281. 3 Cf. Matt. xvii. 6.

282. 1 Or, forms."

283. 2 "The Divine Word," introducing a quotation from St. Paul, is found in Theophilus of Antioch as a name for Holy Scripture. ---- Sanday, Inspiration, p. 28.

284. 3 Cf. Matt. xvii. 1.

285. 4 See Cont. Cels. vi. 68, "Caused us to ascend to the lofty mountain of His Word," etc.

286. 5 Isa. liii. 2 f.

287. 6 1 Cor. i. 21.

288. 7 Matt, xvi. 18.

289. 8 Ps. ix. (viii.), 14.

290. 9 Cf. Mark iii. 1.

291. 1 Matt. i. 1.

292. 2 John xxi. 25.

293. 3 Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2 ff.

294. 4 John i. 1.

295. 5 Phil. ii. 7.

296. 6 In the Apocalypse (xix. 13) the "Word of God" is a title of the Son of God.

297. 7 John i. 14.

298. 1 Cf. John xiii. 25; Matt. xvii. 1.

299. 2 Cf. John i. 14.

300. 3 1 Cor. ii. 7.

301. 1 The Dogmatici, Empirici, Methodici, Pneumatici, Eclectici, etc.

302. 1 1 Cor. xi. 19.

303. 2 Cf. Rom. iii. 29.

304. 3 2 Tim. i. 3.

305. 1 Tertullian called those who rejected the Montanist view Psychici, that is, animal or carnal: while the followers of Montanus were called Spiritales, spiritual. See Snicer. The Gnostics also reproached Catholic Christians as being ignorant, animal, and worldly, but called themselves spiritual, perfect.

306. 2 Cor. iv. 12f.

307. 3 Tit. iii. 10 f.

308. 4 Matt. v. 9.

309. 5 Matt. v. 5.

310. 1 De Interp. Bk. i. part 1, chap. 2. See also Plato, Cratylus. Hermogenes, one of the speakers, maintained that all the words of a language were formed by an agreement of men among themselves, or were conventional. "Do you prefer the notion of Hermogenes and of many others who say that names are conventional, and have a meaning to those who have agreed about them, and who have previous knowledge of the things intended by them, and that convention is the only principle?"----(Jowett's translation.)

311. 2 According to Epicurus words, were formed originally, not by an arbitrary, but by a natural process, in correspondence with our sensations and ideas. ----Ueberweg. Hist. Phil. I. p. 206. "Democritus, and after him, Epicurus, say that speech consists of elementary parts (in Physics, atoms), and, to use their own expression, call it a stream of words."----A. Gellius, Bk. v. c. 15, quoted by Selwyn.

312. 1 The Brahmans were the hereditary priests of the Indian Theosophists. The Samaneans were picked men, recruited from those who wished to be Theosophists. They were also found among the Bactrians of Persia.

313. 2 "Demiurge."

314. 3 Lit., "after ": the names being given after the demons. See L. and Sc.

315. 1 "Demiurge."

316. 2 Plat. Phileb. 12 B, C.

317. 3 That is, "Zeus."

318. 1 Lit., "If we translate into Greek him that was originally called (or invoked)," etc.

319. 2 The point of the passage appears to be the difference between translation and transliteration. These translations correspond to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

320. 1 Cf. Plat. Phileb. 12 B, C.

321. 1 See Clem. Aleu., Exhortation to the Heathen, chap. 2. "The token of the Sabazian mysteries to the initiated is the deity gliding over the breast, the deity being this serpent crawling over the breast of the initiated." Zeus was said to have intercourse with his daughter Core (Persephone) in the shape of a dragon or serpent (see p. 83).

322. 2 "From her being an infernal divinity, she came to be regarded as a spectral being, who sent at night all kinds of demons and terrible phantoms from the lower world."

323. 1 Or, "since probability is the guide of human life."

324. 1 1 Cor. iii. 18 f.

325. 2 Others translate, "and that it was only in certain circumstances that the latter course was desired by Christianity, in order not to leave men altogether without help." The meaning perhaps is that bare faith is better than leaving men altogether unprofitable, or hurtful.

326. 1 1 Cor. i. 21.

327. 2 Lit., "Arrangement of the offer (of the Gospel"), as opposed to the matter."

328. 3 1 Cor. ii. 4 f.

329. 1 Matt. iv. 19.

330. 2 1 Cor. ii. 4.

331. 3 Ps. lxviii. (lxvii.) 12 f.

332. 4 Jerome----"Dominus dabit verbum Evangelizantibus virtute multa, Rex virtutum Dilecti."

333. 5 Ps. cxlvii. 15.

334. 6 Cf. Ps. xix. (xviii.) 5.

335. 1 Matt. ix. 37 f.

336. 2 Ep. Barn. v. 9.

337. 3 Luke v. 8.

338. 4 1 Tim. i. 15.

339. 1 Tit. iii. 3 ff.

340. 2 Ps. cvii. (cvi.) 20.

341. 1 Matt. x. 23.

342. 2 John xiv. 6.

343. 3 John viii. 40.

344. 4 Others, "Be led by human guidance to keep out of the way of dangers."

345. 1 Cf. Gen. xix. 11.

346. 2 "Proprie."----Bp. Bull.

347. 3 1 Cor. i. 24.

348. 1 Matt. v. 28.

349. 2 Or, "the 'word' of Christians." See below.

350. 3 PS. li. (l.)8.

351. 4 Cf. 2 Chron. i. 10.

352. 5 1 Kings x. 1 ff.

353. 1 1 Kings iv. 29 ff.

354. 2 "Problems."

355. 3 Hos. xiv. 9.

356. 4 Dan. i. 20.

357. 5 Ezek. xxviii. 3.

358. 6 Mark iv. 11, 34.

359. 7 Matt. xxiii. 34.

360. 1 1 Cor. xii. 8 ff.

361. 2 Acts vii. 11.

362. 3 Ex. vii. 22.

363. 4 Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 6.

364. 1 Rom. i. 21.

365. 2 Rom. i. 19 ff.

366. 3 Or, "spiritual."

367. 4 1 Cor. i. 26 ff.

368. 5 Cf. Tit. i. 9.

369. 1 Cf. 1 Tim. iii. 2.

370. 2 1 Tim. iv. 10.

371. 3 1 John ii. 2.

372. 1 Others see an allusion to the jugglers in the market-places, and render, "performing their disgraceful tricks," etc.

373. 1 For the Catechumens (instructed privately without the Church), the Hearers (so called from their being admitted to hear sermons and the Scriptures read in the Church), the Kneelers, the Competentes (petitioners for baptism), and Electi (candidates approved), the Registers, etc., see Bingham, Book x. chap. II.

374. 1 The Catechumens were treated with more moderation than others, because "their sins were committed whilst they were unregenerate in the old man, and therefore were more easily pardoned than crimes committed by believers after baptism."----See Bingham, Book x. chap. II. sec. xvii.

375. 2 1 Cor. iii. 2 f.

376. 3 Heb. v. 12ff.

377. 1 Cf. Rom. i. 14.

378. 2 Prov. viii. 5.

379. 3 Prov. ix. 4ff., 16.

380. 1 Or, "Ye Greeks, it seems, may invite, etc. . . . and yet, if we do so, there is no motive of humanity in what we do, though we wish," etc.

381. 2 The Athenian legislator, born about 638 B.C.

382. 3 The Spartan legislator, probably about 800 B.C.

383. 4 The Locrian legislator, the date of his legislation is assigned to 660 B.C. His code is said to have been the first collection of written laws that the Greeks possessed.

384. 5 1 Cor. i. 27.

385. 6 Rom. i. 22 f.

386. 1 Antinous was the favourite of the Emperor Hadrian. He was drowned in the Nile, 122 A.D. Hadrian enrolled him among the gods, etc. See Cont. Cels. iii. 36, 37.

387. 2 This is explained below, "Men are more or less fortunate in their beliefs."

388. 1 Lit., "Faith having first taken possession of us produces such an assent, or submission, to Jesus."

389. 2 Or, "piety."

390. 1 Waterland says, "It is difficult to express the full force of this passage in English."

391. 1 Lat., secundae.

392. 2 Grasses, or any plants that bear leaves and seeds from the root.

393. 1 Or, "roots."

394. 2 Ps. civ. (ciii.) 14 f.

395. 3 Ecclus. xxxix. 21 17.

396. 4 Cf. Hom. Od. ix. 109.

397. 1 Others, "that it was only the things on earth which underwent deluges and conflagrations, and that all these things did not happen at the same time."

398. 2 See Plato, Legg. 677 B.

399. 3 Hesiod.

400. 4 Or, "assemblies."

401. 1 Or, "destroy their useful doctrines, and at the same time the agreement of Christianity and philosophy in these respects."

402. 1 Admit them among rational creatures?

403. 1 Ecclus. xvi. 27, "He garnished his works for ever." Wisd. xi. 20, "Thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight." Origen's word is the same as that in the former, but equivalent to the word used in the latter.

404. 1 Cf. Gen. i. 26.

405. 1 "Logos, or Word."

406. 2 Prov. xxx. 24 ff. (xxiv. 59 ff.).

407. 3 John xvi. 25.

408. 1 Or, "have certain sacred modes of converse with one another."

409. 2 Circ. 544 B.C. Generally regarded as the teacher of Pythagoras.

410. 1 Ps. xlix. (xlviii.) 12, 20.

411. 1 The conjectural reading.

412. 2 Iliad, ii. 308 ff. (Lord Derby's translation).

413. 1 Hom. Il. xii. 200 ff.

414. 2 Hom. Il. ii. 309.

415. 3 Cf. Hom. Od. xv. 526.

416. 1 Cf. Lev. xi.

417. 2 John xii. 31; 2 Cor. iv. 4.

418. 1 Cf. Hom. Od. iv. 685, xx. 116, 119.

419. 2 Hom. Od. xx. 120.

420. 3 Cf. Hom. Od. xvii. 541 ff.

421. 4 Lev. xix. 26.

422. 1 Deut, xviii. 14; cf. 12.

423. 2 Deut, xviii. 15.

424. 3 Num. xxiii. 23.

425. 4 Prov. iv. 23.

426. 5 Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 6.

427. 6 Cf. Rom. viii. 14.

428. 1 Ex. xxiv. 2.

429. 1 Or, "complete and perfect in all respects."

430. 1 See Chap. xxi. 2, "promptings to the contemplation of virtue and vice."

431. 1 Or, "is included in."

432. 2 Inanimate nature.

433. 3 Animate nature. Lit., "by nature and a soul." Cf. Arist. Nic. Eth. Bk. III. c. 1, "The man acts voluntarily, because the originating of the motion of his limbs in such actions rests with himself; and where the origination rests in himself, it rests with himself to do or not to do" (Chase's translation).

434. 1 Lit., "out of."

435. 2 So Rufinus explains "phantasy," voluntas vel sensus.

436. 3 Or, "speaking generally." Others translate, "the greater part of the nature assigned to all things is a varying quantity among animals."

437. 1 Rufinus----"naturalem corporis intemperiem."

438. 1 See Ellicott on 1 Tim. ii. 2, "Decency and propriety of deportment."

439. 2 Mic. vi. 8.

440. 3 Deut. xxx. 19.

441. 4 Isa. i. 19.

442. 5 Ps. lxxxi. (lxxx.) 13 f.

443. 6 Matt. v. 39.

444. 1 Matt. v. 22.

445. 2 Matt. v. 28.

446. 3 Matt. vii. 24, 26.

447. 4 Matt. xxv. 34 f.

448. 5 Matt. xxv. 41. .

449. 6 Rom. ii. 4 ff.

450. 1 Ex. iv. 21, vii. 3.

451. 2 Ex. xi. 19 f.

452. 3 Mark iv. 20 ; cf. Luke viii. 10.

453. 4 Rom. ix. 16.

454. 5 Cf. Phil. ii. 13.

455. 1 Rom. ix. 18 f.

456. 2 R.V. "This persuasion came not of him that calleth you."

457. 3 Cf. Gal. v. 8.

458. 4 Rom. ix. 20 f.

459. 5 Rom. ix. 18.

460. 1 Cf. Ex. iv. 23, ix. 17.

461. 2 Cf. Ex. xii. 12.

462. 1 According to others, "If any one should stand, declaring with uncovered head that the Creator of the world was inclined to wickedness," etc.

463. 2 Heb. vi. 7 f.

464. 1 The word denotes the deliberate selection of a course of conduct.

465. 2 Others, "as regards the point in question."

466. 3 Cf. Ex. viii. 28.

467. 4 Rom. ii. 4 f.

468. 1 Isa. lxiii. 17 f.

469. 2 Jer. xx. 7.

470. 3 Isa. lxiii. 17.

471. 4 Sus. 42.

472. 1 Cf. Luke xiv. 11.

473. 2 Cf. Matt. xi. 25; 1 Cor. i. 29.

474. 3 Others, "he that is abandoned is abandoned to the Divine judgment."

475. 1 Matt. xiii. 5 f.

476. 2 Or, "applied"; lit. "cast upon."

477. 3 That is, "check the growth."

478. 1 Or, "to us," that is, "in our opinion."

479. 2 Wisd. vii. 16.

480. 3 Cf. Ex. vii. 14 ; Rom. ix. 18.

481. 4 Ezek. xi. 19, 20.

482. 1 Mark iv. 11 f.

483. 1 "Demiurge."

484. 1 Sus. 42.

485. 2 Lit., "helping them does not help."

486. 3 Cf. Mark iv. 11.

487. 1 Cf. Matt. xi. 21.

488. 2 Lit., "the things of those without."

489. 3 Or, "in addition to our inquiring."

490. 1 Rom. ix. 16.

491. 2 Or, "the 'furniture' which God gave them for life." Cf. Eur. Supp. 214.

492. 3 Or, "deliberate purpose."

493. 4 The same phrase as in Chap. xviii. 26.

494. 1 Rom. ix. 15.

495. 2 Or, "Degrees."

496. 3 Ps. cxxvii. (cxxvi.) 1 f.

497. 4 Cf. Phil. iii. 14.

498. 5 Rom. ix. 16.

499. 6 1 Cor. iii. 6f.

500. 1 Or, "our own free will."

501. 2 Cf. Phil. ii. 13.

502. 1 Rom. ix. 18 ff.

503. 1 2 Cor. xii. 21.

504. 2 2 Tim. i. 16 ff.

505. 3 2 Cor. v. 10.

506. 4 2 Tim. ii. 20 f.

507. 1 Either (a) God's foreknowledge of man's efforts, or (b) the soul's conduct in a prior state of existence, or (c) both.

508. 2 Rom. ix. 20.

509. 3 Ex. xix. 19.

510. 1 Rom. ix. 19.

511. 2 Rom. ix. 20.

512. 3 That is, "soul natures, perishing or being saved." Rufinus---- "Diversas animarum naturas."

513. 4 2 Tim. ii. 21.

514. 1 Rom. ix. 21.

515. 1 The Greek word occurs in 2 Macc. iii. 39, vii. 35, 3

Macc. ii. 21. Schleusner gives inspector as the equivalent. L. and Sc. "overseer, watcher, esp. of a god." "Intendant," an officer who superintends, is perhaps the least cumbrous and the least ambiguous for our purpose. For the different Greek word in Dan. iv. 13, translated watcher (not a guardian, but a wakeful one), see Driver's Daniel, page 49.

516. 2 The ruling spirits.

517. 1 The same word as above. See Huetii Origeniana, lib. ii. c. ii. quaest. v. 26, "De angelis tutelaribus. Assignatos esse angelos ut curam earum pastorum instar gererent, et primitias ex iis Deo offerrent, homines nimirum qui meritis praecellerent et virtute, eorumque pias cogitationes." Origen thought that both bad and good angels might have "provinces." "Neque enim, inquit, fas est credere malos angelos suis proeesse provinciis et bonos non easdem provincias habere permissas."----Cont. Cels. lib. viii. 34, Hom. 12 in Luc.

518. 1 Explained above.

519. 1 Sophrosune, "Perfected self-mastery."

520. 1 Deut. xxxii. 8 f.

521. 2 Gen. xi. 1 ff.

522. 3 Wisd. x. 5.

523. 4 Tob. xii. 7.

524. 1 Cf. Matt. vii. 6.

525. 2 Wisd. i. 4.

526. 3 See Chap. i. (heading) for "invented history."

527. 4 Gen. xi. 3.

528. 5 Cf. Gen. xi. 4.

529. 1 Cf. Deut. xxxii. 9.

530. 1 Cf. Rom. i. 28, 26, 24.

531. 2 Cf. Gal. i. 4.

532. 3 Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 6.

533. 1 Ps. ii. 8.

534. 2 Gen. xlix. 10.

535. 3 See the De Princip. Bk. i. c. 7, s. 3. It was Origen's belief that the stars were living beings, capable of receiving commandments from God.

536. 1 Eumque rerum istarum fontem esse ac principium esse negabunt.----Viger.

537. 2 "Demiurge." But Waterland (i. p. 383, Ox. 1843) says "the three words

texni/thj, dhmiourgo_j,

and poihth&j, especially the two last, seem to have been used by the ancients promiscuously; and to have been applied indifferently to Father or Son, as they had occasion to mention either." See also, note 71.

538. 1 Gen. i. 14.

539. 1 Sus. 42 f.

540. 2 1 Kings xii. 32.

541. 3 1 Kings xiii. 1 ff.

542. 4 1 Kings xiii. 5.

543. 5 Reading u(pakou~sai. See Schleusner.

544. 6 Lit. "strength."

545. 1 Isa. xlv. ff.

546. 2 Cf. Dan. ii. 37 ff.

547. 3 R.V. "the river." "The Eulaeus was a large artificial canal some 900 feet broad, of which traces remain, though it is now dry."----Prof. Driver.

548. 1 Dan. viii. 5 ff.

549. 2 Luke xxi. 20.

550. 1 Ps. cix. (cviii.) 12, 16 f.

551. 1 Or, "giving an oracular response."

552. 2 Or, "common moral notions."

553. 3 Jer. xxvi. (xxxiii.) 3.

554. 1 Ex. iv. 11. R.V. "Dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind."

555. 1 Ps. cix. (cviii.) ff.

556. 2 Ps. cix. (cviii.) 16.

557. 3 Eur. Phoen. 18 ff.

558. 1 Cf. John ii. 25.

559. 1 Matt. xxvi. 23.

560. 2 Viger----singularem horam. Of birth?

561. 1 Or, "productive." How we are to tell when the stars are causative, and when they are merely indicative.

562. 2 Cf. Test. Aser, 7.

563. 3 Isa. xxxiv. 4.

564. 1 Gen. i. 14.

565. 2 Jer. x. 2.

566. 1 Following ABC; Viger, "vel leviter haerere."

567. 2 Eusebius, "shooting stars."

568. 1 "Twelfth part."

569. 2 "Thinkable, intelligible." Viger----"quod mente percipitur."

570. 3 "Contemperatio."

571. 1 "A mathematician (i.e. astrologer) can indeed indicate the desire which a malignant power produces; but whether the acting or the issue of this desire shall be fulfilled or not, no one can

know before the accomplishment of the thing, because it depends upon freedom of will."----Recognitions of Clement, Bk. x. c. xii.

572. 2 Isa. xlvii. 13.

573. 3 Cf. Test. Aser., 7.

574. 4 2 Cor. xii. 4.

575. 1 Wisd. viii. 18.

576. 2 "The fire of God." See 2 Esd. iv. 1, 36, v. 20, x. 28 In the second of these passages he is called "the Archangel."

577. 1 Rom. ix. 17.

578. 2 Cf. Ex. ix. 16.

579. 3 Cf. Heb. i. 14.

580. 4 Lit., "take."

581. 1 For the story of Clement being appointed S. Peter's attendant, for the doings at Laodicea, and how Clement discovered his father in the poor old workman, and the discussions between father and son, see the Clementine Recognitions, vii. 25, viii. 1, etc.

582. 2 That is, the travels of S. Peter.

583. 3 In popular language mathematici was the exclusive name for astrologers, who were so called from employing diagrams used by geometricians.

584. 4 Had returned at the end of its cycle.

585. 1 From the point of opposition.

586. 2 From the centre (mid-heaven).

587. 3 Through the kindness of the Rev. P. H. Kempthorne I am favoured by E. Walter Maunder, Esq., F.E.A.S., with some notes on this difficult passage. As regards the phrase rendered "retrograding," Mr. Maunders writes: "In a modern horoscope no planet could be left outside it. I think it just possible that it (the phrase) may mean 'contrary to its proper course,' that is to say, ' retrograding,' but I am not sure of this. If it does not mean this, I think it must mean 'not operative,' 'negligible.' "

588. 4 Lit., "unconnected with."

589. 5 In an (ill-omened) "house."

590. 6 Lit. "not conjoined."

591. 7 Perhaps, the Zodiac. Others translate, "the circle is equally complete in every part." Possibly, "co-extensive with," wide as, the heavens.

592. 1 See Plat. Gorg. 506 E. Another rendering is "in things unordered."

593. 1 Viger----"Si ex rerum genitarum ortu atque natura in eam te mentem adductum esse diceres, id ortu carere materiam putares."

594. 1 "Are spontaneous" does not quite convey the meaning, because the architect is supposed to create the skill.

595. 1 "Demiurge."

596. 1 The word denotes the mixing of two things, so that they are blended and form a compound, as in wine and water.

597. 2 The word denotes mixing, as of two sorts of grain----mechanical mixture.

598. 1 See Robinson, p. xli. et seq 599. 2 Rom. i. 1.

600. 3 Gal. i. 15 f.

601. 1 Ps. lviii. (lvii.) 3.

602. 2 Rom. viii. 28 ff.

603. 3 Or, predestination, and so throughout.

604. 4 For salvation or perdition.

605. 1 Rom. viii. 29.

606. 2 Cf. Col. i. 15.

607. 3 According to Origen, God created a finite number of souls to begin with; they were all equal, not in fixed classes; gifted with free will, and capable of growing better or worse. The soul of Christ, like all souls, pre-existed from the beginning of the world. By its decision for the good, and by its virtue, it was fitted for unflinchingly carrying out all the will and all the saving revelations of the Word and Wisdom. The Logos dwelt in an unique manner in this soul. At the commencement of creation, it is true, He was united with all souls; but this one alone clung to Him so closely, faithfully, and unchangeably, that it became one spirit with Him.----See Dorner, Doctrine of the Person of Christ, div. I. vol. ii., p. 138.

608. 4 Cf. Sus. 42.

609. 1 Rom. viii. 28 f.

610. 1 Matt. xxv. 21, 23.

611. 2 Matt. xxv. 26 f.

612. 3 Matt. xxv. 34 f.

613. 4 Matt. xxv. 41 f.

614. 5 Rom. i. 1.

615. 6 Gal. i. 15.

616. 1 1 Cor. ix. 27.

617. 2 1 Cor. ix. 16.

618. 3 2 Cor. xi. 2:3 ff.

619. 4 Cf. Rom. v. 3 f.

620. 1 Or, on "purpose," "choice," or "deliberate preference," which is a part of the voluntary, but not co-extensive with it. For Aristotle's description of the Chief Good as "that which all things aim at," and for the discussion of various theories concerning the Chief Good and Happiness, see Arist. Eth. Nic. bk. 1 (Chase's translation).

621. 2 Ps. iv. 6.

622. 3 "Does happiness come from self? Is it a thing that can be learned, or acquired by habituation or discipline of some other kind? Does it come in the way of Divine dispensation, or even in the way of chance?"----Arist. Eth. Nic. bk. i. 7.

623. 4 Making happiness a mere external thing.

624. 5 Making happiness = internal good, "living well and doing well."

625. 1 Matt. xxv. 21, 23.

626. 2 Luke vi. 45.

627. 1 Ex. xv. 20.

628. 2 Deut. xxviii. 58 ff.

629. 3 Lev. xxvi. 16.

630. 4 Cf. Deut. xxxii. 24.

631. 5 "Opisthonia, tetanic recurvation; Pliny's dolor (cervicum) inflexibilis."

632. 1 Lev. xxvi. 3 ff.

633. 2 Deut. xxviii. 1 ff.

634. 3 Sept., "remainders," from misunderstanding the Heb. root.

635. 4 Deut. xxviii. 16 ff.

636. 5 Cf. Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35.

637. 1 Cf. Matt. iv. 24.

638. 2 "Demiurge."

639. 3 Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 8 f.

640. 4 Cf. 2 Kings iv. 8 ff., xiii. 14.

641. 5 Cf. Isa. xx. 3.

642. 6 Cf. Jer. xxxviii. (xlv.) 6, ix. 2.

643. 7 Cf. Matt. iii. 4.

644. 1 Cf. Rom. v. 3.

645. 2 Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 8 f., iv. 9 f.

646. 3 Ps. xxxiv. (lxxxiii.) 19.

647. 4 Job xl. 3.

648. 1 Cf. Rom. viii. 28.

649. 2 Cf. Deut. xv. 6.

650. 3 Some MSS. omit "the righteous man."

651. 4 Ps. xv. (xiv.) 5.

652. 5 Cf. Exek. xviii. 8.

653. 6 Prov. xiii. 8.

654. 7 Isa. i. 6.

655. 1 "Happiness," according to Aristotle, "combines the good, the noble, the pleasurable; and though external prosperity is not of its essence, yet it is necessary to its full development" (Chase----Analysis of Arist. Eth. Nic. c. 6).

656. 2 Ps. cxxvii. (cxxvi.) 1.

657. 1 Cf. Ezek. xxviii. 15.

658. 2 Cf. Isa. xiv. 12.

659. 3 Cf. Rom. ix. 16.

660. 4 Ps. iv. 6.

661. 5 Job ii. 10.

662. 1 Mic. i. 12 ; cf. Jer. xvii. 27.

663. 2 Ex. x. 27.

664. 3 Ex. vii. 3.

665. 1 "Demiurge."

666. 2 Rom. ix. 18.

667. 3 Sound.

668. 1 Ex. x. 27.

669. 2 Cf. Ex. iv. 23.

670. 1 Rom. ix. 18.

671. 1 Ex. x. 27.

672. 2 Hos. iv. 14.

673. 1 Ex. vii. 3.

674. 2 Cf. Matt. vii. 8.

675. 3 Ex. xii. 38.

676. 1 Ps. xxxii. (xxxi.) 10.

677. 2 Prov. iii. 12.

678. 3 Ps. lxxxix. (lxxxviii.) 30 ff.

679. 4 Cf. Hos. iv. 14.

680. 5 Cf. Ezek. xxiv. 13.

681. 6 Ezek. vii. 27, et passim.

682. 1 Ex. vii. 5.

683. 2 2 Macc. vi. 12 ff.

684. 3 3 Kings ii. 6.

685. 4 The Jew----probably a Rabbi, whom Origen employed to teach him Hebrew. Cf. De Princip. i. 3, 4 (Hebraeus magister), iv. 26 (Hebraeus doctor). I am indebted to Dr. Sanday for the references. See also Chap, ii. 3 of this book.

686. 1 Ps. vi. 1, xxxviii. (xxxvii.) 1.

687. 2 Luke xii. 40.

688. 3 Cf. Acts v. 4.

689. 4 Acts xiii. 10 f.

690. 1 Cf. 1 Tim. i. 20.

691. 2 1 Cor. v. 5.

692. 3 Ex. x. 27.

693. 4 Deut. viii. 2 f.

694. 1 Job xl. 8.

695. 2 Rom. ii. 4 ff.

696. 3 Rom. ix. 22.

697. 1 John ix. 39.

698. 2 Luke ii. 34.

699. 3 Luke x. 13 ff.

700. 1 Ex. iv. 22 f.

701. 2 "Demiurge."

702. 3 Ex. x. 27.

703. 4 Ex. iv. 23.

704. 5 Ex. x. 3.

705. 1 Ex. ix. 29 f.

706. 2 Cant. i. 5, 6.

707. 3 Ex. i. 14.

708. 4 Lit., "make muddy."

709. 5 Cf. Ex. ii. 23 f. This text was transcribed by Roger Pearse, 2003. All material on this page is in the public domain - copy freely.

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Early Church Fathers - Additional Texts

Chapter 40

Philocalia - Introductory material

The Philocalia of Origen (1911) pp.i-xv. Introductory material THE PHILOCALIA OF ORIGEN

Printed by MORRISON AND GIBB LIMITED, FOR T. & T. CLARK, EDINBURGH.

LONDON: SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT, AND CO. LIMITED.

NEW YORK : CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. THE PHILOCALIA OF ORIGEN A COMPILATION OF SELECTED PASSAGES FROM ORIGEN'S WORKS MADE BY ST. GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS AND ST. BASIL OF CAESAREA TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY THE REV. GEORGE LEWIS M.A., OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD M.A., UNIVERSITY OF LONDON RECTOR OF ICOMB, GLOUCESTERSHIRE LATE. VICAR OF DODDERHILL, DROITWICH Author of "A Life of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter and Norwich,"

"An Oxford Parish Priest" : Translator of S. Basil's "De Spiritu Sancto,"

S. Jerome's "Dogmatic Treatises," etc.

EDINBURGH : T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET

1911 TO MY CHEERY COMPANIONS

C. M. L. AND

A. V. T.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE THE translation here undertaken is, by kind permission, from the Revised Text (Cambridge, University Press, 1893) of Dr. Armitage Robinson, then Norrisian Professor of Divinity, subsequently Dean of Westminster, now Dean of Wells, who thus describes the original: "The Philocalia of Origen is a compilation of selected passages from Origen's works made by SS. Gregory and Basil. The wholesale destruction of his writings which followed upon the warfare waged against his opinions shortly after his death, has caused a special value to attach to the Philocalia as preserving to us in the original much of Origen's work which would otherwise have been entirely lost, or would have survived only in the translations of Rufinus. Moreover, even his great and comparatively popular work against Celsus depends for its text solely on a manuscript of the thirteen century, so that we have a cause for gratitude in the preservation of a large part of it in the Philocalia. But apart from its textual importance, this collection deserves attention as forming an excellent introduction to the study of Origen. Much of his best thought is here presented to us, arranged under various important heads; and we are guided to the appreciation of his theological standpoint by two of the strongest intellects of the century after his own."

Bishop Westcott's account of "the great teacher of Alexandria----of him whose proper name is said to mean the Son of light, and whose labours earned for him the title of Adamantine" may perhaps be of service to the reader. "The fortunes of Origen during his lifetime aptly prefigured the fate of

his writings. His zeal was accounted |vi infatuation, and his learning turned to a reproach. Though he was known to have reclaimed the wandering, and to have refuted the malicious, yet he was driven from the service of the Church in the very city where he had preached Christ on the steps of the temple of Serapis, and strengthened his father to endure the terrors of martyrdom. Though countless doctors, priests, and confessors proceeded from his school, he was himself arraigned as a heretic and convicted; though he was the friend and teacher of Saints, his salvation was questioned and denied. For many centuries he was condemned almost universally by the Western Church, in consequence of the adverse judgment of Jerome. In later times Picus of Mirandola ventured to maintain the cause of the great Father: the thesis was suppressed, but the author remained uncensured: indeed, a pious lady was said to have received a revelation not long before, which seemed to assure her of the forgiveness of Samson, Solomon, and Origen. This hope, however, in the case of the last was admitted apparently by few; and Baronius expresses his surprise that any doubt of his condemnation could be raised after the sentence of Anastasius. If we find in Origen's own words about Holy Scripture a deep and solid foundation of truth constructed with earnestness and wisdom,----unaptly crowned, it may be, with the fantastic structures of a warm and hasty imagination,----it is possible that we may be led to regard his other labours with charity, if not with gratitude, and to remember that his errors refer to questions which had not in his time been decided by the authority of the Church." For the suggestion that a translation of the Philocalia might be found useful I am indebted to the present Bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Gibson), who in making the suggestion did not, of course, in the least guarantee the fitness of the translator for the work. While I have availed myself of any printed matter I could find, and most gratefully acknowledge my obligations, I have refrained almost entirely from consulting my friends, not from any |vii feeling of sufficiency, but from a dread that I might make them partakers in my literary sins. The one or two instances in which I have begged assistance are mentioned in the notes. In translating an author so difficult as Origen, I can hardly hope to escape criticism at many points. The translator will most cordially welcome anything that may tend to improve his work.

GEORGE LEWIS.

ICOMB RECTORY,

21st June 1911. THE PHILOCALIA 1 OF ORIGEN (Explanatory Note in the Greek) THE volume which we now offer to our readers contains a selection of scriptural problems and their solutions compiled by the divines Basil and Gregory 2 from the learned labours of Origen. It is said to have been sent by the latter, Gregory the theologian, to Theodorus, who was then Bishop of Tyana, as is shown by the letter 3 addressed to him, which runs thus:----

The festival, and your letter, and what is better, your anticipation of the season, and readiness to allow us to keep the festival beforehand. These are the gifts of your piety. In return we give the best we have, our prayers. But that you may have some memorial from us, and at the same time from Basil,

we have sent you a small volume of the choice thoughts of Origen, containing extracts of passages which may be of service to scholars. Pray accept it, and let us see that with the aid of industry and the Spirit you have found it useful.

PREFACE TO THE GREEK EDITION THE present volume contains a selection of scriptural problems and their solutions from various laborious treatises of Origen. Some say that the book, and also the division of it into chapters as they are arranged, and the titles were the work of the learned divines, Basil and Gregory, and that it was sent by Gregory the theologian, in a folding tablet to Theodore of holy memory, who was then Bishop of Tyana. And this is what was intended to be shown in the preface of the very ancient codex from which we have made the transcript. But how do they establish the fact? By the letter, so they say, which was written to the aforesaid Theodore, and sent with the tablet. Now we acknowledge the letter to have been written by him who was called the theologian, and on the other hand, we find many things in the collected passages which are inconsistent with sound doctrine; we had therefore good reason, inasmuch as we followed the word of truth, for our resolve to prefix this preface, and thus enable readers to easily detect the secret villainy of Origen's champions.

We have not the least doubt that the letter was written by the theologian, particularly as it is found, precisely as we have it, in all copies of his letters, and nobody disputes it. And if we frankly admit this, we consequently accept the second statement, viz. that the compilation was made by the learned editors from the works of Origen----a compilation, of course, of useful and profitable passages, as it is concisely expressed in the theologian's letter of which we have just spoken. For it was what we should expect, that those spiritual bees would

|xii

gather the choicest honey from various flowers to make up one pure honey-comb, whereof, as Solomon, the wise collector of Proverbs says, kings and private persons taste and are sweetened, and are helped in gaining perfect health. We believe, accordingly, that those famous Fathers did compile such portions as have no taint of heretical bitterness, but certainly not all, without distinction, that we find in the following chapters; much of it we reject as conflicting with the inspired teaching of the Fathers.

For, we would ask, was there ever a time when Basil and Gregory, those invincible champions of our religion, were content to hold their peace if any one profanely maintained the Son of God or the Holy Spirit to be a created being? We need not say how they treasured such doctrines, or how profitable they deemed them to scholars. Were they not in the thick of every fight against the blasphemy of

Arius 4 and Eunomius and their associates? Did they not give such an account of pre-existence, and final restoration, and similar doctrines, as suited ancient legend and was adapted to the Grecian mind? What need to mention the details? The time would fail to tell what laborious service they rendered in the interests of orthodoxy. Nearly the whole of their life was spent in showing the All-holy and Self-existent Trinity to be equal in honour and glory, and in the same true sense Co-eternal and Co-essential. They fed Christ's sheep in the green pasture of the holy doctrines, speaking to them in the familiar voice and pure tones of the truth. But in

|xiii

the work under consideration you may find everything just the reverse. For all the absurdities we have enumerated, and others besides, are sown broadcast, and of the chapters, the twenty-second is by the bare title, we maintain, proved to be spurious and illegitimate. It follows

that if we were to make the Holy Fathers responsible for the selection of all these absurdities, we should of necessity be giving to error that assent which is due to truth. And consider how absurd this would be; for we shall be charging the guardians of righteousness with our own perversity. But God forbid! Would any man of ordinary critical judgment allow that those famous champions of our religion in their selections were accustomed to mingle the chaff with the wheat? At the same time we may very well allow that some heretical tenets may be called "wheat"; for, as Cyril with his ripe wisdom tells us, "We ought not to cleprecatingly shun all that the heretics say, inasmuch as they confess many things which we also confess."

5 Basil and Gregory, then, surely were not the persons who mixed the wheat and the chaff for us. Impossible! But certain of those who pervert the ways of the Lord, in their eagerness for the impious subtleties which Origen borrowed from the Greeks, imitated the devil who outwitted their teacher, and, in the case before us, mixed the chaff with our wheat, just as the devil in days of old scattered the tares in the Master's field. For the wheat is ours; ours, too, wherever they may be found, are the orthodox doctrines. And the inspired preachers of those doctrines, with their superlatively wise teaching, using the fan of their critical ability given them from above, and thereby sifting the wheat from the chaff, brought the wheat into the fair garner of the Church, but have delivered the chaff to unquenchable fire----and that in spite of Origen.

So, then, taking all this into account, although we admit the letter to be genuine, and have no doubt that the compilation was made by the two saints, and give good heed to their orthodox teaching, which shines more brightly |xiv than the sun, we shall maintain that we were justified in the further inference we drew on our own responsibility. What we mean is this. Certain persons, as has been said, mad upon the heterodox views of Origen, taking advantage of the holy Gregory's letter, have undoubtedly had the audacity to pollute the whole of the compilation with profane insertions, apparently supposing that the more simple-minded readers might be found, as holy Basil somewhere says, mixing the poison with the honey. To prevent this we have done our best to show readers clearly where the poison is. Accordingly, after giving the most careful attention to the thorough exposition of all the chapters in the following list, and after applying the best tests we could, we have marked the spurious and illegitimate passages in the margin as "heretical," "faulty"; and have thus branded them in their several places. The letter of holy Gregory the Divine to Theodore, Bishop of Tyana. [See above.] The contents of the book: a selection of passages from the words of the impious Origen. [Here follow the titles of the chapters.]

CONTENTS TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE v EXPLANATORY NOTE IN THE GREEK ix PREFACE TO THE GREEK EDITION xi

TEXT I. Of the Inspiration of the Divine Scripture 1 II. That the Divine Scripture is closed up and sealed 30 III. Why the Inspired Books are Twenty-two in Number 34 IV. Of the Solecisms and Poor Style of Scripture 35 V. What is "much speaking," and what are the "many books"? The whole Inspired Scripture is One Book 36 VI. The whole Divine Scripture is One Instrument of God, perfect and fitted for its Work 42 VII. Of the special "character" of the Persons of Divine Scripture 44 VIII That we need not attempt to correct the Solecisms of Scripture, etc 45 IX. Scripture uses the same Terms in different Significations. 47 X. Stumbling-blocks in Holy Scripture 51 XI. On Heretical Interpretation of Holy Scripture 53 XII. We ought not to despair in reading the Scriptures if we find Difficulties in them 54 XIII. Philosophy in relation to Holy Scripture 57 XIV. The Use of

Logic in the Study of Scripture 60 |xv

XV. A Reply to the Objection that the Truths of Christianity have been better expressed by the Greeks. Our Lord's Body, etc. 62 XVI. On the Divisions among Christians 77 XVII. May we give Heathen Titles to the Supreme God? 81 XVIII. The "simplicity"of Christian Faith, etc. 86

XIX. Faith in Christ commendable and accordant with the original Moral Notions of Mankind. How Jesus being God could have a Mortal Body 109 XX. Man and the Irrational Creatures 113 XXI. Free Will 137 XXII. The Dispersion of Mankind, and the Confusion of Tongues .163 XXIII. Fate, Astrology, etc 173 XXIV. Matter is not Uncreated, or the Cause of Evil 197 XXV. God's Foreknowledge, Predestination, etc. 208 XXVI. Scripture Blessings. What things are really "Good" and "Evil" 214 XXVII. The Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart 224 [Footnotes have been renumbered and moved to the end]

1. 1 Philocalia = love of the beautiful. The word may be contrasted with Apeirocalia ----ignorance of the beautiful, want of taste, in pl. vulgarities.

2. 2 Basil of Caesarea (329-379 A.D.); Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 389 or 390 A.D.).

3. 3 S. Greg. Ep. cxv.

4. 1 Presbyter of Alexandria, A.D. 319. "Arianism was largely the result of a mental and moral temper fostered by the Greek schools of disputation, and began, as we learn from Socrates (i. 5), with this line of argument----What is true of human fatherhood is true of the relation between the Father and the Son: Hut the father's priority of existence is true of human fatherhood: Therefore it is true in regard to the Father and the Son: Therefore, once there was no Son: Therefore He was, at some very remote period, created by the Father. The petitio principii in the major premiss is a key to the whole heresy."----Bright's S. Leo, p. 139. The Eunomians were a sect of Arians, so named from Eunomius, Bishop of Cyzicus in A.D. 360. They taught that the Son was "Only Begotten" in the sense "Begotten by God alone."

5. 1 S. Cyr., Alex. Ep. xliv. This text was transcribed by Roger Pearse, 2003. All material on this page is in the public domain - copy freely.

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Early Church Fathers - Additional Texts

Philocalia - The Philocalia of Origen

The Philocalia of Origen (1911) pp. 1-237. English translation

I. Of the Inspiration of the Divine Scripture II. That the Divine Scripture is closed up and sealed III. Why the Inspired Books are Twenty-two in Number IV. Of the Solecisms and Poor Style of Scripture V. What is "much speaking," and what are the "many books"? The whole Inspired Scripture is One Book VI. The whole Divine Scripture is One Instrument of God, perfect and fitted for its Work VII. Of the special "character" of the Persons of Divine Scripture VIII That we need not attempt to correct the Solecisms of Scripture, etc IX. Scripture uses the same Terms in different Significations.

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XXVII. The Hardening of Pharaoh's Heart

THE PHILOCALIA OF ORIGEN

CHAP. I. ----Of the inspiration of the Divine Scripture; how it is to be read and understood; why it is obscure; and what is the reason of the obscurity in it, and of what is impossible in some cases, or unreasonable, when it is taken literally. From the work on "Principles" and various other works of Origen.

The following analysis of Origen's scheme of interpretation may be useful to the reader:----

Interpretation

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| | |

Literal (Body) Moral (Soul) Mystical (Spirit)

| |

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| | | |

Actual Fictitious Allegory. Anagoge.

History. History. Prefiguring the Typifying the

Invented by the Holy Spirit history of Christ things of a higher

to convey moral and mystical and His Church. world in which

truths which earthly things everything of this

could not sufficiently typify. earth has its antitype.

In the law some things

were literally to be observed;

others were in the letter impossible

or absurd, but were intended

to convey moral and mystical teaching.

1. Inasmuch as when we investigate matters of such importance we are not content with common notions and such light as is given by the things that are seen, we strengthen our position by the additional evidence of the Scriptures, which we believe to be Divine, viz. both that which is called the Old Testament and that which is called the New, and endeavour with the help of reason

|2

to confirm our faith. But as we have never yet discussed the Scriptures on the side of their Divine inspiration, let us bring together a few brief remarks concerning them, by way of showing upon what grounds we regard them as Divine. And before we proceed to make use of the text of the Scriptures and of what is revealed in them, a few particulars must be given concerning Moses and Jesus Christ----the lawgiver of the Hebrews, and the Author of the saving doctrines of Christianity. For of all the numerous lawgivers that have arisen among Greeks and Barbarians, we recall no one who could induce other nations to eagerly accept his tenets; and although the professors of philosophic truth made elaborate efforts to establish their doctrine on a seeming basis of reason, not one of them succeeded in introducing into different nations the truth which he supported, or in influencing considerable numbers of one nation. And yet the lawgivers would have liked, if it had been possible, to bind the good laws, as they appeared to be, on the whole human race, and the teachers would desire that what they imagined to be truth should be spread throughout the world. Conscious, however, that they would not succeed if they invited men of different languages and of many nationalities to observe the law they promulgated, and accept the instruction they gave, they

did not even attempt this at first, for they shrewdly suspected that the attempt would end in failure. But in every land, Greek and Barbarian, throughout the world, countless adherents of our faith may be found who have abandoned their ancestral customs and familiar gods, to become zealous observers of the law of Moses and eager disciples of Jesus Christ; and this in spite of the fact that they who submit to the law of Moses are hated by the worshippers of images, and they who accept the Gospel of Jesus Christ are not only hated but are in peril of death.

2. And if we realise in how very short a time, notwithstanding the plots laid against the professors of Christianity, whereby some perished and others lost their

|3

possessions, the Word, though the number of the preachers was not great, has been everywhere preached throughout the world, so that Greeks and Barbarians, wise and foolish, submit themselves to the fear of God through Jesus, if, I say, we realise this, we shall not hesitate to say that there is something superhuman in the result. For Jesus taught with all authority and persuasiveness that the Word would prevail, so that one may reasonably regard His utterances as prophetic.1 For instance, "Before governors and kings shall ye be brought for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles."2 And, "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, did we not eat in thy name, and drink in thy name? And I will say to them, depart from me, ye that work iniquity. I never knew you."3 It was perhaps reasonable to think that He spoke these things at random, and that they were not true; but when the things spoken with such authority came to pass, it is manifest that God really took our nature upon Him and delivered doctrines of salvation to men.

3. Need I add how it was foretold that the promised princes should depart from Judah,4 and rulers from between his thighs, at the coming of Messiah for whom it is reserved, viz. the kingdom, and at the advent of the Expectation of the Gentiles? For it is surely clear from history and from what we see to-day, that from the times of Jesus there have been none who called themselves kings of the Jews; for everything whereon the Jews prided themselves, I mean the arrangements of the temple and the altar, the performance of the service, and the vestments of the high priest, has been abolished. For the prophecy was fulfilled which says, "The children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without altar, and without priesthood,5 and without Urim and Thummim."

6 And |4

we turn the foregoing passage against our opponents, who, perplexed by what Jacob in Genesis says to Judah, allege that the Ethnarch sprung from the family of Judah, is the "governor of the people," and that his seed shall not fail until the coming of Messiah of which they dream. For if "the children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without altar, and without priesthood, and without Urim and Thummin"; and from the time when the temple was destroyed there has been no sacrifice, nor altar, nor priesthood, it is clear that a prince has failed from Judah, and a ruler from between his thighs. And since the prophecy says, "A prince shall not fail from Judah, nor a ruler from between his thighs, until the things reserved for him shall come,"7 it is clear that He has come to whom the things reserved belong, viz. the Expectation of the Gentiles. And this is proved by the multitude of the Gentiles who have believed on God through Christ.

4. The Song in Deuteronomy also contains a prophecy of the future election of the foolish Gentiles on account of the sins of God's former people, and this has come to pass through Jesus only. "For they," so the words stand, "have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God: they have provoked me to anger with their idols. And I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people: I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation."

8 We can very clearly understand how they who bore the name of Hebrews and provoked God to jealousy with that which is not God, and provoked Him to anger with their idols, were themselves provoked to jealousy and moved to anger with those which were not a people, the foolish people, whom God chose through the coming of Christ and through His disciples. "We see, then, our calling, that not many wise men after the flesh, not many

|5

mighty, not many noble are called: but God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise; and God chose the base things and things that are despised, and the things that are not, that he might bring to nought the things that were before: and that Israel after the flesh may not boast before God."9

For when the Apostle uses the word "flesh" he means "Israel."

5. But what are we to say about the prophecies in the Psalms concerning Christ? Is there not a "song" entitled "For the Beloved"?

10 The Beloved's tongue is called "the pen of a ready writer"; He is fairer than the children of men, for grace is poured into His lips. A proof of the grace poured into His lips is the fact that though the whole period of His teaching was so short (He taught for something like a year and a few months), the world has been filled with His doctrine and with the religion which He brought. For "in his days righteousness hath sprung up, and abundance of peace to last to the end,"

11 for this lasting to the end is the meaning of the phrase "the moon shall be no more"; and "He shall have perpetual dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers unto the ends of the earth." And a sign is given to the house of David; for the Virgin did bear; she both conceived and bore a son, and His name is Immanuel, which being interpreted is God with us.12 The prophecy is fulfilled, as the same prophet says: "God is with us; be wise ye nations, and submit; ye that are mighty submit."13 We of the Gentiles who have been led captive by the grace of His Word have been conquered and have submitted. But even the place of His birth was foretold: "For thou Bethlehem, land of Judah, art in no wise least among the princes of Judah; for out of thee shall come forth a governor, which shall be shepherd of my people Israel."14 And the seventy weeks wore fulfilled, as Daniel

|6

shows,15 when Christ the "governor" came. And, according to Job,16 He came who subdued the great sea-monster, and has given authority to His true disciples to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, being in no wise hurt by them.17 Let a man observe how the Apostles who were sent by Jesus to proclaim the Gospel went everywhere, and he cannot help seeing their superhuman daring in obedience to the Divine command. And if we inquire how it was that men when they heard new doctrines and strange words welcomed the

Apostles, and in spite of their desire to plot against them were overcome by a certain Divine power guarding the speakers, we shall not disbelieve even if we are told that the Apostles did work miracles, God bearing witness to their words both by signs and wonders and by manifold powers.18

6. But in thus briefly summarising the proofs for the Godhead of Jesus, and making use of the words of the prophets concerning Him, we are at the same time proving the inspiration of the Scriptures which prophesy of Him, and are showing that those writings which proclaim His coming and teaching were delivered with all power and authority; and we say that if they have prevailed over the election from the Gentiles, it is because they were inspired. But we must say that the divinity of the prophetic utterances, and the spiritual meaning of the law of Moses, shone forth by the dwelling of Jesus on earth. For there could be no clear proofs of the inspiration of the ancient Scriptures before the coming of Christ. But the coming of Jesus brought men who might suspect that the law and the prophets were not Divine to the plain avowal that they were written with help from heaven. And the careful and attentive reader of the words of the prophets, if his zeal be kindled ever so little by reading them, will through his own experience be persuaded that what we believe to be the words of God

|7

are not human compositions. And the light also of the law of Moses, though it had been hidden by a veil, shone forth when Jesus came;19 for the veil was taken away and the good things foreshadowed in the Scriptures were gradually revealed.

7. It would be a big undertaking to now recount the most ancient prophecies, so that in amazement at their Divine character, the doubter may with full conviction and concentrated purpose submit himself with all his soul to the words of God. If, however, the superhuman element in the Scriptures does not everywhere appear to strike the uninstructed, no wonder; for in the working of the Divine Providence throughout the whole World some things are very clearly seen to be providential, while others are so hidden as to seem to leave room for doubt as to whether God with His ineffable skill and power does order the universe. For the evidence of design in Providence is not so clear in things of earth as it is in the sun and moon and stars; and it is not so clear in the changes and chances of human affairs as it is in the souls and bodies of animals, certainly when the why and wherefore of their instincts, impressions, natures, and bodily structure have been ascertained by experts in these branches of knowledge. But as the doctrine of Providence is not destroyed by our ignorance in some particulars, when we have once for all admitted it, so neither is the Divine character of Scripture upon the whole impaired, because our weakness cannot in each phrase approach the hidden glory of the truths concealed in poor and contemptible language. For we have a treasure in earthly vessels,20 that the exceeding greatness of the power of God may shine forth, and may not be thought to come from us men. For if the hackneyed methods of demonstration common among men, which we find on our library shelves,21 had prevailed over men, our faith would with good reason have been supposed to stand

|8

in the wisdom of men, and not in the power of God;22 but as things are, if a man will lift up his eyes, it will be evident that the Word and the preaching have influenced the multitude not by

persuasive words of wisdom, but by demonstration of the Spirit and of power. Wherefore, seeing that a heavenly power, or a power even from, above the heavens, urges us to worship the Creator only, let us, leaving the word of the beginning of Christ,23 that is, leaving elementary instruction, endeavour to press on unto perfection, that the wisdom spoken to the perfect may be spoken also to us.24 For He Who has this wisdom promises to speak it among the perfect, a wisdom other than the wisdom of this world and the wisdom of the ruler of this world, which is brought to nought. And this wisdom shall be plainly stamped on us, according to the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but now is manifested, by the Scriptures of the prophets

25 and the appearing of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,26 to Whom be the glory for ever. Amen.

8. Now that we have, as it were, just glanced at the inspiration of the Divine Scriptures, we must pass on to the way to read and understand them; for very many mistakes have been made, because the right method of examining the holy texts has not been discovered by the greater number of readers. Hardhearted and unlearned readers belonging to the Circumcision have not believed on our Saviour, because it is their habit to follow the bare letter of the prophecies concerning Him, and they do not see Him with their bodily eyes proclaiming liberty to the captives,27 nor building what they think the true city of God,28 nor cutting off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem,29 nor eating butter and honey, and before He knoweth or preferreth evil choosing the good.30 They still suppose that prophecy declares that the

|9 four-footed animal, the wolf, shall feed with the lamb, and the leopard lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the bull, and the lion feed together, and that a little child shall lead them; and that the cow and the bear shall be pastured together, their young ones being reared together, and that the lion shall eat straw like the ox.31 Because they saw nothing like this when He Whom we believe to be Christ dwelt on the earth, they did not receive Jesus, but crucified Him, maintaining that He had no right to call Himself Christ. And heretics when they read the words, "A fire is kindled in mine anger";32 and, "I am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and fourth generation";33 and, "It

repenteth me that I have anointed Saul to be king";34 and, "I am God that maketh peace and create evil";35 and in another place, "Shall evil befall a city, and the Lord hath not done it";36 or again, "Evil is come down from the Lord unto the gates of Jerusalem";37 and, "An evil spirit from the Lord plagued Saul";38 and countless similar passages: when they read these, I say, they will not venture to deny the Divine origin of the Scriptures, but believing them to have come from the Demiurge,39 Whom the Jews worship, and holding that the Demiurge is imperfect and lacking in goodness, they suppose our Saviour while He dwelt on earth to have proclaimed a more perfect God, Whom, from different motives, they affirm not to be the Demiurge. And having thus once for all revolted from the Demiurge, Who is the only God uncreate, they have given themselves up to vain imaginations, inventing for themselves various theories, so as to account for the origin of things that are seen, and for the origin of others not seen, and all this is the offspring of their own fancy. And yet, as a matter of fact, the less sophisticated of those who in their self-confidence have left the Church

|10

allow no God greater than the Demiurge, and so far they are right; but their conception of Him is such as would discredit an extremely cruel and unjust man.

9. Now the only reason why all these of whom I have spoken entertain false and impious opinions, or ignorant views respecting God, appears to be that the Scripture on the spiritual side is not understood, but is taken in the bare literal sense. For the sake, therefore, of those readers who are persuaded that the sacred books are not human compositions, but that they were written and have come to us by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, according to the will of the Father of All through Jesus Christ, we must point out what appear to be the right methods, while we keep to the rule of the heavenly Church of Jesus Christ in succession to the Apostles. And that there are certain mystic dispensations revealed through the Divine Scriptures has been believed by all who have studied the Word, even the simplest readers; but what these dispensations are, fair-minded and modest men confess they do not know. Anyway, supposing a man to be perplexed about the intercourse of Lot with his daughters,40 or the two wives of Abraham,41 or Jacob's marrying two sisters, and the handmaidens who had children by him,42 these readers will say that here we have mysteries which we do not understand. But suppose the passage to be about the building of the tabernacle,43 feeling sure that the narrative is typical, they will endeavour to give each detail, as best they can, a spiritual meaning. So far as their conviction goes that the tabernacle is a type of something, they are not far wrong; but when on the strength of this they attempt in a way worthy of Scripture to define the particular thing of which the tabernacle is a type, they sometimes fail. And every ordinary story of marriage, or childbearing, or war, or any historical occurrences which would generally be

|11 regarded as such, they pronounce to be typical. But when they come to particulars, it sometimes happens, partly because they are not thoroughly familiar with the subject, partly because they are too precipitate, partly because, even if a man is well trained and deliberate, the things are extremely difficult to investigate, that certain points are not quite cleared up.

10. And why speak of the prophecies, which we ail know to be full of enigmas and dark sayings? And, coming to the Gospels, if we are to find their exact sense, inasmuch as that sense is the mind of Christ, there is need of the grace given to him who said, "We have the mind of Christ, that we may know the things freely given to us by God; which things we also speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth."

44 And who, again, can read the things revealed to John without astonishment at the ineffable mysteries therein concealed, mysteries, plainly enough, though a man does not understand what is written? As for the letters of the Apostles, could any critic find them clear and easily intelligible, seeing they contain countless things of the greatest importance and thronging thoughts, seen as through a lattice,45 and by no means easy of access? Wherefore, seeing that this is the case, and that vast numbers go wrong, it is somewhat dangerous when we read to lightly declare that one understands what requires that key of knowledge which was with the lawyers. And I wish they who will not allow that men had the truth before Christ came would tell us what our Lord Jesus Christ means by saying that the key of knowledge was in the keeping of the lawyers, for, according to our opponents, the lawyers had no books containing the secrets of knowledge, and complete mysteries. The precise words are these: "Woe unto you lawyers! for ye took away

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the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered."

46

11. The right way, then, to read the Scriptures and extract their meaning, so far as we have been able to discover from examining the oracles themselves, appears to be as follows:----Solomon in the Proverbs gives a rule respecting the Divine doctrines of Scripture to this effect: "Do thou thrice record them with counsel and knowledge that thou mayest answer with words of truth to those who try thee with hard questions."

47 A man ought then in three ways to record in his own soul the purposes of the Holy Scriptures; that the simple may be edified by, as it were, the flesh of Scripture (for thus we designate the primary sense), the more advanced by its soul, and the perfect by the spiritual law, which has a shadow of the good things to come. For the perfect man resembles those of whom the Apostle speaks: "Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect; yet a wisdom not of this world, nor of the rulers of this world, which are coming to nought: but we speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden, which God foreordained before the worlds unto our glory,48 from the spiritual law which hath a shadow of the good things to come.49 As man consists of body, soul, and spirit, so too does Scripture which has been granted by God for the salvation of men. And thus we explain that passage in The Shepherd,----a book which some treat with contempt, ----in which Hermas is commanded to write two books, and then read to the elders of the Church what he has learned from the Spirit.50 "Thou shalt write two books, and give one to Clement and one to Grapte. And Grapte shall admonish the widows and orphans, Clement shall send to the cities abroad, and thou shalt read to the elders of the Church." Grapte, who admonishes the widows and orphans, is the bare letter of Scripture; it admonishes those readers whose souls are in the stage of childhood, and who cannot

|13

yet call God their Father, and are therefore styled "orphans"; it moreover admonishes souls,51 no longer consorting with the unlawful bridegroom, but remaining in a widowed state because not yet worthy of the true Bridegroom. Clement, the reader who has got beyond the letter, is said to send what is said to the cities abroad, that is to say, the souls which have escaped from the bodily desires and lower aims. And next the writing is forsaken, and the disciple himself of the Spirit is bidden "read" to the wise and hoary-headed elders of the whole Church of God with the living voice.

12. But inasmuch as some Scriptures have not the "corporeal," 52

as we shall presently show, in such cases we must seek only the "soul" and the "spirit." For instance, this may explain why the six waterpots of stone said to be set after the Jews' manner of purifying, as we read in the Gospel according to John,53 contain two or three firkins apiece: the Word darkly hinting at those who were inwardly Jews, of whom the Apostle speaks

54----that these, forsooth, are cleansed through the word of Scripture, that Word sometimes containing two firkins, that is, if we may so say, the "soul" and "spirit" of the Word: sometimes three; for some Scriptures have besides these two also the "corporeal" part with its power of edification. As for the number, the six waterpots may reasonably refer to those who are being

purified in the world, which was made in six days, six being a perfect number.55

13. That we may profit by the primary sense of Scripture, even if we go no further, is evident from the multitudes of true and simple-minded believers. Let us, however, take what Paul says

in the first Epistle to the |14

Corinthians as an example of the higher "soul" interpretation. "It is written," he says, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn."

56 Then, going on to explain this law, he adds, "Is it for the oxen that God careth, or saith he it altogether for our sake? Yea, for our sake it was written: because he that ploweth ought to plow in hope, and he that thresheth, to thresh in hope of partaking." And, indeed, very many passages so interpreted as to suit the great body of believers, and edifying for those who have no ear for better things, have more or less the same stamp. But spiritual interpretation is for one who is able to show the nature of the heavenly things,57 of which the Jews after the flesh served the copy and shadow, and what the good things to come are of which the law is a shadow. And in general, according to the apostolic command, we must everywhere seek wisdom in a mystery, "even the wisdom which hath been hidden, which God foreordained before the world unto the glory of the righteous; which none of the rulers of this world knoweth."

58 The same Apostle, referring to certain incidents in Exodus and Numbers, somewhere says, "These things happened unto them by way of figure: and they were written for our admonition upon whom the ends of the ages are come";59 and he hints at the things of which they were figures, saying, "For they drank of a spiritual Rock that followed them: and the Rock was Christ."

60 And in the sketch of the tabernacle which he gives in another epistle he quotes the words, "Thou shalt make all things according to the pattern which was shewed thee in the Mount."

61 Again, in the Epistle to the Galatians, as it were reproaching those who think they read the law though they do not understand it, and giving his judgment that as many as think there are no allegories in what is written, do not understand, he goes on to say, "Tell me ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law?

62 |15

For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, one by the handmaid, and one by the freewoman. Howbeit the son by the handmaid is born after the flesh, but the son by the freewoman is born through promise. Which things contain an allegory: for these women are two covenants," and so on. We must carefully note exactly what he says: "Ye that desire to be under the law": not "Ye that are under the law"; and, "Do you not hear the law?": the hearing in his judgment being the understanding and knowing. And also in the Epistle to the Colossians, where he epitomises the meaning of the whole giving of the law, he says, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day: which are a shadow of the things to come."

63 Further, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, arguing concerning those of the Circumcision, he writes thus: "Who serve that which is a copy and shadow of the heavenly things."

64 This will probably suffice to remove all doubts respecting the five books, called the Books of Moses, from the minds of those who really believe the Apostle to be a Divine

65 man; but they may wish to learn whether the rest of the history is also figurative. Now we must carefully note that the passage in Romans from the third Book of Kings, "I have left for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal,"

66 was taken by Paul as applying to the Israelites according to the election,67 for that not only have the Gentiles benefited by the coming of Christ, but also some of the holy

68 race.

14. This being so, we must outline what seems to us the peculiarities involved in understanding the Scriptures. And what we have to show first is that the aim of the Spirit, Who, by the providence of God through the Word, Who in the beginning was with God, enlightens the ministers of the truth, the Prophets and Apostles, was chiefly directed to the unspeakable mysteries connected

|16

with men,----and by men I mean embodied souls, so that any one who is capable of instruction, if he will search the Scriptures, and will earnestly endeavour to fathom their depths, may be a partaker in all the decrees of His counsel. And as regards souls, inasmuch as without the rich and wise truth concerning God they cannot possibly reach perfection, things relating to God and to His only-begotten Son must be placed in the front rank, viz. His nature, in what sense He is Son of God, and for what reasons He humbled Himself and took upon Him our flesh and perfect manhood; further, how He works, for whom, and under what conditions. And, of necessity, if we want to know about kindred beings, and the other rational creatures, both those more Divine than humankind and those also who have fallen from bliss, and the causes of their fall, this should be introduced into Divine revelation; and, similarly, if we have to discuss the differences in souls, and how the differences have arisen; or inquire what we mean when we talk of the "world," and ask how it came into existence. We have to learn, moreover, the origin of the great and terrible wickedness on earth, and whether it is found only on earth, or elsewhere as well.

15. Now, while the Spirit Who illumines the souls of the holy ministers of the truth had these and similar purposes in view, it was, secondly, His aim, for the sake of those who cannot bear the labour of investigating such mysteries, to conceal the foregoing doctrines in narrative form conveying an account of the visible works of creation, and of man's creation, and of the descendants of the first man until they become numerous; and in other histories which relate the doings of righteous men, and the sins which they occasionally committed inasmuch as they were men, as also the wicked, licentious, overbearing behaviour of lawless and godless men. And, very strange though it may seem, by the history of wars and victors and vanquished, some of the ineffable mysteries are declared to those who have the ability to investigate these matters. And, still more marvellous, through the written law, the

|17

laws of the Truth are foretold; and all these subjects are linked together by the Divine wisdom with a power truly worthy of the wisdom of God. For it was the Spirit's purpose to make even the vesture of things spiritual, I mean the "corporeal" part of the Scriptures, many ways not

unprofitable, but capable of benefiting the majority of readers according to their capacity.

16. If the use of the Law had been everywhere made perfectly clear, and strict historical sequence had been preserved, we should not have believed that the Scriptures could be understood in any other than the obvious sense.69 The Word of God therefore arranged for certain stumbling-blocks and offences and impossibilities to be embedded in the Law and the historical portion, so that we may not be drawn hither and thither by the mere attractiveness of the style, and thus either forsake the doctrinal part because we receive no instruction worthy of God, or cleave to the letter and learn nothing more Divine. And this we ought to know, that the chief purpose being to show the spiritual connection both in past occurrences and in things to be done, wherever the Word found historical events capable of adaptation to these mystic truths, He made use of them, but concealed the deeper sense from the many; but where in setting forth the sequence of things spiritual there was no actual event related for the sake of the more mystic meaning, Scripture interweaves the imaginative with the historical, sometimes introducing what is utterly impossible, sometimes what is possible but never occurred. Sometimes it is only a few words, not literally true, which have been inserted; sometimes the insertions are of greater length. And we must this way understand even the giving of the Law, for therein we may frequently discover the immediate use, adapted to the times when the Law was given; sometimes, however, no good reason appears. And elsewhere we have even impossible commands, for readers of greater ability and those who have more of the spirit of inquiry; so that, applying themselves

|18

to the labour of investigating the things written, they may have a fitting conviction of the necessity of looking therein for a meaning worthy of God. And not only did the Spirit thus deal with the Scriptures before the coming of Christ, but, inasmuch as He is the same Spirit, and proceedeth from the One God, He has done the same with the Gospels and the writings of the Apostles; for not even they are purely historical, incidents which never occurred being interwoven in the "corporeal" sense; nor in the Law and the Commandments does the Spirit make the reasonableness altogether clear.

17. Anyway, will any man of sense suppose that there was a first day, and a second, and a third, evening and morning, without sun and moon and stars?

70 and the first, as it were, even without a heaven? And who is so silly as to imagine that God, like a husbandman, planted a garden in Eden eastward, and put in it a tree of life,71 which could be seen and felt, so that whoever tasted of the fruit with his bodily teeth received the gift of life, and further that any one as he masticated the fruit of this tree partook of good and evil? And if God is also said to walk in the garden in the evening, and Adam to hide himself under the tree,72 I do not suppose that any one will doubt that these passages by means of seeming history, though the incidents never occurred, figuratively reveal certain mysteries. Moreover, Cain's comning out from the presence of God,73 if we give heed, is a distinct inducement to inquire what is meant by "the presence of God," and by a man's "coming out from" it. Why say more? They who are not quite blind can collect countless similar instances of things recorded as actual occurrences, though not literally true. Why, even the Gospels abound in incidents of the same kind. We read of the Devil taking Jesus into a lofty mountain, that from thence he might shew Him the kingdoms of the whole world and their

|19

glory.74 Who but a careless reader of these things would not condemn the supposition that with the bodily eye, which required a lofty height if the parts down below at the foot were to be seen, Jesus beheld the kingdoms of Persia, Scythia, India, and Parthia, and the glory of their rulers among men? And, similarly, the careful student may observe countless other instances in the Gospels, and may thus be convinced that with the historical events, literally true, different ones are interwoven which never occurred.

18. And if we come also to the Mosaic code, many of the laws, so far as regards their bare observance, seem unreasonable, and others impossible. The prohibition of kites,75 for instance, as food is unreasonable, for no one in the direst famines would be driven to this creature. Children eight days old if not circumcised are ordered to be cut off from their people. If an express enactment respecting those children was indispensable, it is their fathers who should be ordered to be put to death; whereas the Scripture says, "Every uncircumcised male, who shall not be circumcised on the eighth day, shall be cut off from his people."

76 If you wish to see some impossible enactments, let us consider that the goat-stag is a fabulous creature. And yet Moses commands us to offer it as a clean animal;77 on the other hand, there is no instance of the griffin having been tamed by man, but the lawgiver, nevertheless, forbids it to be eaten. If we closely examine the famous ordinance of the Sabbath, "Ye shall sit every man in his house: let no man go out of his place on the seventh day,"78 we shall see that it cannot be literally kept; for no living creature can sit the whole day without stirring from his seat. And therefore in some cases they of the Circumcision, and as many as desire no more light than that of the mere letter, do not go to the root of things, and, for example, search for the meaning of what is said about the goat-stag, the griffin, and the kite; while

|20

in other cases they sophistically trifle with the words, and confront you with frigid traditions; as regards the Sabbath, for instance, they maintain that every man's "place" is 2000 cubits. Others, among them Dositheus the Samaritan, condemning such an interpretation, think the person is to remain until the evening in the posture in which he was found on the Sabbath day. Nor can the command to carry no burden on the Sabbath be observed;

79 and the Jewish teachers have accordingly gone very great lengths, pretending that a sandal of one kind is a "burden," but not a sandal of another kind, the one being nailed, the other without nails; and, the same way, what is carried upon one shoulder is a "burden," but by no means what is carried upon both.

19. If we similarly investigate the Gospels, what could be more unreasonable than the command which simple readers think the Saviour gave to His Apostles, "Salute no man by the way."

80 Again, what is said about the smiting on the right cheek is incredible;81 for when a man strikes, if he acts naturally, he strikes the left cheek with his right hand. And we cannot take literally the passage in the Gospel in which the right eye is said to cause one to stumble.82 For even granting the possibility of sight making any one to stumble, why, when the two eyes see, should we put the blame on the right eye. Would any man when he condemns himself for looking on a woman to lust

after her, put the blame on the right eye only, and cast it from him? Again, the Apostle lays down the law thus: "Was any man called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised?"

83 Any one may see that the Apostle has something in view other than the literal context; for, in the first place, such an insertion when he is giving precepts concerning marriage and purity must appear unmeaning. And, in the second place, who will say that, in order to escape from the disgrace mostly connected with circumcision, a man

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does wrong in endeavouring, if he can, to become un-circumcised.

20. We have said all this for the sake of showing that the aim of the Divine power which gives us the sacred Scriptures, is not to select such things only as are presented in a literal sense, for sometimes the things selected taken literally are not true, but are even unreasonable and impossible; and further, that certain things are woven into the web of actual history and of the Law, which in its literal sense has its uses. But that no one may suppose us to make a sweeping statement and maintain that no history is real,84 because some is unreal; and that no part of the Law is to be literally observed, because a particular enactment in its wording happens to be unreasonable or impossible; or that what is recorded of the Saviour is true only in a spiritual sense; or that we are not to keep any law or commandments of His: that we may not incur such an imputation, we must add that we are quite convinced of the historical truth of certain passages; for instance, that Abraham was buried in the double cave in Hebron,85 as also Isaac and Jacob, and one wife of each of these; and that Sichem was given to Joseph for his portion,86 and that Jerusalem is the capital of

Judea, wherein God's temple was built by Solomon, and countless other statements. For those things which are true historically are many more than those connected with them which contain merely a spiritual sense. Again, take the commandment, "Honour thy father and thy mother that it may be well with thee."

87 Would not any one allow its usefulness apart from any anagogical

88 interpretation, and support |22

its observance, seeing that even the Apostle Paul uses the express words? And what are we to say about the commands, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not bear false witness?"

89 Further, there are commands in the Gospel about which there is no doubt as to whether they are to be literally observed or not; for instance, that which says, "But I say to you, whosoever shall be angry with his brother,"

90 and so on; and, "But I say to you, Swear not at all."

91 And we must keep to the letter of the Apostle's words, "Admonish the disorderly, encourage the faintheartedly, support the weak, be long-suffering towards all";92 though among more eager students it is possible to treasure every detail as the deep wisdom of God, without rejecting the literal meaning of the command.

21. Still, there are places where the careful reader will be distracted because he cannot without much labour decide whether he is dealing with history in the ordinary sense, or not, and whether a given commandment is to be literally observed, or not. The reader must therefore, following the Saviour's injunction to search the Scriptures,93 carefully examine where the literal meaning is true, and where it cannot possibly be so; and he must, to the best of his ability, by comparing parallel passages scattered up and down Scripture, trace out the prevalent sense of what is literally impossible. Since, then, as will be clear to readers, the literal connection is impossible, while the main connection is not impossible but even true, we must strive to grasp the general sense which intelligibly connects things literally impossible with such things as are not only not impossible, but are historically true, and capable of allegorical

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interpretation, no less than those which never literally occurred. For, regarding the whole of Divine Scripture, we hold that every portion has the spiritual meaning, but not every portion the "corporeal"; for the "corporeal" meaning is often proved to be impossible. The cautious reader must therefore very carefully bear in mind that the Divine books are Divine writings, and that there appears to be a peculiar way of understanding them, which I will now describe.

22. The inspired words relate that God chose out a certain nation upon earth, which they call by several names. The whole nation is called Israel, and also Jacob. But after the division in the time of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, the ten tribes under him were called Israel, and the other two with the tribe of Levi, governed by kings of the seed of David, were known as Judah. And the whole country inhabited by the nation, and given to them by God, is called Judea; and of this Jerusalem was the metropolis, or mother city, that is to say, of numerous cities, the names of which dispersed in many parts of Scripture are included in one list in the Book of Joshua the son of Nun. This being so, the Apostle, raising our thoughts higher, somewhere says, "Behold Israel after the flesh,"94 implying that there is an Israel after the Spirit. And elsewhere he says, "It is not the children of the flesh that are children of God: nor are they all Israel which are of Israel.95 Nor is he a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter."

96 For if the judgment of the Jew depends on the inward state, we must understand that as there is a bodily race of Jews, so there is a race of those who are Jews inwardly, and that there are secret reasons for souls having this noble lineage. There are, moreover, many prophecies concerning Israel and Judah which relate the things that should befall them. Now, let me ask,

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do not such great prophecies written on their behalf, inasmuch as in the literal sense they are trivial and exhibit none of the lofty dignity of a promise made by God, require a mystical interpretation? And if the promises are spiritual, though expressed by means of things sensible, they also to whom the promises are given are not "corporeal."

23. And, not to spend more time over the argument concerning the Jew that is one inwardly and the Israelite in the inner man, enough having been said for any but unintelligent readers, we return to our subject, and say. that Jacob was the father of the twelve patriarchs, they the progenitors of the rulers of the people, and these again the ancestors of the rest of Israel. So, then, the

"corporeal" Israelites are traced up to the rulers of the people, and the rulers to the patriarchs, and the patriarchs to Jacob and those still farther back; but as for the spiritual Israelites, of whom the "corporeal" were the type, do they not spring from the "hundreds," the "hundreds" from the tribes, and the tribes from one man who had no such "corporeal" descent, but the better, he too being born of Isaac, and he of Abraham, all going back to Adam, who, as the Apostle says, is Christ? For all families in their relation to the God of All had their beginning lower down in Christ, Who being next to the God and Father of All, is thus the Father of every soul as Adam is the father of all men. And if Eve has been made by Paul to represent the Church, it is no wonder that Cain, who was born of Eve, and all after him who trace their descent from Eve, should be types of the Church, inasmuch as in a special sense they sprang from the Church.

24. If we are impressed by what has been said about Israel and the tribes and the hundreds, when the Saviour tells us that He was not sent save unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel,97 we do not take the words in the same sense as the Ebionites with their poverty of

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understanding (their poverty of intellect gives them their name, for "Ebion" is the Hebrew for "poor "), and suppose that Christ came chiefly to Israel after the flesh; for "it is not the children of the flesh that are children of God."

98 Again, the Apostle gives similar teaching concerning Jerusalem when he tells us that "the Jerusalem which is above is free, which is our mother."

99 And in another epistle he says, "But ye are come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven."

100 If, then, Israel is a race of souls, and there is a city, Jerusalem in heaven, it follows that the cities of Israel, and, consequently, all Judea, have for their metropolis the heavenly Jerusalem. Accordingly, whatever is foretold or said respecting Jerusalem, if we listen to God as God, and hear Him speaking from the depths of His wisdom,101 we must understand that the Scriptures refer to the heavenly city, and the whole country containing the cities of the holy land. It may be that these are the cities to which the Saviour leads us

102 up when He gives the command of ten or five cities to those who satisfactorily dealt with the pounds.

25. If, then, the prophecies respecting Judea and Jerusalem, and Israel and Judah and Jacob, inasmuch as we do not take them in the fleshly sense, suggest some such mysteries as the foregoing, it should follow that the prophecies concerning Egypt and the Egyptians, Babylon and the Babylonians, Tyre and the Tyriaus, Sidon and the Sidonians, or any other nations, are not prophecies merely of the corporeal Egyptians,103 Babylonians, Tyrians, and Sidonians. For if there are "spiritual" Israelites, it follows that there are "spiritual" Egyptians and Babylonians. What the Prophet

Ezekiel says cannot at all be made to |26

suit Pharaoh, King of Egypt, a past or future human ruler of the country, as will be evident to close observers. Similarly, what is said about the ruler of Tyre cannot be understood of some future human ruler of Tyre. And the many passages relating to Nabuchadnosor, particularly in Isaiah, how can we possibly take them to refer to the man of that name? For the man Nabuchadnosor did not fall from heaven,104 nor was he Lucifer, nor did he rise early on the earth. And the sayings in Ezekiel concerning Egypt, to the effect that it would be desolate for forty years,105 so that the foot of man should not be found there, and that war should be so fiercely waged at some time or other that throughout the whole land blood should reach to the knees, what sensible person will understand them of Egypt that borders on the Ethiopians with their sunburnt bodies?

26. Perhaps, as they who leave the earth when they die the death of all men are dealt with in such a way that according to the deeds done in the body, if judged worthy of the place called Hades, they are assigned to different places in proportion to their sins: so they, if I may so speak, who die there, descend to this earthly Hades, being judged worthy of the different habitations, better or worse, throughout the world, and to have parents of different nationalities; so that an Israelite may perhaps fall among Scythians, and an Egyptian descend into Judea. But the Saviour came to gather together the lost sheep of the house of Israel;106 and as many of Israel did not submit to His teaching, the Gentiles also are being called.

27. These mysteries are, as we think, concealed in the histories. For "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hidden in the field; which a man found, and hid; and in his joy he goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field."107 Let us consider then whether the obvious in Scripture, its superficial and easy meaning, is

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not like a field covered with all sorts of growths; while the secret things, not seen by all, but as it were buried beneath the things that are seen, are the hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge:108 which the Spirit by the mouth of Esaias calls "dark," "invisible," "concealed." They must be found out, though God alone can break in pieces the gates of brass which hide them, and shatter the iron bars upon the doors; so that all the statements in Genesis concerning different real varieties of souls, and as it were seeds of souls, more or less remote from Israel, may be discovered; as also what is meant by the seventy souls going down into Egypt,109 that there they may become as the stars of heaven for multitude. But since not all their descendants are the light of the world,110 for "they are not all Israel that are of Israel,"

111 the seventy become even as it were sand by the sea shore that cannot be numbered.

From the 39th Homily on Jeremiah.

28. And as all the gifts of God are vastly greater than the mortal substance, so also the true word of wisdom concerning all these, being with God Who caused all these things to be written, for the Father of the Word so willed, would be found in the soul which with all earnestness and with full consent has been thoroughly purified from human weakness in the apprehension of that wisdom. But if a man rashly enters on the subject, and is not aware of the mystery of the wisdom of God and of the Word Who was in the beginning with God and was Himself God, and that if we are to seek and find these things we must follow the instructions of the Word Who was also God, and conform to His wisdom, he must of necessity fall into fables and frivolous conceits and inventions

of his own, for he exposes himself to danger for his impiety. We must therefore remember the admonition in Ecclesiastes to such readers: "Let not thine heart

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be hasty to utter anything before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few."

112 And it is fitting to believe that not a single tittle of the sacred Scriptures is without something of the wisdom of God; for He Who gave me a mere man the command, "Thou shalt not appear before me empty,"

113 how much more will He not speak anything "empty." When the Prophets speak, it is after receiving of His fulness;

114 and so everything breathes what comes of His fulness; and there is nothing in Prophecy, or Law, or Gospel, or Apostle, which is not of His fulness. And just because it is of His fulness, it breathes His fulness to those who have eyes to see the things of that fulness, and ears to hear the things of that fulness, and a faculty to perceive the sweet odour of the things of that fulness. But if in reading the Scripture thou shouldest sometime stumble at a meaning which is a fair stone of stumbling and rock of offence,115 blame thyself. Do not despair of finding meanings in the stone of stumbling and rock of offence, so that the saying may be fulfilled, "He that believeth shall not be ashamed."

116 First believe, and thou shalt find beneath what is counted a stumbling-block much gain in godliness.

From the Commentary on the 50th Psalm, in the allegorical treatment of the early portion of the history of Uriah.

29. If the partly allegorical treatment of the history appears to any one forced, and therefore not to relieve the difficulties, we have obviously been speaking to no purpose, and we must look for some other suitable interpretation; unless, perchance, some reader by further labour may discover a way of putting everything right, explaining

117 both the murder of the man and his evident kindliness, inasmuch as he was unwilling to go to his house and rest, when the people were in camp and

|29

struggling against the enemy. But I do not know how they who shun the allegorical interpretation, and think the narrative was written for its own sake, will reconcile themselves to the will of the Holy Spirit, Who thought such things deserving of record as justify the charge not only of licentiousness, but also of savagery and inhumanity being brought against David; for he dared to commit a crime against Uriah which would be extraordinary even in the case of a man of average morality. I should, however, say that as the judgments of God are great and cannot be expressed,118 and seem to be causes of the erring of unnurtured souls, so also His Scriptures are great and full of meanings, secret, spiritual, and hard to understand. They, too, cannot be expressed, and appear to cause the unnurtured souls of heretics to err by inconsiderately and rashly accusing God on

account of the Scriptures which they do not understand, and by therefore falling into the error of inventing another God. The safe course is to wait for the interpretation of an explainer of the Word, and of the wisdom hidden in a mystery,119 which none of the rulers of this world knoweth, according to the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal,120 but now is manifested to the Apostles and those like them, both through the writings of the Prophets, and by the appearing to them of our Saviour the Word Who in the beginning was with God.121

From the 5th Homily on Leviticus, near the beginning.

30. Not perceiving the difference between visible and spiritual Judaism, that is, between the Judaism which is outward and the Judaism which is inward,122 godless and impious heresies forsook Judaism and the God Who gave our Scriptures and the whole Law, and invented a different God besides Him Who gave the Law and the Prophets, besides the Maker of heaven and earth. The fact is not so, however; but He Who gave the Law also gave the

|30

Gospel, He Who made things visible also made things invisible. And things visible are akin to things invisible; in such wise akin that the invisible things of God since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made.123 The things of the Law and the Prophets which are seen are akin to the things of the Law and the Prophets which are not seen but are intelligible.124 Seeing, then, that the Scripture itself consists as it were of a body which is seen, and a soul therein apprehended by the reason, and a spirit, that which corresponds to the copies and shadow of heavenly things,125 let us call upon Him Who created Scripture with a body, soul, and spirit, the body for those who were before us, the soul for us, and the spirit for those who in the coming age shall inherit eternal life, and are destined to reach the heavenly, archetypal things contained in the Law; and then let us search, not for the letter, but for the soul of what we are considering. Then, if we are able, we will ascend also to the spirit, corresponding to the principles involved in the sacrifices of which we read.

CHAP. II. ----That the Divine Scripture is closed up and sealed. From the Commentary on the 1st Psalm.

1. The Divine words say that the Divine Scriptures have been closed up and sealed with the key of David, and perhaps with the seal which is described as "the stamp of a seal, a hallowed offering to the Lord"

126----that is, with the power of God, Who gave the Scriptures, the seal being the emblem of power. Now John interprets the closing up and sealing in the Apocalypse, when he says:127 "And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and none shall shut, and that shutteth, and none openeth: I know thy

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works: behold I have set before thee a door opened, which none can shut." And a little farther on:128 "And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and without, close sealed with seven seals. And I saw another, a strong angel, proclaiming with a great voice,

Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no one in the heaven, or on the earth, or under the earth, was able to open the book, or to look thereon. And I wept because no one was found worthy to open the book, or to look thereon: and one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not: behold, the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book and the seven seals thereof."

2. As regards the sealing up only, Esaias thus speaks:129 "And all these sayings shall be to you as the words of this book which is sealed, which men deliver to One that is learned, saying, Read this: and he saith, I cannot read it, for it is sealed: and the book shall be delivered into the hands of a man that is not learned, saying, Read this: and he saith, I am not learned." For we must consider these things to be spoken not only of the Apocalypse of John and Esaias, but also of all Divine Scripture, which is beyond question full of riddles, and parables, and dark sayings, and various other obscurities, hard to be understood by men, whose ears can catch no more than the faint echoes of the Divine words. This was what the Saviour wished to teach us when He said, inasmuch as the key was with the Scribes and Pharisees who did not strive to find the way to open the Scriptures, "Woe unto you lawyers! for ye took away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered." 130 Then, after topics of a different kind, Origen proceeds:----

3. Now that we are going to begin our interpretation |32

of the Psalms, let us preface our remarks with a very pleasing tradition respecting all Divine Scripture in general, which has been handed down to us by the Jew. That great scholar used to say that inspired Scripture taken as a whole was on account of its obscurity like many locked-up rooms in one house. Before each room he supposed a key to be placed, but not the one belonging to it; and that the keys were so dispersed all round the rooms, not fitting the locks of the several rooms before which they were placed. It would be a troublesome piece of work to discover the keys to suit the rooms they were meant for. It was, he said, just so with the understanding of the Scriptures, because they are so obscure; the only way to begin to understand them was, he said, by means of other passages containing the explanation dispersed throughout them. The Apostle, I think, suggested such a way of coming to a knowlege of the Divine words when He said, "Which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual."

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Much farther on, comparing the blessings addressed to individuals with those addressed to more than one,132 he says:----

4. If the words of the Lord are pure words, as silver tried in a furnace, approved of the whole earth, purified seven times;

133 it is just as true that the Holy Spirit has dictated them, through the ministers of the Word,134 with the most scrupulous accuracy, lest the parallel meaning which the wisdom of God had constantly in view over the whole range of inspired Scripture, even to the mere letter, should escape us. And perhaps this is why the Saviour says, "One jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass away from the law, till all things be accomplished."

135 For if we study Creation we see that the Divine skill is shown not only in heaven, in the sun, moon, and stars, being everywhere evidenced in those bodies, but also upon earth no less

|33

in commoner matter: so that the bodies of the smallest living creatures are not scornfully treated by the Creator, much less the souls existing in them, each having some peculiar gift, something to ensure the safety of the irrational creature. And as for plants, neither are they overlooked, for the Creator is immanent in every one, as regards roots, and leaves, appropriate fruits, and varying qualities. So, too, we conceive of all that has been recorded by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, believing that the sacred foreknowledge

136 has through the Scriptures supplied superhuman wisdom to the race of man, having, so to speak, sown the seeds of saving truths, traces of the wisdom of God, in every letter as far as possible.

5. In truth, any one who has once accepted these Scriptures as coming from the Creator of the world, must be convinced that whatever difficulties confront those who investigate the story of creation, similar difficulties will also be found in the study of the Scriptures. There are, I say, in creation as well as in Scripture, certain problems which we men solve with difficulty, or even not at all; and we must not therefore blame the Maker of the universe because, say, we cannot discover why basilisks and other venomous creatures were created. In the contemplation of Nature it is an act of piety if a man who is conscious of human weakness, and recognises the impossibility of understanding the principles of the Divine skill, though pondered with all diligence, will ascribe to God the knowledge of these things. He will hereafter, should we be deemed worthy, reveal to us all the mysteries which now engage our reverent attention. Similarly, we should see that the Divine Scriptures also contain many mysteries of which it is hard for us to give an account. Anyway, let those who, after forsaking the Creator of the world and betaking themselves to a god of their own invention, make these professions, solve the difficulties we put before them; or, at least, after such strange impiety, let them see how they can with a good

|34

conscience uphold their speculations on the matters under investigation and the problems presented to them. For if the problems no less remain, though our opponents have forsaken the Godhead, would it not be far greater piety to be content with our conception of God, the Creator being contemplated through the works of creation, and to refrain from uttering godless and unholy opinions respecting so great a God?

CHAP. III. ---- Why the inspired books are twenty-two

137 in number. From the same volume on the 1st Psalm.

As we are dealing with numbers, and every number has among real existences a certain significance, of which the Creator of the universe made full use as well in the general scheme as in the arrangement of the details, we must give good heed, and with the help of the Scriptures trace their meaning, and the meaning of each of them. Nor must we fail to observe that not without reason the canonical books are twenty-two,138 according to the Hebrew tradition, the same in number as the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. For as the twenty-two letters may be regarded as

an introduction to the wisdom and the Divine doctrines given to men in those Characters, so the twenty-two inspired books are an alphabet of the wisdom of God and an introduction to the knowledge of realities.

|35

CHAP. IV. ----Of the solecisms and poor style of Scripture. From Volume IV. of the Commentaries on the Gospel according to John, three or four pages from the beginning.

1. A reader who carefully distinguishes language, meaning, and things, on which the meaning is based, will not stumble at solecistic 139 expressions, if, on examination, he finds that the things are none the worse for the language in which they are clothed, particularly as the holy writers confess that their speech was not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.140 Then, after speaking of the solecisms of the Gospel, he goes on to say:----

2. Inasmuch as the Apostles were not unconscious of their errors, nor unaware what the things were which concerned them, they say they are rude in speech, but not in knowledge:141 for we must believe that the other Apostles, as well as Paul, would have said so. Then there is the passage, "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the exceeding greatness of the power may be of God, and not from ourselves";142 which we interpret of the treasure elsewhere described as the treasure of knowledge and hidden wisdom,143 and we take the "earthen vessels" in the sense of the ordinary, and, in Greek estimation, contemptible diction of the Scriptures, wherein the exceeding greatness of the power of God is really seen. For the mysteries of the truth and the force of what was said, in spite of the ordinary language, were strong enough to reach the ends of the earth, and bring into subjection to the word of Christ, not only the foolish things of the world, but sometimes also its wise ones.144 For we see what our calling is: not that it has no one wise after the flesh, but not many wise

|36

after the flesh. Nay more, Paul says that in proclaiming the Gospel 145

he owes the delivery of the Word not only to Barbarians but also to the Greeks, and not only to the foolish, who more easily give their assent, but also to the wise; for he was by God made sufficient to be a minister of the new covenant,146 and to use the demonstration of the Spirit and of power,147 so that the assent of believers may not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. For had the Scripture been embellished with elegance of style and diction, like the masterpieces of Greek literature, one might perhaps have supposed that it was not the truth which got hold of men, but that the clear sequence of thought and the beauty of the language won the souls of the hearers, and caught them with guile.

CHAP. V. ---- What is "much speaking," and what are the "many books"? The whole inspired Scripture is one book. From the Introduction to Volume V. of the Commentaries on John.

I. Since you are not content to have taken up your present work as God's task-master over me,148 and expect me even when away to devote myself mainly to you and to my duty towards you, I in turn, if I decline the labour, and shun the danger to which they are exposed at God's hands who give themselves up to writing on Divine subjects, might find support in Scripture for refusing to "make many books." For Solomon says in Ecclesiastes, "My son, beware of making many books:

there is no end: and much study is a weariness of the flesh."

149 If the words |37

before us had not a hidden meaning which we do not even yet clearly understand, we should have expressly broken the commandment through not being on our guard against "making many books."

Then, after saying that he had written four full volumes on a few passages of the Gospel, he proceeds thus:----

2. As far as the words go there are two possible meanings of the precept, "My son, beware of making many books"; firstly, that one ought not to have many books: secondly, that one ought not to compose many books; and if the first is not permissible, the second is certainly not; though if the second is permissible, the first is not certainly so;

150 either way the lesson appears to be that we ought not to make too many books. And, keeping to what has now occurred to me, I might send you the passage which I have quoted, as my apology: I might make the most of the fact that the saints have never had leisure for composing many books, and, accordingly, cease to compose any more to be sent to you, as we agreed. You would perhaps be so struck by what I said that you would let me have my way. But since a man should investigate Scripture with a good conscience, and not hastily claim to understand the meaning because he grasps the literal sense, I cannot bear to offer an unreal apology, which you might turn against me if I were to break our agreement. First, then, seeing that history seems to support what Solomon says, inasmuch as no saint has published numerous volumes and expressed his thoughts in many books, something must be said about this. And he who chides me for going on composing more books will tell me that the famous Moses left only five.

Then, after enumerating Prophets and Apostles, and showing how each of them wrote but a little, or not even that, he continues:----

3. Again, though I have said all this, my head swims, and I turn dizzy at the thought that in obeying you I may have disobeyed God and not imitated the saints. I trust

|38

I shall not do wrong, if in my heartfelt affection for you, and earnest desire in nothing to give you pain, I plead my own cause and base my defence on these grounds. First of all, we adduced the words of Ecclesiastes, "My son, beware of making many books."

151 Side by side with this I place the saying of the same Solomon in the Proverbs, "In the multitude of words thou shalt not escape sin, but if thou refrain thy lips thou wilt be discreet,"

152 and I ask if the mere speaking many words is much speaking, even if a man speak many holy and saving words. If this be so, and he who discusses many profitable things indulges in a "multitude of words," Solomon himself did not escape the sin, for "he spake three thousand proverbs; and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes."

153 How can teaching be effective without many words of the simpler kind? Wisdom herself tells the perishing, "I prolonged my words unto you, and ye did not regard."

154 And Paul appears to have continued preaching from morn until midnight, until Eutychus borne down with deep sleep fell down and alarmed the audience, who thought he was dead.155

4. Well, then, if it be true that "in a multitude of words thou wilt not escape sin"; and if it be also true that neither Solomon sinned though he spake many words about the above-mentioned subjects, nor Paul, though he continued teaching until midnight, we must inquire what "a multitude of words" is, and then pass on to consider the meaning of "the many books." The whole Word of God, I say, the Word which was in the beginning with God,156 is not "a multitude of words," for it is not "words "; there is one Word

157 which may be regarded from many points of view, and each of these meanings is a part of the whole Word. But as for words other than this Word, which

|39

profess to describe or relate anything whatsoever, though we may believe them to be words respecting truth,----what I am going to say will sound still more paradoxical, ----not one of them is a word, but each of them words. For the unit can nowhere be found, nor can harmony and unity, but because they are torn with mutual conflict their unity has perished; and they are split into many parts, perhaps infinitely numerous; so that, according to this, we may say that he who utters anything whatsoever contrary to godliness speaks much, while he who speaks the things of the truth, even though he speak so exhaustively as to omit nothing, even speaks one word, and the saints, making the one Word their constant aim, do not fall into the vice of much speaking. If, then, whether there be or be not "much speaking" depends on the doctrines and not on the number of the words, see whether we cannot say the whole range of sacred teaching is one book, and all other teaching many books?

5. But since I must have proof from the Divine Scripture, consider whether my most striking way of presenting it is not to show that the account of Christ in relation to us is not contained in one book, if we take the "books" in the ordinary sense. It is described even in the Pentateuch; but also in each of the Prophets, and in the Psalms, and, generally, as the Saviour Himself says, in all the Scriptures, to which He refers us, bidding us "Search the Scriptures, for ye think that in them ye have eternal life: and these are they which bear witness of me."

158 If, then, He refers us to the Scriptures as bearing witness of Him, He does not send us to this or that particular portion, but to all the Scriptures that tell of Him, such as those which in the Psalms He called "the roll of the book," saying, "In the roll of the book it is written of me."

159 If any one takes the phrase "in the roll of the book" to mean some one of the books containing the things concerning Him, I should like him to tell me why he prefers that book to any other. To justify

|40

any one in supposing that the word refers to the Book of the Psalms itself, he must point out that the words should have been "In this book it is written concerning me." But the fact is that He says

that everything is one roll, because the account of Himself which has reached us is summed up in one (statement, "I came to do Thy will"). And what, again, is the meaning of the book being seen by John written in front and on the back, close sealed:160

which no one could read or loose the seals thereof, except the Lion that is of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, He that hath the key of David,161 He that openeth and no man shall shut, and no man shall open? It surely is the whole of Scripture which is indicated by the "book"; written "in front" by reason of the easy, obvious interpretation: "on the back " because of the more remote and spiritual sense.

6. Besides this, we must closely observe whether it is any proof of holy truths being one book, and the opposite of these many, that for the living there is one book from which they who have become unworthy of it are blotted out, as it is written, "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living,"

162 while for those subject to judgment looks are brought; for Daniel says, "The judgment was set and the books were opened."

163 To the unity of the Divine book even Moses testifies when he says, "If thou wilt forgive this people their sin, forgive them; and if not, blot me out of thy book which thou hast written."164 I take the passage in Isaiah the same way; for it is not a peculiarity of his prophecy that the words of the book were sealed, and were not read by him that was not learned because he was not learned, nor by him that was learned because the book was sealed; but even this is true of all Scripture, which needs the Word that shut and will open; for "He shall shut and none shall open,"

165 and once He opens no one can any longer associate darkness with His clear light; and this is why it is said that He shall

|41

open and none shut. And the very similar passage in Ezekiel about the book there spoken of, wherein was written "lamentations and music and woe." For every book contains the "woe" of the perishing,166 and "music" for those who are being saved, and lamentations for those between these extremes. John, too, when he says that he ate one roll of the book,167 wherein were written things past and things to come, must have regarded the whole of Scripture as one book, very sweet as a man understands it at first and feeds upon it, but bitter when it is revealed to the self-consciousness of every one who has come to know it. To demonstrate this I will add an apostolic saying not understood by the followers of Marcion, who therefore reject the Gospels; for whereas the Apostle says, "According to my gospel in Christ Jesus,"

168 and does not speak of gospels, they oppose us, and maintain that if there were several gospels the Apostle would not have used the word in the singular. They do not understand that as He is one, so the Gospel written by its many authors is one in effect, and the Gospel truly delivered by four evangelists is one Gospel.

7. Wherefore, if this has brought us conviction as to what the one book means, and what the many, I am now not so much concerned for the quantity of the copy as for the quality of the same, lest I fall into the transgression of the commandment, if I put forth anything as truth which is contrary to the truth even in a single detail of what is written; for I shall then prove myself to be a writer of many books. And just now, when, with a show of knowledge, men who hold false opinions

are rising up against the holy Church of Christ, and publishing book after book which professes to expound the Gospels and apostolic writings, if we hold our peace, and do not meet them with the true and sound doctrines, they will prevail over gluttonous souls which, for want of wholesome food, rush to things forbidden, to utterly unclean and abominable meats. It therefore seems to me to be necessary, that he

|42

who can genuinely plead for the doctrine of the Church and refute the handlers of knowledge falsely so-called, should withstand the inventions of the heretics, opposing to them the elevation of the preaching of the Gospel, inasmuch as he is satisfied with the harmony of doctrines common to the Old Testament and to the New, as they are respectively called. At all events, you yourself, when advocates of the good cause were scarce, because you could not endure an irrational and commonplace faith, in your love for Jesus embraced opinions which you afterwards, when you had fully exercised the understanding given to you, condemned and forsook. This I say, according to my light, by way of excuse for men who can speak and write, and also by way of apology for myself, lest, perhaps, not being equipped as a man should be who is enabled by God to be a minister of the New Testament,169 not of the letter, but of the spirit, I too boldly apply myself to composition.170

CHAP. VI. ----The whole Divine Scripture is one instrument of God, perfect and fitted for its work. From Volume II. of the Commentaries on the Gospel according to Matthew: "Blessed are the peacemakers" 171

1. To the man who is both ways a peacemaker, there is no longer anything in the Divine oracles crooked or perverse,172 for all things are plain to those who understand; and since to such an one there is nothing crooked or perverse, he sees abundance of peace173 everywhere in Scripture, even in those parts which appear not to agree and to be contradictory to one another. But there is also a third peacemaker, he, viz. who shows that what to the eyes of others seems like disagreement in the Scriptures is not really so, and who proves that harmony and concord exist, whether between the Old and the New, or the Law and the Prophets, or Gospel and Gospel, or Evangelists and

|43

Apostles, or Apostles and other Apostles. For,174 according to the Preacher,175 all the Scriptures, words of the wise, are as goads, and as nails well fastened, words which were given from collections from one shepherd, and there is nothing superfluous in them. And the Word is "one shepherd" of things relating to the Word, which do indeed sound discordant to those who have not ears to hear,176 but are in truth most harmonious.

2. For as the different strings of the psaltery or the lyre, each of which gives forth a note of its own seemingly unlike that of any other, are thought by an unmusical man who does not understand the theory of harmony to be discordant, because of the difference in the notes: so they who have not ears to detect the harmony of God in the sacred Scriptures suppose that the Old Testament is not in harmony with the New, or the Prophets with the Law, or the Gospels with one another, or an Apostle with the Gospel, or with himself, or with the other Apostles. But if a reader comes who has been instructed in God's music, a man who happens to be wise in word and deed, and on that

account, it may be, called David, which being interpreted is "a cunning player," he will produce a note of God's music, for he will have learned from God's music to keep good time, playing now upon the strings of the Law, now upon those of the Gospel in harmony with them, now upon those of the Prophets; and when the harmony of good sense is required he strikes the apostolic strings tuned to suit the foregoing, and, similarly, apostolic strings in harmony with those of Evangelists. For he knows that the whole Scripture is the one, perfect, harmonious instrument of God, blending the different notes, for those who wish to learn, into one song of salvation, which stops and hinders all the working of an evil spirit, as the music of David laid to rest the evil spirit in Saul which was

|44

vexing him.177 You observe, then, that there is a third kind of peacemaker, he who keeping close to the Scripture both sees the peace which pervades it everywhere, and bestows it on those who rightly seek the truth and are really eager to learn.

CHAP. VII. ----Of the special character of the persons of Divine Scripture. From the small volume on the Song of Songs, which Origen wrote in his youth.

1. Any one who does not understand the peculiar character 178

of the persons in Scripture, both as regards the speakers and the persons addressed, must be much perplexed by what he reads; he will ask who is speaking, who is spoken to, and when does the speaker cease to speak. For it often happens that the same person is addressed, though a third person speaks to him; or the person addressed is no longer the same, and a different person takes up what is said, while the same person speaks. And sometimes both the speaker and the person addressed are changed; or, further, though both are unchanged, it is not clear that they are. Need I seek an illustration of each of these statements, seeing that the prophetical writings abound in such changes? In fact we have here a special, though it may be unrecognised, cause of the obscurity of Scripture. It is also the way of Scripture to jump suddenly from one discourse to another.179 The prophets, above all, do this, obscuring their sense and more or less confusing the reader.

Again, from the 4th Homily 180 on the Acts, "It was needful that the Scripture should be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit spake before by the mouth of David concerning Judas."

2. In the Psalm wherein the things concerning Judas are written, one might say that it is not the Holy Spirit Who speaks, for the words are clearly the Saviour's,

|45

"Hold not thy peace, O God, at my praise: for the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful man is opened upon me,"

181 and so on, until we come to "And his office let another take." Now if it is the Saviour Who says this, what does Peter mean by telling us that "It was needful that the Scripture should be fulfilled which the Holy Ghost spake before by the mouth of David?"

182 Perhaps the lesson is something like this. The Holy Ghost employs personification in the prophets, and if He introduces the person of God, it is not God Who speaks, but the Holy Ghost

speaks as God.183 And if He introduces Christ, it is not Christ Who speaks, but the Holy Ghost speaks as Christ. So, then, if He brings in the person of a prophet, or personifies this or that people, or anything whatsoever, it is the Holy Ghost Who devises all these personifications.

CHAP. VIII. ----That we need not attempt to correct the solecistic phrases of Scripture, and those which are unintelligible according to the letter, seeing that they contain great propriety of thought for those who can understand. From the Commentary on Hosea.

1. Inasmuch as the solecisms 184 in Scripture, if literally taken, often confuse the reader, so that he suspects the text to be neither correct, nor in accord with propriety of reason; and this to such an extent, that some persons by way of correction, even venture to make alterations and substitute another meaning for that of the seemingly inconsistent passages, I fear something similar may befall the language of the passages before us; we are therefore bound to see what their hidden meaning is. The Prophet after using the plural, "They wept and made supplication unto me,"

185 and again the plural, showing the sequel, "In

|46

the house of On they found me," proceeds in the singular, "And there he spoke with him." A reader glancing at the words as they stand might suppose there was an error in the copy, and therefore write the plural in the last clause, or change the previous plurals into the singular. For when he reads, "They wept and made supplication unto me," and "In the house of On they found me," he would say that the next clause should be, "There he spake with them," that is, with those who wept and made supplication and found God in the house of On. But if we consider other passages we shall see that even here we have no inconsistency.

2. In Genesis God gives a command to Adam, saying, "Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, ye shall not eat of it: for in the day that ye eat thereof ye shall surely die."

186 There, also, God begins by speaking in the singular, "Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat," but goes on in the plural, "of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, ye shall not eat of it: for in the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall surely die." The explanation is that when God speaks of the commandment which He wished Adam to keep and live, He commands in the singular, "Of every tree in the garden thou mayest freely eat"; for they who walk in God's ways and hold fast His commandments, though they be many, yet by reason of their being of one mind the many are essentially one.187 And, therefore, when a commandment respecting goodness is given, the singular is used----"Thou mayest freely eat"; but in laying down the law respecting transgression, God no longer uses the singular, but the plural----"Ye shall not eat: for in the day that ye eat thereof, ye shall surely die."

3. And so it is with the present passage. When they still weep and make supplication to God, the plural is used----"They wept and made supplication to me "; but when they find God, He no longer uses the plural----"There

|47

He spake, not with them," but with him. For by finding God and by hearing His Word, they have already become one. For the individual when he sins is one of many, severed from God and divided, his unity gone; but the many who follow the commandments of God are one man; as also the Apostle testifies, saying, "For we who are many are one bread, one body";188 and again, "There is one God, and One Christ, and one faith, and one baptism";189 and elsewhere, "For all we are one body in Christ Jesus";190 and again, "I espoused you all to one husband, that I might present you as a pure virgin to the Lord."191 And that they are well pleasing to the Lord and one,192

is shown in the Lord's prayer to His Father for His disciples. "Holy Father," He says, "grant that as I and Thou are one, so also they may be one in us."193 And also, whenever the saints are said to be members of one another,194 the only conclusion is that they are one body. In The

Shepherd,195 again, where we read of the building of the tower, a building composed of many stones, but seeming to be one solid block, what can the meaning of the Scripture be except the harmony and unity of the many?

CHAP. IX. ---- Why it is that the Divine Scripture often uses the same term in different significations, even in the same place. From the Epistle to the Romans, Volume

IX. on the words, "What then? Is the law sin?" 196

1. One term, law, may be used, but the scriptural account of "law" is not everywhere one and the same. A reader must therefore in every place consider with the utmost care first the literal meaning of the word "law," then the special significance of it. This is only what we do with most other words; for there are other instances of equivocal scriptural terms, such as confuse readers who suppose that because the word is the same the meaning

|48

must be the same wherever it is found. Now the word "law" is intended to serve not everywhere the same purpose, but many purposes; we will, therefore, passing by the numerous passages requiring careful reasoning because they suggest an objection which calls for an answer, set forth all such as may effectually convince anybody that the word "law" has many meanings. As an illustration let us take what is said in the Epistle to the Galatians. "As many as are of the works of the law are under a curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one which continueth riot in all things that are written in the book of the law to do them."

197 It is clear that we have here the literal law of Moses, enjoining on those under it what they are to do, and forbidding what they must not do. And we have no less clearly the meaning of the passage in the same Epistle, "The law was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise hath been made; and it was ordained through angels by the hand of a mediator";198 and of another, "So that the law hath been our tutor to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith is come, we are no longer under a tutor. For ye are all sons of God, through faith in Christ Jesus."

199 And that "law" also denotes the historical writings of Moses we may gather from the passage in the same epistle ----"Tell me ye that desire to be under the law, do ye not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons, one by the handmaid, and one by the freewoman. Howbeit

the son by the handmaid is born after the flesh; but the son by the freewoman is born through the promise."

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2. I know that even the Psalms are called "law," as is plain from the passage, "That the word may be fulfilled that is written in their law, They hated me without a cause."

201 Nay more, the prophecy of Isaiah is called "law" by the Apostle, who tells us, "In the law it is

|49

written, By men of strange tongues, and by the lips of strangers will I speak unto this people; and not even then will they hear me, saith the Lord";202 and this is in effect what I found in Aquila's interpretation. The term is also applied to the more mystic and Divine sense of the law; as, for instance, "We know that the law is spiritual."203 And besides all this, the Word sown in the soul, evidenced by the moral notions common to mankind, and in Scripture language "written in the heart," enjoining what we have to do, forbidding what we must not do, is called "law." This is proved by the following words of the Apostle: "For when the Gentiles which have no law do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves; in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their consciences bearing witness therewith."

204 For the law written in men's hearts and in Gentiles who by nature do the things of the law, is no other than the law of common morality by nature written in our governing part,205 and day by day becoming clearer with the perfecting of reason. This is the meaning of law in the words,"Sin is not imputed where there is no law,"

206 and in these, "I had not known sin except through the law."

207 For before the Mosaic law was given sin is found to have been imputed both to Cain and to the sufferers in the Deluge, and to the people of Sodom as well, and to countless others; and many came to know sin before the law of Moses was given. And do not be surprised if two meanings of the one word "law" are discovered in the same place; for we shall find this usage in other parts of Scripture; for example, "Say not ye, There are yet four months and then cometh the harvest? Behold, I say unto you, Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they

|50

are white already into harvest."208 The word "harvest" is used twice, the first time of the "corporeal"

209 harvest, the second time of the spiritual. And you will find a parallel also in the account of the healing of the man born blind. The man was literally blind, but the Saviour adds, "For judgment came I into this world, that they which see not may see; and that they which see may become blind."

210

3. So, then, it is as true as ever that; "apart from the law, the law of nature, a righteousness of God hath been manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets."

211 And we would tell those readers who shrink from admitting the double meaning of "the law," that if we are to understand the same law to be referred to in both clauses, "But now apart from the law a righteousness of God hath been manifested," and "Being witnessed by the law and the prophets," we must conclude that if the righteousness hath been manifested apart from the Law, it is not witnessed by the Law; and if it is witnessed by the Law, it hath not been manifested apart from the Law. The truth is that the law of nature by no means witnesses to the righteousness of God manifested by Jesus Christ, for it is inferior to that righteousness; but the Law of Moses, not the letter, but the spirit, does witness, as also the Prophets in accordance with the spirit of the law, and as does the spiritual word in them. The reader of the Divine Scripture must therefore carefully observe that the Scriptures do not invariably use the same words to denote the same things; and they make the change sometimes on account of the equivocal sense of a word, sometimes for the sake of the figurative meaning, and sometimes because the context requires a different nuance in some places from that which the word has in others. If we are well on our guard in all this we escape many blunders and false interpretations. We ought, then, to know that the word "see"

212 does not always denote the same thing, sometimes being applied to bodily sight, sometimes to our understanding.

|51

Speaking generally, we ought to be aware that inasmuch as the purpose of the Spirit in the Prophets, and the Word in the Apostles of Christ, is to conceal and not plainly disclose the thoughts of the Truth, confusion arises again and again through the mere wording, and no close sequence of thought is preserved; the object being that even the unworthy may not to the judgment of their own soul discover the things which are thus for their good concealed from them. And this is often the reason why Scripture, as a whole, appears to lack orderly arrangement and consecutiveness, particularly, as we said before, the prophetic and apostolic writings; and in the apostolic writings, the Epistle to the Romans, wherein the functions of the Law are set forth in different terms, and applied to different circumstances. The result is that Paul in the composition of the epistle does not seem to be true to his aim.

CHAP. X. ----Of things in the Divine Scripture which seem to come near to being a stumbling-block and rock of offence. From the 39th Homily on Jeremiah: "The Lord could not bear because of the evil of your doings"

1. If at anytime in reading the Scripture you stumble at something which is a fair stone of stumbling, and rock of offence,213 blame yourself; for you must not despair of finding in this stone of stumbling and rock of offence thoughts to justify the saying, "He that believeth shall not be ashamed."

214 First believe, and thou shalt find beneath what is deemed a stumbling-stone much gain in godliness. For if we really received a commandment to speak no idle word, because we shall give account of it in the day of judgment;215 and if we must with all our might endeavour to make every word proceeding out of our mouths a working word both in ourselves who speak and in those who hear, must we not conclude that every word spoken

|52

through the Prophets was fit for work? and it is no wonder if every word spoken by the Prophets had a work adapted to it. Nay, I suppose that every letter, no matter how strange, which is written in the oracles of God, does its work. And there is not one jot or tittle

216 written in the Scripture, which, when men know how to extract the virtue does not work its own work.

2. As every herb has its own virtue whether for the healing of the body, or some other purpose, and it is not given to everybody to know the use of every herb, but certain persons have acquired the knowledge by the systematic study of botany, so that they may understand when a particular herb is to be used, and to what part it is to be applied, and how it is to be prepared, if it is to do the patient good; just so it is in things spiritual; the saint is a sort of spiritual herbalist, who culls from the sacred Scriptures every jot and every common letter, discovers the value of what is written and its use, and finds that there is nothing in the Scriptures superfluous. If you would like another illustration, every member of our body has been designed by God to do some work. But it is not for everybody to know the power and use of all the members, even the meanest, but those physicians who are expert anatomists can tell for what use every part, even the least, was intended by Providence. Just so, you may regard the Scriptures as a collection of herbs, or as one perfect body of reason; but if you are neither a scriptural botanist, nor can dissect the words of the Prophets, you must not suppose that anything written is superfluous, but blame yourself and not the sacred Scriptures when you fail to find the point of what is written. All this by way of general preface, though it may be applied to the whole of Scripture; so that they who will give heed to their reading may beware of passing over a single letter without examination and inquiry.

|53

CHAP. XI. ----That we must seek the nourishment supplied by all inspired Scripture, and not turn from the passages troubled by heretics with ill-advised difficulties, nor slight them; we ought rather to have our share in them without the confusion which attaches to unbelief. From Volume XX. on Ezekiel. "Thus saith the Lord God: Behold I judge between sheep and sheep, as well the rams

as the he-goats. Seemeth it a small thing unto you to have fed upon the good pasture, but ye must tread down with your feet the residue of your pasture? and to have drunk of the clear waters, but ye must foul the residue with your feet? And as for my sheep they eat that which ye have trodden with your feet, and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet? "

217

After giving his views respecting sheep that are rams, and sheep that are goats, and showing that it is the practice of Scripture sometimes to class sheep and goats together, he thus proceeds:----

1. Now let us do our best to discover what truths are shadowed out in these words. Every good pasture, and the pool of clear water, represent, I suppose, the oracles of the sacred Scriptures as a whole. The next thought is that inasmuch as certain persons approve of some portions as profitable, and reject others as having no saving power, they may be said to feed upon the good pasture of the passages they choose, drink the clear water of what they judge to be the best, and then tread down the residue of the pasture, and foul the residue of the water with their feet. These, I say, are they who approve the New Testament, but reject the Old; these are they who maintain

that certain parts of the ancient writings exhibit more of the Divine power and are highly spiritual, and make others to be deficient in these respects. But the Shepherd calls them His own sheep who do not disdain what has been trodden by the feet, and who do not despise the water fouled by the feet, of the

|54 blame-worthy sheep, perhaps more correctly named goats and kids; for they would not be sheep worthy of the rams upon the right hand.

2. For ourselves, then, who profess to be sheep of the Shepherd, let us never be shy at feeding on those passages which, taken literally, do not look like Scripture, and on account of their verbal incongruity are trodden down by men who are neither able nor willing to use the whole pasture. Even supposing that some water has been fouled by their feet, suppose, I mean, they have mingled with the pure word of the Scripture shameful unheard-of objections, let us not, because of the confusion they have introduced into the Word, be deterred from drinking that which has been fouled by their feet. And carefully observe that they who foul the water and tread down the pasture, are reminded of better sheep in the words, "And as for my sheep, they eat that which ye have trodden with your feet, and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet."

218 Furthermore, let us never tread down the pasture of the Prophets, nor foul the water of the Law; and while there are some who err in respect of the Gospel pasture and the apostolic water, so that they tread down certain portions of the Gospel field and feed on others as on good pasture, either rejecting the whole apostolic pasture, or approving some parts and rejecting others, let us feed on the whole of the Gospels and not tread down any part of them, and while we drink of all the apostolic waters, clear water as far as we can make it such, let us guard the fountains, and in no wise foul them through unbelief, which is wont to confuse the minds of men who cannot understand what is said.

CHAP. XII. ----That a man ought not to faint in reading the Divine Scripture if he cannot comprehend the dark riddles and parables therein. From the 20th Homily on Joshua, the son of Nun.

1. A hearer greatly profits by such readings as these |55

if he can understand the true inheritance which Joshua divided by lot to the children of Israel, and if he can both ascend to the holy land, the true, really good land, and, following the list of names, can adapt the local descriptions to the varying circumstances of those who receive the inheritance. But it is difficult to find a man who thus profits, and we therefore wish to encourage our hearers not to faint as they read. "What the encouragement is which I offer to him who hears such passages, I must now tell. Charms have a certain natural force; and any one who comes under the influence of the charm, even if he does not understand it, gets something from it, according to the nature of the sounds thereof, either to the injury or to the healing of his body, or his soul. Just so, pray observe, it is with the giving of names in the Divine Scriptures, only they are stronger than any charm. For there are certain faculties in us, the best of which are nourished by these "charms," as I may call them, being akin to them, though we may not perceive that those faculties by understanding what we are told become more effective in the development of our lives. For that there are certain invisible departments of our being, and those many in number, the words of the Psalm will prove, "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name."

219 There is, then, within us a multitude of faculties amongst which we have been, as it were, souls and bodies, divided by lot; and these are such that if holy they profit and gather strength at the reading of the Scripture, even though the understanding be unfruitful; as it is written concerning him who speaketh "in a tongue," "My spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful."

220 Please note, then, that though at times our understanding is unfruitful, the faculties which assist the soul, and the understanding, and help us all, are nourished with rational nourishment drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and from these names, and that being nourished they are better able to assist us. And just as our better faculties, as

|56

it were, use the charm and are profited, and gain strength through Scriptures and names like these, so the opposing faculties of our inner nature, we may say, are weakened and overcome by God's enchantments, and being overcome are put to sleep.

2. If any of you have ever seen an asp or some other venomous creature under the spell of the charmer, I would have you take that as an illustration of the Scripture. If it be read and not understood, the hearer sometimes grows listless and weary; yet let him believe that the asps and vipers within him are weakened through the charms of the charmers, that is to say, by wise Moses, wise Joshua, the wise and holy Prophets. Let us not then weary when we hear Scriptures which we do not understand; but let it be unto us according to our faith,221 by which we believe that all Scripture being inspired by God is profitable.222 For as regards these Scriptures, you must admit one of two things: either that they are not inspired because they are not profitable, as an unbeliever might suppose; or, as a believer, you must allow that because they are inspired they are profitable. We must, however, know that we often profit without perceiving it, just as frequently happens when we diet ourselves to improve our eyesight; we do not, I suppose, while we are eating perceive that our eyesight is better, but after two or three days, when the food is assimilated which benefits the eye, we are convinced of the fact by experience; and the same remark applies to other foods which benefit other parts of the body. Well, then, have the like faith with regard to Divine Scripture; believe that thy soul is profited by the mere reading, even though thy understanding does not receive the fruit of profiting by these passages. Our inner nature is charmed; its better elements are nourished, the worse weakened and brought to nought.

|57

CHAP. XIII. ---- When and to whom the lessons of philosophy may be profitable, in the explanation of the sacred Scriptures, with Scripture proof. The letter to Gregory.

1. Greeting in God, from Origen to my good lord and most reverend son,223 Gregory. Natural ability, as you know, if properly trained, may be of the utmost possible service in promoting what I may call the "object" of a man's training. You, for instance, have ability enough to make you an expert in Roman law, or a philosopher in. one of the Greek schools held in high esteem. I should like you, however, to make Christianity your "object," and to bring the whole force of your ability to bear upon it, with good effect. I am therefore very desirous that you should accept such parts even of Greek philosophy as may serve for the ordinary elementary instruction of our schools, and be a kind of preparation for Christianity: also those portions of geometry and astronomy likely to be of use in the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures, so that, what the pupils of the philosophers say

about geometry and music, grammar, rhetoric, and astronomy, viz. that they are the handmaidens of philosophy, we may say of philosophy itself in relation to Christianity.

2. Perhaps something of the kind is hinted at in the command from the mouth of God Himself that the children of Israel be told to ask their neighbours and companions for vessels of silver and gold,224 and for clothing, so that by spoiling the Egyptians they might find materials to make the things of which they were told

225 for the Divine service. For out of the spoils which the children of Israel took from the Egyptians came the contents of the Holy of Holies, the ark with its cover, and the Cherubim, and the mercy-seat, and the golden pot wherein was treasured up the manna, the Angels' bread. These things,

|58

we may suppose, were made of the best of the Egyptian gold. From the second best came the candlestick throughout of solid gold, standing near the inner curtain, and the lamps upon it, and the golden table upon which was placed the shew-bread, and, between the two, the golden censer. If there was any third- or fourth-rate gold, the holy vessels were made of it. And from the Egyptian silver, also, came other things; for it was through sojourning in Egypt that the children of Israel had abundance of precious material to make things for the service of God. And out of the clothing of the Egyptians probably came whatever was required, as the Scripture says,226 in the way of things embroidered or sewn together, the work of embroiderers with the wisdom of God, different garments being sewed together to make the veils and the curtains, both the outer and the inner.

3. Why need I digress further to show how useful the things brought from Egypt were to the children of Israel, things which the Egyptians did not use properly, but the Hebrews through the wisdom of God turned to godly purposes? The Divine Scripture knows, however, that some were the worse for the going down of the children of Israel from their own land into Egypt, and darkly hints that some do lose by sojourning with the Egyptians, that is to say, by lingering in the learning of the world after being nourished in the law of God and the Divine worship of Israel. At all events, Hadad the Edomite,227 so long as he was in the land of Israel, and did not taste the Egyptian bread, made no idols; but when he ran away from wise Solomon and went down into Egypt, running away one might say from the wisdom of God, he became Pharaoh's kinsman by marrying Pharaoh's wife's sister, and begetting a son brought up with Pharaoh's sons. And so it happened that although he returned into the land of Israel, he returned to divide God's people into two parts, and make them say over the golden calf, "These be thy

|59

Gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." 228

And, taught by his experience, I beg leave to tell you that a man is seldom found who takes the useful things of Egypt, leaves that land, and provides for the service of God; but Hadad the Edomite has many a brother. These are they who with a certain Greek smartness propagate heretical opinions, and, as it were, make golden calves in Bethel: which being interpreted is "the house of God." The word therefore seems to shadow forth the truth, viz. that these men set up

their own inventions in the Scriptures----figuratively called "Bethel"----wherein dwelleth the Word of God. But the Word says that the other invention was set up in Dan. Now the boundaries of Dan are farthest off, and near those of the Gentiles, as is clear from the account given in the Book of Joshua, the son of Nun. So, then, some of these inventions are near the confines of the Gentiles----inventions, as we have interpreted, of Hadad's brethren.

4. Do you, then, my lord and my son, chiefly give heed to the reading of the Divine Scriptures; do give heed. For we need great attention when we read the Divine writings, that we may not speak or form notions about them rashly. And as you give heed to reading the Divine volume with a faithful anticipation well pleasing to God, knock at its closed doors and it shall be opened unto you by the porter, of whom Jesus said, "To him the porter openeth."

229 And as you give heed to the Divine reading, seek, in the right way and with an unfaltering faith in God, the meaning of the Divine writings, which is hidden from the many. Be not content, however, with knocking and seeking; for prayer is the most necessary qualification for the understanding of Divine things, and the Saviour urged us to this when He said, not only, Knock and it shall be opened, Seek and ye shall find,230 but also, Ask and it shall be given unto you. I have ventured thus far in my fatherly love for you; if I have done well or not in venturing, God and His Christ, and he that partaketh of the

|60

Spirit of God and of the Spirit of Christ, alone can know. Mayest thou be a partaker, and ever increase the participation, that thou mayest say not only, "We are become partakers of Christ,"

231 but also, "We are become partakers of God."

CHAP. XIV. ----They who wish to rightly understand the Divine Scriptures must of necessity be acquainted with the logical principles adapted to their use; without these they cannot conceive the exact meaning of the thoughts expressed, as they should do. From Volume III. of the Commentaries on Genesis.

1. "God made the two great lights,232 the greater light for rule

233 of the day, and the lesser light for rule of the night; he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon the earth and to rule

234 the day and the night." We must, then, inquire whether for rule of the day means the same as to rule the day, and for rule of the night the same as to rule the night, in the ordinary acceptation of the words; for Aquila preserved the parallel, making for authority

235 the equivalent of for rule, and to have authority

236 the equivalent of to rule. And we are told by those who carefully investigate the meaning of words, where they deal with the relation of names and predicates, that the things bearing the names previously exist, and that predicates follow the names. Prudence, for example, they say is a name with a predicate, and the predicate is to be prudent. Similarly, moderation is a name, and to be moderate is a predicate; and they say that prudence pre-exists, and that from prudence is derived the predicate to be prudent. We have made these observations, though some may think

we are going beyond the intention of Scripture, because God Who made the lights makes the greater for rule of the day and the lesser for rule of the night; but when He places them in the firmament of

|61

the heaven it is no longer for rule of the day and of the night, but to rule the day and the night. The orderly and systematic arrangement of the passage, the names coming first and then the predicates, roused our suspicions that the matter was so understood by the servants of God, and all the more because Aquila, who strove to interpret most literally, has only distinguished the name from the predicate.

2. If any one doubts the soundness of this reasoning, let him consider whether a problem in ethics, or physics, or theology, can be properly conceived without accurately finding the meaning, and without close regard to the clear rules of logic. What absurdity is there in listening to those who determine the exact meaning of words in different languages, and in carefully attending to things signified? And we sometimes through ignorance of logic fall into great errors, because we do not clear up the equivocal senses, ambiguities, misapplications, literal meanings, and distinctions. Take, for example, the word world. Through not knowing that it was an equivocal term, men have fallen into the most impious opinions concerning the Demiurge: men, I mean, who have not cleared up the question in what sense "the world lieth in the evil one,"

237 and have not realised that the "world" there denotes earthly and human affairs. Supposing the "world" to be literally the complex whole of heaven and earth and things therein, they exhibit the utmost audacity and impiety in their conceptions of God; for with all their efforts they cannot show how the sun and moon and stars, with their wonderful orderly movements, "lie in the evil one." If, again, we study the passage, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world,"

238 and attempt to show that "world" is here the scene of sin abounding, that is, the different localities of the earth, they will candidly admit what is said, but from a spirit of foolish contention they will cling to their detestable errors, which they have once embraced, simply because they do not understand the equivocal meaning of

|62

the word. If, again, we read that "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself,"

239 they will no longer, certainly not consistently with their own principles, succeed in showing that the word denotes the whole world, that is, the contents of the whole world; on their own showing the word must be examined as being equivocal. And as for detestable interpretations caused by ambiguity, punctuation,240 and countless other things, a keen student may find abundant illustrations. But we have digressed thus far in order to show that even we ourselves, who wish not to err concerning the truth in our understanding, of the Scriptures, are bound to be familiar with the logical principles involved in the use of them. Such principles we just now required to discover the difference between the two expressions with which we began, the lights being said to have been created for rule of the night, and to rule the day and the night.

CHAP. XV. ----A reply to the Greek philosophers who disparage the poverty of style of the Divine Scriptures, and allege that the noble truths of Christianity have been better expressed among the

Greeks. They further assert that the body of the Lord was ill-favoured; with the reason of the different forms of the Word. From the treatise against Celsus, who wrote against Christians, Volumes VI. and VII.

1. In beginning this sixth book, we desire, holy Ambrose, to meet the charges brought by Celsus against Christians, not, as might be supposed, what he has borrowed from philosophy. For he quoted numerous passages, mainly from Plato, making common property of such portions of the sacred Scriptures as might mislead even an intelligent reader, alleging that they have been "better expressed by Greeks, and without the violent expedient of a message supposed to come from God or from the Son of God." Now we maintain that if the aim of those who represent the truth is to do as much good as possible to

|63

as many as possible, and out of love for men to win over to the truth, as far as may be, every single man, not only the quick and ready, but also him that is void of understanding: or, to put it another way, not Greeks only, nor Barbarians only,----and it is a mark of great humanity if a man is capable of converting rustics and ignorant folk,----it is obvious that a speaker must cultivate a style both popular and profitable, and such as will win everybody's ear. And men who tell us that they say farewell to the ignorant as being no better than slaves, and to such as have no ear for the close connection of the words and the order of the incidents, and who therefore pay attention only to hearers who have had a literary and scientific bringing up, these men reduce the fellowship of the Gospel to very narrow limits.

2. I have said this in reply to the charge brought against the Scriptures by Celsus and others on account of their poverty of style, though that seems to vanish in the grandeur of the composition.241 For our Prophets, and Jesus and His Apostles had the insight to adopt a mode of delivery which not only conveys the truth, but can win the many, until they are drawn to be Catechumens and then, every one so far as he can, rise to the ineffable mysteries contained in the seemingly poor language. And if I may dare say so, the ornate and polished style of Plato and his imitators benefits only a few, if indeed it does benefit them; while the style of those who have taught and written less elegantly, but. nevertheless with a direct and practical aim, keeping in view the wants of the greater number, has benefited many. At all events, you may see Plato in the hands of those who are regarded as literary men, but Epictetus is the admiration of the man in the street and of all who are inclined to improve themselves, for they are conscious of the benefits to be derived from his writings. We do not say this to disparage Plato, for the great world of

|64

men has found even him useful, but in order to show the meaning of those who said, "And my speech and my preaching was not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."

242

3. For there is a demonstration of the Word, all its own, more Divine than the dialectic of the Greeks, which the Apostle calls "a demonstration of the Spirit and of power ";243 "of the Spirit,"

because of the prophecies which are enough to convince the reader, particularly in things relating to Christ: and "of power," because of the marvellous powers which one must be prepared to admit, as on many other grounds, so also, inasmuch as the traces of them are still preserved among those who live according to the intent of the Word.

4. Further, the Divine Word also asserts that what is said, although it be in itself true and most persuasive, is not of itself sufficient to reach man's soul, unless a certain power from God be given to the speaker and grace be shed over his words,244 and effective speakers cannot have this grace without God's help. At all events, the Prophet says in the 67th Psalm that "the Lord shall give a word to them that publish the tidings with great power."

245 Granting, then, that in some cases the Greeks have the same doctrines as ours, it by no means follows that even the same doctrines avail for winning souls and disposing them accordingly. Hence it is that the disciples of Jesus, unlearned and ignorant men as regards Greek philosophy, compassed many nations of the world, impressing each individual hearer as the Word desired, according to his deserts; for the hearers profited in proportion as their will inclined to receive the blessing.

5. Well, then, let the wise men of old be explained to |65

those who can understand them. Let Plato, the son of Aristo, in one of his epistles express his views on the Chief Good, and let him maintain that the Chief Good is by no means communicable in words, but is acquired through much intercourse with it, and, kindled as it were from flaming fire,246 suddenly illuminates the soul. When we hear these things (for we are careful not to incur odium for anything that is well said, and if the enunciators of the truth are outside the Faith, we are studious not to vie with them, nor seek to upset sound sense) we admit that they are well spoken, "for God manifested it unto them,"

247 and whatsoever else is good in their utterances. And this is why we say that they who have true conceptions of God, and do not lead a godly life worthy of the truth concerning Him, are liable to the chastisements of sinners. For this is precisely what Paul asserts concerning such men, viz, that "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold down the truth in unrighteousness; because that which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God manifested it unto them. For the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity; that they may be without excuse; because that, knowing God, they glorified him not as God, neither gave thanks; but became vain in their reasonings, and their senseless heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and creeping things."

248 They certainly do "hold down the truth," as our Word also testifies, who think that "the Chief Good is not communicable in words,"

249 and who say that "from much intercourse with the thing itself and from living with it, it suddenly, lighted as from flaming fire, illuminates the soul, and straightway nourishes itself."

|66

6. They who wrote such things concerning the Chief Good nevertheless go down to the Piraeus that they may offer up a prayer to the goddess Artemis, and because they want to see how the national festival is kept by the common folk;250 and after so finely discussing the soul and surveying the conduct of a soul that has lived a good life, they forsake the greatness of the things which God manifested to them for mean and paltry conceptions, and pay a cock they owe to Asclepios.251 And although they could imagine the invisible things of God and the eternal forms of Being from the creation of the world and things that are seen, from which they rise to intelligible

252 things, and although they have no ignoble vision of His everlasting power and Godhead, they none the less become vain in their reasonings, and their heart, inasmuch as it is foolish, is overwhelmed with darkness and ignorance, so far I mean as concerns the service of God. And we may see men who pride themselves on wisdom and their knowledge of theology worshipping the likeness of the image of a corruptible man to show how they honour him; and we sometimes see them descending, like the Egyptians, to birds and four-footed beasts and creeping things. And even if "some do seem to have risen above this, they will nevertheless "exchange the truth of God for a lie, and worship and serve the creature more than the Creator."

253 Wherefore, because the wise and learned Greeks err in their religious observances, "God chose the foolish things of the world that he might put to shame them that are wise; and the base things of the world, and the weak things, and the things that are despised, and the things that are not, that he may bring to nought the things that are; and that truly no one may glory before God."

254 But our wise men, Moses the most ancient of them all, and the Prophets who came after him, knowing that the Chief Good is not at all communicable in words, and believing that God manifests

|67

Himself to fit and suitable persons, were the first to write that God appeared to Abraham, for instance, or to Isaac, pr to Jacob. But Who He was that appeared, whence He came, and how, and for what object connected with mankind, they have left for those to investigate who can put themselves into God's hands as did the saints to whom God appeared, for He was seen, not with their bodily

eyes, but with the pure heart. As our Jesus says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see their God."

7. As for the sudden kindling in the soul of a burning light as it were from flaming fire, the Word

255 knew this before Plato,256 for, speaking by the prophet, He said, "Light up for yourselves the light of knowledge."

257 And John, who came long after, tells us that "What was in the Word was life, and the life was the light of men";258 the true light which lighteneth every man as he cometh into the real "intelligible" world, and maketh him a light of the world.259 For this light shone in our hearts to give the illumination of the gospel of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.260 Wherefore a very ancient Prophet, who prophesied generations before the rise of the kingdom of Cyrus, for he was earlier than that monarch by more than fourteen generations, says, "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?"

261 and, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and light unto my paths";262 and, "The light of thy countenance, O Lord, was lifted up as a banner over us";263 and,"In thy light shall we see light."

264 And, urging us to come to this light, the Word in Isaiah says, "Shine, shine, Jerusalem; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord hath risen upon thee."

265 And this same Isaiah, prophesying of the coming of Jesus, Who turns men from the worship of idols and images and demons, says, "To them which sat in the region and shadow of death, to them did the light spring up."

266 And again, "The people |68

which sat in darkness saw a great light." 267 Observe, then, the difference between Plato's fine saying respecting the Chief Good, and what is said in the Prophets concerning the light of the blessed; and observe further that the truth in Plato concerning the Chief Good did not at all help his readers to attain to pure and undefiled religion; and. what is more, it did not benefit the philosopher him-self who thus expounded the Chief Good. But the diction of the Divine Scriptures, poor as it is, has given inspiration to true readers----those who nourish this light with the oil spoken of in the parable,268 the oil which keeps alight the torches of the five virgins.

8. Now let us see what he has to say next. "They have," he says, "a precept to the effect that we are not to avenge ourselves on any one who treats us with insolence and violence. Even if a man strikes you on the one cheek, you are, according to it, to offer him the other also. This is an old saw; it was well enough expressed before; the Christians have revived it in a rougher form. Plato makes Socrates say in his argument with Crito,269 'Then we must do no wrong. Certainly not. Nor when injured injure in return, as the many imagine; for we must injure no one at all. Clearly not,'" and so on. Our reply to this and to all those passages which Celsus has made out to be common property, alleging, because he could not face the truth of them, that the same things have been said by Greek authors, is something like this. If the doctrine is serviceable and its purpose sound and wise, and it has been taught the Greeks by Plato or some other philosopher, and the Jews by Moses or some other Prophet, and Christians in the recorded sayings of Jesus or of one of the Apostles, we must not suppose that what is held by Jews or Christians is prejudiced by the fact that the same things have been said by Greeks, particularly if Jewish teaching can be shown to be older than Grecian. Nor, again, must we suppose that a given statement is by reason of the beauty of Greek phraseology of necessity better than what

|69

is expressed with less elegance and in simpler terms by Jewish or Christian authors, though we must bear in mind that the primitive language of the Jews, which the Prophets employed in the books which they have left us, is perpetuated in the Hebrew, and with a wise regard to the possibilities of composition in that tongue.

9. If we must, however, show that when the doctrines are the same they are better expressed by Jewish Prophets or Christian oracles, let us, though the argument may seem strange, take an illustration in proof of our position from different kinds of food and their preparation. Suppose some wholesome and nutritious food to be cooked and seasoned a certain way, and let the partakers of it not be rustics, and the inmates of hovels, and poor folk who know nothing of such dainties, but

only rich people accustomed to live delicately. And suppose myriads of persons to eat the same food not cooked that way, to suit the palates of acknowledged epicures, but to suit the tastes of the poor, of rustics, and the majority of men. Now, if we grant that the epicures alone gain health and strength from the food prepared one way, and that no ordinary person cares for such food, while whole multitudes of men thrive on the food cooked the other way, which set of cooks are we to regard as the greatest public benefactors on account of the wholesome food they provide? Shall we give the credit to those who cook to suit the learned few, or to those who cater for the masses? We may concede that whichever way the cooking is done, the food is equally wholesome and nourishing; humanity itself, however, and the public welfare teach us that a physician who takes thought for the health of the many, renders a greater service to the public than he who cares only for the health of the few.

10. If the illustration is understood, let us apply it to the quality of the rational food of rational creatures. And consider whether Plato and the wise men of the Greeks do not in their choice dicta resemble physicians who attend only better-class patients, while they despise the bulk of men. But the Jewish Prophets and the disciples

|70

of Jesus, bidding a long farewell to the embroidery of diction, and, as Scripture terms it, "the wisdom of men" and "wisdom after the flesh "

270 (hinting at the tongue), would be like the cooks who take care, the quality of the food remaining the same, to prepare it the most wholesome way; they have at their command a style which reaches the masses of mankind, adapts itself to their speech, and does not by its strangeness close men's ears to such discourses because they are unfamiliar. For if the real object of eating the rational food, if I may so speak, is to make the eater submissive and meek, must we not think that the Word which produces multitudes of forbearing and meek hearers, or sets them on the way to becoming so, is better prepared than that which makes a mere handful, to concede so much, forbearing and meek? And if Plato, a Greek, intended to benefit Greek or Syrian adherents by sound doctrine, he would take care to learn the languages of his future hearers, and, as the Greeks phrase it, would rather be a "barbarian" to do the Egyptians and Syrians good, than remain a Greek and be incapable of speaking anything of use to the Egyptians and Syrians. Just so, the Divine Nature taking thought not only for those who are reputed learned among the Greeks, but also for the rest of the Greeks, condescended to the ignorance of the majority of hearers, so that, employing words familiar to them, it might encourage the unlearned multitude to hearken; for after the first introduction they can easily endeavour to get a hold on the deeper truths hidden in the Scriptures. For even an ordinary reader soon discovers that many passages have a deeper signification than appears on the surface, a signification revealed to devoted students of the Word, and revealed in proportion to the time they spend upon the Word and to their zeal in putting into practice what they read.

11. So, then, it has been proved that if Jesus did, as Celsus alleges, speak somewhat roughly when He said, "To

|71

him that striketh thee on the one cheek, turn the other also": 271

and, "If any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also":272 He has by thus speaking expressed and applied the precept to better purpose than Plato did in the Crito. The unlearned cannot in the least understand it there, and even they who have received a good school education before attempting the grave philosophy of Greece, can understand it only with difficulty. And we must further observe that the true teaching respecting forbearance is not "corrupted" by the poor diction in which it is conveyed; but even here Celsus slanders the Word when he says, "But as for those and all other corrupting precepts let the foregoing suffice."

Again in Book VI., in reply to the statement of Celsus that our Lord's body was unsightly, Origen writes thus:----

12. After this Celsus says, "Since there was a Divine Spirit in the body of Jesus, that body would of necessity vary at all events in some respects from other bodies, in size, or beauty, or strength, or voice; it would have some astonishing or attractive characteristics. Tor it is impossible that a body having more of the Divine Nature than other bodies should no way differ from any other; but the body of Jesus was not at all different; indeed, so they say, it was small, ill-favoured, and ignoble." Now here again, it is clear that if Celsus wishes to disparage Jesus, he quotes the Scriptures as if he believed such of them as seem to him to justify the charge; but wherever, in the same Scriptures, any one might suppose the opposite of what constitutes the charge to be asserted, Celsus professes not to know it. We admit, then, that there are passages which speak of the body of Jesus as ill-favoured, but not ignoble, as our opponents maintain; nor is there clear evidence that it was small. The exact description given by Isaiah in the prophecy that He would not visit the many in a graceful form, or with surpassing beauty, runs thus: "Lord who hath believed our report?

273 and |72

to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed? for he grew up before him as a tender

274 plant, as a root in a dry ground: he hath no form (nor glory: and we saw him and he had no form) nor comeliness; but his form was unhonoured,. marred more than the sons of men": Celsus noted all this, for he thought it would serve him in disparaging Jesus; but he paid no attention to the words of the 45th Psalm, the Psalm "for the Beloved," how it is said, "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O Mighty One, in thy grace and beauty, and in thy majesty ride on prosperously."275

13. But maybe Celsus had not read the prophecy, or perhaps he had read it but was misled by interpreters who erroneously hold that it does not refer to Jesus Christ. Well, what will he make of the Gospel narrative in which we are told that He went up to a high mountain,276 and was transfigured before His disciples and appeared in glory; when both Moses and Elias also appeared in glory,277 and spake of His decease which He was about to accomplish at Jerusalem? Or again, if the Prophet says, "We beheld him, and he had no form, nor beauty,"

278 and so on, Celsus admits that the prophecy may be referred to Jesus, but it is a blind admission, for he does not see that the, fact of a prophecy giving particulars of the form of Jesus, many years before His birth, is a strong confirmation of the truth that Jesus Who seemed to have no "form" was the Son of God. But if another Prophet says that Jesus had grace and beauty, why will not Celsus allow that this prophecy refers to Jesus Christ? Further, if it were possible to clearly gather from the Gospels that our Lord had no form nor beauty, but that His form was without

honour, marred more than the sons of men, one might say that Celsus in his argument followed not the Prophets but the Evangelists. The fact, however, is that neither the Gospels, nor even the Apostles,

|73

give any intimation that He had no form or beauty; and it is obvious that Celsus is bound to admit the declaration of prophecy

279 to be a true description of Christ; and this being so, there is an end to the disparaging statements concerning Jesus.

14. Again, we have the statement that "inasmuch as the body was tenanted by a Divine Spirit it must have varied at all events in some respects from other bodies, either in size, or voice, or strength, in astonishing or attractive characteristics." How came Celsus to overlook the fact that our Lord's body varied according to the capacity of the observers, and that a useful purpose was served when its appearance was such as was necessary for each individual? And it is nothing wonderful that matter; by nature mutable and variable and convertible to every-thing the Creator

280 chooses, and receptive of every quality the Artificer desires, should sometimes have a quality corresponding to the description, "He hath neither form nor beauty," and sometimes should be so glorious, astonishing, and marvellous, that the three Apostles who ascended the Mount with Jesus at the sight of such wondrous beauty fell upon their faces.281 But we shall be told that these are fictions, no better than fables, like the rest of the strange stories about Jesus.

15. Our answer is that to reconstruct almost any historical scene, even if true, so as to give a vivid impression of what actually occurred, is exceedingly difficult, and sometimes impossible. Suppose some one to assert that there never was a Trojan war, mainly on the ground that the impossible story of a certain Achilles being the son of a sea goddess Thetis and a man Peleus is mixed up with it; or that Sarpedon was the son of Zeus, or Ascalaphus and Ialmenus sons of Ares; or that Aeneas was Aphrodite's son: how could we dispose of such an objection? Should we not be very hard pressed to explain the strange blending of a fiction with the universal

|74

belief that there was war between Greeks and Trojans at Troy? Or let us suppose some one to doubt the story of Oedipus and Jocaste, and of their sons Eteocles and Polynices, because that a sort of half-woman, the Sphinx, is mixed up with the story; how should we clear up the difficulty? Well, the prudent reader of the narratives, who wishes to guard against deception, will use his own judgment as to what he will allow to be historical, and what he will regard as figurative; he will try to discover what the writers meant by inventing such stories; and to some things he will refuse his assent on the ground that they were recorded to gratify certain persons. And this we have premised, having in view the history of Jesus as a whole contained in the Gospels; for we do not invite intelligent readers to a bare unreasoning faith, but we wish to show that future readers will have to exercise prudence, and make careful inquiry, and, so to speak, penetrate the very heart of the writers, if the exact purport of every passage is to be discovered.

16. Celsus, in fact, so that he may impeach the Word, appears to believe just as much as he pleases of what our Scriptures contain; but to avoid acknowledging the manifest Divinity

proclaimed in the same books, he will not believe the Gospels: for any one who sees what lovers of truth the writers were, must, judging by the way they treat less important matters, believe them in things more Divine.

17. Now, if they had not been lovers of the truth, but, as Celsus supposes, had recorded fictions, they would never have told us of Peter's denial or informed us that the disciples of Jesus were offended. For though such things did happen, who was there to prove the fact? And, really, these incidents would probably have been passed over in silence by men who wished to teach readers of the Gospels to despise death for the sake of confessing Christianity. But, as the case stands, seeing that the Word will mightily prevail over men, they gave these particulars, which, strangely enough, were destined not to injure the readers or afford a pretext for denial.

|75

18. And the Word has a more mystic meaning also, for it shows that the different appearances

282 of Jesus are related to the nature of the Divine Word,283 which does not appear the same to the many,284 and to those who can follow Him to the lofty mountain

285 of which we have given an account. For in the eyes of those who are below and are not yet ready for the ascent, the Word hath neither form nor beauty;286 to such as these its form is without honour, and marred more than the words "born of men," in the passage before us figuratively called "sons of men." For we might say that the words of the philosophers, being "sons of men," look far more beautiful than the Word of God preached to the many, which even draws attention to the foolishness of the preaching,287 and it is because of the foolishness of the preaching that men who regard the preaching only, say, "We beheld it, and it hath neither form nor beauty." But for those who through obeying Him have received strength to follow Him even when He ascends the lofty mountain, He hath a Diviner appearance. And a man sees Him thus, if he is a Peter making room for the building of the Church within him through the Word, gaining such strength of character that no gate of hell shall prevail against him,288 inasmuch as he has been lifted up through the Word from the gates of death that he may declare all the praises of God in the gates of the daughter of Zion;289 and others see it thus also, men who have been born of words with a great voice, such as have the full tones of spiritual thunder.290

19. And down below the Word has other garments; they are not white, they are not like the light; if thou

|76

shalt ascend to the lofty mountain, thou shalt see His light and His garments. The garments of the Word are the phrases of the Scripture; the Divine thoughts are clothed in these expressions. As then down below He looks different, but having ascended is transfigured, His face beaming like the sun, so it is with His clothing, so it is with His garments. When thou art below, they do not shine, they are not white; but if thou ascend, thou shalt see the beauty and the light of the garments, and shalt marvel at the transfigured face of Jesus. And consider whether the Gospels do not also give us the same teaching respecting Jesus. The particulars of His generation, His descent from Abraham and birth of the seed of David according to the flesh, is the Book of the generation of Jesus Christ;

291 but as for the more Divine and more important things to be said concerning Him, and proclaimed by Him, John says, "I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written."

292 For we must not, like some, admit that if the world cannot contain the books that should be written, it is because of the multitude of the writings, but rather that it is on account of the greatness of the incidents; their greatness is not only indescribable, but they cannot be proclaimed by fleshly tongue, nor be made known in the language and speech of men. This is why Paul, when he is about to learn things more Divine, leaves our world of earth and is rapt into the third heaven,293 that he may be able to hear the unutterable words thence proceeding. For we are told of what was said there and considered to be the Word of God, the Word made flesh,294 and who, as regards being God with God,295 emptied Himself. Wherefore we see the Word of God

296 on earth, for that He became man, in human guise; for even in the Scriptures the Word became flesh that He might tabernacle among us.297 But if we incline on the

|77

bosom of the Word made flesh 298 and are able to follow Him when He ascends the lofty mountain, we shall say, "We saw his glory."

299 Some perhaps who are not like those who lie upon His bosom and follow Him to the lofty mountain may say, "We saw his glory," but they will not add "Glory as of an only-begotten from a Father, full of grace and truth": for this language becomes John and such as are like him. And, according to a loftier interpretation, they who are able to walk in the footsteps of Jesus as He ascends, and is transfigured out of sight of earth, shall behold His transfiguration in every scripture; for instance, when Jesus shows Himself to the many, this is the function of the simpler diction; but when He ascends a lofty mountain and is transfigured, showing Himself to very few of the disciples, and to those who have become able to follow Him to the heights above, this is the work of the highest, sublimest sense, containing oracles of the wisdom hidden in a mystery, which wisdom "God foreordained before the worlds unto the glory of his righteous ones."

300

20. But how can Celsus, and the enemies of the Divine Word, and such as do not investigate Christianity with a love of truth, know the meaning of the different appearances of Jesus? I refer to the different periods of His life, to anything He did before the Passion, and whatever happened after His Resurrection from the dead.

CHAP. XVI. ----Concerning those who slander Christianity on account of the heresies in the Church. Book III. against Celsus.

1. Then, as if he would like to blame the Word for the evils of heresy associated with Christianity, he reproaches us, saying, "Having grown in numbers and being widely dispersed, they are further split and divided; every body wants to have his own party." And again he says, "Being too numerous to keep together, they refute one another; they share, so to speak, if they do share it, the

|78

one name, the only thing that in spite of their divisions they are ashamed to give up; as for the rest they are all one here, one there." In reply, we will say that you never find different sects in any department of thought unless the principle involved is one of grave importance and practical use. Take the science of Medicine. It is useful and necessary to the human race, and the questions which arise as to the healing of the body are many. This is why, as is admitted, there are several sects

301 among the Greeks, and I suppose among Barbarians also, as many as profess to practise the healing art. Let us take another illustration, Philosophy, inasmuch as it professes the pursuit of truth and the knowledge of realities, suggests the proper mode of life, and endeavours to teach things profitable to our race. But the points in question involve much diversity of opinion, and this is why there arose such an incredible number of philosophic sects of more or less distinction. Nay, even Judaism had a pretext for the rise of sects, through the varied interpretation of the writings of Moses and the words of the Prophets. Similarly, because Christianity appeared, not only to the low-minded, as Celsus says, but also to many learned Greeks, to be a matter of grave importance, sects of necessity arose, and not altogether through factiousness or contentiousness, but because so many even of the literary class were anxious to understand the meaning of Christianity. In consequence of this, because scholars differently interpreted what were believed on all sides to be Divine utterances, sects sprang up bearing the names of thinkers who had a reverent regard for the origin of the Word, but somehow or other through specious and plausible reasoning were brought into conflict with one another. But no man of sense would shun the science of Medicine because of its different sects; nor would a man of proper aims make the many sects of philosophy a pretext for hating it; and, similarly, we must not condemn the sacred books of Moses and the Prophets on account of the Jewish sects.

|79

2. If all this hangs together, may we not offer a similar apology for the sects of Christianity? What Paul says concerning them seems to me truly marvellous: "There must be also sects among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you."

302 For as a man "approved" in the science of Medicine is he who is familiar with the practice of many different sects, and having fairly considered their claims, has chosen the best; and as the advanced student of Philosophy who, having an extensive knowledge of his subject, is familiar with its details, and therefore gives his adhesion to the stronger reasoning, may be called "approved"; so, I would say, he who carefully examines the sects of Judaism and Christianity becomes the wisest Christian. But any one who blames the Word on account of our sects would also blame the teaching of Socrates, because from the study of that Philosopher many different schools of thought have arisen. Nay, a man might blame even the doctrines of Plato because Aristotle gave up the study of him and took a line of his own, a point to which we have already referred. But Celsus seems to me to have become acquainted with certain sects which do not even share the name of Jesus with us. Rumours may have reached him of the Ophites and Cainites, or the holders of some other opinion altogether alien to the teaching of Jesus. But Christian doctrine is not in the least to be blamed for this.

3. Granting that there are some amongst us Christians who do not allow that our God is the same as the God of the Jews, it by no means follows that they are to be blamed who prove from the

same Scriptures that one and the same God is God of the Jews and of the Gentiles;303 Paul plainly shows this, when, after leaving the Jewish religion and embracing Christianity, he says, "I thank God, whom I serve from my forefathers in a pure conscience."

304 Let us grant, too, that there is a third class composed of those who call some persons

|80

psychical 305 and others spiritual (I suppose Celsus means the Valentinians); but what have we who belong to the Church to do with that? We are the accusers of those who introduce the doctrine of natures so constituted that they must be saved, or must perish. Let it further be granted that there are certain persons who also profess to be Gnostics, like the Epicureans who call themselves Philosophers; our answer is that men who destroy a belief in Providence could not really be Philosophers, nor can they be Christians who foist upon us these monstrous fictions so distasteful to the followers of Jesus.

4. Celsus goes on to say, "And they even say the most shameful things of one another; they would not make the least concession in the interests of harmony; for they utterly detest one another." In reply, even in Philosophy, as we have already said, rival sects may be found, and so it is in Medicine. We, however, following the Word of Jesus, and having made it our study to think and speak and do whatever He has said, being reviled, bless: being persecuted, we endure: being defamed, we entreat;306 and we would not say shameful things of those whose views differ from our own; but we would do all in our power to raise them to a higher level through persevering loyalty to the Creator alone, and by acting as men who will one day be judged. But if the heterodox will not be persuaded, we have our rule for dealing with them. "A man that is heretical after a first and second admonition refuse, knowing that such a one is perverted and sinneth, being self-condemned."

307 And again, men who understand the words, "Blessed are the peacemakers,"

308 and "Blessed are the meek," 309

would not utterly detest opponents who debase Christianity. |81

CHAP. XVII. ----A reply to certain philosophers who say that it makes no difference whether we call Him Who is God over All by the name Zeus, current among the Greeks, or by that which is used by Indians, for instance, or. Egyptians. Books I. and V. against Celsus.

1. Celsus then says, "The goatherds and shepherds acknowledged one god, whether they call him the Most High, or Adonai, or the God of Heaven, or Sabaoth, or gave him some local designation to suit their fancy; beyond this they know nothing." And he afterwards says, "It makes no difference whether we call the Supreme God by the name Zeus, which is current among the Greeks, or by some Indian name, for instance, or Egyptian name." Now in answer to this we must remark that here we come upon a deep and mysterious subject, the nature of names. Shall we say, as Aristotle

310 thinks, that names are arbitrarily given? or, with the Stoics, that they are natural, the first articulate sounds being imitative of what the names denote, so that they also acquaint us with certain principles of etymology? or, as Epicurus

311 teaches, differing herein from the Stoics, are they "natural," in the sense that primitive men broke into speech which varied according to their circumstances? If, then, in our leading argument, we are able to show the nature of powerful names, some of which arc used by the wise men of Egypt, or by the learned Magi of Persia, or by the philosophic Brahmans

|82

of India, or by the Samaneans,312 and so in every nation; and if we succeed in making out that what is called Magic is not, as the Epicureans and Aristotelians suppose, incoherent from beginning to end, but, as the experts prove, is a well-compacted system, with words known to extremely few,----if, I say, we get as far as this, we shall maintain that the name Sabaoth, and Adonai, and whatever others are by Hebrew tradition regarded with great reverence, are not applicable to ordinary created things, but to a mysterious science of things Divine, related to the Creator

313 of the universe. It follows that these names when uttered in their proper connection, and other names current in Egyptian of

314 certain demons with particular powers only, and others in the Persian language of other spiritual beings, and so in every nation, can be applied to certain purposes. And thus it will be found that the demons to whom have been assigned different parts of the earth bear names according to the dialect of the place and nation. Any one, therefore, who has a nobler, even though it be but a slender, conception of these things, will take care to apply different names to different things, lest he fare no better than they who erroneously give the name of God to lifeless matter, or degrade the title "the good" by severing it from the First Cause, or from virtue and honour, and apply it to blind Plutus, and to the proportions of flesh and blood and bones required for health and strength, or to what is counted noble birth.

2. And perhaps it is no less dangerous to degrade the name of God, or the title "good," to improper objects, than it is to change the names of God to suit some secret doctrine, and apply the names of the better to the worse, and of the worse to the better. I do not dwell on the fact that when we hear of Zeus it is implied that he was |83 the son of Cronos and Rhea, and the husband of Rhea, and the brother of Poseidon, and the father of Athene and Artemis, and that he had intercourse with his daughter Persephone; or that when we hear Apollo's name, we remember that he was the son of Leto and Zeus, and the brother of Artemis, and the half-brother of Hermes; not to mention all the other wonderful stories told us by the wise men whom Celsus approves, who are the authors of these opinions, and by the ancient theologians of Greece. Is it not unreasonable that Zeus should be his proper name, and yet that he should not have Cronos for his father and Rhea for his mother? And we must treat all the other so-called gods the same way. But the charge by no means attaches to those who, in accordance with some mysterious doctrine, apply the name Sabaoth, or Adonai, or any of the other names, to the (true) God. As soon as a man can philosophically explain the mysteries of names, he will make many discoveries respecting those given to the Angels of God, one of whom is called Michael, another Gabriel, another Raphael, the names being suitable to the service they render according to the will of the God of the whole universe. Our Jesus, too, keeps to the same philosophy of names; for His name has already been clearly proved to drive out countless demons from souls and bodies, powerfully working in the sufferers from whom the demons were expelled. And, treating of names, we must further observe

that they who are familiar with the use of charms tell us that if we pronounce the same charm in its own language, it is possible to effect what the charm professes to do; but that if we change it into another tongue, no matter what, it may be found feeble and quite ineffective. The power of producing a certain effect is not therefore to be attributed to the actual meaning of the charm, but to the qualities and peculiarities of the sounds. We shall therefore on such lines as these defend the Christians for striving even unto death that they may not call God by the name Zeus, nor give Him a name in another tongue. For |84 Christians in their confessions either employ the usual name God, without further definition, or they add, "The Maker 315 of all things," "The Creator of heaven and earth "----He Who to benefit mankind sent down such and such wise men, with whose names the name of God conjoined bestows a certain wonder-working power among men. Much more might be said on the subject of names as against those who think that the use of them is a matter of indifference, And if Plato is much admired for saying in Philebus, "My awe, Protarchus, in naming the gods is considerable," 316 for Philebus, who was arguing with Socrates, said that the true name of Aphrodite was Pleasure, ought we not much rather to approve the piety of Christians, inasmuch as there is not one of the names handed down in mythology which they apply to the Maker of the world? And in Book V., treating of the same subject, he says:

3. But since Celsus thinks it makes no difference whether we call the Most High Jupiter, or Zen,317 or Adonoeus, or Sabaoth, or Amon, as the Egyptians do, or Pappaeus like the Scythians, let us briefly discuss these points, and remind the reader of what was said above on this great question, when the language of Celsus invited us to the argument. We repeat, then, that the nature of names does not, as Aristotle thinks, depend on the arbitrary rules of those who give them. For the languages of men do not even originate with men, as is clear to those who can give attention to the nature of charms variously appropriated by the authors of the languages, according as the languages differ and the names are differently pronounced. We have already briefly discussed this, and have maintained that though they have a natural power in a given language, if they are translated into another language they lose the effect which they had in their own proper expression. And we find that the same peculiarity applies to man. Suppose some one to be called from birth by a Greek name; if we change the name into Egyptian, or Roman, or some other language, we could not make him do or suffer what he would if he were called

|85

by his original name. Nor even if we were to translate 318

into Greek a name which was Roman to begin with, could we do what the charm professes to do if it keeps to the man's first name! Now, if what we have said respecting human names is true, what ought we to think of names which are some way or other traced up to the Divine nature? For instance, some new power is transferred to the Greek from the name Abraham, something is signified by the name Isaac, and something shown by the title Jacob; and if a man were to call upon or swear by the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, he would produce some effect, either through the nature of the names or their power, for even demons are vanquished and become subject to a man who uses this language. But if one were to say,319 "The God of the elect father of the sound," and "the God of laughter," and "the God of the tripper up," the name thus used is as ineffective as any other ordinary name. Similarly, if we change the name Israel into Greek or some other language, we shall effect nothing; but if we keep it as it is,

and use it in conjunction with such expressions as the learned think should be associated with it, there will be some result from the use of such language according with the professions of those who employ such invocations. And we shall say the same respecting the name Sabaoth, which is often found in charms, viz. that if we change the name into "The Lord of Hosts," or "Lord of Armies," or "Almighty" (for the interpreters take it differently), we shall effect nothing; but if we keep to its proper pronunciation, we shall, so the learned say, produce some effect, and the same holds good of Adonai. Now, if neither "Sabaoth" nor "Adonai," when changed into what they appear to signify in Greek, produces any effect, how much less could they be efficacious among men who think it makes no difference whether we

|86

call the Supreme God Jupiter, or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth!

5. Well, then, Moses and the prophets understanding these things and the corresponding mysteries, forbade any one who practised prayer to the Supreme God alone to take the name of other gods upon his lips, or remember them in a heart taught to be pure from all foolishness in thought or speech. And this is why we would rather endure every outrage than confess that Jupiter is God. For we do not suppose Jupiter and Sabaoth to be the same, nor do we regard Jupiter as at all Divine, but we think that some demon, friendly neither to man nor to the true God, rejoices in the name. And even if the Egyptians should offer Amon to us with threats of death, we will die rather than call Amon God, for the name is probably used in some Egyptian charms which invoke the demon. The Scythians may say that Pappaeus is "the Supreme God," but we shall not be persuaded; for though they employ the solemn title of "Supreme God," it is only in a sense which pleases the demon to whom was allotted the Scythian desert with the Scythian race and language, not because Pappaeus is a proper name for God. Any one, however, who gives God His name in the Scythian language, or the Egyptian, or the language in which he has been brought up, will not commit sin.

6. We do not even like to call the sun Apollo, or the moon Diana; but worshipping the Creator with a pure worship, and praising His beauteous works, we do not pollute Divine things even so far as a name goes. We agree with what Plato says in the Philebus; he would not have Pleasure called a goddess: "So great is my awe, Protarchus, in naming the gods."

320 We, too, really have such awe in naming God and His beauteous works, that we will not accept any fable even as allegory, which might injure the young.

CHAP. XVIII. ----A reply to those Greek philosophers who profess

to know everything, and blame the simple faith of the man of Christians; and complain that they prefer folly

to wisdom in life; moreover, that no wise or educated |87

man has become a disciple of Jesus; but boatmen and tax-gatherers of the lowest class, they say, get fools and blockheads, slaves, weak women and children, to submit themselves to the Gospel. Books I. and III. against Celsus.

1. He next urges us in forming our opinions to make reason our guide and follow it, because whoever gives his assent in other terms is sure to be misled; and he likens men who have an unreasoning faith to begging priests of Cybele and to soothsayers, Mithrae and Sabadians,321 or any other sort one comes upon, phantom

322 envoys of Hecate or some other demon, or demons. For as among them detestable men are frequently found trading upon the ignorance of the simple, and leading them any way they choose, so, Celsus says, it is with Christians. He tells us that certain teachers who will neither give nor receive an account of what they believe employ the formula, "Don't ask why, but believe," and another, "Thy faith shall save thee"; and these teachers, he adds, maintain that "worldly wisdom is a bad thing, and foolishness a good thing." This is our answer. If all men could give up the active pursuits of life and apply themselves to philosophy, that would be the only course for any man to take; for in Christianity, not to speak offensively, there will be found no less inquiry than elsewhere; we have our careful investigation of the articles of the Faith, and our explanation of the dark sayings of the Prophets, the parables in the Gospels, and countless other figurative events or enactments. But if this course is impracticable, whether on account of the stress of life, or because of human infirmity, for very few are eager to reason, what better plan for benefiting the many could be devised than that which was delivered by Jesus to the Gentiles? And as regards the greater

|88 number of believers, who have escaped from the deep mire of

wickedness in which they formerly wallowed, which, we ask, is really best----that with unreasoning faith they should

be reformed characters, because they believe that men are

punished for sin and rewarded for good works, or that we

should not allow their conversion on the strength of mere

faith, but wait for their deliberate investigation of the

reasons for belief? It is clear that nearly all will be

excluded from the benefits which the others have received

through simply believing; the many will continue to lead

abandoned lives. Whatever else then goes to prove that

the love towards man which marked the entry of the

Word into human affairs was not undesigned by God,

this must be included. A religious man will not suppose

that even a physician of the body, who restores many sick

to health, comes into cities or nations independently of

God;. for without God's help nothing comes to men. But

if the physician who cures the bodies of many sufferers, or

partially benefits them, does not cure without God's help,

how much rather is this true of Him who heals the souls of

many, converts them, does them good, attaches them to the

Supreme God, and teaches them in all their doings to make

His good pleasure their aim, and to shun whatever is in the

least displeasing to Him in word, or deed, or thought?

2. So then, since our opponents are for ever talking about our faith, we have to tell them that we allow it on the ground that it is a good thing for the many, and we confess that we teach those who cannot forsake everything else and investigate the evidence, to believe even without reasoning; and our opponents, though they would not confess so much, do the same. Could any man who has been drawn to Philosophy and has dashed into some philosophic sect, either at random, or because he has had access to some particular teacher, get thus far any other way than by believing that sect to be the best? For it is not by waiting to hear the arguments of all the philosophers and of the different sects, and by learning how some may be upset and others established, that a man chooses to be a Stoic, or a follower of Plato, or a

|89 Peripatetic, or an Epicurean, or to belong to any other philosophic school; but it is by an unreasoning impulse, though they will not admit the fact, that they come, for instance, to forsake the others and adopt Stoicism: rejecting Plato's doctrine as less dignified than that of the others, or the Peripatetic system because it is more human, and more readily than others admits the blessings of mankind. And there are some who in their alarm at the faintest approach to the doctrine of Providence, arguing from what on earth befalls both bad and good, rashly conclude that there is no Providence, and take the view of Epicurus and Celsus.

3. Since, then, as reason teaches, we must believe some one who has founded a sect, Greek or Barbarian, should we not much rather believe the Supreme God, and Him who teaches that we ought to worship God only, and overlook all else, as either non-existent, or as existing and worthy of honour, but not of reverence and adoration? As regards these points, if a man not only believes, but also views them in the light of reason, he will let it be known what proofs he comes upon, and discovers through thorough inquiry. It is surely more reasonable, since all things human depend on faith,323 to believe God rather than them. Does any man go on a voyage, or marry, or beget children, or sow the land, unless he believes that all will turn out for the best, though the opposite is possible, and sometimes does happen? In spite of possible disappointment, the belief in a prosperous issue and that they will realise their wishes, makes all men venture even where there is uncertainty, and the result may be other than they hope. Now, if in every undertaking where the result is uncertain the hope and belief in a successful result is the stay of life, shall not a man with much better reason than if he sailed the sea, or sowed the land, or married a wife, or engaged in any other human affairs, have this faith, and believe in the God Who made all these things, and in Him Who, with surpassing wisdom and Divine magnanimity, ventured to present this doctrine to all mankind, in the face of great dangers and of what was considered a

|90 shameful death, which sufferings He endured for man, teaching His earliest adherents to boldly traverse the whole world in peril at every step and with the constant expectation of death, in

order to promote the salvation of men?

4. Let the impugner of the faith of Christians tell us by what demonstrative proofs he was driven to admit the occurrence of numerous conflagrations and deluges, and upon what grounds he maintains that the last deluge was in the time of Deucalion, and the last conflagration in the time of Phaethon. If he adduces the dialogues of Plato on these subjects, we will tell him that we, too, are at liberty to believe that a Divine Spirit abode in the pure and pious soul of Moses, who soared above all things created and clung to the Maker of the universe, and gave clearer views of the things of God than Plato or the Greek and Barbarian philosophers. And if Celsus demands our reasons for such a faith, let him first give us the grounds of his unproved opinions, and we will at once make good our position.

5. Celsus is welcome to the teachers of fabulous conflagrations and deluges. According to him they were the wisest of the Egyptians, and traces of their wisdom may be seen in the worship of irrational creatures, and in the arguments to show that such a worship of God, though partly lost and mysterious, is quite reasonable. If the Egyptians boast of their animal worship and explain the principles of their religion, they are wise; but if a man, assenting to the Judaic law and acknowledging the lawgiver, refers everything to the only God, the Maker of the universe, he is accounted by Celsus and his followers inferior to him who degrades the Godhead to the level not only of rational and mortal creatures, but of irrational creatures, thus going beyond the fabulous transmigration of souls, according to which a soul falls from the vaults of heaven and descends to irrational creatures, not only such as are tamed, but even the most savage. And if Egyptians tell these mythic tales, they are believed to have been philosophers with their riddles and mysteries; but if Moses writes histories for a whole nation, and

|91

bequeaths laws to the people, his words are regarded as empty fables, incapable of even an allegorical interpretation. For this is the opinion of Celsus and the Epicureans.

6. Then, in express terms, Celsus says, "If they will be good enough to answer me, not as if I were a novice, for I know all about it," and so on. In reply to this claim to know "all about it," which is an astounding piece of swagger, we must observe that if he had read the Scriptures, above all, the prophetical writings, which we admit are full of dark sayings and things obscure to the many, and if he had studied the parables in the Gospels, and the texts of Scripture containing the Law and the history of the Jewish people, and the utterances of the Apostles, and, reading with a fair and open mind, had wished to get at the meaning, he would not have been so bold as to say, "I know all about it." Not even we who spend ourselves upon these studies would claim to know "all about it," for truth is dear to us. Not one of us will say "I know all that Epicurus taught," nor will boast that he knows the whole of Plato; the truth being that there are numerous points as to which even the expounders of the doctrines are not agreed. Who would be so bold as to say, "I know all about the Stoic or Peripatetic philosophy "? though it might happen that hearing some illiterate blockheads, unconscious of their own ignorance, boasting of their universal knowledge, a man might on the authority of such teachers suppose that he himself knew everything. Celsus seems to me to have acted much the same as if a traveller in Egypt (where those who are familiar with the national literature indulge in many speculations on what are regarded as Divine institutions, but the unlearned are greatly elated when they hear certain myths without understanding the principles

involved) were to think he was acquainted with all the wisdom of the Egyptians, though, in fact, he was a disciple of the ignorant, and never came into touch with any of the priests, nor was taught the mysterious doctrines of the Egyptians by one of them. And what I have said about the Egyptians, wise and ignorant, holds good, as we may

|92

see, of the Persians. They have their mysteries, celebrated by the learned on principles of reason, but taken symbolically by the masses and ordinary people. And the same applies to the Syrians and Indians, and all who have myths and literature.

7. Celsus, moreover, makes many Christians say, "Wordly wisdom is a bad thing, and foolishness a good thing." We must therefore observe that he slanders the Word, for he does not give Paul's exact words, which run thus: "If any man thinketh that he is wise among you in this world, let him become a fool that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God." 324 The Apostle does not say without qualification, "Wisdom is foolishness with God," but "the wisdom of this world" Again, he does not say, "If any man among you thinketh that he is wise, let him become a fool absolutely," but "let him become a fool in this world, that he may become wise." Well, then, by "the wisdom of the world" we mean all false philosophy, which, according to the Scripture, is being brought to nought; and we call foolishness a good thing, not absolutely, but when a man becomes a fool to this world. It is the same as if we were to say that a Platonist who believes in the immortality of the soul and what is said about its transmigration, is foolish in the eyes of the Stoics who give no quarter to these opinions; or in the eyes of the Peripatetics who are always talking about the inanities of Plato; or in the eyes of the Epicureans who charge with superstition those who introduce a Providence and set God over all things. And, further, that even, according to the Word itself, it is much better to assent to our doctrines on grounds of reason and wisdom, than on the strength of the bare faith of which we have spoken; and that, under certain circumstances the Word even intended this, so as not to leave men altogether unprofitable,325 is shown by Paul, the true disciple of |93 Jesus, when he says, "For seeing that in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom knew not God, it was God's good pleasure through the foolishness of the preaching to save them that believe." 326 This clearly shows that God should have been known in the wisdom of God. And since this did not come to pass, God, as by a second expedient, was pleased to save believers, not by foolishness absolutely, but by foolishness so far as related to preaching. For the preaching of Jesus Christ as crucified is "foolishness of preaching." Paul is conscious of this when he says, "But we preach Jesus Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling-block, and unto Gentiles foolishness; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." And towards the end of the same book, Book I., respecting the statement that no wise or educated man has been a disciple of Jesus, there is the following:----

8. It is clear to those who are capable of investigating the history of the Apostles with intelligence and candour that it was by Divine power they taught Christianity, and succeeded in bringing men into subjection to the Word of God. For it was not their powerful speaking, or that they offered the Gospel,327 in accordance with the rules of Greek dialectics or rhetoric, which won over their hearers. But it seems to me that if Jesus had chosen certain men in general esteem for their wisdom, who could think and speak so as to please the many, and had employed them as ministers of the doctrine, He might reasonably have been suspected of having been preached by a

school like the leaders of some philosophical sect; and in that case the promise that the Word should be Divine would not have been clear, inasmuch as the Word and the preaching was in persuasive words of that wisdom which is shown in style and composition;328 and Christian faith, like the faith of the Philosophers of the world in their doctrines, would

|94

have been in the wisdom of men and not in the power of God. But who, when he sees fishermen and tax-gatherers, men without even the rudiments of learning (the Gospel so describes them, and Celsus credits them with speaking the truth about their own ignorance), not only dealing boldly with the Jews as regards the Faith in Jesus, but also preaching Him in other nations, and with success, would not ask how they came to have this convincing power? for it is no ordinary power. And who would not say that by a certain Divine power in His Apostles Jesus fulfilled the promise, "Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men "?

329 It is such a power as this which Paul, as we have said before, describes when he says, "And my speech and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."

330 For as we read in the Prophets who foretell the preaching of the Gospel, "The Lord gave a word to those who bring good tidings with great power,331 the King of the powers of the Beloved,"

332 in order that the prophecy may be fulfilled which says, "His word shall run very swiftly."

333 And in fact we see that "The sound of the apostles of Jesus Christ went out into every land, and their words unto the end of the world."

334 Thus it is that when men hear the Word proclaimed with power they are filled with power, and they manifest it both by their dispositions and their lives, and by contending earnestly for the truth even unto death; but some speakers are mere windbags even though they profess to believe in God through Jesus, for not being Divinely enabled they only seem to be subject to the Word of God. I have already mentioned a saying of our Saviour in the Gospels, but I will none the less make use of it now, for it is appropriate, by way of showing how our Saviour's foreknowledge of the preaching of the Gospel is

|95

most Divinely manifested, and also how the Word without teachers prevails over those who yield to the persuasiveness of Divine power: "The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest, that he send forth labourers into the harvest."

335

9. And whereas Celsus speaks of infamous men, and calls the Apostles of Jesus villainous tax-gatherers and sailors, we will say respecting this, that in order to find fault with the Word he appears to believe the Scriptures wherever he chooses; but to disbelieve the Gospels so that he may not have to accept the manifestations of Deity proclaimed in those same books; for any one who sees how the writers cling to truth in describing minor matters cannot help believing them

when they treat of things more Divine. It is indeed written in the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas, from which Celsus probably took his description of the Apostles as "infamous" and "villainous," that "Jesus Christ chose for His own apostles those who were notoriously lawless men."

336 And in the Gospel according to Luke, Peter says to Jesus, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord."

337 Nay more, Paul (though he afterwards became an Apostle of Jesus) says in his Epistle to Timothy, "Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief."

338 Is there, then, any absurdity in believing that Jesus, because He wished to show mankind His wondrous skill in healing souls, chose "infamous" and "villainous" men, and brought them to such a pitch of excellence, that they were a pattern of the purest life to those who through them were led to submit to the Gospel of Christ?

10. If we are going to make their past a reproach to men who have changed their lives, it is time for us to attack Phaedo even though he is now the Philosopher: for, as history relates, Socrates took him out of a house of ill-fame and interested him in philosophy. We shall also make the profligacy of Polemon, the successor of Xenocrates, a reproach to philosophy; whereas we ought to give

|96

philosophy credit thus far, that reason when used by those gifted with persuasive power can rescue from such vices those who had been overcome by them. The Greeks have one Phaedo, I do not know of another, and one Polemon, who after a dissolute and utter detestable life changed and became philosophers; while with Jesus there were not only the Twelve at the time we speak of, but always many more, such as having become a joyous band of temperate livers, say concerning their former lives: "For we also were aforetime foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, hating one another. But when the kindness of God our Saviour, and his love toward men, appeared through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost which he poured out upon us,"

339 we became what we are. For "God sent forth his word, and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions,"

340 as the prophet taught in the Psalms. And I would further remark, that Chrysippus in his treatise on the Healing of the Passions, his object being to check the passions of men's souls, though he does not pledge himself to the truth of any particular doctrine, endeavours to apply his remedy according to the principles of the sect to which they belong who have been mastered by their passions; and he says that if pleasure be the (philosophic) end, we must through pleasure cure the passions; and even if, according to some, there are three kinds of blessings, we must none the less, according to this doctrine, similarly rid men from the tyranny of the passions. But the accusers of Christianity do not see how the passions of multitudes are calmed, and the surging waves of wickedness laid to rest, nor do they regard the numbers of those whose savage characters are tamed by means of the Word. And if they find this public benefit to be a fact, they ought to confess their gratitude to the Word for having by a new method delivered men from many vices; and they ought to bear witness to it, that whether it be the truth or not, it has at all events

profited mankind.

|97

11. Jesus, teaching His disciples not to be rash, said to them, "When they persecute you in this city, flee into the next; and if they persecute you in the next, flee again into another";341 and He not only taught, but was an example of a well-regulated life, in which dangers are never encountered without an object, unseasonably, or unreasonably. This, again, Celsus mischievously perverts, and makes his Jew say to Jesus, "You run away to all sorts of places with your disciples."

12. "What need was there for you while still an infant to be carried off into Egypt, so that you might not have your throat cut? For it was not likely that a god should be afraid of death?" and so on. But inasmuch as we believe Jesus, when He Himself says concerning His Divinity, "I am the way, the truth, and the life,"

342 or anything similar; and as we also believe Him when, referring to His having a human body, He says,"But now ye seek to kill me, a man that hath told you the truth,"

343 we maintain that He was something compound. And inasmuch as it was His purpose during His sojourn on earth to live the life of a man, it was right that He should not unseasonably expose Himself to death. So, too, it was necessary that He should be taken away by His parents who were guided by one of God's angels.

13. Is there any absurdity in supposing that, having once become Man, His human life was so ordered that He shunned dangers?

344 not that it was otherwise impossible to attain His object, but because it was fitting to leave room for ways and means in securing His safety. And it was surely better for the child Jesus to escape from Herod's plot and sojourn with His parents in Egypt until the death of the conspirator, than for Providence watching over Jesus to hinder the will of Herod when he purposed to kill the child, or to associate with Jesus dark Pluto's helm, of which the poets speak, or anything of the kind, or to smite those who came to destroy Him, as the men of Sodom were

|98

smitten.345 If it had been perfectly clear that some very extraordinary help was given to Him, this would not have furthered His desire to teach, as a man approved by God, that He had something more Divine within the visible man, which "something" was properly

346 the Son of God, God the Word, the power of God and the wisdom of God,347 He that is called Christ. But this is not the time to discuss the compound nature, and the parts of which Jesus, who became a man, was composed; that is a separate topic, and, if I may so speak, one suitable for investigation by believers.

14. And the story of Aristotle has points of resemblance to the slanderous charge against Jesus and His disciples. When Aristotle saw that a court was going to be got together to try him for impiety, on account of certain of his philosophical opinions which the Athenians considered impious, he left Athens and stayed in Chalcis, defending himself to his friends by saying, "Let us leave Athens, so that we may not give the Athenians any occasion for incurring the guilt they did

over Socrates, and that they may not a second time sin against Philosophy."

15. And in Book III. of the same treatise against Celsus he says this:----

Then Celsus goes on to quote what is said against the teaching of Jesus by a very small number of persons who are considered Christians, not the most intelligent, as he supposes, but the most ignorant, and tells us "that such rules as these are laid down by them: Let no educated person come, no one wise, no one prudent; for education, wisdom, and prudence are with us regarded as bad things. But if any one is unlearned, if any one is without understanding, or uneducated, or a mere child, let him come boldly. Now the fact that they confess these persons to be worthy of their God, shows that they wish and are able to convince none but fools, low-born people, blockheads, slaves, weak women, and children." This is our reply. When Jesus was teaching self-control He said, "Every

|99

one that looketh upon a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

348 Now, suppose a man saw some few persons, out of so many, who are considered to be Christians, living undisciplined lives, he would with very good reason accuse them of living contrary to the teaching of Jesus; but he would be most unreasonable if he were to charge the Gospel with their offence. Just so, if Christian doctrine

349 as much as any other is found to invite men to wisdom, they must be blamed who rest satisfied with their own ignorance, and who say, not what Celsus relates (for though some are ignorant and unlearned, they do not use such shameless language), but other things which, though far less important, are nevertheless calculated to turn believers from the practice of wisdom.

16. That the Word means us to be wise, we may prove even from the old Jewish Scriptures, which we use as well as the Jews, and no less also from those which were written after Jesus came, and are believed in the churches to be Divine. In the 50th Psalm David in his prayer to God is reported to have said, "Thou hast showed me the secret and hidden things of thy wisdom."

350 And any reader of the Psalms may find the book full of many wise doctrines. And Solomon, because he asked for wisdom, received it;351 and the proofs of his wisdom may be seen in his works, which contain much thought in few words, and in which you may discover many praises of wisdom and many admonitions as to the necessity of embracing it. Solomon was in fact so wise that "the Queen of Sheba having heard of his name and the name of the Lord came to prove him with hard questions,352 and she communed with him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her questions: there was not anything overlooked by the king, which he told her not. And the Queen of Sheba saw all the understanding of Solomon, and all that belonged to him; and there was no more spirit in her. And she said to the king, It was a true report that I

|100

heard in mine own land of thee and of thy understanding. Howbeit I believed not the words, until I came, and mine eyes had seen it: and, behold, the half was not told me: thy wisdom and riches

exceed all the report which I heard." Again, it is written concerning the same Solomon, "And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the seashore. And Solomon's wisdom excelled the understanding of all the ancients and all the understanding of Egypt; and he was wiser than all men,"

353 and so on. And so desirous is the Word that there should be wise men among believers, that to exercise the intelligence of the hearers it has expressed some things .in enigmas, some in what are called dark sayings, others through parables, and others through difficult questions.354 And one of the prophets, Hosea, in his concluding words, exclaims, "Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them?"

355 Daniel, too, and his companions in captivity made such progress in all the learning cultivated by the wise men about the King of Babylon, that they were proved to be ten times better than them all.

356 And in Ezekiel it is said to the Prince of Tyre, who prided himself upon his wisdom, "Surely thou art not wiser than Daniel? Every secret was not shown thee."

357

17. And if you come to the books written after the time of Jesus, you will find the crowds of believers who heard the parables regarded as "without,"

358 and worthy only of the popular arguments, but the disciples learning in private the interpretation of the parables; for Jesus privately expounded everything to His own disciples, thus honouring those who claimed His wisdom more than He did the crowds. And He promises those who believe on Him that He will send wise men and scribes, saying, "Behold, I send unto you wise men and scribes: and some of them shall they kill and crucify."

359 And Paul |101

in his list of the gifts of God's grace, placed first the word of wisdom, and second, as inferior to it, the word of knowledge, and third, still lower I suppose, he placed faith.360 And inasmuch as he honoured the Word above marvellous acts, for this reason he places workings of miracles and gifts of healing below the gifts of the Word. And in the Acts of the Apostles Stephen testifies to the great learning of Moses, taking his proofs altogether from such ancient writings as were not generally known. For he says, "And Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians."

361 And this is why Moses was suspected in his miracles; they thought he might work them not because, as he professed, he came from God, but because of the learning of the Egyptians in which he was skilled, The king, because he thus suspected him, summoned the enchanters of the Egyptians, and the wise men, and the sorcerers;362 and they were proved to be as nothing

in comparison with the wisdom in Moses, which surpassed all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

18. But what Paul writes in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he addresses them as Greeks priding themselves on their Grecian wisdom, has probably moved some to think that the Word does not want the wise. If any one so thinks, let me tell him that as the Word reflects on bad men, and says that they are not wise in things spiritual, invisible, and eternal, but because they concern

themselves with things of sense only, and make them all in all, they are wise men of the world: so also, inasmuch as there are many doctrines, some of which give support to theories of matter and corporeal substances, and allege that all subsistences to begin with were corporeal, and that there is nothing else beside them, whether it be called "invisible" or "incorporeal," the Word says that this is wisdom of the world which is being brought to nought and stultified, and that it is wisdom of this present life.363 On the other hand, there are doctrines which translate the soul from earthly affairs to the blessedness

|102

of communion with God and to the kingdom which bears His name, and teaches the soul to despise all things sensible and visible as being temporal, but to press on to the things invisible and to keep in view the things that are not seen----and these doctrines the Word says are the wisdom of God. Paul, with his love of truth, speaking of certain wise men of the Greeks and the truth they hold, says that, "Knowing God, they glorified him, not as God, neither gave thanks";364 and he tells us that they had not this knowledge without God's help. "For," he says, "God manifested it unto them."

365 I suppose he is darkly hinting at those who rise from things visible to the things intelligible,

366 when he writes that "The invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity; so that they may be without excuse: because that, knowing God, they glorified him not as God, neither gave thanks."

19. Then there is the passage, "For behold your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise; and God chose the base things of the world, and the things that are despised, and the things that are not, that he might bring to nought the things that are: that no flesh should glory before him."

367 Some have perhaps been moved through this to suppose that no one educated, or wise, or prudent embraces the Word. We would point out to such an one that the words are not, "No wise man after the flesh," but "Not many wise men after the flesh." And it is plain that in the character sketch of those who are called Bishops, when Paul described what manner of man the bishop ought to be, he gave the teacher his proper place: for he says the bishop "must be able also to convict the gainsayers, so that he may stop the mouth of vain talkers and deceivers."

368 And as the Apostle in choosing a man |103

for the office of a bishop prefers one who is the husband of one wife rather than him who has been twice married,369 and the blameless man rather than him who has been overtaken in a fault, and the temperate man rather than the opposite, and the soberminded man rather than him who is not soberminded, and the orderly man rather than him who is ever so little disorderly: so he wishes the man specially qualified for the office of a bishop to be apt to teach, and able to stop the mouths of the gainsayers. How, then, can Celsus with any show of reason accuse us of saying, "Let no one educated come, no one wise, no one prudent." By all means let any educated, wise, or prudent man come if he wishes to: but if a man be ignorant, and unintelligent, and uneducated, and

childish, he will be no less welcome. For the Word promises to heal such if they come, making them all worthy of God.

20. And it is another falsehood that "the teachers of the Divine Word wish to persuade only silly, ill-bred people, blockheads, and slaves, and weak women, and children," though the Word calls even those that it may do them good. But it also calls such as are very different from them, for Christ is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe,370 whether they be men of understanding, or more simple folk, and "He is the propitiation with the Father for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the whole world."

371 After what we have said it is too much to expect us to reply to such questions as these, which Celsus puts: "Why is it a very bad thing for a man to have been educated, and to have studied the best arguments, and both to be and seem wise? How does this hinder a man from knowing God? Can it possibly be anything but a help and a means whereby a man may more readily reach the truth?" A real education is not a bad thing, for education is a path to virtue; but not even the wise men of Greece will tell us that the holders of erroneous opinions are to be reckoned among the "educated." According to our Word, a knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom; and, if I may use the term,

|104

there is a knowledge of wickedness in the holders of false opinions, and in those who have been deceived by fallacious arguments. I should therefore say that they are more ignorant than wise. Further, who would not confess that it is a good thing to have studied the best arguments? Shall we, however, call any arguments the "best," except those which are true and which urge men to the pursuit of virtue? Again, it is a good thing to be wise, though not, as Celsus says, to seem so; and to have been educated, and to have studied the best arguments, and to be a man of understanding is certainly no hindrance but a help in knowing God. And it is more fitting for us than for Celsus to say this, particularly if he is proved to be an Epicurean.

21. Let us see what he says next. "Why, we surely see even the men in the market-places parading their infamous opinions

372 and collecting a crowd, though they would never come near a gathering of sensible people, and would never dare to show their real sentiments among them; but wherever they catch sight of striplings, or a herd of slaves, or a set of fools, away they go and show off." Now observe, I pray you, how herein he slanders us by comparing us to the men in the market-places who parade their infamous opinions and collect a crowd. What infamous opinions, then, do we parade? or how are we like them, when by readings and explanations of what we read we invite men to the worship of the God of the universe, and to the cultivation of the virtues connected with that worship, but dissuade them from the contempt of the Divine Being, and from the practice of all that is contrary to sound doctrine? The Philosophers, I take it, would gladly get together so many hearers of their discourses which invite men to a virtuous life, as has been notably the case with certain of the Cynics, who publicly converse with such hearers as happen to be by. Will it then be said that these Philosophers, because they do not gather an audience of what are considered educated people,

|105

but invite the common people to assemble, are like the men in the market-places who parade their infamous opinions and collect a crowd? The truth is that neither Celsus, nor any one who agrees with him, finds fault with teachers who follow the course which humanity dictates, and address their arguments to the ignorant masses as well as to other people.

22. If the Philosophers are not to be blamed for doing this, let us see whether Christians do not more than they, and to better purpose, endeavour to win multitudes to the love of the beautiful and good. The Philosophers who discourse in public make no distinctions in their choice of hearers; any one who likes stands and listens. But Christian teachers, so far as they can, first make trial of the souls of those who wish to hear them, and rejoice over them in private; then, when the hearers appear sufficiently earnest in their desire to lead a good life, they introduce them to the public assembly, having made a private list of those who are novices and catechumens, and have not as yet received the Sacrament of their cleansing, and another list of those who, as far as possible, show their determination to adopt Christianity to the exclusion of all else; and with these are associated certain officers appointed to inquire carefully into the lives and conduct of the candidates, so that they may prevent such as are guilty of infamous practices from coming to the public assembly, but may heartily welcome such as are different from these, and may day by day do them good.373 And they have a similar method in dealing with those who fall into sin, particularly such as are licentious, whom they, who, according to Celsus, resemble the market-place orators parading their infamous opinions, expel from the public assembly. The venerable school of the Pythagoreans used to set up kenotaphs to those who abandoned that philosophy, reckoning them as dead. But our Christian teachers

|106

lament as dead, inasmuch as they are lost and dead to God, those who have been overcome by lasciviousness, or some other disgusting wickedness; and regarding them as risen from the dead if they manifest a considerable change, they afterwards receive them, though a longer interval is required than in the case of catechumens;374 they choose, however, to no office and administration in the Church of God those who soon lapsed after submitting to the Gospel.

23. Now Celsus says that these men to whom he compares us, the men in the market-places parading their infamous opinions and collecting a crowd, would never think of coming near a company of sensible people, nor venture to show their real sentiments among them: "but wherever they see striplings, or a herd of slaves, and a set of fools, away they go and show off." When he thus abuses us he is exactly like the low women who delight in slandering one another. For we do all we can to get an audience of sensible men, and we then venture in our public discourses to bring forth what is best and most Divine, when we have a number of intelligent hearers, but we conceal and pass over in silence the deeper truths, when we see that those who assemble are the simpler sort of people, and require such teaching as is metaphorically called "milk." For Paul, writing to the Corinthians, Greeks whose morals were not yet cleansed, says, "I fed you with milk, not with meat: for ye were not able to bear it: nay, not even now are ye able; for ye are yet carnal; for whereas there is among you jealousy and strife, are ye not carnal, and walk after the manner of men?"

375 And the same Paul, knowing that some things are food for the more mature soul, and that others being suitable for beginners are like "milk," says, "Ye have become such as have need of

milk, not of solid food.376 For every one that partaketh of milk is without experience of the word of righteousness; For he is a babe.

|107

But solid food is for full-grown men, even those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern good and evil." Now, let me ask, could men who believe this to be well spoken suppose that the beauties of the Word should never be declared to an assembly of sensible men, but that "wherever they see striplings, and a herd of slaves, and a set of fools," there "they should produce the Divine and hallowed truths, and before such an audience show off in handling them?" On the contrary, it is clear to any one who examines the whole drift of our Scriptures, that Celsus, like the ignorant masses, is moved by hatred against the family of Christ when he makes such false and unwarranted statements.

24. We own to a desire to instruct all with the Word of God, whatever Celsus may wish, so as to give the striplings such exhortation as is suitable for them, and show slaves how they may be ennobled by the Word if they recover a free mind. And our advocates of Christianity emphatically declare that they are debtors to Greeks and Barbarians, to the wise and to the foolish;

377 for they do not deny that they are bound to cure the souls even of the foolish, so that, as far as they can, laying aside their ignorance they may earnestly seek wisdom, and may give heed to Solomon's words, "Ye fools, be of an understanding heart";378 and, "Let him who is most foolish among you turn aside unto me";379 and those who are without understanding Wisdom exhorts thus, "Come, eat ye of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled. Forsake folly that ye may live, and correct understanding in knowledge." I should also like to ask in reply to what Celsus states, for the point is important, whether the teachers of philosophy do not invite striplings to come and hear them? And do they not urge young men to give up a low life and turn to something better? How does Celsus make out that they do not wish slaves to take up Philosophy? Are we going to blame Philosophers for encouraging slaves to turn and lead a virtuous life, as Pythagoras did Zamolxis, and Zeno did Persaeus, or as they did who very recently won

|108

Epictetus to the side of Philosophy? May you, ye Greeks,380 invite striplings, and slaves, and fools, to embrace Philosophy? and if we do so, will ye not allow our motive to be love for man, seeing that we wish with the healing virtue of the Word to cure every rational nature and make it fit for God, the Creator of all things?

25. When Celsus, distracted at the numbers of those who flock to hear the Word, alleges that no sensible person obeys the Word, he acts like a man who alleges that because so many ignorant persons submit to the laws, no sensible person obeys Solon,381 for instance, or Lycurgus,382 or Zaleucus,383 or any other lawgiver, particularly if by "sensible" he means in respect of virtue. For as the law-givers, providing for the masses according to their views of what was best, have given them proper guidance and laws on all sides: so God when He gives the law in Jesus Christ to all men every where, leads those who are not "sensible" as well as others, so far as such men can be led, on to the better life. Paul knew this when he said, "God chose the foolish things of the world, that he might put to shame them that are wise;

384 and, speaking generally, he calls all those "wise" who seem to be proficient in learning but have fallen into godless polytheism; for "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God for the likeness of an image of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things."

385

26. Celsus blames the Christian teacher as if he specially looked for ignoramuses. In reply we would ask, What ignoramuses do you mean? For, strictly speaking, any inferior man is an ignoramus. Well, then, if by ignoramuses you mean inferior people, do you when you

|109

try to attract men to Philosophy seek to attract inferior people or the cultured? Certainly not the cultured, for they are already acquainted with Philosophy. Inferior people, then. But inferior people, as we have seen, are ignoramuses; and your aim is to win many such inferior people to Philosophy; it follows that you, too, look for ignoramuses. But I, even if I do seek those who are thus called "ignoramuses," am like a humane physician who looks for the sick that he may bring them the help they need, and may restore them to health and strength. If, however, by "ignoramuses" you mean those who are not only not clever, but are portentously stupid people, my answer is that I do my best to benefit these also, though I should not like the great body of Christians to consist of them. By way of preference I look for men of some cleverness and acuteness, inasmuch as they are able to trace out the clear interpretation of the hard sayings and obscure passages in the Law and the Prophets, and the Gospels, which you have despised as containing nothing of any account, because you have not closely examined their sense, nor tried to enter into the meaning of the writers.

CHAP. XIX. ----And again, earlier in the same book, Origen says, That our faith in our Lord has nothing in common with the irrational superstitious faith of the Gentiles, and that it is both commendable, and accords with the original moral notions of mankind. In answer also to those who say, How do we think that Jesus is God seeing that He had a mortal body?

1. Faith in Antinous 386 or some other Egyptian or Greek hero, is, if I may use the expression, unfortunate;387 but faith in Jesus would appear to be either fortunate, or to have its claims severely tested; for it seems to be fortunate with the many, and severely tested by very few. And if I say that a certain faith is fortunate, as the many

|110

would call it, I refer the explanation of this good fortune to God, Who knows the causes of every human being's lot in life. And the Greeks will also admit that even in the case of those who are regarded as their wisest men, good fortune accounts for much, as for example the sort of teachers they have, and whether they meet with better ones (for other men teach opposite doctrines), and whether they have a better bringing up. For it is the lot of many to be so brought up that they cannot get even a faint perception of the higher life, but from their very earliest years are destined to be among the favourites of licentious men, or of tyrants, or to be in some other sad condition which prevents the opening of the eyes of the soul. I quite suppose that the causes of this are to be found in the rulings of Providence; but how the causes affect mankind is not easy to explain. I

thought I would make this digression in passing, for we remember the old saying, "What wonders faith performs when it once takes hold of anything!" It was necessary to speak of different forms of faith on account of the different ways men are brought up; and from this to go on to show that what is called good or bad fortune would appear to assist even clever men in this very respect, that they appear more reasonable than other men, and with better reason for the most part to adopt their opinions. But enough of this.

2. But we must consider what Celsus says next. Amongst other things he tells us that "we are already under the influence of faith when we thus submit to Jesus."

388 And in truth faith does effect this submission. Observe, however, whether the very act of faith does not exhibit something praiseworthy when we submit ourselves to God Who is over all, confessing our gratitude to Him Who has guided us to such a faith, and saying that He did not without God's help undertake and accomplish such a difficult task. And we believe also in the intentions of those who wrote the Gospels, as we mark the caution

389 and |111

conscientiousness shown in their writings, and how they admit nothing spurious, hazardous, invented, or unscrupulous. For it strikes us that souls which knew nothing of the strange devices taught by the unscrupulous sophistry of the Greeks, and by the rhetoric bandied in the law-courts, could not thus invent incidents able of themselves to lead men to faith and to a life in keeping with their faith. And I suppose this was why Jesus wished to employ such teachers of His doctrines, that there might be no room to suspect them of plausible sophisms, but that they who are capable of understanding may see clearly that the writers' purity of intention with its, if I may so speak, great simplicity, was deemed worthy of Divine help, which accomplishes far more than diction, and composition, and right construction with its refinements and rules of Grecian art seems able to accomplish.

3. Now see whether the principles of our faith, being accordant with man's original conceptions, do not work a change in fair-minded hearers of the Word. For though the perverted doctrine, backed up with much instruction, has been able to implant in the minds of the many the belief that images are gods, and that things made of gold, and silver, and ivory, and stone, are worthy of worship; common sense, nevertheless, forbids us to think that God is by any means corruptible matter, or that He is honoured when He is fashioned by men in forms of dead matter, supposed to pictorially or symbolically represent Him. And we accordingly at once decide respecting images that they are not gods; and respecting such works of art that they are not to be compared to the Creator; and that they are insignificant when we think of God, Who is over all, the Maker, Preserver, and Governor of the universe. And the rational soul, as if it recognised its affinity, at once rejects what it hitherto imagined to be gods, and resumes its natural affection for the Creator; and because of that natural affection for Him, it eagerly accepts Him, Who first showed these truths to the Gentile world by means of the disciples whom He prepared, and whom He sent forth with

|112

Divine power and authority to preach the Word concerning God and His kingdom.

4. And whereas Celsus, I know not how many times already, taunts us with holding that Jesus, though He had a mortal body, is a god, and with supposing that herein we show our piety, it is superfluous to say more, for more than enough has already been said. Still, I would have our accusers know that He Who we think and are persuaded was from the beginning God and Son of God, is the very Word, and very Wisdom, and very Truth; and we affirm that the mortal body and the human soul therein, not only by communication with Him, but by an union and intimate mixture, gained the highest honours, and having participated in the Divine Nature, were taken into God.390 And if, any one stumbles at our saying this concerning His body, let him attend to what is said by the Greeks about matter, in itself unqualified, acquiring whatever qualities the Creator wishes to invest it with; and how it frequently divests itself of its former qualities and assumes better ones of a different kind. For if this is sound doctrine, is it any wonder that the quality of mortality attaching to the body of Jesus should by the providence of God, Who so willed, change into one that was heavenly and Divine?

5. Celsus, then, did not show his dialectical skill when, comparing the human flesh of Jesus to gold, and silver, and stone, he saw it was more corruptible than they. For, to speak correctly, what is incorruptible cannot be more incorruptible than something else which is incorruptible, nor can what is corruptible be more corruptible than some other corruptible thing. But allowing that there are degrees of corruptibility, we shall still reply, that if it is possible for the matter which underlies all qualities to change its qualities, why should it be impossible for the flesh of Jesus to change its qualities, and become such as it ought to be if it is to live in the sky, and the upper realms, no longer having the qualities of fleshly

|113 weakness, and whatever other qualities Celsus called "pollutions"? ----and in doing so did not speak like a philosopher. For in the proper sense pollution is the result of vice; but the nature of the body is not polluted; for as bodily nature it has no vice, which generates the pollution.

CHAP. XX. ----A reply to those who say that the whole world, including man, was made not for man, but for the irrational creatures; for the irrational creatures live with less toil than men; further, that they are wiser than we are, and are both dear to God, and have a conception of God, and foreknow the future; wherein we shall also oppose transmigration of souls, and have something to say concerning augury and the trickery connected with it. From Book IV. against Celsus.

1. He, Celsus I mean, then says, "But, not to confine my remarks to the Jews, for that is not my aim, but that I may deal with the whole of nature, as I promised, I will explain more clearly what I have said." What modest man who reads this and is conscious of human weakness, would not shrink from the offensiveness of a man who promises to give an account of the whole of nature, and so pretentious as Celsus in daring to give such a title to his book? Let us see, then, what it is he promises to tell us about the whole of nature, and what light he throws upon the subject.

2. Well, he proceeds to blame us at great length for alleging that God has made all things for man. And, drawing on the stories of animals and the sagacity they show, he wishes to prove that everything exists no more for the sake of men than for the sake of the irrational creatures. Here he seems to me to talk like those men who from hatred of the people they dislike, blame them for the very qualities for which their own friends are praised. For as enmity so blinds these men that they are not aware of accusing their friends when they think they are abusing their enemies: the same way, Celsus in this confusion of thought has not seen that he is blaming the Philosophers of the

Porch, inasmuch as not unwisely they give man the first place, and in

|114

general prefer rational nature to all irrational beings, and maintain that for the sake of the rational creation chiefly, Providence has made everything. And rational creatures, inasmuch as they are the leading objects of Providence, are regarded as children begotten; but irrational and lifeless creatures are like the after-birth.391 I moreover think that as in our towns the inspectors of provisions and of the market exercise their office only for the sake of men, but even dogs and other irrational creatures enjoy the abundance as well: so Providence chiefly provides for the rational creatures, but it follows also that the irrational creatures enjoy what exists for the sake of men. And as a man is in error if he says that the clerks of the markets provide no more for men than dogs, for that the dogs as well as men enjoy the abundance of what is on sale: so Celsus and they who are of his mind are much more guilty of impiety towards God, "Who provides for the rational creatures; for they pretend to ask. "What more is done for man's support than for plants, and trees, and roots,392 and thorns?"

3. For, in the first place, now more clearly showing his Epicurean views, he thinks that "thunder and lightning and rain are not works of God." And, secondly, he says that "if one were to grant that these are works of God, they exist no more for us men than they do for plants, and trees, and roots, and thorns"; thus, like a true Epicurean, allowing that they are the result of chance and not designed by Providence. If they are no more useful to men than they are to plants, and trees, roots, and thorns, it is clear that they are not the gift of Providence, or that they come from a Providence which no more provides for us than for trees, or a root, or a thorn. But the impiety is obvious whichever way you take it; and it is silly to oppose such views by withstanding a man who accuses us of impiety; for any one may see, from what has been said, who it is that is guilty of impiety. Then he adds, "Even if you say that these (he clearly means the plants,

|115

trees, roots, and thorns) grow for men, what reason is there for saying that they grow more for the sake of men than for the sake of the wildest irrational creatures?" I wish Celsus would tell us plainly that the great variety in the produce of the earth is not the work of Providence, but that a fortuitous concourse of atoms is the cause of so many qualities, and that we are indebted to chance for so many kinds of plants, and trees, and grass,393 resembling one another; and that no reason designed them to begin with, and that they do not spring from an infinitely marvellous understanding. But we Christian people, who are dedicated to the service of the Creator of these things, the only God, even herein find motives for gratitude to the Maker of them all, because He prepared so fair a home for us, and, for our sakes, for the animals which serve us; "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth; and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread that strengtheneth man's heart."

394 And if He also prepared food for the most savage beasts, it is no wonder; for these beasts, as some philosophers have maintained, were meant to be a training school for the rational creature. And one of our wise men somewhere says, "Say not, what is this? wherefore is that? for all things have been made for their uses"; and, "Say not, what is this? wherefore is that? for at time

convenient they shall be sought out."

395

4. After this, Celsus wishing to show that Providence has not made the things that grow upon the earth any more for us than for the most savage beasts, says, "We wear ourselves out with unceasing toil, and yet with all our labour hardly get a living; but everything grows for the beasts without their ploughing and sowing."

396 He does not see that because God wished man's intelligence everywhere to find a field for exercise, so that it might not remain idle and without some conception of the arts, He

|116

made man a creature of many wants, intending him to be driven by his very necessities to discover various arts, some for his sustenance, others for his protection. For it was better that men who were not likely to search and study Divine things should be in want, so that they should have to use their understanding in discovering these various arts, than that they should through abundance altogether neglect their understanding. One result of the scarcity of the necessaries of life was agriculture, another vine-dressing, another the different styles of gardening, another the crafts of the carpenter and the smith, which furnish tools to the arts which minister to man's sustenance. And the want of protection brought weaving, which followed wool-carding and spinning, and also building; and thus man's intelligence rose even to architecture. And the lack of necessaries led also to the transport of commodities from certain places, through seamanship and the shipmaster's skill, to those who were without them; so that for these reasons, as well as others, a man might marvel at Providence for having made the rational creature, to its advantage, more necessitous than the irrational creatures. For the irrational creatures have their food prepared for them, because they have no means of cultivating the arts; and they have a natural protection, for they are covered with hair, or wings, or horny scales, or shells.

5. But some advocate of the dignity of man, he tells us, may object that the irrational creatures were created for man's sake. "If any one should call us lords of creation because we hunt and feast on the other creatures, we will ask in return, Is it not nearer the truth to say that we exist for their sakes, because they hunt and devour us? The fact is we must have nets and weapons, and a lot of men, and dogs, to assist us in our sport, while nature gave them their own weapons as soon as they were born, thus making us an easy prey to them." Now here, again, you see how the gift of understanding is a great help to us, and better than any weapon which the wild beasts seem to have. We, at any rate, though our bodily strength is far less than that of the animals, and

|117

very far less than that of some of them, gain the mastery over them through our understanding, and hunt even such huge beasts as elephants. Some animals which were intended by nature to be domesticated, we tame by our gentleness; but in dealing with those which cannot be domesticated, or which it would appear useless to domesticate, we consult our own safety, and when we like we keep them shut up, or when we want them for food we kill them, just as we do the animals that are not wild. So then, the Creator has made all things to serve the rational creature, and to be in subjection to his rational intelligence. We want dogs for such purposes as guarding

the flocks, or cattle, or herds of goats, or our houses; and cattle for tilling the land; while we use other beasts for drawing vehicles or carrying loads. So we may say that lions and bears, pards and boars, and all such animals, are given to us to exercise and develop our manhood.

6. Then, in defiance of mankind, who perceive their own superiority over the irrational creatures, he says, "In reply to your contention, that God has given us the power to capture and make full use of the wild beasts, we shall take up this position. It is probable that before towns were built, or crafts invented, or such-like social arrangements were made, before weapons and nets were devised, men were carried off and devoured by the wild beasts, while the beasts were only by the rarest chance captured by men." Now, in answer to this, observe that even though men capture the beasts and the beasts carry off men, there is a wide difference between men who prevail by intelligence, and the beasts whose savage and cruel nature gives them the mastery over men, and who do not use their intelligence to secure safety from them. When Celsus makes the remark about a time when there were no towns, nor arts, nor such means of social intercourse, he must, I think, have forgotten what he said before to the effect that "the world was uncreated and incorruptible, and that only the dwellers upon earth were exposed to deluges and conflagrations, and that their

|118

misfortunes did not end there." 397 As it is not for those who suppose the world to be eternal to talk of its beginning, so neither may they speak of a time when there were no towns of any sort and arts had not been discovered. Now, for argument's sake, let us allow that he and we are herein agreed, though he is not at all consistent with himself in what he said before. But has this anything at all to do with men's being at the first captured and eaten by the wild beasts, while as yet the beasts were not captured by men? Certainly, if the world came into being through the wisdom of Providence, and God is ruler over all, the small sparks

398 of the human race must at first have been guarded by a higher power, so that at first there was intercourse between the Divine Nature and men. The poet of Ascra

399 thought so, for he said----

"Then the feasts were common, and seats 400 common, To immortal gods and mortal men."

7. And the Divine Word according to Moses, introducing the first men, makes them hear a more Divine voice, and oracles, and sometimes see the angels of God coming to visit them. It is surely probable that at the beginning of the world human nature received more assistance than afterwards; until such time as, having advanced in understanding, and the other manly qualities, and having discovered various arts, men were able to live independent lives, and did not continually need guardians and governors, with miraculous manifestation of the service rendered to the will of God. It is consequently false to say that at the beginning "men were caught and eaten by the beasts, but the beasts were hardly ever captured by men." And this shows the falsity also of what Celsus thus expresses: "So that in this respect at least God subjected men to the beasts, rather than beasts to men." For God did not subject men to the beasts, but God gave

|119

the beasts to be taken by the intelligence of men, and by the arts which intelligence suggests for their destruction. For not without God's help did men devise the means of saving themselves from the beasts, and of maintaining their dominion over them.

8. The noble critic, overlooking the fact that so many philosophers bring Providence into their arguments and affirm that it does everything for the sake of the rational creatures, does his best to destroy

401 their doctrines, which are of use in showing the agreement of Christian teaching and philosophy in these respects; nor does he perceive what an injury and hindrance it is to piety to accept the view that with God there is no difference between man and ants or bees. Because he does not observe this, Celsus says: "If men seem to excel the irrational creatures, inasmuch as they dwell in towns, and have some form of government, and magistracies, and authorities, it is nothing to the purpose, for ants and bees have all this as well. Bees, at any rate, have their queen with her followers and attendants; they have also their wars and victories and capture the vanquished; they have their towns and even suburbs, the division of labour, and courts for trying the idle and bad members of the community; anyway, they drive the drones away and punish them." Now here, again, Celsus has not seen where the difference lies between what is accomplished by thought and reason, and what results from an irrational nature and a creature's mere make. No original gift of reason in the creatures accounts for these doings, for they have not reason; but the Most Ancient One, He Who is both Son of God and King of the subject universe, has created an irrational nature which by its very lack of reason helps the creatures not deemed worthy of reason. Towns, then, arose among men along with many arts and a legal system; and forms of government, and magistracies, and human authorities, whether those which are properly so called because they secure good habits and

|120

activities, or those less properly so named, according as the former are imitated as far as possible; for it was by contemplating these habits and activities that legislators succeeded in establishing the best forms of government, magistracies, and authorities. But nothing like this can be found among the irrational creatures, though Celsus may transfer to ants and bees the names derived from reason, and institutions based on reason, "town," "government," "magistracies," "authorities." Even so we must not receive

402 ants or bees, for they do not reason when they thus act; but we must admire the Divine nature, extending as it does to irrational creatures what I may call the imitation of the rational, perhaps to put rational creatures to the blush; so that when they look at the ants, they may become more diligent and may husband their own blessings better; and when they observe the bees, they may obey their authorities, and may take their share in such duties of government as tend to promote the welfare of the citizens.

9. Perhaps the so-called "wars" of bees are intended as a lesson in just and regular warfare among men, if the necessity should arise. And bees have no "towns" and "suburbs"; but their hives and hexagonal cells, their works, and their division of labour, are for the sake of men, who require honey for many purposes, for the healing of their bodies and for wholesome food. And we must not compare the treatment of the drones by the bees to the courts for prosecuting the idlers and

bad characters in our towns, and to the punishments inflicted on them. But, as I said before, while we must admire the nature of the bees in these respects, we must allow that man is able to consider the details of everything, and to arrange everything, for he co-operates with Providence, and not only accomplishes the works of God's Providence, but also those of his own foresight.

10. After speaking of bees, so that as far as possible he may disparage the towns, forms of government, magistracies, authorities, and patriotic warfare, not only of us Christians but of mankind generally, Celsus proceeds to

|121

introduce an elaborate eulogy of ants, in order that by thus eulogising the ants he may upset the superiority of man in the management of his food supplies, and show his contempt for the provision which man makes for his winter quarters, as being nothing more than the irrational foresight of the ants where Celsus thinks they show it. Would not Celsus, so far as it depends upon him, turn any one of the simpler sort, and such as are not qualified to look into things all round, from helping a heavily-laden fellow-man, and from sharing his toil, by telling us that the ants when they see a fellow-ant labouring with a load help him to carry it? He who needs the instruction of the Word, and does not by any means give ear to it, will say, "It seems we are no better than the ants even when we help those who are weary with their heavy burdens; why go on doing so to no purpose?" Ants, indeed, since they are irrational creatures, would not be puffed up with pride because their works were compared to those of men; but men being able to learn through reason how their social life is belittled, might, if it depended on Celsus and his arguments, suffer injury; for Celsus does not see that in wishing to turn his readers from Christianity, he is also diverting the sympathy of those who are not Christians from the most heavily laden of his fellow-men. If he were a public-spirited philosopher, he ought not only to refrain from destroying at the same time both Christianity and the beneficent practices of human life, but he should, if possible, support the excellence which Christianity has in common with the rest of mankind. Supposing, however, that the ants do tear off the shoots of the corn they have in store, to prevent its swelling, so that it may last through the year for food, we must not imagine that this is the result of reasoning in ants, but must rather believe that Nature, mother of all things, has so constituted even irrational creatures as not to leave even the least without some trace of Nature's reason. It cannot be that Celsus----in a moment of forgetfulness, for in many things he likes to follow Plato----wishes to indicate that all souls are of

|122

the same kind, and that the soul of man no way differs from that of ants and bees; that would be not only to bring down the soul from the vaults of heaven to the human body, but also to everything else. Christians will not assent to these views, for they have already grasped the truth that man's soul was made in the image of God; and they see that it is impossible for a nature created in the image of God to altogether obliterate its characteristics, and take others, copies of I know not what, in irrational creatures.

11. And since Celsus says also that "when ants die the survivors choose a burial ground, and that there they have their family memorials," I must answer that the more he praises the irrational creatures, so much the more, in spite of himself, he exalts the work of that reason which ordered

403 all things, and shows the cleverness of man, which is able by reason to order the natural advantages of the irrational creatures. Why do I say "irrational," seeing that Celsus thinks that the creatures so named by the general consent of mankind are not irrational? Nor does he who promised to discuss the whole range of nature, and boasted of his truthfulness in the title of his book, think that ants, at all events, are without reason. For he speaks of ants talking to one another, and makes the following remarks: "It really is a fact that when they meet they talk to one another, and this is why they never miss their way; so then they have a full measure of reason, and some general notions, and a voice, know what accidents are, and express what they mean." It is indeed true that when two persons talk to one another they use a voice which expresses some meaning, and frequently describes what are called "accidents"; but would it not be very ridiculous to say we find that sort of thing in ants?

12. And he is not ashamed to add (that he may fully show the indecency of his opinions to those who shall come

|123

after him), "Come! if one were to look down from heaven upon the earth, what difference would there seem to be between the doings of us men and those of ants and bees?" Now picture a spectator looking down from heaven, as Celsus supposes, and seeing the doings of men and ants: does he look upon the bodies of men and ants, and not perceive that in men the ruling principle is rational and set in action by reasoning power, and that, on the contrary, in ants the ruling principle is irrational, set in action without the help of reason, by impulse and fancy, along with some secret contrivance of nature? But it is absurd to suppose that any one who saw from heaven what is done upon earth should wish to look upon the bodies of men and ants from such a distance, and not be much more desirous to see the nature of the ruling principles and the source of impulses, whether rational or irrational. And if he once sees the source of all impulses, he will of course see also the difference, and the superiority of man not only to ants but also to elephants. For the spectator from heaven will discover in the irrational creatures, whatever their size, no other principle than, if I may so call it, irrationality; while in the rational creatures he will see reason, the common property of all men, and of beings heavenly and Divine, and perhaps also of the Supreme God Himself; and it is on account of reason that man is said to have been made in the image of God, for reason is the image of the Supreme God Himself.

404

13. Next, as if he were doing his utmost to degrade the human race and make it resemble irrational natures, and as if he were reluctant to give up anything at all related of irrational creatures which shows their dignity, he says that some of them have magical powers as well as men; so that not even in this respect can men claim special distinction, or dream of having superiority over the brute creation. This is what he tells us: "If men pique themselves on magic, the fact is that serpents and eagles are wiser than men in this respect

|124

also; they, at all events, are acquainted with many antidotes and means of averting mischief, and specially with the virtue of certain stones in saving their nestlings; when men come upon these stones they think they have got hold of something wonderful." Now, in the first place, I cannot

understand how he applies the name "magic" to the, shall we say? experience, or kind of instinct the animals have in using the antidotes which nature provides, for the name has another familiar application; it may be that he forgets himself, and, like a true Epicurean, wishes to disparage the use of such arts altogether because it belongs to the profession of magic. However, let us grant that men do pride themselves on their knowledge of these things, whether they are magicians or not. Does it follow that serpents are wiser on this showing than men, because they use fennel to clear their sight and quicken their movements, the truth being that they take this natural remedy not because they calculate (the effect), but because they are so constituted? Men do not arrive at such methods, like serpents, through the mere promptings of nature, but partly by experiment, partly by reason, and sometimes by calculation and by following the rules of science. Even supposing that eagles do find and carry to the nest what is called the "eagle stone" to keep their nestlings safe, does it follow that eagles are wise, or wiser than men, who because they have the faculty of reason, discover by experiment what is given to the eagles as a natural remedy, and use it intelligently? Suppose that other antidotes come to be known by the animals, is this any proof that in them it is not nature but reason that makes the discovery? If reason made the discovery, there would not have been one discovery, or two or three, confined to snakes, and something different among eagles, and so on with the other creatures; the discoveries would have been as numerous as they are among men. But the fact that the remedies are exclusively adapted to the particular nature of each animal, shows that the animals have not wisdom or

|125

reason, but that for their good they are naturally disposed to such remedies through the creative power of the Divine reason.405

14. If, indeed, I wished to join issue with Celsus on these lines, I might quote the words of Solomon in the Proverbs: "There be four things which be little upon the earth, but they are exceedingly wise: the ants are a people not strong, yet they provide their meat in the summer; the conies are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks; the locusts have no king, yet go they forth all of them by bands at one word of command; the lizard taketh hold with her hands, and though easily taken, yet is she in the strongholds of kings."

406 But the words are not clear, and I therefore do not avail myself of them; in accordance with the title of the book (it is called "Proverbs ") I regard them as "dark sayings" and look for the meaning. For the inspired writers are wont to distinguish the many ways of conveying a deeper meaning than the literal, and one of them is the Proverb. Hence it is that even in our Gospels our Saviour is reported to have said, "These things have I spoken unto you in proverbs: the hour cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs."

407 Now it is not the ants we see that are wiser than the wise, but the ants proverbially indicated. And we say the same of the other animals. But Celsus thinks the books of Jesus and Christians are very simple common-place productions, and he supposes that they who treat them allegorically do violence to the meaning of the writers. Let this suffice to show how futile it is for Celsus to slander us; and let it be the reputation of his argument to prove that snakes and eagles are wiser than men.

15. And wishing to show at still greater length that even man's conceptions of God are no more remarkable than the mortal side of his nature, but that some of the irrational creatures have thoughts of God, concerning Whom the acutest thinkers everywhere, Greek and

|126

Barbarian, have entertained such discordant opinions, he says, "If man because he has got hold of some Divine thoughts is supposed to surpass other animals, let me remind those who are of this opinion that many other animals will put in a claim to the same thing; and with very good reason; for what is more Divine than to foreknow and foreshow the future? Well, men learn the art from other animals, and specially from birds; and as many as profess to know what they point out are Soothsayers. Now, if birds, or any other oracular creatures gifted by God with foreknowledge, teach us by signs, it seems that they have naturally a closer intercourse with God, and are wiser than men and dearer to God. And intelligent men tell us that the birds have their assemblies, obviously more sacred than ours; and, further, that somehow or other they discover what the birds say, and that they give real proof of the discovery whenever they previously declare what the birds said, viz. that the birds would go away to some place and do this and that, and then show that the birds did go there and do what they foretold. And as for elephants, nothing could surpass their fidelity to oaths or be truer to Divine things, just because, I suppose, they have some knowledge of God." Now, here observe how often he begs the question, and takes for granted what is still speculative matter, the fact being that both Greeks and Barbarians have either discovered, or learned from certain demons, the ways of birds and other creatures, from which they are said to derive their powers of divination. In the first place, it is open to question whether there is any such art of augury, and, in general, any basis for divination by means of animals, or not. Secondly, among those who admit that there is an art of divination through birds, it is not agreed as to why the divination takes that form; for some say that it is from demons or gods of divination that the animals receive their impulses, the birds to different flights and cries, the other animals to such and such movements; while others hold that the souls of these animals are more

|127

divine than others, and are adapted to the purpose; which is most improbable.

16. If Celsus wished to prove by the foregoing that the irrational creatures have a Divine nature and are wiser than man, he ought to have fully shown that there is such an art as divination; then, he should have more clearly shown how it can be defended; then have given clear grounds for rejecting the arguments of those who would do away with such arts; and, lastly, should have decisively upset the arguments of those who say that it is from demons or gods the animals derive their divination impulses. Then would be the time for dealing with the question, whether the soul of irrational creatures is more Divine than that of men. If he had thus shown a philosophic spirit in treating such important matters, we would have withstood his plausible assertions to the best of our power; we would have upset his statement that the irrational creatures are wiser than men, and we would have proved how false it is that they have more sacred conceptions of God than we have, and that they hold certain sacred assemblies.408 But, as things are, the man who reproaches us with believing in the Supreme God expects us to believe that the souls of birds have more divine and clearer conceptions than men. If this be indeed true, birds have clearer conceptions of God than Celsus has, and no wonder if they surpass Celsus who so belittles man.

Celsus certainly does his best to make it look as though the birds have greater and diviner conceptions, I do not say than we Christians have, or the Jews, who use the same Scriptures as ourselves, but than even the Greeks had, who treated of God and the Divine nature, for they were men. So, according to Celsus, the race of divining birds, forsooth, understand the nature of God better than Pherecydes,409 and Pythagoras, and Socrates, and Plato. And it seems that we must go and be taught by the birds, in order that, as, according to Celsus, they teach us by

|128

means of divination what is going to happen, so they may also rid men of their doubts respecting the Divine Being, by passing on the clear conception of Him to which they have attained. It follows that Celsus, holding as he does that birds are superior to men, should go to the birds for instruction, and not to one of those distinguished Greek philosophers.

17. But we must add a few remarks, out of many, in answer to the foregoing, for we wish to utterly refute the false opinions of Celsus and prove his ingratitude to his Maker; for Celsus, being a man, and being in honour, understandeth not;410 wherefore, he is not even like the birds and other irrational creatures which he considers to have the gift of divination; but yielding them the preeminence, he goes further than the Egyptians, who worship the irrational creatures as gods, and places himself, and, so far as he can, the whole human race, beneath the irrational creatures, for he believes that men have lower and meaner conceptions of God. Let our inquiry, then, be chiefly directed to the point whether there really is, or is not, an art of divination by birds, and the other animals believed to be "divining," for both ways the argument is to be treated with respect; on the one hand, it presses us not to accept any such thing as divination, lest the rational creatures should forsake the oracles of demons and resort to birds; on the other hand, it brings much clear evidence to show that many people have been preserved from the greatest dangers because they believed in divination by birds. For our present purpose let us allow that augury is a reality: my object is to show any persons who are prepossessed in its favour, that even if this is conceded, the superiority of man over the irrational creatures, and over the very creatures with powers of divination, is incomparably great. Let me then say that even though there were in them a Divine nature capable of predicting the future, and so passing rich, that out of its superfluity it could disclose the future to any man who

|129

wished to know it, we must suppose that these creatures would much sooner know their own affairs. But if they knew their own affairs they would have taken care not to fly to any place where men set snares and nets to catch them, or archers make them a target and shoot them on the wing. And certainly, if eagles knew beforehand the designs upon their young ones, whether of serpents climbing to them and killing them, or of men trying to take them either for sport or to serve some other purpose, they would not have made their nests where they were likely to be exposed to these attacks; and, in general, not a single living creature could ever have been captured by men, inasmuch as it was more Divine and wiser than men.

18. Moreover, if birds of omen converse with one another;411 if, as Celsus says, the divining birds and the other irrational creatures having a Divine nature and conceptions of God, and having the knowledge of the future, disclosed this knowledge to others, the sparrow in Homer would not have

made her nest where the serpent would destroy her and her little ones; and the serpent would not, as the same poet relates, have failed to guard itself against being caught by the eagle. Homer, that marvellous poet, thus tells the story of the sparrow----

"Behold a wonder! by Olympian Jove Sent forth to light, a snake, with blood-red back, Of aspect fearful, issuing from beneath The altars, glided to the plane-tree straight.

There on the topmost bough, beneath the leaves Cowering, a sparrow's callow nestlings lay;

Eight fledglings, and the parent bird the ninth.

All the eight nestlings, uttering piercing cries, The snake devoured; and as the mother flew, Lamenting o'er her offspring, round and round, Uncoiling, caught her, shrieking, by the wing!

Then, when the sparrow's nestlings and herself The snake had swallowed, by the God, who first Sent him to light, a miracle was wrought: For Jove, the deep-designing Saturn's son, Turned him to stone; we stood, and wondering gazed."412 |130

Respecting the eagle he says----

"A soaring eagle in his talons bore A dragon, huge of size, of blood-red line, Alive, and breathing still, nor yet subdued;

For, twisting backward, through the breast he pierced His bearer, near the neck; he, stung with pain, Let fall his prey, which dropped amid the crowd;

Then screaming, on the blast was borne away. The Trojans, shuddering, in their midst beheld The spotted serpent, dire portent of Jove." 413

Shall we say that the eagle was a divining bird, but that the serpent, though the augurs make use of the creature, had not the gift of divination? The arbitrary distinction is easily refuted, and is not the supposition that both had the gift easily disproved? Would not the serpent, if he had possessed divining power, have taken care that the eagle did not treat him so? One might produce countless other instances to show that the animals have not in themselves a divining soul. But, as the poet says, and most men agree, "Olympian Jove himself sent him to the light";

414 and if Apollo also uses a hawk as his messenger, something symbolical is intended, for a falcon is said to be Apollo's swift messenger.415

19. Our view is that certain worthless demons (Titans or Giants, if I may say so), having sinned against the true God and the angels in heaven, and, having fallen from heaven, wallow in the grosser bodily existences and the unclean things of earth; they have some insight into the future, and inasmuch as they are not encumbered with earthly bodies, and are set on that sort of thing (for they desire to seduce the human race from their allegiance to the real God), they conceal themselves in the more rapacious and savage beasts, and others of a craftier kind, and make them at any time do what they choose; or they turn the fancies of such creatures to such and such nights and movements; so that men, caught in the snare of that divining power which is in the irrational creatures, may

|131

not seek Him Who embraceth all, nor try to discover the pure form of worship, but may sink by their speculations to the level of the birds and serpents upon earth, and still lower to foxes and wolves. For it has been observed by the experts that the clearest indications of the future are given through such creatures as these; it may be because the demons cannot so fully "possess" the gentler animals as they can the wild ones, which they closely resemble in wickedness, though the wickedness is not really wickedness in such animals.

20. And nothing in Moses appears to me more marvellous than what I am about to mention. Because he understands the different natures of animals, and has either learnt from God the facts about them and the demons which have affinity with each, or has by exercising his own wisdom made the discovery, all the animals which he classifies as unclean are those considered by the Egyptians and the rest of mankind to be connected with divination, while those not so connected are, generally speaking, clean animals. Amongst the unclean Moses places the wolf, the fox, the serpent, the eagle, the hawk, and such-like.416 And, speaking generally, you will find, not only in the Law but in the Prophets, that these animals are taken to represent the worst qualities, while there is no instance of a wolf or a fox being mentioned in connection with anything good. There seems to be, then, a fellowship between such kind of demons and each kind of animals. And as among men some are stronger than others, and not at all on account of their moral character: so some demons in things indifferent may be stronger than others; and some of them may use certain animals to deceive men, according to the pleasure of him who in the words of our Scriptures is called "the prince of this world";417 and different ones may show the future by means of another kind of animal. And observe that the demons are so filthy that even weasels are seized by them for revealing the future. Now judge for yourself which

|132

is the best view to take, that God over All, and His Son, impel the birds and other creatures for divination, or that they who give the impulse to such animals, and not to men, though men are present, are worthless, and, as our sacred Scriptures call them, "unclean" demons.

21. But if the soul of birds is really Divine because the future is foretold by means of them, must we not much more admit that wherever omens are received by men, the soul of the medium through which the omens are heard is Divine? According to such teachers as these, we must believe that the slave in Homer who ground the corn was "divine"; for, speaking of the suitors, she said----

"Would that they might eat their last meal here!" 418

She was "divine": the great Ulysses, the friend of Homer's Athene, was not "divine," but understanding the omens given by the "divine" slave he rejoiced; in the words of the poet, "The noble Ulysses rejoiced at the omen."

419 Again, observe that if the birds really have a Divine soul and perceptions of God, or, as Celsus says, "the gods," when we men sneeze, we sneeze, of course, because we have a certain divinity and divining faculty of soul. For many testify to this; and the poet accordingly says----

"Telemachus sneezed as the prayer was offered." 420

Wherefore, also, Penelope says----

"Do you not see that my son sneezed as you spoke?"

22. The true God, however, in imparting a knowledge of the future employs neither irrational creatures nor ordinary men, but the holiest and purest souls of men, such as He inspires with prophetic power. And this explains why amongst the other wonderful precepts of the law of Moses we must place such prohibitions as "Ye shall not practise augury, nor observe birds."

421 And in another place, "For the nations, which the Lord thy

|133

God shall destroy from before thy face, will hearken to omens and divinations; but the Lord thy God gave not so unto thee."

422 And elsewhere, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from among thy brethren."

423 On one occasion God wished by means of an augur to turn His people from the practice of augury, and therefore caused a spirit in the augur to say, "Surely there is no augury with Jacob, nor is there divination with Israel; at the due season shall it be told to Jacob and to Israel, what God will perform."

424 Just because we are acquainted with these and similar passages, we wish to observe the mystical command, "Keep thy heart with all diligence,"

425 lest some demon usurp the throne of reason, or some hostile spirit turn our imagination to follow his desires. And we pray that "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God"

426 may shine in our hearts, the Spirit of God dwelling in our imagination and impressing on us the things of God; "for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."

427

23. And we ought to know that the knowledge of the future is not necessarily Divine: for in itself it is a thing indifferent, and is found among both bad and good men. Physicians, at all events, by their medical knowledge know certain things beforehand, though they may be men of bad character; and so, also, shipmasters, though they may be rascals, know the signs of the weather, tempestuous winds, and atmospheric changes, through their peculiar experience and observation. I suppose no one will say that because they have this knowledge they are "divine," no matter what rascals they are. So then, when Celsus says, "What can be pronounced more Divine than to foreknow and foreshow the future?" he implies what is false. It is also false that "many of the animals have claims to Divine conceptions," for no irrational creature has a conception of God. It is also false that "the irrational creatures have

|134

a closer intimacy with God"; for the fact is that bad men, however high their attainments, are far from intimacy with God. We maintain that only the truly wise and the sincerely godly approach at all near to intimacy with God: such men as our Prophets and Moses, to whom on account of the great purity of his character the Word has borne witness, saying, "Moses alone shall draw near to God, the rest shall not draw nigh."

428 Is it not impiety for the man who accuses us of impiety, to say that "the irrational creatures are not only wiser than man, but are also dearer to God?" And who would not shrink from heeding a man who says that the serpent, the fox, the wolf, the eagle, and the hawk are dearer to God than human kind? He will have to admit that if these creatures are dearer to God than men, these same creatures are obviously dearer to God than Socrates, and Plato, and Pythagoras, and Pherecydes, and the other exponents of God and the Divine nature, whose praises he sang not long before. One might really offer up a prayer for Celsus, and say, "If these creatures are dearer to God than men, may you be as dear to God as they are, and may you come to resemble those creatures which, according to you, are dearer to God than men!" And let him not suppose that such a prayer is really an imprecation; for who would not pray that he may become altogether such as they who, he is persuaded, are dearer to God than others, so that he, like them, may become dear to God?

24. And wishing to show that the assemblies of the irrational creatures are more sacred than ours, Celsus ascribes what he relates, not to ordinary mortals, but to "intelligent" men; though in truth only the good are intelligent, for no bad man is intelligent. Well, he speaks after this fashion: "Intelligent men say that the creatures have their assemblies, obviously more sacred than ours; and that they somehow discover what is said and show that they actually have the knowledge, inasmuch as they announce beforehand that the birds said they would go

|135

away and do this or that, and then show that they did go away and do what they had already foretold." In reality, no "intelligent" person tells such stories, and no wise man says that the assemblies of the irrational creatures are more sacred than those of men. If, however, for the sake of testing the statements of Celsus, we examine what they lead to, it appears, according to him, that the assemblies of the irrational creatures are more sacred than those of the venerable Pherecydes, Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, and the Philosophers in general, which, on the face of it, is not only unseemly, but most absurd. But if we are to believe that certain men, who have derived their information from the inarticulate cry of the birds, announce beforehand that the birds will go to some place and do this or that, we shall maintain that the information has been given to men by demons through certain signs, for the purpose of men being deceived by demons, and their understanding dragged down from heaven and from God to earth and places lower still.

25. I do not know how Celsus came to hear tell of an oath being taken by elephants, and that they show more fidelity towards the Divine Being than we men, and that they have a knowledge of God. I know a good many marvellous stories about the animal and its docility, but I am not aware that any one has spoken of an elephant's oaths, unless, perhaps, Celsus calls their docility and the sort of covenant they make once for all with men, the keeping of an oath; but that again is absurd. There are instances, though rare, of elephants, after seeming to be tamed, fiercely attacking men and killing them, and of their being therefore condemned to death as of no further use. And. to prove his point, as he thinks, that the stork has more piety than men, our opponent adduces what is related about its loving and cherishing its parents and bringing them food. I must therefore add that even this conduct of the storks does not proceed from a regard to what is right, nor from reasoning, but from nature, it

|136

being nature's aim in fashioning them, to set an example in irrational creatures strong enough to shame men into showing gratitude to their parents. If Celsus had known the vast difference between doing these things with the aid of reason and doing them without the aid of reason, and by the mere impulses of nature, he would never have said that storks have more piety than men. Further, as if determined to uphold the piety of irrational creatures, Celsus adduces the fable of the Arabian creature, the Phoenix, which is said to visit Egypt at long intervals, and to bring its father, dead and buried in a globe of myrrh, and deposit the remains at the temple of the Sun. Now, even supposing what is here related to be true, it may be the result of natural processes; for Divine Providence has even in the different constitutions of living creatures given proof to man of the rich variety to be found in the ordering of the world, a variety extending even to the birds; and it brought into being a unique creature, not that men might marvel at the creature, but at its Creator.

26. To all this Celsus adds the following: "Just as all things have not been made for the sake of lion, eagle, or dolphin, so neither have they for the sake of man; but the aim was that this world, as God's work, might be a complete and perfect unity;429 and this is why all the parts have been proportioned, not to one another, except in a secondary sense, but to the whole, and God cares for the whole; and Providence never forsakes it, nor does it degenerate, nor does God in process of time turn it again to Himself, nor is He angry on account of men any more than on account of apes or flies; nor does He threaten these creatures, each of which has in its turn received its appointed lot." Let us, if only briefly, meet these allegations. I suppose I have already said enough to show how everything has been made for man, and for every rational creature; for it is chiefly on account of the rational creature that everything has been created. Celsus may tell us that the world exists no

|137

more for man than it does for the lion, or the other creatures which he mentions; hut we shall maintain that the Creator has made these things not for the lion, the eagle, or the dolphin, but all things for the sake of the rational creature; and this is so, in the words of Celsus, "in order that this world may be, as God's work, a complete and perfect unity"; for we must acknowledge the good sense of this. But God's care is not merely universal, as Celsus thinks, but while He cares for the whole, He has a special care for every rational creature. And a general Providence will never fail; for it is His plan, even though there be a general deterioration because of the sinning rational portion, to purify all creation, and in process of time to turn it back to Himself. It is true that God is never angry on account of apes and flies; but inasmuch as men have transgressed the promptings of nature,430 He brings upon them judgment and chastisement, and threatens them through the Prophets and the Saviour Who came to save the whole human race; that through His threatening they who hear may be turned, and they who neglect the words intended to turn them may fitly pay the penalty which it is proper that God should, according to His own will, and as is expedient for the whole, inflict on those who need such painful treatment and correction. But our fourth book is now large enough, and we will therefore here end the discourse. God grant through His Son, Who is God the Word, and Wisdom, and Truth, and Righteousness, and whatsoever else the sacred Scriptures say of His Divinity, that we may begin the fifth volume to the profit of our readers, and finish it well, with the help of His Word abiding in our soul!

CHAP. XXI. ----Of Free Will, with an explanation and interpretation of those sayings of Scripture which seem to destroy it; such as the following:---- a. "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh." b. "I will take away their stony hearts, and will give |138 them hearts of flesh, that they may walk in my statutes and keep mine ordinances." c. "That seeing they may not see, and hearing they may hear and not understand, lest haply they should turn again, and it should be forgiven them." d. "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy." e. "It is of God both to will and to do" f."So then he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth."

1. Since the doctrine of a righteous judgment of God forms part of 431

the preaching of the Church, and that doctrine if believed to be true stimulates the hearers, of course consenting that praiseworthy or blameworthy conduct is in our own power, to live good lives and by all means to avoid sin, come let us briefly discuss a few points connected with Free Will, for the subject is of the utmost importance. And that we may understand what Free Will is, I must unfold the meaning of it, so that when this is cleared up the question may be accurately stated. Now of things that move, some have the cause of motion in themselves, while those of a different kind are moved only from without. To this latter class belong portable things only, for example, wood and stones, and all matter which is held together by its constitution only.432 And on this occasion we will not apply the term "motion" to the flux of bodies, for it is not necessary for our purpose. But animals, plants, and generally whatever is held together by a natural soul,433 including metals, as some say, have the cause of motion in themselves. Besides these, fire is self-moved, and so perhaps are fountains. And of

|139

things which have the cause of motion in themselves, some are said to be moved of 434 themselves, others by themselves; lifeless things of themselves, living things by themselves. And the living things are moved by themselves when there arises within them a phantasy, that is, a desire or feeling,435 which calls forth an instinct. And, again, in certain of the living creatures the phantastic nature not only calls forth an instinct, but does so regularly; for instance, in the spider a "phantasy" of weaving arises and the instinct to weave follows, its phantastic nature regularly urging it to do so, the creature having been entrusted with nothing more than its phantastic nature; and in the bee the instinct is to make cells of wax.

2. The rational creature, however, in addition to its phantastic nature has reason, which distinguishes between the phantasies, rejecting some, approving others, so that the creature may be guided accordingly. Now it is the nature of reason to have promptings to the contemplation of virtue and vice; and if, yielding to these promptings, we choose the former and shun the latter, we deserve praise for devoting ourselves to the practice of virtue, or blame if we take the opposite course. We must not, however, fail to remark that, though for the most part

436 the nature of animals is adapted to all their needs, it is so in varying degrees, sometimes more, sometimes less; so that hounds in hunting and horses in war are not, if I may say so, far from the rational creature. Now, whether something external shall chance to excite this or that phantasy in us, confessedly does not rest with us; but it is for reason and nothing else to decide whether we shall use what has happened in a particular way or otherwise, reason either urging us, according to its promptings, to follow our better and nobler instincts, or misleading us so that we

do the reverse.|140

3. If any one says that the outward world is so constituted that one cannot resist it, let him study his own feelings and movements, and see whether there are not some plausible motives to account for his approval and assent, and the inclination of his reason to a particular object. To take an illustration, suppose a man to have made up his mind to exercise self-control and refrain from sexual intercourse, and then let a woman come upon the scene and solicit him to act contrary to his resolution; she is not cause sufficient to make him break his resolution. It is just because he likes the luxury and softness of the pleasure, and is unwilling to resist it, or stand firm in his determination, that he indulges in the licentious practice. On the contrary, the same thing may happen to a man of greater knowledge and better disciplined; he will not escape the sensations and incitements; but his reason, inasmuch as it is strengthened and nourished by exercise, and has firm convictions on the side of virtue, or is near to having them, stops the excitements short and gradually weakens the lust.

4. Now, when the facts stand thus, to excuse ourselves by putting the blame on outward things, declaring ourselves to be like wood and stone drawn hither and thither by the outward things that move them, is neither truth nor candour, and no one but a man who wishes to give a false conception of Free Will would make such a statement. For if we were to ask him what Free Will is, he would say that my will is free when I purpose to do something, and nothing from without opposes and incites to the contrary. And again, on the other hand, to blame our mere natural constitution

437 is absurd; for reason takes and teaches the most licentious and savage men, if they will but follow her exhortation, and changes them, so that the exhortation is very efficacious, and the change for the better very great; and the most licentious men frequently surpass in goodness those who do not at first seem likely to be licentious by nature, while the most savage men change

|141

and become so gentle, that men who were never so savage as they, seem savage in comparison with some individual who has adopted gentler ways. On the other hand, we see men of a different type, men of the utmost steadiness and gravity,438 turning aside to low amusements, and thus stripped of their steadiness and gravity; so that they change to licentiousness, oftentimes beginning this licentiousness in middle life, and falling into disorderly ways after that, in the natural course of things, the unsteadiness of youth has passed away. Reason then shows that outward things are not in our own power, but that it is our business to make reason inquire and judge how we ought to meet any particular combination of circumstances, and turn it to account this way or the contrary.

5. That it is our business to lead a good life, and that God asks this of us, inasmuch as it does not depend on Him, and does not come from some different god, or, as some suppose, from fate, but is a matter for ourselves, the prophet Micah will testify, when he says, "Was it shewed thee, O man, what is good? What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, and love mercy, and to be ready to walk with the Lord thy God?"

439 And Moses, "I have set before thee the way of life and the way of death. Choose the good, and walk therein."

440 And Esaias, "If ye be willing, and will hearken unto me, ye shall eat the good of the land; but if you refuse, and will not hearken unto me, the sword shall devour you: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

441 And in the Psalms, "Oh that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways! I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against those that oppress them":442 which shows that it was in the power of the people to hearken and walk in the ways of God. And the Saviour says, "But I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil";443 and, "That every one who is angry

|142

with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment";444 and, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

445 And if He gives any other commandments, He speaks on the supposition that it is in our power to keep what is enjoined; and with good reason, if we are to be in danger of the judgment for transgressing them. Whence also He says, "Every one which heareth these words of mine, and doeth them, shall be likened unto a wise man, which built his house upon the rock"; and so on. "But he that heareth and doeth not, is likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand";446 and so on. And, speaking to those on the right hand, "Come, ye blessed of my Father," and so forth; "for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink";447 which shows very clearly that because they deserve to be praised He gives them the promises. And, on the contrary, He says to the others, because in comparison with them they deserved to be blamed, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire."

448 And let us see how Paul also discourses to us on the supposition that we have Free Will and are ourselves responsible for being lost or saved. "Or despisest thou," he says,449 "the riches of his goodness and forbearance and longsuffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up for thyself wrath in the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his works: to them that by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honour and incorruption, eternal life: but unto them that are factious, and obey not the truth, but obey unrighteousness, shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that worketh evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Greek; but glory and honour and peace

|143

to every man that worketh good, to the Jew first and also to the Greek." There are, indeed, countless passages in the Scriptures which very clearly support the doctrine of Free Will.

6. But since certain passages in the Old Testament and in the New tend to the opposite conclusion, viz. that it is not in our power to keep the commandments and be saved, or to transgress them and perish, let us in turn take some of these, and look at the explanations of them; so that a reader studying our examples may similarly pick out for himself all the passages which seem to destroy Free Will, and may consider the way to explain them. No doubt what is related of Pharaoh, concerning whom God says repeatedly, "I will harden Pharaoh's heart,"

450 has troubled many. For if he is hardened by God, and sins because he is hardened, he does not cause himself to sin, nor, if this is so, is Pharaoh a free agent; and similarly, some one will say that the perishing are not free agents, and that their perishing will not be their own doing. Again, in Ezekiel it is said, "I will take away their stony hearts, and will give them hearts of flesh: that they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances."

451 This is disturbing, for it seems to say that God gives the power to walk in the statutes and to keep the ordinances, inasmuch as He has taken away that which hinders, viz. the stony heart, and has put in them something better, the heart of flesh. Let us look, too, at the passage in the Gospel, where the Saviour replies to those who asked why He spoke to the multitude in parables. "That," He says, "seeing they may not perceive; and hearing they may not understand; lest haply they should turn again, and it should be forgiven them."

452 Further, in Paul we find, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy."

453 And elsewhere, "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do."

454 And in another place, "So then |144

he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he still find fault? For who withstandeth his will?"

455 And "This persuasion 456

is of him that calleth and not of ourselves." 457

"Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? " 458

And again, "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why didst thou make me thus? Or hath not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?" This in itself is surely enough to greatly trouble most readers, and give the impression that man is not a free agent, but that God saves and destroys whomsoever He wishes.

7. Let us begin, then, with what is said about Pharaoh's being hardened by God, so that he might not let the people go; and with this shall also be examined the apostolic statement, "So then he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth."

459 And since some heterodox thinkers use these passages, themselves almost destroying Free Will, for the sake of introducing perishing natures incapable of being saved, and different natures which are being saved, because they cannot possibly be lost; and since they say that Pharaoh being of a perishing nature was therefore hardened by God, Who hath mercy on the spiritual, but hardeneth the earthy; come, let us see what it is they mean. We will ask them if Pharaoh was of an earthy nature; and if they answer "Yes," we will tell them that the man with an earthy nature is altogether disobedient to God; and if he be thus disobedient, what need is there for hardening his heart, and this not once but many times? Unless perhaps (seeing that it was possible for him to obey, and he certainly would have obeyed, inasmuch as he was not earthy, because he was put to shame by the signs and wonders) God wanted him still more disobedient for the sake of showing

forth mighty deeds to the saving of the

|145

many, and therefore hardened his heart. This shall be our first argument against them in order to overthrow their assumption that Pharaoh was of a perishing nature. And we shall give the same answer respecting the Apostle's statement. Does God really harden any? Does He harden the perishing, because He believes that they will be partially obedient unless they are hardened? or, forsooth, those who would be saved, because they have not a perishing nature? And on whom hath He mercy? Is it on those who will be saved? But what need have they of a second mercy, seeing that once for all they have been so fashioned that they will be saved, and that they are certain to be blessed on account of their nature? Unless, perhaps, since it is possible for them to perish if they have not mercy shown them, they have mercy shown them, so that they may not incur destruction to which they are liable, but may come to be numbered with those who are being saved. This is our reply to those men.

8. But we must raise another question in reply to those who think they understand the word "harden." What do they mean by saying that God by His operation hardens the heart, and what is His object in so doing? Let them, at all events, keep to a conception of God consistent with His being really just and good. If they object to this, let us for the present waive the point, and only say just; and I invite them to show how the good and just God, or the just God, to say no more, manifests His justice by hardening the heart of a man who is perishing through being hardened; and how the just God can be the cause of a man's disobedience and destruction, seeing that men are punished by Him for their hardness and because they do not obey Him? And why does God also blame Pharaoh, saying, "Thou wilt not let my people go.460 Behold, I smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, and thy first-born";461 and whatever else is recorded as spoken by God to Pharaoh through the mouth of Moses. Any fair-minded man who believes that the Scriptures are

|146

true, and that God is just, must do his best to show how in using such expressions God is clearly understood to be just; for if any one should have the effrontery to stand up and denounce the Creator for His wickedness,462 we should want other arguments to answer him. But since our opponents say they are disposed to regard Him as just, and we regard Him as both just and good, let us consider how the good and just God could harden the heart of Pharaoh.

9. Let us see, then, whether an illustration which the Apostle used in the Epistle to the Hebrews will help us to show how by one operation God hath mercy on whom He will, and hardens whom He will; not that God intends to harden: God's purpose is merciful; but the hardening is a result thereof, through man's inherent wickedness, and God is therefore said to harden him that is hardened. "The land," he says, "which hath drunk the rain that cometh upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them for whose sake it is also tilled, receiveth blessing from God: but if it beareth thorns and thistles, it is rejected and nigh unto a curse; whose end is to be burned."

463 So then, in respect of the rain there is one operation; but while there is one operation in respect of the rain, the land which is tilled bears fruit, and the land which is neglected and barren bears thorns. It would sound harsh for the sender of the rain to say, "I made the fruits and the thorns to grow that are in the land"; but however harsh it might sound, it would nevertheless be

true. For if there had been no rain, there would have been neither fruits nor thorns; but because there were seasonable and moderate rains, both fruits and thorns grew. It is the land which hath drunk the rain that cometh frequently upon it, and beareth thorns and thistles, that is rejected and nigh unto a curse. So then, the blessing of the rain came also upon the inferior land; but it was the inherent badness of the land, left uncared for and uncultivated, which caused thorns and

|147

thistles to grow. Similarly, God's marvellous doings are, as it were, the rain; but men's different purposes

464 are, as it were, the cultivation or neglect of the land; the nature of the land is one and the same.

10. Suppose the sun were to speak and say, "I melt and dry up." Melting and drying up are the contraries of one another, but it would not speak falsely, because of the subject matter:465 wax being melted, and clay dried up, by one and the same heat. Similarly, the one operation of God by means of Moses proved the hardening of Pharaoh on account of his evil disposition, and the obedience of the mixed multitudes of the Egyptians who went out with the Hebrews. And the brief statement that the heart of Pharaoh was somewhat softened, inasmuch as he said, "Only ye shall not go very far away: ye shall go a three days' journey, but leave your wives";

466 and whatever else he said, slightly yielding to the marvellous deeds of Moses, shows that the signs produced some effect upon him, but not the full effect. Now there would not have been even this degree of softening, if, as is thought by the many, the meaning of "I will harden Pharaoh's heart" is that the hardening was effected by God Himself. And it is not absurd to tone down the harshness of such expressions as we do in common life. It often happens that kind masters say to their servants, who are being ruined by their kindness and forbearance, "I have spoiled you"; "I am to blame for such and such offences." We ought to attend to the nature and force of what is said, and not quibble because we do not plainly catch the meaning of the expression. Paul, at any rate, no doubt after careful inquiry, says to the sinner, "Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance?

467 But, after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up for thyself wrath in the day of wrath and revelation

|148

of the righteous judgment of God." Now, let us suppose that what the Apostle says to the sinner is addressed to Pharaoh, and we see how well the declaration would suit him; for after his hardness and impenitent heart he was treasuring up for himself wrath; and his hardness would not have been so clearly proved, nor have been so manifest, if the signs had not been wrought, or, if they had been wrought, but had not been so many and so great.

11. But since such interpretations are far from convincing and are thought to be forced, let us look at the word of Prophecy, and see what the many say who have experienced the abundant goodness of God though they may not have lived good lives, but afterwards sinned: "O Lord, why dost thou make us to err from thy way? Wherefore hardenest thou our heart that we fear not thy

name? Return for thy servants' sake, the tribes of thine inheritance, that for a little while we may inherit thy holy mount."

468 And in Jeremiah, "O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed."

469 For when the suppliants for mercy say, "Wherefore hardenest thou our heart that we fear not thy name?",470 the meaning is, in effect, something like this: "Wherefore didst thou spare us so long, not visiting us to take vengeance on our sins, but leaving us alone until our offences became so great?" God leaves the greater number of men without chastisement, so that the character of each one may be thoroughly tested from our voluntary conduct, and that through the trial the good may be made manifest, and the rest, not without being known,----I will not say to God, for He knows all things before they begin,471 ----but to the rational creatures and themselves, may afterwards light on a way of healing; for they would never have realised the benefit, if they had not condemned themselves; and this is expedient for every one, that he may perceive his own peculiar nature and the grace which God gives. But if a man does not perceive his own weakness and the

|149

grace of God, though he be benefited without having had experience of himself and without having condemned himself, he will imagine that the blessing bestowed upon him by the grace of heaven is his own brave and manly conduct. And this supposition, filling him with pride, will be the cause of his downfall; as we think happened to the Devil, because he gave himself credit for the privileges which he enjoyed when he was blameless. "For every one that exalteth himself shall be humbled," and "Every one that humbleth himself shall be exalted."

472 Consider, further, that for this cause the Divine mysteries are hidden from the wise and understanding,473 viz. that, as the Apostle says, "No flesh may glory before God"; and they are revealed to babes, who, when they have passed their infancy, have come to better things, and remember that if they have reached the height of blessedness, the credit is not so much due to themselves as to the unspeakable bounty of God.

12. So then, he that 474 is left without chastisement is so left by the Divine judgment, and God is long-suffering towards some sinners, not without reason, but because it will be good for them, having regard to the immortality of the soul and eternal life, that they be not too soon assisted in the attainment of salvation, but be slowly brought thereto after they have had experience of much evil. For as physicians, though they might quickly cure a man, will adopt the opposite of remedial measures whenever they suspect lurking mischief, because by so doing they mean to make the cure more permanent, and think it better to keep the patient for a long time in feverishness and sickness, so that he may make a sounder recovery, than that he should soon seem to pick up strength, but suffer a relapse, and the too hasty cure prove to be only temporary: so God also, knowing the secrets of the heart and having foreknowledge of the future, in His long-suffering perhaps lets things take their course, and by means of outward circumstances draws forth the secret evil, in order to

|150

cleanse him, who through neglect, has harboured the seeds of sin; so that a man having vomited them when they have come to the surface, even if he be far gone in wickedness, may afterwards find strength when he has been cleansed from his wickness and been renewed. For God governs the souls of men, not, if I may so speak, according to the scale of an earthly life of fifty years, but by the measure of eternity; for He has made the intellectual nature incorruptible and akin to Himself; and the rational soul is not debarred of healing, as if this present life were all.

13. Now let us make use of the following illustration from the Gospel: There is a rock with a scanty surface soil; if the seeds fall into that soil, they quickly spring up, but when they have sprung up, once the sun is risen, they are scorched and wither away because they have no root.475 Now this rock is the soul of man, hardened through neglect, and through wickedness turned to stone; for no man's heart is created stony by God, but it becomes such through wickedness. Suppose one were to blame the husbandman for not sowing his seed on the rocky ground earlier, because some other rocky ground which had received the seed was seen to be flourishing; the husbandman might reply, "I will sow this land later when I have dressed

476 it with what will keep back 477

what I intend to sow; for the slower and safer method will suit this land better than it would the land which takes the seed sooner and more superficially"; we should give the husbandman credit for speaking reasonably and for understanding his work. So, too, the great Husbandman of every nature puts off the well-doing, which might too soon be reckoned such, in order that it may not be superficial. But some one may here object, "How is it that some of the seeds fall upon the soul which is like a rock with its thin covering of soil?" In reply, let us say that it is better for such a soul which has too hastily resolved on the higher life, and is not treading the path which leads to it, to get what it wishes, so

|151

that, condemning itself for its impatience, it may have long patience hereafter to receive its natural cultivation. For our

478 souls, so to speak, are countless, and their characters countless, and their emotions, dispositions, purposes, and instincts innumerable; there is but One Who ordered them, and He the Best; He understandeth the seasons, and the proper helps, and the ways of guidance, and the paths, the God and Father of All, Who knoweth how He is guiding even Pharaoh through many experiences and through the drowning in the sea, though His ordering of Pharaoh's welfare does not end there. For Pharaoh was not destroyed when he was drowned. "In the hand of God are both we and our words: All wisdom also and knowledge of workmanship?"

479 So far, briefly, in defence of the statement that Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and in explanation of the words, "On whom he will he hath mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth."

480

14. Now, let us look at the passage from Ezekiel, "I will take away their stony hearts from them, and will give them hearts of flesh, that they may walk in my statutes and keep mine ordinances."

481 If God when He wishes takes away their stony hearts and puts in them hearts of flesh, so that His ordinances are kept and His commandments observed, the putting away of wickedness does not depend upon ourselves. For the taking away of stony hearts can have but one meaning, viz., that from whom God chooses, the wickedness in which any man is hardened is put away; and as for the creating of a heart of flesh, that a man may walk in the ordinances of God and keep His commandments, what does this mean but that the man begins to yield, does not stubbornly withstand the truth, and has the power to practise virtue? And if God promises to do this, and until God takes away the stony hearts, we do not put them away, it is clear that the putting away of our wickedness does not depend upon ourselves; and if we contribute nothing towards the creation within us of the heart of flesh,

|152

but it is the work of God, it follows that a virtuous life will not be our work, but altogether [the work of] Divine grace. This is what any one will say who from the bare words seeks to destroy Free Will. In reply we shall say that we ought thus to understand these passages. Suppose some one ignorant and uneducated to become conscious of his defects, either through the admonition of his teacher, or simply of himself, and then to put himself in the hands of a man whom he thinks capable of leading him into education and virtue; when he thus surrenders himself, his instructor promises to take away the lack of education and to give him an education; not, however, as though the educating and the escape from the want of it in no way depend on the pupil having offered himself for treatment: he only promises to benefit his pupil because he desires to improve. Thus the Divine Word promises to take away the wickedness, which it calls the stony heart, of those who come to it, not if they are unwilling, but if they submit themselves to the Physician of the sick; just as in the Gospels, the sick are found coming to the Saviour and begging to be healed and restored to health. We may say that if the blind received their sight, it was the doing of the sufferers, inasmuch as they believed they could be restored and begged the blessing, and that it was the Saviour's doing, inasmuch as He did restore their sight. So, also, the Word of God promises to implant knowledge in those who come to it, by taking away the stony and hard heart, that is to say, their wickedness, so that a man may walk in the Divine commandments and keep the Divine ordinances. 15. Then there was the passage from the Gospel, in which the Saviour said that His reason for speaking to those without in parables was, "That seeing they may not perceive, and hearing they may not understand, lest haply they should turn again, and it should be forgiven them."

482 Our opponents will say, "If it is certainly the case that some hearers turn because they hear clearer teaching, and so turn that they become worthy of the forgiveness of sins,

|153

and whether they hear the clearer teaching or not does not depend upon them but upon the teacher, and the reason why he does not speak to them more clearly is that they may not see and understand, their salvation does not depend upon themselves; and if this is so, we are not free agents as regards salvation and perdition." If it were not for the additional words, "Lest haply they should turn again, and it should be forgiven them," it would be a convincing reply to say that the Saviour did not wish those who were unlikely to become good and upright to understand the deeper, mystical truths, and He therefore spoke to them in parables; but, as it is, when we find the

words, "Lest haply they should turn again, and it should be forgiven them," our defence is more difficult. In the first place, then, we must note the passage in connection with the heterodox, who hunt up such portions of the Old Testament, because in them, as they make bold to say, the cruelty of the Creator

483 shows itself, the spirit of revenge and retaliation which bad men display, or whatever they like to call it, their only object being to prove that there is no goodness in the Creator; and in reading the New Testament they do not accord it fair and equal treatment, but dismiss such passages as resemble those they think deserving of censure in the Old Testament. For the Saviour is clearly shown in the Gospel, and they themselves so take the above words, to have had this motive in not speaking plainly, viz. "That men may not turn, and having turned become worthy of remission of sins"----a passage which in itself rivals any like it from the Old Testament which are impugned. But if they seek a defence of the Gospel, we must ask them whether their inconsistent treatment of similar questions is not culpable, inasmuch as they take no offence at the New Testament but seek to defend it, while they attack the Old Testament for such-like things, though they ought to defend them like those from the New Testament. And let us hereby teach them on account of the resemblances to consider all

|154

as the Scriptures of one God. Now let us offer the best defence we can in the matter before us.

16. When we were investigating the story of Pharaoh we said that sometimes a too rapid cure is not for the good of the patients; for if, having got themselves into trouble, they were to be relieved of their sufferings on easy terms, they would think little of the evil because it was soon cured, and through not being on their guard against falling into it would fall into it again. Wherefore, in such cases the Eternal God, Who knoweth the secret things and knoweth all things before they be,484 according to His goodness will not give the sufferers too speedy assistance, and, if I may so say, helps them by not helping them,485 because that is best for them. It is probable, then, that those "without,"

486 of whom we are speaking, inasmuch as the Saviour saw, as we suppose, that they would not be steadfast in their conversion if they clearly heard what He said, were so treated by the Lord that they should not distinctly hear the deeper truths; lest haply, having turned too quickly, and having been healed by gaining forgiveness, they should despise the wounds of their wickedness as .trifling and easily cured, and again, even more quickly than before, suffer from them. Perhaps also, while paying the penalty for their former sins, offences against virtue which they committed through forsaking her, they had not filled the proper time; so that, being forsaken of the Divine superintendence, and having had enough of the evils which they themselves sowed, they are afterwards called to a more steadfast repentance, and will not speedily fall into the sins into which they fell before, because they mocked at the worth of goodness, and abandoned themselves to the lower life. Those, then, who are said to be "without," of course as compared with those "within," inasmuch as they are not very far distant from those within, these last being the inner circle who hear distinctly, hear indistinctly because they are addressed in parables, but they do hear.

|155

Others, again, of those "without," they who are called the people of Tyre,487 although it was foreknown that they would long ago have repented, sitting in sackcloth and ashes, if the Saviour came near their borders, do not even hear what He said to those "without."

488 The reason probably is that these Tyrians were far less deserving than those "without"; and the Saviour intended that at another season, when it has become more tolerable for them than for those who did not receive the Word, and who reminded him of the Tyrians, they may hear under more favourable conditions, and may more steadfastly repent. And observe whether, as we prosecute the inquiry,489 we do not more and more strive to every way preserve piety towards God and His Christ, endeavouring, for we know how marvellous these things are, to defend by all means the manifold providence of God Who taketh thought for an immortal soul. If, indeed, any one should ask concerning those who were reproached by the Saviour, because, though they saw marvellous things and heard Divine words, they did not profit, while the Tyrians would have repented if such things had been said and clone among them: if he were to raise the question and ask, Why in the world did the Saviour preach to such people to their hurt, so that a heavier burden of sins might be imputed to them? we must reply that He Who understands the dispositions of those who blame His providence, and say that it explains their unbelief, because it has not granted them to see what it privileged others to behold, and has not arranged for them to hear what others have heard to their profit, He, inasmuch as He wishes to show the unreasonableness of their defence, grants those things for which the accusers of His government ask, so that after they have received them they may none the less be convicted of deep impiety, seeing that they do not surrender themselves that they may be profited, and may therefore cease from such audacity; and, being so far free, may learn that God sometimes lingers

|156

and delays out of kindness to some men, not granting them to see and hear things which, if seen and heard, would convict them of still more grievous sin, forasmuch as after such mighty works they did not believe.

17. Now let us look at the words, "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy."

490 They who take hold of the passage say, "If it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy," salvation does not depend upon ourselves, but upon the way

491 they are constituted by Him Who makes them what they are, or on the choice

492 of Him Who hath mercy when He pleases! We must ask the objectors this question: Is the willing that which is good a good or a bad thing? and the running of the man who wishes to reach the goal by zealously pursuing that which is good, is this deserving of praise or blame? If they tell us that it deserves blame, their answer will be absurd, for the saints will and run, and, of course, herein do nothing deserving blame. If they say that to will that which is good is good, and to run after that which is good is good, we will ask how the perishing nature wills the better course; for it is like a bad tree bearing good fruit, if willing the better course is really good. And, thirdly, they will say that to will that which is good and run after that which is good belongs to the class of things indifferent, and is neither good nor bad.493 In reply to this it must be said that if willing the good and running after the good is a thing indifferent, then its opposite is also a thing indifferent, that is

to say, willing that which is evil and running after that which is evil. But, in fact, to will that which is evil and run after that which is evil, is not a thing indifferent. Therefore, to will that which is good and run after that which is good, is not a thing indifferent.

18. Some such defence as this, I think, we can offer to |157

the words, "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy."

494 In the Book of Psalms Solomon says (for he is the author of the Song of Ascents

495 which we are about to quote), "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

496 He does not mean to dissuade us from building, nor is he teaching us not to watch so as to guard the city of our soul, but he is showing that what is built apart from God, and is not blessed with His guardianship, is built in vain and kept to no purpose, because God might reasonably have been called the Lord of the building, and the Master of the Universe, the Ruler of the guard of the city. Suppose, therefore, we were to say that such a building is not the work of the builder, but God's work; and that if the city has suffered nothing from its enemies, success is not to be attributed to the watchman, but to God over all, we should not err: for it is understood that man plays his part, though the manliness and virtue is thankfully ascribed to God Who brought it to perfection. Similarly, inasmuch as human willing is not sufficient for the attainment of the end in view, nor the running, as if we were athletes, sufficient for grasping the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus,497 for these results are secured with God's assistance, it is well said that "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy."

498 The same might be said of husbandry, as it is written, "I planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase";499 and if there are abundant fruits, we could not with piety say that this is the work of the husbandman, or the work of him that watereth, but the work of God; so also our perfecting is not brought about if we do nothing at all, though it is not completed by us, but God effects the greater part of it. And that what we

|158

say may carry clear conviction, we will take an illustration from navigation. If we regard the winds that blow, the settled state of the weather, and the brightness of the stars, all contributing to the safety of those on board, how much could we credit seamanship with for bringing the vessel into harbour? The shipmasters themselves from motives of piety do not often venture to affirm that they have saved the ship, but ascribe everything to God; not as though they had done nothing, but because Providence has contributed to the result immensely more than their skill. And certainly in the saving of our souls what God gives is immensely more than what comes from our own ability;500 and this, I think, accounts for the words, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy." For if we must take the words, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that hath mercy," as our opponents suppose, the commandments are superfluous, and Paul to no purpose blames some for having fallen into sin, and congratulates others on their uprightness, and lays down laws for the churches; and on their

showing it is useless for us to devotedly will the better life, useless to earnestly resolve to run. But not in vain does Paul give his advice, blaming some, congratulating others; and not in vain do we devotedly will the better life and press on to things which excel. So, then, they have not well understood the passage.

19. Besides these there is the passage, "It is God which worketh in you both to will and to work."

501 Some say, "If the willing comes from God, and the working from God, even if we will badly and work badly, God is the original source of our so doing; and if this be so, we are not free agents. On the other hand, when we will what is better and work the things that excel, since the willing and the working come from God, it is not we who have done the things that excel; we, indeed, seemed to do them, but the doing them was God's gift; so that, according to this also, we are not free agents." In reply, we have to

|159

say that the Apostle's language does not imply that the willing of evil, or the willing of good, is of God, and similarly, the working of what is better or worse, but willing and running in general. For as it is from God that we are living creatures and men, so also it is from Him that we have the power of willing in general, as I said, and the power of motion in general. And as, although in virtue of our being living creatures we have the power of motion and can move the members of our bodies, our hands or feet, for instance, we could not reasonably say that the specific movement comes from God, the movements to strike, or kill, or take away another man's goods, but must maintain that motion in general is indeed a gift from God, though we use it for either bad or good purposes: so the working which stamps us as living creatures, we have received from God, and the willing we received from the Creator; but we use that power of willing either for the noblest purposes, or for the opposite, and so also the power of working.

20. Still, the utterance of the Apostle will seem to force us to the conclusion that we are not free agents. Putting an objection, he says, "Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he still find fault? For who withstandeth his will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hadst thou made me thus? Or hath not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?"

502 A reader may well say, "If, as the potter from the same lump makes some vessels unto honour and some unto dishonour, so also God makes some unto salvation and some to perdition, it follows that we have nothing to do with our salvation or perdition: nor are we free agents." Let me ask a reader who makes this use of the words, if he can imagine the Apostle contradicting himself. I do not think any one will dare say this. Well, then, if the Apostle does not contradict himself, how does the reader who thus understands him mean to show that

|160

the Apostle reasonably finds fault when he blames the Corinthian fornicator, or those who fell into sin and did not repent of the lasciviousness and incontinence which they committed?

503 And how is it that he blesses for their well-doing those whom he praises, as, for instance, the house of Onesiphorus, saying, "The Lord grant mercy unto the house of Onesiphorus: for he oft

refreshed me, and was not ashamed of my chain: but, when he was in Rome, he sought me diligently, and found me. The Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day."

504 Surely it is not consistent for the same Apostle to censure the sinner because he deserves blame, and congratulate the well-doer because he deserves praise; and, contrariwise, as if nothing depended on ourselves, maintain that the Creator of the world is responsible for one vessel being unto honour, and another unto dishonour. How can it be sound doctrine that, "We must all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad,"

505 if they who have done evil have so conducted themselves because they were created vessels of dishonour, and they who have lived virtuous lives have done that which is right, because originally they were fashioned thereto and were vessels of honour? And again, is not what is said elsewhere inconsistent with the view that it is the fault of the Creator if "one vessel is in honour and another in dishonour," as the critics infer from what we have quoted? "In a great house," we read, "there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some unto honour and some unto dishonour. If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified, meet for the master's use, prepared unto every good work."

506 For if he who purges himself becomes a vessel unto honour, while he who carelessly leaves himself unpurged becomes a vessel unto dishonour, the Creator cannot, so far as these words go, be held responsible. For

|161

the Creator makes vessels of honour and vessels of dishonour, not originally according to His foreknowledge, since He does not, according to it, condemn or justify beforehand, but He makes them vessels of honour who purge themselves, and them vessels of dishonour who carelessly leave themselves unpurged. So that from antecedent

507 causes for making the vessels to honour and dishonour it arises that one man is to honour and another to dishonour.

21. But if we once admit that there are certain antecedent causes for one vessel being a vessel of honour, and another a vessel of dishonour, what absurdity is there in going back to the mystery of the soul, and understanding that there were antecedent causes for Jacob's being loved and Esau's being hated; as regards Jacob, before his assumption of a body, and as regards Esau, before he was conceived in the womb? At the same time it clearly appears that, so far as the subject nature is concerned, as there is one and the same lump of clay subject to the potter, out of which vessels are made to honour and dishonour: so, though there is one common soul nature subject to God, and, if I may so speak, one lump of rational subsistences, certain antecedent causes have made some men to be unto honour and others to dishonour. And if the Apostle's question conveys a rebuke, "Nay, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?

508 it perhaps teaches that he who has confidence towards God, as a man of faith and good life, would not have the question addressed to him, "Who art thou that repliest against God?" Such an one was Moses; for Moses spake, and God answered him by a Voice,509 and as God answers Moses, so also the holy man answers God. But he who has not this confidence, manifestly, either

because he has lost it, or because he investigates these topics not from a love of learning but in a contentious spirit, and therefore says, "Why doth he still find fault? For who withstandeth

|162

his will?" 510 this man would deserve the rebuke, "Nay, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?"

511

22. But to those who introduce different natures,512 and use the present passage in support, I have this to say: If they make good their contention that from one lump are made both those who are perishing and those who are being saved, and that the Creator of those who are being saved is the Creator also of those who are perishing, and if He is good Who maketh not only men who are spiritual, but also those who are earthy (for this is a consequence of their doctrine), it is nevertheless possible that a man who in the present time has through certain previous deeds of righteousness become a vessel of honour, may, if he do not the like things, nor such as befits the vessel of honour, become in a different age a vessel of dishonour; as, on the contrary, it is possible that although through causes prior to this life a man has here become a vessel of dishonour, when his faults have been corrected, he may become a vessel of honour in the new creation, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, prepared unto every good work.513 And perhaps the Israelites of our day, if they live unworthily of their high descent, will degenerate, and change as it were from vessels of honour to vessels of dishonour; and many of the Egyptians and Edomites of the present time, whenever they shall bring forth fruit abundantly, will enter the Church of the Lord, being no longer accounted Egyptians and Edomites, but future Israelites; so that, according to this, some through their deliberate choice advance from bad to good, while others fall away from good to bad; and others are kept in goodness, or rise step by step from good to better, and others, again, abide in evil, or, because their wickedness abounds, grow worse and worse.

23. And since the Apostle in one place does not pretend that it rests with God whether a man becomes a

|163

vessel unto honour or unto dishonour, but puts the whole responsibility upon us, saying, "If then a man purge himself, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the master's use, prepared unto every good work"; and elsewhere he does not pretend that it depends upon us but lays the whole responsibility upon God, when he asserts that "the potter hath a right over the clay, to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour",514 and his statements are not contradictory; we must bring them both together, and from the two draw one sound conclusion. The power we have does not compel us to advance in goodness apart from the knowledge of God, nor does the knowledge of God compel us to advance unless we also contribute to the good result; for neither does our power apart from the knowledge of God, and the full use of what is in a worthy sense our "power," make a man to be unto honour or unto dishonour; nor does God's power alone fashion a man unto honour or dishonour unless He have our choice, inclining to the better or the worse, as a sort of raw material out of which to make the difference. This may suffice for our treatment of Free Will.

CHAP. XXII. ---- What is the dispersion on earth of rational, that is, human souls, indicated under a veil in the building of the tower, and the confusion of tongues thereat? Wherein we shall also treat of many lords set over the dispersed according to their condition. From Book v. against Celsus.

1. Now let us see what Celsus says next. It runs thus: "The Jews having become a separate nation, and having made laws to suit their country, in still maintaining the authority of their laws, and guarding the national religion with all its peculiarities, are only doing what other men do; for every community cherishes its ancestral customs, once they are established, no matter what they are. And it seems to be a good thing, not only because the different peoples have had different ideas of laws and customs, and because of the

|164

necessity of guarding public institutions, but also because it is probable that different parts of the earth were originally assigned to different superintending spirits,515 and having been made into separate realms are that way administered. And, in fact, correct practice in the several instances would depend on the pleasure of these spirits;516 and it would be profanity to relinquish the original local usages." What Celsus here really means to show is that the ancient Egyptians afterwards became a separate nation, the Jews, and that having made laws for themselves they observe them. And, not to repeat the exact words of Celsus already quoted, he says that it is best for them to keep to their ancestral religion, just as it is for the other nations which honour their own forms of worship. And he adduces a deeper reason to explain why it is best for the Jews to honour their own forms of worship, when he darkly hints that they whose lot it was to superintend the land of those for whom the laws were made, assisted the lawgivers in the several instances. He seems, then, to indicate that one or more beings watch over the country of the Jews and its inhabitants, and that the laws were made by Moses with their assistance.

2. "And they ought," he says, "to keep their laws not only because different peoples have had different ideas of laws and customs, and because of the necessity of guarding public institutions, but also because it is probable that different parts of the earth were originally assigned to different superintending spirits, and having been made into separate realms are that way administered." So, as if he had forgotten what he said against the Jews, he now gives them a share in the general distribution of praise to all who keep the ancestral usages; for he says,

|165

"And, in fact, in the several instances right practice would depend on the pleasure of the ruling spirits." And observe whether he does not distinctly mean, if he can bring it about, to make a Jew live in the observance of Jewish laws and not forsake them, inasmuch as he would be guilty of profanity if he did forsake them; for he says, "It is profanity to relinquish the original local usages." In reply, I should like to ask him and those who agree with him, who it was that originally assigned the different parts of the earth to the different guardian angels,517 in particular, the country of the Jews and its people, to the one or more angels whose charge they were. Did Zeus, as Celsus would say, assign the Jewish people and their country to one or more? And Did Zeus intend that the spirit to whom Judea was allotted should make the existing Jewish laws, or was this done against his will? That Celsus may answer, if he will, you see I am willing to put the whole thing in a nutshell. But if the parts of the earth have not been assigned to their guardian spirits by some one

deity, it follows that each at random and with no one to direct him, took his share of the earth just as it happened; but this is absurd, and enough to overthrow belief in the providence of the Supreme God.

3. And let any one who chooses relate how the various parts of the earth, having been divided into certain realms, are administered by the spirits which have the oversight of them; but let him also tell us how it is that in the several communities the correct practice would depend on the pleasure of the ruling spirits; and whether, for instance, the laws of the Scythians, which allow the doing away with fathers, are right; or those of the Persians, which

|166

do not forbid marriages between mothers and their own sons, nor between fathers and their own daughters. And why need I take other instances from those who interested themselves in the laws of different nations, and go on to ask how, in the several communities, the laws are properly executed according to the pleasure of the ruling spirits? We shall be glad if Celsus will tell us how it is impiety to relinquish ancestral laws which allow the marriages

518 of mothers and daughters, or make suicide by hanging a happy end of life, or affirm the perfect purification of those who give their bodies to be burnt, and through fire seek their release from life; and how it can be impiety to abolish laws, those of the Tauri, for instance, which enjoin the offering of strangers as sacrifices to Artemis, or those of certain Libyan tribes regarding the sacrificing of their children to Saturn. Celsus must, moreover, accept the consequence, that it is impiety for the Jews to break their ancestral laws which prohibit the worship of any other God than the Creator of the universe. And piety, according to him, will not be essentially Divine, but a matter of arbitrary institution; for with some it is piety to worship a crocodile, and with others to eat a portion of the objects of their adoration; others deem it piety to worship a calf, and others to regard the goat as a god. The result will be that the same man will be pious in regard of one set of laws, and impious according to a different set, which is an utter absurdity.

4. But they will probably reply that the pious man is he who keeps the customs of his own country, and that he is by no means to be taxed with impiety when he does not observe those of other countries; and again, that a man who is deemed impious by certain races is not impious when, according to the customs of his own country, he worships his own gods, but fights against and feasts upon the gods of those who have opposite laws. Now, consider whether these arguments do not exhibit great confusion of thought in respect of righteousness, and piety, and

|167 religion; for religion has thus no organic unity, no distinctive character of its own, no power to impress a religious stamp on those who act in accordance with it. If, then, religion, piety, and righteousness are relative only, so that piety and impiety are the same thing, inasmuch as they depend on varying relations and on the established laws, consider whether it does not follow that temperance

519 will also be in the class of things relative, and courage, and prudence, and knowledge, and the rest of the virtues, which is the height of absurdity.

5. Celsus seems to think that the argument leads to the conclusion that "all men ought to live according to the customs of their country, and that they should not be blamed for so doing; but that

Christians having forsaken their ancestral usages, and not being one nation like the Jews, are to be blamed for following the teaching of Jesus." Let him then tell us whether men of a philosophic turn of mind, who have been taught to avoid superstition, are right in forsaking their ancestral usages and in going so far as to eat things forbidden in their own countries; or will they act unbecomingly in so doing? For if on account of their philosophy, and what they have learned in opposition to superstition, they do not keep their ancestral customs, but would eat of things traditionally forbidden, why should not Christians also, since reason persuades them not to concern themselves with images, and statues, or even with the works of God, but to rise above these and bring the soul near to the Creator, why should not they be free from blame when they are only doing what the philosophers do? If for the sake of defending his pet theory, Celsus or his supporters should say that even a philosopher will observe his country's customs, it is time for philosophers to make a laughing-stock of themselves, in Egypt, for instance, by refraining from eating onions that they may observe their country's customs, or certain parts of a carcase, head or shoulder, for example, that they may not transgress the traditions of their fathers. So then, also, if a man has been brought by the Word to

|168

worship the Supreme God, and out of regard for ancestral usage lingers somewhere down among the images and statues of men, and is not willing by deliberate choice to rise to the Creator, he would be like those who are acquainted with philosophy, but fear where no fear is, and count it impiety to partake of such food.

6. Enough has now been said to satisfy those who take their stand upon plain common-sense principles against the opinions of Celsus now before us; but as we think that some persons of a more critical temper will read what we write, let us venture to set forth a few of the deeper arguments, involving speculation of a mystical and esoteric nature, concerning the original distribution of various countries of the earth to various spirits who have the oversight of them; and, to the best of our ability, let us show that our argument is free from the absurdities recounted. Celsus really seems to me to have misunderstood some of the deeper reasoning concerning the distribution of the earth's inhabitants, upon which even Grecian history touches in a way, when it represents certain of those who are accounted gods as having contended with one another for Attica, and in the poetical writings makes some of those who are called gods acknowledge that certain places are in a special sense their own. The history of barbarous nations, too, particularly that of Egypt, also indicates something similar in treating of the division of Egypt into what are called nomes, for it says that Athene to whose lot Sais fell is the same goddess that has Achaia. And the learned Egyptians will tell countless similar stories; but I do not know whether they include the Jews and their country in the distribution, and assign them to some spirit. But enough for the present, concerning what is said on these topics outside the Divine Word.

7. We say that Moses, who with us is regarded as a Prophet of God and His true servant, in the song in Deuteronomy, speaks as follows concerning the division of the earth. He tells us that "when the Most

|169

High separated the nations, when he scattered abroad the sons of Adam, be set the bounds of the peoples, according to the number of the angels of God; and the Lord's portion became his people Jacob; Israel the lot of his inheritance."

520 And the same Moses, in the book called Genesis, gives an historical account of the distribution of the nations, to this effect: "And the whole earth was of one language, and of one speech. And it came to pass as they journeyed from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there."

521 And a little farther on he says, "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, they are one people, and they have all one language; and this is what they begin to do: and now nothing will be withholden from them, which they purpose to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city and the tower. Therefore was the name of it it called Confusion, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth." And also in the book entitled "The Wisdom of Solomon," where wisdom and the confusion of languages, whereby the division of the inhabitants of the earth has arisen, are discussed, this is what is said concerning wisdom: "Moreover the nations in their wicked conspiracy being confounded, she found out the righteous, and preserved him blameless unto God, and kept him strong in her tender compassion toward his son."

522

8. Much might be said, and that of a mystical nature, about these things: with which agrees the saying, "It is good to keep close the secret of the king";523 in order that the doctrine of the embodying of souls (not through transmigration) may not be wasted on everybody's ears, nor holy things be given to the dogs, nor pearls cast before

|170

swine.524 For this is impious, and involves a betrayal of the secret oracles of the wisdom of God, concerning which it is well said, "A malicious soul wisdom shall not enter, nor dwell in the body that is subject unto sin."

525 And it is sufficient to present as historical narrative the secret meaning of the seeming

526 historical statement, so that they who can; may for themselves thoroughly investigate the subject.

9. Let us then conceive of all the dwellers upon earth as using one Divine language, and, so long as they agree with one another, as being kept in the use of that Divine language; and let us suppose that they do not move from the east, so long as they mind the things of the light and the brightness of the everlasting light. And let them, whenever they move from the east, minding the things alien to the east, find a plain in the land of Shinar: which, being interpreted, is "the shaking of teeth," and symbolises their losing the means of their support; and there let them dwell. Then, inasmuch as they will to collect material things, and join to heaven things which have no such natural affinity, so that through the material things they may conspire against the immaterial, we

will suppose them to say, "Go to, let us make brick, and burn them throughly."

527 When, accordingly, they harden and stiffen the clay and other materials, and determine to make brick into stone and clay into bitumen, and therewith build a city and a tower the top of which they expect to reach unto heaven,528 let them severally, in proportion as they have moved a greater or less distance from the east, and in proportion as they have made the bricks into stones, and the clay into bitumen, and have built with them, be delivered to angels of more or less severity, and of such and such dispositions, until they have paid the penalty for their audacity; and we will further suppose them to be severally led by the angels, who give them

|171

their own language, to various parts of the earth according as they deserve; some, let us say, to a scorching hot country, others to one so bitterly cold that it punishes its inhabitants, some to a land hard to cultivate, others to one not so hard, some to a land full of wild beasts, and others to one with not so many.

10. Next, if any one has the ability, let him, under the garb of history, in part literally true, in part conveying some secret meaning, see those also who have preserved their original language because they have not moved from the east, but have stayed in the east, and have kept to the eastern language; and let him understand that these alone become the portion of the Lord and His people called Jacob, and Israel the lot of His inheritance;

529 and let these alone be governed by a ruler who has not received his command that he may punish his subjects, like the other rulers. And let him who can, remembering that he is dealing with men, observe the sins committed in this commonwealth of those who constitute the special portion of the Lord, sins at first venial and such as do not make the offenders deserve to be quite forsaken, but becoming more abundant though still venial; and let our observer notice that this goes on for a long time, and that remedial measures are all the while applied, and that these same men at intervals turn again, and let him behold them, in proportion to tbeir sins, forsaken and given up to the appointed rulers of the other countries, and when they have been a little chastised and have suffered punishment, having been, as it were, trained, let him behold them returning to their own home; and afterwards, let him see them delivered to harsher rulers, to use Scripture names, the Assyrians and the Babylonians. Then, in spite of the care taken of them, let him see them none the less multiplying their offences, and for that reason made a spoil by the rulers of the other nations, and scattered over the other parts of the earth. Now let us suppose that their ruler advisedly takes no notice of them

|172

when they are made a spoil by the rulers over the other nations, so that, as it were, avenging Himself, having acquired the right to detach from the other nations whom He can, He may reasonably do so, and may make laws for them, and show them the sort of life they have to live, intending to raise them to the level to which He raised those belonging to the former people who did not sin. And let those who have eyes to see such wondrous truths, hereby learn that He, whose lot it was to govern those who did not sin at the first, is more powerful than the other rulers: for He has proved Himself able to choose His men from all sides, make them revolt from their tormentors, being then under His laws, and lead them to live such a life as helps towards their

former sins being no longer remembered. But, as we said before, we must be supposed to have a secret meaning in saying all this, it being our purpose to show the mistakes of those who allege that "the various parts of the earth were originally assigned to various spirits who had the oversight of them, were divided into realms, and are administered on that principle." It was from these men Celsus borrowed the statements under discussion.

11. And whereas they who moved from the east were for the sins they committed given up unto a reprobate mind, and unto vile passions, and in the lusts of their hearts unto uncleanness,530 so that having taken their fill of sin they might hate it, we shall not agree with the opinion of Celsus, "that right practice in the several instances depends on the spirits who have the oversight of the various parts of the earth"; but we even wish not to do their will and pleasure. For we see that it is piety to abolish original local usages by laws which are better and

more Divine, which Jesus in the plenitude of His power inspired, delivering us out of this present evil world,531 and from the rulers of this world which are coming to nought;532 and that it is impiety not to throw ourselves upon the mercy of Him Who is seen and proved to be more mighty

|173

than all rulers, to whom God said, as the prophets foretold many generations before, "Ask of me and I will give thee nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession."

533 For He has become the "expectation" of us who from among the peoples have believed on Him and on His Father, God over All.534

CHAP. XXIII. ----Of Fate, and how though God foreknows the conduct of every one, human responsibility remains the same. Further, how the stars 535 are not productive of human affairs, but merely indicate them; further, that men cannot attain to an accurate knowledge of these things, but that the signs are set by Divine powers; what

is the cause of the signs. Astrology seems to have some elements of truth. From Book III. of the Commentaries on Genesis,

"And let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years."

1. As regards the lights of heaven having been created for signs, to speak precisely, the sun, moon, and stars, this is a subject which we are bound to discuss; for not only do many nations, strangers to the Faith of Christ, err in the matter of fate, inasmuch as they think that all things happen, both earthly events in general and the incidents of every human life, and perhaps what befalls the irrational creatures, through the relation of the planets to the constellations of the Zodiac; but beside this, many who are supposed to have embraced the Faith are distracted at the thought that human affairs may be governed by necessity, and cannot possibly be otherwise than is ruled by the stars in their different groupings. And a consequence of this opinion is the complete destruction of Free Will; and a further result is that praise and blame are unmeaning, and the distinction between acceptable conduct and conduct deserving of blame is lost. And if this be so, there is an

|174

end of that Divine judgment which we preach; an end also of God's threats of punishment awaiting sinners; an end, too, of a blessed future for those who have devoted themselves to the higher life: for there will no longer be any basis of reason for them. And if any one wishes to see the other consequences of holding these views, our faith will be vain, the advent of Christ of no avail, and the whole dispensation of the Law and the Prophets, and the labours of Apostles to establish the churches of God through Christ, of no avail; unless, forsooth, as these bold thinkers would have us believe, Christ also, inasmuch as His nativity was necessitated by the movement of the stars, did and suffered everything, not because the God and Father of All gave Him those marvellous powers, but because the stars bestowed them. Another result of their godless and unholy principles is, that believers are said to believe in God because they are compelled by the stars to believe. But we would ask our opponents to tell us what God meant by so making the world, that some men are effeminate creatures and lead lascivious lives through no fault of their own; while others, who are in the condition of wild beasts through the revolution of the whole heavens, because God so ordered the universe, abandon themselves to the most savage and inhuman practices, murders, and piratical outrages. And why need I speak of the incidents of human life, and the sins of men, in their countless variety? The champions of these noble principles may free their fellow-men from all guilt, but they make God the cause of all that is bad and blameworthy.

2. And if some of them, that they may seem to defend God's character, shall say that there is a different God, the good God,536 Who has no control of these things, and attribute all such evils to the Creator;537 not even so will they

|175

succeed in showing, as they desire, that the Creator is just; for how could the Author of so many evils, as according to them He is, be reasonably thought just? In the second place, let us inquire what they will say about themselves. Are they subject to the revolution of the stars, or are they free men, and all their lives no way influenced thereby? If they shall admit that they are subject to the stars, it is clear that the stars gave them this impression, and the Creator will have suggested through the general movement of the stars the doctrine of the higher God they have imagined; but that they would deny. If they reply that they are not influenced by the Creator's laws connected with the stars, that their statements may not be more than unverified assertion, let them endeavour to win our assent by some more forcible plea; let them show how to distinguish between the two kinds of mind, the one controlled by nativity and fate, the other free from their control. Any one who knows such men will be aware that if they are asked for a reason they will be quite unable to give it. In addition to what has been said, even the prayers we offer are superfluous; for if certain events must happen, and the stars create the necessity, and nothing contrary to their combination with one another can happen, it is unreasonable to expect God to give us this or that. Why need we further pursue the impiety involved in the doctrine of fate, a subject treated by many with too little consideration as a commonplace? Enough has been said to give some idea of it.

3. Here let us remind ourselves that we were examining the words, "Let the lights be for signs"

538 when we came upon this discussion. They who learn the truth about things, have either been eye-witnesses and therefore give a good account of what takes place because they have beheld the suffering and the doing of those who do or suffer, or they get to know the circumstances by hearsay from informants not at all responsible for what has occurred. For we will agree on the

present occasion to exclude the

|176

possibility that the doers or sufferers may themselves relate what they have done and suffered, and may acquaint any one who did not happen to be present with the facts. If, then, any one who gets the information from a person no way responsible for the events, on hearing that certain things have befallen or will befall certain individuals, does not bear in mind that his informant as to the past or future is no way answerable for any given occurrence, he will suppose that the informant has brought about or will bring about what he relates, but he will obviously be wrong in so doing; it is as though a man were to read a prophetic book in which the conduct of Judas the traitor is foretold, and having learnt what was to happen, were, on seeing it accomplished, to think that the book was the cause of what afterwards occurred, because the book showed him the future conduct of Judas; or, again, should imagine that not the book was the cause, but he who first wrote it, or He Who had the book written, God Himself, if we may so speak. Just as in the case of the prophecies concerning Judas, the passages themselves on investigation show that God did not produce the treachery of Judas, but that, foreknowing what would result from the wickedness of the traitor through his own fault, He only made it known: so also, if any one would go deep into the discussion of God's universal foreknowledge, and into those things whereon, as it were, God stamps the proofs of His own foreknowledge, he would understand that neither is He Who foreknows at all the cause of what is foreknown, nor are those things which were stamped with the proofs of the foreknowledge of Him Who did foreknow.

4. That God knows long before every detail of the future, is, apart from Scripture, from the very conception of God clear to him who understands the power and excellence of the Divine understanding. If, however, we must prove this from the Scriptures, the prophecies are full of suitable illustrations; and, according to Susanna, God knows all things before they be: for she thus speaks, "O

|177

everlasting God, that knowest the secrets, and knowest all things before they be, Thou knowest that they have borne false witness against me."

539 And in the third Book of the Kings even the name of a future king, and his acts, were thus prophetically described many years before the events took place. "And Jeroboam ordained a feast in the eighth month, on the fifteenth day of the month, like unto the feast that is in Judah, and he went up unto the altar which is in Bethel, which he made for the calves which he made."

540 Then, a little farther on, "And, behold, there came a man of God out of Judah by the word of the Lord unto Bethel: and Jeroboam was standing by the altar to burn incense. And he cried against the altar by the word of the Lord, and said, O altar, altar! thus saith the Lord, Behold, a child shall be born unto the house of David, Josiah by name; and upon thee shall he sacrifice the priests of the high places that burn incense upon thee, and men's bones shall they burn upon thee. And he gave a sign the same clay, saying, This is the sign which the Lord hath spoken: Behold, the altar shall be rent, and the fat that is upon it shall be poured out."

541 And, a little farther on, it is shown that "the altar also was rent, and the fat poured out from the altar, according to the sign which the man of God had given by the Word of the Lord."542

5. And in Isaiah, who lived long before the Babylonish Captivity, there is this prophecy concerning Cyrus by name, Cyrus king of the Persians, who lived some time after the Captivity, and assisted in the building of the Temple in the days of Esdras. There is this prophecy concerning Cyrus by name, "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue

543 nations before him, and I will loose the loins

544 of kings; I will open the doors before him, and the gates of cities shall not be shut; I will go before thee, and make mountains plain: I will break in pieces the doors of brass, and cut in sunder the

|178

bars of iron: and I will give thee the treasures of darkness, hidden riches of secret places will I lay bare to thee, that thou mayest know that I am the Lord, which call thee by thy name, even the God of Israel. For Jacob my servant's sake, and Israel my chosen, I will call thee by thy name and will receive thee."

545 This clearly shows, that for the sake of the people to whom Cyrus was a benefactor, God gave him, though he was unacquainted with the Hebrew religion, the rule over many nations; and we may also learn this from Greek historians who wrote the history of Cyrus, the subject of the prophecy. And again in Daniel also, at a time when Babylonian kings were on the throne, the kingdoms which should be after him are shown to Nebuchadnezzar. And they are shown by means of the image: the Babylonian kingdom being called gold, the Persian silver, the Macedonian brass, the Roman iron.546 And again, in the same prophet the affairs of Darius and Alexander, and the four successors of Alexander king of Macedonia, and Ptolemy, the ruler of Egypt, surnamed Lagos, are thus foretold: "And as I was considering, behold, an he-goat came from the west over the face of the whole earth; and the goat had a horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had the horns, whom I saw standing before the stream Ulai,547 and ran upon him in the face of his power. And I saw him close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns; and there was no power in the ram to stand before him: but he cast him down to the ground, and trampled upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. And the he-goat magnified himself exceedingly: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and instead of it there came up four other horns toward the four winds of heaven. And out of one of them came forth a mighty horn, and

|179

waxed exceedingly great towards the south and towards the west." 548

Why need I mention the prophecies concerning Christ, as for example that Bethlehem should be the place of His birth, and Nazareth the place of His bringing up, and the marvellous works He did, and the manner of His betrayal by Judas who was called to be an Apostle? For all these are signs of the foreknowledge of God. But the Saviour Himself also says, "When ye see Jerusalem

compassed with armies, then ye shall know that her desolation is at hand";549 for He spake beforehand what afterwards came to pass, the final destruction of Jerusalem.

6. Well, then, now that we have, not unseasonably, demonstrated the foreknowledge of God, if we are to explain how the stars are for signs, we must understand that the stars have their movements so regulated, those we call planets revolving the contrary way to the fixed stars, that observers may take and know the signs from the grouping of all those stars which have a special or general influence. And when I say "observers," I do not mean men (for ability to really learn from the movements of the stars what will befall every individual soul with all its possibilities of doing or suffering, far transcends human capacity), but I refer to the Powers, which must for many reasons have this knowledge, as, so far as we can, we shall show in the sequel. But men being deceived by certain observations, or even by the teaching of Angels who have lost their proper rank, and, to the injury of our race, give some instruction about these things, supposed that they from whom they thought they received the signs were the original causes of the events which the Word says the signs indicate. We shall proceed at once to briefly discuss somewhat carefully as well as we can both the events and the supposed authors. These, then, are the problems which confront us----(α) How, if God knows from all eternity what we regard as done by the individual, Free Will is to be maintained; (β) in what way the stars are not productive of human affairs, but only indicate them;

|180 (γ) that men cannot have an accurate knowledge of these things, but the signs are shown to Powers superior to men; (δ) why it is that God has made the signs for the Powers to know, shall be the fourth point of investigation.

7. Well, then, let us look at the first. Many of the Greeks, handling the matter with caution, and supposing events to be ruled by necessity, and that man's Free Will cannot be at all maintained if God foreknows the future, ventured to hold an impious doctrine, rather than admit, as they allow it to be, a glorious attribute of God, but one destructive of Free Will, and which therefore does away with the distinction between praise and blame, the acceptability of virtue and the censure of vice. They tell us that if God from everlasting knows that a certain person will be unjust, and will do certain unjust deeds, and if the knowledge of God be infallible, and if he that is foreseen to have such a character will certainly be unjust and will do these unjust deeds, his injustice is necessitated, and it will be impossible for his conduct to be other than what God knew it would be. But if his conduct could not be different, and no one is to be blamed for not doing impossibilities, it is no use for us to accuse the unjust. And from the unjust man and his unjust deeds they pass on to the other sins a man may commit, and, on the contrary, to what is considered upright conduct; and they say that consistently with God's foreknowledge our Free Will cannot possibly be maintained.

8. Our reply will be as follows: When God planned the creation of the world, inasmuch as there is nothing without a cause, His thoughts traversed the whole course of the future, and He saw that when a certain thing takes place another follows, and if this occurs it will have its fitting result, and this supposed, something is its consequence; and going on thus to the end of all things He knows what will be, but is not at all the cause of the occurrence of any particular event. For as when we see a man reckless through ignorance, and in his recklessness foolishly venturing on a slippery path, we are not the

|181

causes of the man's finding the path slippery, because we realise that the man will slip and fall: just so, we must understand that God having foreseen what every one will be like, also perceives the causes of his being what he is, and that he will commit these sins, or do these righteous deeds. And if we are bound to admit that the foreknowledge is not the cause of the occurrences (for though God knows before that a man will sin, He does not put a finger on him when he does sin), we shall make a still stronger statement, nevertheless true, that the future event is the cause of God's peculiar knowledge concerning it. For it does not happen because it is known, but it is known because it will happen; and we must herein carefully distinguish. For if any one interprets the words certainly will be in the sense that what is foreknown will of necessity be, we do not agree with him; for we shall not say that, because it was foreknown that Judas would be a traitor, there was any necessity for Judas to be a traitor. At any rate, in the prophecies concerning Judas reproaches and accusations of Judas are recorded, which prove his guilt to every reader. Now no blame would have attached to him if he had of necessity been a traitor, and if it had not been possible for him to be like the other Apostles. And consider whether this is not shown by the following words which we shall quote: "Neither let there be any to have pity on his fatherless children. Because that he remembered not to show mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man, and the broken in heart, to slay them. Yea, he loved cursing, and it came unto him; and he delighted not in blessing, and it was far from him."

550 If any one will explain the "certainly will be" as only meaning that some particular events will occur, but that things might have turned out differently, we assent to this as true; for God cannot possibly lie; and when things may possibly happen or not happen, we may contemplate either contingency.

9. We will put the case more clearly this way: If it |182 is possible for Judas to be an Apostle like Peter, it is possible for God to think of Judas continuing an Apostle as Peter did. If it is possible for Judas to be a traitor, it is possible for God to contemplate his becoming a traitor. And if Judas proves to be a traitor, God by His foreknowledge of the two aforesaid possibilities (one only of Which can be realised), inasmuch as His foreknowledge is true, will know before that Judas is going to be a traitor; but though God knows this, it might have been otherwise; and the knowledge of God would say, "It is possible for Judas to do this, but also possible for him to do the opposite; but of the two things possible I know that he will do this one." If God were to say, "It is not possible for this man to fly," and, predicting the future

551 of another man, were to say, for instance, "It is not possible for him to be temperate," the cases would not be parallel. For the man is not in the least qualified to fly, but he is qualified to lead either a temperate or a licentious life. Now, though there be this ability both ways, if a man does not give heed to admonition and instruction, he gives himself up to the worse; but he who seeks the truth and is resolved to live accordingly, gives himself up to the better. And one man does not seek the truth because he inclines to pleasure, while another man investigates it, being brought thereto, partly by common sense,552 partly by exhortation. The former, again, chooses pleasure, not because he is unable to resist it, but because he will not strive against it; and the latter despises it, because he sees the disgrace which often attaches to it.

10. To prove our point, that the foreknowledge of God really does not necessitate the things which it apprehends, we will further observe that in many parts of Scripture God commands the Prophets to preach repentance, not professing to know before whether the hearers will turn or abide in their sins. Thus in Jeremiah God says, "It may be they will hearken and repent."

553 If God |183

thus speaks, it is not because He does not know whether they will hearken or not; but by this form of speech He shows, as it were, that they have equal ability to do one or the other; so that He may not, by announcing beforehand what He knows, make the hearers despond because of a seeming necessity, as if they had no power to turn, and His foreknowledge thus become, as it were, the cause of their sins. Or again, let us take the case of those who, because they do not know their goodness foreknown to God, may by striving .and struggling against wickedness succeed in living a virtuous life. God will not have His foreknowledge become a cause of their slackness, inasmuch as, relying on the certain accomplishment of what has been foretold, they no longer stand firm against sin: for so the foreknowledge of their future goodness might prove a hindrance. Thus it is that God Who ordereth all things for the best, with good reason hides the future from our eyes. For the knowledge of the future makes us relax in the struggle against wickedness, and the apparent certainty of wickedness enervates us, and the result is that because we do not wrestle against sin we soon become subject to it. And at the same time it would be an obstacle in the way of a man's becoming good and upright, if the knowledge that he will certainly some day be good reached him beforehand. For in addition to what we have, there is need of great earnestness and vigorous application if a man is to become good and upright; but the knowledge beforehand that a man will certainly be good and upright, weakens his habits of discipline. Wherefore it is expedient that we know not whether we shall be good, or whether we shall be bad.

11. And since we have said that God blinds our eyes with regard to the future, consider whether we can thus explain the question in Exodus, "Who maketh a man dumb and deaf, seeing and blind?" 554 If we are to understand that God has made the same man blind and seeing, the man must see things present and be blind as regards things |184 future; for we are not now concerned with the interpretation of the dumbness and deafness. That, however, many things for which we are responsible are caused by a multitude of things for which we are not responsible, even we will allow; if they had not occurred, the things I mean for which we are not responsible, certain things for which we are responsible would not have been done; but they have been done in consequence of precedent events for which we are not responsible, though it was possible for us on the basis of the past to have acted otherwise than we did. If any one would have our Free Will detached from everything else, so as to make our voluntary choice independent of the changes and chances of life, he has forgotten that he is a part of the world, and subject to limitations as a member of society and a participant in the general environment. I think it has been shown with tolerable clearness, if briefly, that the foreknowledge of God does not necessitate what is certainly foreknown. The same subject is further discussed in Book II. of the treatise against Celsus as follows:----

12. Celsus thinks that if a prediction comes to pass it is because the event was predicted. We do not grant this; we say that the Prophet is not the cause of the future event because he foretells its occurrence, but that the future event, which would happen even if it were not predicted, is the

cause of his foretelling it, who has the foreknowledge. And the whole thing is in the foreknowledge of the Prophet; a given event may or may not come to pass; he knows which of the two it will be. Further, we do not say that he who foreknows destroys the possible alternative, and as it were declares, "This shall certainly be, and it is impossible that the event can be otherwise." And something like what we have urged is applicable to the whole question of the foreknowledge of what is in our power, whether we look at the Divine Scriptures or at the narratives of the Greeks. And what the dialecticians call an "idle argument," by which they mean a sophism, will be, if we are to believe Celsus, no sophism, though

|185 according to sound reason it is a sophism. That our point may be understood, I will use the prophecies of the Scriptures concerning Judas, or our Saviour's foreknowledge of his being a traitor: and from the narratives of the Greeks, I will take the oracle addressed to Laius, for the present assuming it to be true, for that does not affect the argument. Well, then, at the beginning of the 108th Psalm, speaking in the person of Christ, the Psalmist says, "Hold not thy peace, O God, at my praise; for the mouth of the wicked and the deceitful man is opened upon me."

555 And if you carefully note what is said in the psalm you will find that as Judas is foreknown to be the betrayer of the Saviour, so he is also represented as being the cause of the betrayal, and worthy of the curses pronounced against him for his wickedness----let him suffer such and such things----"Because that he remembered not to do mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man."

556 He might then have remembered to do mercy, and he might have refrained from persecuting Him whom he did persecute, but though he might he did not, but betrayed the Saviour; so that he deserves the curses in the prophecy against him. And as regards the Greeks, we will similarly make use of what was said by the oracle to Laius, either in the precise words of the tragic poet, or in equivalent terms. This is what the oracle with its knowledge of the future told him:----

"Beget not children in defiance of the gods; For if thou shalt beget a son, thy son shall slay thee, And all thy house shall wade through blood." 557

Here it is clearly shown that it was possible for Laius not to beget children, for the oracle would not have commanded him to do what was impossible; but the begetting was possible, and neither alternative was compulsory. And the consequence of his not guarding against begetting children, was that through begetting he suffered what is related in the tragedy concerning Oedipus and Jocasta and their sons.

|186

13. By way of illustrating the "idle argument," that is to say, the sophistical form of reasoning, we may suppose the following argument to be addressed to an invalid in order to dissuade him from calling in the doctor: "If you are fated to recover from your sickness, whether you call in the doctor, or do not call him in, you "will recover; but if you are fated not to recover from your sickness, whether you call in the doctor, or do not call him in, you will not recover; now either you are fated to recover from your sickness, or you are fated not to recover; it is therefore no good for you to call in the doctor." Now a parallel to this reasoning is neatly drawn after this fashion: "If you are fated to beget children, whether you go with a woman, or whether you do not, you will beget children; but if you are fated not to beget children, whether you go with a woman, or do not go, you will not beget children: now either you are fated to beget children or not to beget them; it is useless therefore for

you to go with a woman." In this case, forasmuch as it is an utter impossibility to beget children without going with a woman, to go with a woman is not a useless procedure; and similarly, if there is but one road to recovery from sickness, and that is via the doctor's skill, the doctor must be summoned; and it is false to say, "It is no good for you to call in the doctor." Now I have gone into all these details on account of what our paragon of wisdom, Celsus, said: "Being God He foretold, and what was foretold must certainly have come to pass"; for if Celsus by "certainly" means "necessarily," we shall not agree with him, for the event might not have happened. But if by "certainly" he means "will be,"----and there is nothing to prevent this being true, though the event might possibly not have happened,----my argument is as sound as ever; it does not follow that because Jesus truly foretold the traitor's treachery, or Peter's denial, He was Himself the cause of their impiety and unholy conduct. For, as we hold, He knew what was in man;558 and seeing the traitor's detestable character, and also what through |187 avarice and through want of a right and steadfast regard for the Master he would dare to do, after much besides, Jesus said,"He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me." 559 From Book III. of the Commentary on Genesis:----

14. Now let us grapple with the question whether it is a fact that the stars are not in the least productive of human affairs, but only indicate them. It is quite plain that if the stars in a given position are thought to produce certain events in a human life----let us make that the precise point of the present inquiry----their position to-day, for instance, which concerns that one man, could not be understood to have produced the past of some other person or persons; for whatever produces precedes the thing produced. But, according to the teaching of the professors of the art, things that happened before this grouping of the stars are generally thought to be declared. For they profess, once they have ascertained somehow or other the particular

560 hour of any given man, to be able to find the elevation of each planet, or in what minutest part of the sign it appeared, and what sort of a star of the Zodiac happened to be on the eastern horizon, and what on the west, and which star was on the meridian, and which on the opposite meridian. And when they have placed the stars, whose position they think they have determined for themselves, and which are thus grouped according to the season of the nativity of the person, from the time of the birth of him concerning whom they are inquiring, they investigate not only the future, but also the past, and things before the birth and begetting of the person we are speaking of; what manner of man his father was, rich or poor, sound in body or maimed, of good or bad character, with much wealth or little, of this or that condition; and, similarly, respecting the man's mother, and his elder brethren, if there happen to be any.

15. For the present let us allow, though we shall afterwards show that it is not so, that they do ascertain the true meaning of the position and relations of the stars;

|188 nevertheless, let us ask those who suppose that human affairs are necessitated by the stars, how such and such a position to-day can have produced previous events. For if this is impossible, even supposing that they discover the truth concerning those previous events, it is clear that the stars with their present movements in the heavens have not produced things past and gone before they took that position. And if any one, noting what is said about the future, should allow that they are correct, he will say that they are right, not because the stars cause the events, but only because they indicate them. And if any one alleges that the stars do not now cause past events,

but that there were other groupings which were the causes of the nativity of the persons I have mentioned, but that the present grouping has only indicated them, and that future events are nevertheless shown by the present grouping at the nativity of such an one, let him show how we are to distinguish between our ability to prove the truth of certain things if the stars are causative,561 and of others if they are indicative only. If they cannot explain the difference, they will frankly concede that nothing human is caused by the stars, but, as we said before, some way or other indicated; as if one did not receive the knowledge of the past and future from the stars at all, but from the mind of God through some prophetic utterance. For, as we have already shown that the fact of God's knowing the future conduct of every person does not disturb the argument respecting our Free Will, so neither do the signs, which God appointed to be indicative, interfere with our Free Will; but, like a volume of prophecy, the heavens as a whole, being as it were one of God's books, may contain the future. And thus what is said by Jacob in the prayer for Joseph may be understood: "For I read in the pages of the sky what shall befall thee and thy sons."

562 Perhaps also the passage, "The heavens shall be rolled together as a book,"

563 shows |189

that the declarations therein indicative of the future shall be brought to completion, and, so to speak, fulfilled, as the prophecies are said to be fulfilled by the event. And thus the existing stars will be for signs, according as it is said, "Let them be for signs."

564 And Jeremiah, in order that he may bring us back to ourselves, and remove our dread of what is thought to be indicated by the stars, and perhaps supposed to come from them, says, "Be not dismayed at the signs of heaven."

565

16. Now let us look at our second undertaking, and try to show how it is that the stars cannot be causative, though they may possibly be indicative. In the vast multitude of nativities we may possibly get at the incidents of one man's life; but this is only an assumption; we concede the point that it is possible for men to gain a knowledge of them. For instance, our opponents say we may learn both from a man's own nativity, and from the nativity of each of his brothers, if he has more than one, that he will suffer in a certain way, and will die a violent death through meeting with robbers. For they suppose that the nativity of each one includes the death of a brother at the hand of robbers, and likewise the nativity of the father and mother and wife and sons and domestics and dearest friends, and perhaps the nativity of the murderers themselves. How can a man then, whose future is involved in so many nativities, to make them this concession, be influenced by the position and relation of the stars at one nativity more than by those at the others? The statement that the position of the stars at a man's own nativity has caused certain events, while their position at the nativities of the rest has not caused but only indicated them, is incredible; and it is as silly to say that the nativity of each one of them, severally, included a cause of the violent death of this one in particular, so that in fifty nativities, suppose, is included the death of this one person. I do not know how they will maintain that the position of the stars at the nativity of nearly everybody in Judea

|190

was such that they received circumcision on the eighth day, being mutilated in their parts, and ulcerated, and subject to inflammation and sores, and no sooner born than needing a doctor; while the position at the nativity of certain Israelites down in Arabia was such that they were all circumcised at the age of thirteen years, for this is what we are told about them; and again the position at the nativity of certain people in Etheopia such that they had their knee-pans taken away, while the Amazons had one of their breasts removed. How do the stars cause these effects in various nations? I suppose that if we give close attention to the subject, we shall not be able to state a single true and reliable fact

566 about these things. And when we hear of so many ways of knowing the future, I am at a loss to understand how men can be so inconsistent as to deny the existence of an active cause in augury, and in sacrificial inspection, maintaining that they are only indicative, but will not allow that astrology also, and nativity casting, are only indicative. For if because a future event is known,----granting that it is known,----the source of the event is the same as the source of the knowledge, why shall events any more be caused by stars than by birds, and by birds, or by entrails of victims, more than by ruling stars?

567 This will suffice for the present to upset the notion that the stars are causes of human affairs.

17. We conceded the point, for it does not interfere with the reasoning, that men can understand the positions of the stars in the heavens, the signs, and the things of which they are signs; now let us see if it is true. Well, then, the masters of this art say that any one who is going to accurately cast a nativity must know not only in which twelfth part of the Zodiac the star in question is, but also in what part of the twelfth part, and in which of its sixty parts; and the more careful calculators add, in which sixtieth of that sixtieth. And the observer, they say, ought to do

|191

this in the case of each one of the planets, investigating its relation to the fixed stars. He must, moreover, scanning the eastern horizon, observe not only which sign

568 of the Zodiac is there, but also the part of the sign, and the sixtieth part of this part, whether the first or second sixtieth. How, then, since an hour, roughly speaking, is equivalent to half the twelfth part, can any one ascertain the sixtieth part, unless he has a corresponding scale for the division of the hours? For example, who could know that such an one was born at the fourth hour, plus half an hour, plus a quarter, plus an eighth, plus a sixteenth, plus a thirty-second of an hour? For they say it makes a great difference in the things indicated if there is an error, not of a whole hour, but even of a fraction of an hour. Anyway, in the birth of twins there is frequently only a momentary interval; and yet, according to them, the twins differ widely in their fortunes and performances, because they who were thought to have observed the hour were not quite correct as to the relation of the stars, and the part of the sign on the horizon. For no one can say to the thirtieth of an hour what the interval" between the two births is. But let us allow that they are able to determine the hour.

18. There is a well-known theorem which proves that the Zodiac, like the planets, moves from west to east at the rate of one part in a hundred years, and that this movement in the lapse of so long a time changes the local relation of the signs; so that, on the one hand, there is the invisible

569 sign, and on the other, as it were, the visible figure of it; and events, they say, are discovered not from the figure, but from the invisible sign; though it cannot possibly be apprehended. But let us grant that the invisible sign can be apprehended, or admit the possibility of getting at the truth through the visible sign; still even they will admit their inability to preserve in due proportion what they call the "blending"

570 of the signs in |192

these positions, for it often happens that the influence of a malignant star which appears is more or less weakened by the aspect of a more benign one; and again, that the weakening of the influence of the malignant star by the aspect of the benign one is hindered, because of some particular position and relation of the other, though it is indicative of evil. And I think that any one who studies the passages must despair of understanding such matters, inasmuch as the knowledge is not disclosed to men, but at the most only goes as far as the indication

571 of events. And any one who has had actual experience will know that speakers and writers more frequently fail than succeed in their guesses at the truth. Wherefore Isaiah, believing that these things cannot be discovered by men, says to the daughter of the Chaldeans, who above all others were professors of the art, "Let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, stand up and save thee; let them tell thee what shall come upon thee."

572 We are thus taught that the most learned in these matters cannot show beforehand what the Lord intends to bring upon every nation.

19. We have already given instances of the literal fulfilment of prophecy. And if Jacob speaks of reading in the pages of the sky what should befall his sons, and if any one on the strength of this should meet us with the objection that the contrary to what we say is proved by Scripture,----for we said that men cannot comprehend the signs, and Jacob says that he read in the pages of the sky,573 ----our defence will be that our wise men, guided by a marvellous superhuman spirit, are not taught the mysteries by human skill but by the power of God; as Paul says, "I heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter."

574 For they know the alterations of the |193

turning of the sun, and the change of seasons: the events of years, and the position of stars,"

575 not from men nor through men, but because the Spirit reveals them, and reveals them clearly, as God wills, announcing the Divine purposes. And another way also Jacob was more than human, for he supplanted his brother, and confessed in the same book from which we quoted the words, "I read in the pages of the sky," that he was commander-in-chief of the host of the Lord and had long ago gained the name Israel; all of which he acknowledges when ministering in bodily form, when the Archangel Uriel

576 reminds him of it.

20. It now remains to inquire and show those who believe that the lights of heaven are set for signs, but have been misled by fanciful interpretations of the passages, why it is that God has made these signs in the sky. And we must first observe that if we believe the mind of God to be great enough to embrace the perfect knowledge of every individual existence, so that not the least

ordinary occurrence escapes His Divinity, this belief involves the tenet, not demonstrably certain, but held as being consistent with the eternity of God's understanding, which transcends all nature, that His knowledge is, as it were, infinite. In order, then, that superhuman beings, and also the holy souls which have escaped from the bondage of this present state, may by experience grasp this truth, God created in the heavens beings who have been taught and shall be taught, as well by the revolution of the heavens as by other means, to read the signs which God gives as if they were written and stamped on the face of the sky. And it is not surprising that God should create some one for the sake of a manifestation to the blessed, for the Scripture saith to Pharaoh, "For this very purpose did I raise thee up, that I might show in thee my power, and that my name might be published abroad in all the

|194

earth." 577 For if Pharaoh was preserved for the sake of showing the power of God and publishing abroad His name in all the earth,578 consider what a marvellous manifestation of the power of God there is in the heavenly signs, for all of them have been from everlasting to everlasting engraved in the book of the heavens, a book worthy of God. And, secondly, I conjecture that the signs are exposed to the Powers which administer human affairs, in order that they may only know some things, and effect others; just as in our books some things are written that we may know them, as, for example, the story of the Creation, or any other mystery, and others that we may know and do them, as, for instance, the commandments and ordinances of God. It is indeed possible that the writings of the heavens, which Angels and Divine powers can read well, contain some things to be read by the Angels and ministers of God in order that they may rejoice in their knowledge; and other things in order that they may receive them as commandments and do them.

21. And we shall not err if we maintain the analogy between the things in the Law and that which is written in the heavens and the stars. Even supposing that inferior energies, different from human kind, do bring about some of the events foreknown and indicated in the heavens, there is no necessity for supposing that they effect the results because they are reminded by the writings of God (in the heavens). Just as men when they act unjustly, effect the injustice through their own wickedness, not because they have learnt that God foreknows that some one will be unjustly treated by them; so the opposing Powers, though God foreknows the wickedness of the men and Powers who devise the detestable results, bring things to pass of their own shameful free choice. As regards the holy Angels, however, the ministering spirits sent forth to do service,579 it is probable that inasmuch as they follow 580 the commands of God's written law, they produce the |195 better results in an orderly way, having regard to time, manner, and degree; for it is absurd to suppose that being Divine, they at random, and not deliberately, approach some transaction, for instance, with Abraham, and do something for Isaac, and deliver Jacob from danger, or impress the spirit of some prophet. In order, therefore, that they may not thus act at random or haphazard, they read God's book; and thus they do the things belonging to them. And, as we said before, we, as regards our own conduct, or the working of the opposing Powers against us, act of our own free choice; when we sin, the choice is disorderly; when we do such things as are pleasing to God, the choice is disciplined; not however that we can dispense with Angels, the Divine Scriptures, or assisting saints. And Clement of Rome 581 in his argument with his father at Laodicea has some comments on the question before us----the passage occurs in The Travels,582----which agree with the foregoing. Towards the end he speaks with great force on the seeming results of "Nativity,"

22. The Father.----Pardon me, my son, what you said yesterday was so true that I had no choice but to agree with you; but my conscience, like the weakness left by a fever, torments me with a lingering doubt, for I feel that everything in my nativity has come to pass.

I answered, consider with me, father, what the nature of Astrology 583 is, and upon what grounds I give you my advice. If you meet with an astrologer, and begin by telling him that at a certain time you had poor luck, and ask him to be good enough to inform you what star was the cause of it, he will, say that a malignant Mars or Saturn ruled the times, or that one of them was periodic,584 or that one |196 of them regarded the particular year from the point of quadrature, or diametrically,585 or in conjunction, or centrally,586 or was retrograding,587 and no end of things besides. He will tell you that either an auspicious planet was not counteracting 588 a malignant one, or it was not observable, or was in figure,589 or was retrograding, or in eclipse, or in detriment,590 or was among the dim stars. And because there are many ostensible causes, he is still able to adapt his proofs to what he has been told by you. Now, if you afterwards go to another astrologer and tell him the opposite, viz. that at that same time you had a piece of good fortune, and ask him from what star of your nativity it has arisen, though you have deceived him, he is able, as I said before, out of many figures to find one, or two, or three, or more, which he will make out to be the true cause of your good fortune. For it is impossible that at any man's nativity, at any hour, some of the stars should not be favourably placed, others unfavourably; for the circle 591 admits of equal divisions, is diversified in contents, and admits of unlimited shuffling, so that any astrologer can say what he likes. We can sometimes make nothing of ambiguous dreams, but the event enables us to give them the most fitting interpretation. So it is with Astrology. Before the events it can tell us nothing certain, but when the facts are related the result clearly shows the cause. This is why in predicting the future they frequently err, and after the event blame themselves, and say, "It was this or that caused it, and we did not know." As I said yesterday, the reason why the very |197 learned astrologers err is that they do not know what is certainly the cause of a man's nativity, and what is not certainly so, and what things we certainly long to do, and are not certain to do. The cause is clear to us who have learnt the secret, viz. that being free to exercise our faculties of reason we sometimes yield to concupiscence and suffer defeat, sometimes resolve to check it, and succeed. But astrologers, through not being acquainted with this very secret, though they have expatiated on the whole subject of man's Free Will from the first, have fallen into the error of devising climacterics; for they regard our power of choice as a most obscure subject, as we pointed out yesterday. Now it is your turn. If you have anything to say in reply, please say it. And the father answered with an oath, Nothing can be truer than your words.

CHAP. XXIV. ----Matter is not uncreated, or the cause of evil. From Book VII. of the Praeparatio Evangelica of Eusebius of Palestine.

1. I suppose you are aware that two uncreated things cannot exist together; though you seem to assume that they can, and to put the assumption in the forefront of your argument, when you say that one of two things must be admitted, either that God is separated from matter, or, on the contrary, that He is united to it. Now, if any one would maintain that God is united to matter, this is saying that there is one uncreated substance; for each of these two uncreated substances will be a part of the other, and, as they are parts of one another, they will not be two uncreated, but one,

consisting of different parts. We do not because a man has different parts divide him into many created substances, but, as reason demands, we say that a single being, a man with many parts, has been created by God. Similarly, of necessity, if God is not separated from matter, we must allow that there is one substance, and that uncreated. But if any one will say that God is separated from matter, there must be something between

|198

the two which also proves their separation; for it is impossible to arrive at any idea of distance between two objects, unless there be a third to form the basis of measurement. And this holds good not only of a single substance, as in the present case, but of any number you please; for our argument respecting the two uncreated substances must be no less sound if we suppose that there are three. For we should ask respecting these, whether they are separated from one another, or whether, on the contrary, each is united to its neighbour. If any one decides to assert the union, our reply will be the same as before; if, on the other hand, he holds to the separation, he will have to face the question of the necessary separating medium. And should any one thereupon say that there is a third account which may be fitly given of the uncreated substances, viz. that God is neither separated from matter nor united with it, but is, as it were, locally in matter, or matter in God, let me tell him, and it is the gist of the whole argument, that if we say matter is the place of God, we must of necessity affirm that He is finite and circumscribed by matter. He must, moreover, like matter, be subject to irregular disturbance; He cannot stay in one place, nor abide self-dependent, inasmuch as that wherein He is contained is carried first one way, then another. Besides this, it follows that we must affirm God to be in the lower forms of being. For if matter ever was unordered, and God of His own free choice ordered it with a view to progressive development, there was a time when God had no order of His own,592 and we might fairly ask whether God filled matter, or was in a part of it. If any one prefers to say that God was in a part of matter, he makes God infinitely smaller than matter: if a part really contained the whole of God. If he says that God is in all matter and pervades the whole of matter, let him tell us how God worked on matter. Either there was some contraction of God before He worked on that from which He withdrew, or He worked at Himself as well as

|199

the matter, because He had no place to withdraw to. If any one will maintain that matter is in God, we must similarly inquire whether we are to suppose that God stood apart from Himself, and as living creatures are in the air, that He split up and divided Himself to receive the things in Him, or whether matter is in Him locally, like water in earth. If we say that matter is in Him like birds in the air, we are bound to admit that God is divisible; if we say that matter is in God as water is in earth, and if matter was in a state of confusion and disorder, and, moreover, contained even evil things, we must of necessity allow that God was the place of disorder and of evil, which does not seem to me consistent with piety, but to be rather dangerous. For you postulate the existence of matter, so that you may not have to admit that God is the Author of evil, and in your determination to avoid this error, you affirm that He is a receptacle of evil. If you told me that what you see in created substances

593 leads you to suppose that matter was originally uncreated, I should have had many arguments to prove the impossibility of this conclusion; but as you say the origin of evil is the cause of such a

supposition, I must, I think, proceed to inquire into the nature of evil. For once it is clear how evil comes to exist, and, if because matter is subject to God, we cannot possibly deny that He was the cause of evil, there will, I think, be an end of your supposition.

2. Do I understand you to say that unqualified matter is co-existent with God, and that out of it He created the world?

It seems so to me.

So, then, if matter had no qualities, and the world was made by God, and qualities are in the world, God is the Maker of the qualities.

Just so. But I think you said before that nothing can possibly come out of nothing. Please tell me, therefore, whether |200 you think that the qualities of the world have not sprung from already existing qualities?

It seems so. And that these qualities are quite distinct from the substances?

Yes.

Well, then, if God did not make the qualities out of existing qualities, and they have not come from the substances, because they are not substances, we are driven to the conclusion that they were made by God out of nothing. And this is why you seemed to me to urge in vain that we cannot possibly suppose that anything was made by God out of nothing. Let us look at the matter this way. Among ourselves we see men making various things out of nothing; out of nothing I say, though they certainly do seem to be creators in their own departments. Take architects, for example. They do not build cities out of cities, nor, similarly, temples out of temples. If because substances exist which are at their command, you suppose the architects to produce cities and temples out of existing things, you are mistaken, for it is not the substance which makes the city, nor the temples, but the skill in treating the substance. And the skill does not spring from any skill existing in the substances, but from a skill which has no existence in them. You may meet me with the objection that the artist out of the skill which he himself has makes the skill in the substance. It seems to me a fair rejoinder that the man's skill does not arise from any previously existing skill. It cannot be that skill as a self-existent entity gives the skill; for it belongs to the class of accidents, and to those things which receive a real existence when they inhere in substance. You may have the man without the architect's skill, but you cannot have the architect's skill unless the man first exist; and we must therefore maintain that the various forms of human skill have nothing out of which they arise.594 Now, if we have shown that this

|201

is so with men, must we not much rather admit that God can make not only qualities out of nothing, but also substances? For if it is proved that anything arises out of nothing, it is also proved that the same holds good of substances.

3. But I know you are longing to investigate the origin of evil; I will therefore go on to the discussion of that topic. And I should like to briefly ask you, Do you regard evil things as substances, or qualities of substances?

I think it is right to say, qualities of substances. But matter, you thought, was unqualified and unformed? So I assumed when we began the discussion.

Well, then, if evil is a quality of matter, and matter was unqualified, and you affirm that God is the Maker of the qualities, it follows that God will also be the Creator of evil. Since, then, we cannot even thus avoid making God the cause of evil, it seems to me superfluous to make Him inseparable from matter. If you have any answer to this, pray say on. If we were disputing for victory, I should think the question of evil decided; but as we are making the inquiry more in a friendly spirit and to do one another good, I think we may re-open the discussion. My aim and object must, I think, be very obvious, and you must be conscious how earnestly I desire in arguing not to score a victory on the strength of plausible lies, but by careful inquiry to point out the truth. And I am quite sure that you are so disposed. So please, therefore, without hesitation use such means as you consider best for the discovery of the truth, for by so doing you will profit not yourself only but me also, by showing me my ignorance. It seems clear to me that evil has a substantial existence, for I never see what is evil apart from substances.

4. Ho! Ho! If you say that things evil are substances, I must examine the meaning of substance. Do you think that substance is a kind of bodily compound?

I think so. And the bodily compound is self-existent, needing nothing to give it existence? |202

Just so. And do you think that evil things are a man's actions?

It appears so to me. And the actions then only begin when the agent is present? Of course. And if there is no one to act, there are no actions?

There cannot be any.

Well, then, if substance is a kind of bodily compound, and the bodily compound needs nothing to give it existence: and if evil things are a man's actions, and the actions require some one to act, and when he acts they then begin to be, it follows that evil things are not substances. But if evil things are substances, and murder is an evil, murder will be a substance; murder, however, is a man's action; murder will therefore not be a substance. If you mean that the things in action are substances, I agree; as, for example, the murderer, inasmuch as he is a man, is a substance; but the murder which he commits is not a substance, but something, done by the substance. Now we say that a man is sometimes bad because he commits murder, and sometimes, on the contrary, we call him good because of his well-doing; and these names are accidentally associated with the substance, though the accidents are not the substance itself. For neither is murder a substance, nor adultery, nor is any such like evil thing. But as the grammarian is so called from grammar, and the rhetorician from rhetoric, and the medical man from medicine, though neither medicine nor rhetoric nor grammar is a substance, and the substance takes its title according to its accidents, neither of which it is; in the same way, it appears to me, the substance receives a name from what are considered evil things, though it is neither one nor the other of them. Consider further, that if you imagine some other deity to be the cause of the evil which men do, he too, inasmuch as he acts in men, is evil because of the evil which he does. For the reason why he too is said to be evil, is that he is

|203

an author of evil; and what a man does, is not the man himself, but his actions, and it is from these the title "evil" is derived. If we were to say that a man is what he creates, and he creates murders, and adulteries, and thefts, and all sorts of such things, he will be all these. But if he is all these, and they exist only when they are being done, and have no existence when they are not being done, and if they are done by men, men will be the creators of them, and the causes of their existing or not existing. If you admit that these evil things are the man's actions, it is what from what he does that he has the quality of evil, not from what he is as a substance. For we said that he is called evil from the accidents of the substance, which accidents are not the substance itself, as the medical man is so-called from medicine. And if every man is evil through his actions, and his actions have a beginning, he himself began to be evil, and these evil things, too, had a beginning. If this be so, the man was not evil when his wickedness began, nor can the evil attaching to him be unoriginate; we say it did originate with him.

5. I think, my friend, you have given a sufficient answer to your companion, and I thought you drew an excellent conclusion from his own premises; for, in truth, if matter was unqualified, and God was the Creator of the qualities, and the qualities are evil, God will be the Author of evil. We are agreed, then, that he has been well answered. But it seems to me false to speak of unqualified matter, for we cannot say that any substance whatsoever is without qualities; in fact the very affirmation that it is unqualified, and the description of matter thus given, point out a particular kind of quality. So, if you please, once more discuss the matter with me; for matter seems to me to have had qualities from all eternity; and if I maintain that evil is an effluence of matter, it is that God may not be the cause of evil, but matter the cause of all the evil in the world.

I am delighted with your ready acquiescence, my friend, and commend your earnestness in the discussion: for every one who is desirous to learn ought not to give a mere

|204

random assent to what is said, but should carefully weigh the arguments. For supposing one of two disputants to take up a false position, and thus lead his opponent to the conclusion he desires, that will not convince the man who hears him; but if there seems to be a good opening for a remark, the latter will make it on the spot; for one of two things will happen: he will either after hearing what has been said be absolutely benefited by his impressions, or he will convict his antagonist of not speaking the truth. And in my opinion you are not right in saying that matter was qualified from all eternity. For if this be so, what is there for God to create? If we say substances, we have admitted that they already existed; if, on the contrary, we say qualities, we have recognised their pre-existence also. So, then, if both substances and qualities are already in existence, it seems to me useless to call God a Creator. But that I may not seem to argue all on my own side, let me ask you a question: In what sense do you say that God was a "Creator"?

595 Is it that He changed the substances so that they no longer were what they were before, but became something different? Or is it that He kept the substances as they previously were, but changed their qualities?

6. I do not suppose there was a change in the substances; that is to me an obvious absurdity; what I say is that there was a change of the qualities, and I maintain that in respect of them God is a Creator. For just as we may say that a house is built of stones, but cannot say that, because the

stones have become a house, they do not remain stones in substance: for I maintain that the house is built in virtue of the quality of arrangement, the former quality of the stones having been of course changed; so, it seems to me, God, while the substance remained the same, created a change of its qualities, and I maintain that this change justifies us in saying that God made the world.

Well, then, since you say that a change of the qualities was brought about by God, I wish you would briefly tell

|205

me whether you likewise think that things evil are qualities of the substances?

I think so. And were these qualities themselves in matter from the very first, or had they a beginning?

I say that these qualities were eternally co-existent with matter. But do you not say that God produced a change of the qualities?

Yes. That is what I say. Was it for the better, or for the worse?

I think I must admit it was for the better.

Well, then, if the evil things are qualities of matter, and God changed its qualities for the better, we are bound to inquire into the origin of evil. For the qualities did not remain what they were by nature. If the qualities were not bad at first, and you say that through the change which God made, matter acquired its first bad qualities, God will be the cause of evil, because He changed qualities which were not bad, so that they became bad; or do you suppose God not to have changed the bad qualities into better ones, but that the only ones left, the indifferent ones, were changed by God for the sake of putting all in order? That has been my view from the first.

7. How, then, do you account for His having left the qualities of bad things as they were? Do you say that He had the power to destroy them, but did not choose to do so, or that He had not the power? If you say that He could, but would not, you are bound to admit that He was the cause of these things: for though He had the power to abolish evil He allowed it to remain as it was, particularly when He began to work at matter. If he had not concerned Himself at all with matter, He would not have been the cause of those qualities which He allowed to remain; but since He worked upon a portion of it, and let alone another portion though He might have changed it for the better, it appears to mo that He deserves blame, because He left part of the matter in its evil state, to the

|206 destruction of the part on which He worked. In truth, very great injustice seems to have been done to this part of matter; inasmuch as though He reduced it to order, it now partakes of evil. For if any one will carefully look into things, he will find that the present condition of matter is worse than that of the original chaos. Before it was differentiated, it had ho perception of evil; but now every part of it has the perception of evil. Take man, for instance. Before he was fashioned, and by the Creator's skill became a living creature, he had no natural participation in evil; but as soon as God made him a man, he became conscious of approaching evil; and what you say God intended for the benefit of matter is found to have done it more harm than good. If you say that the reason

why evil was not stopped was that God could not remove it, you will affirm that God is impotent; and His impotence must either be caused by natural weakness, or be due to the fact that, as if He were the slave of some stronger power, He is overcome by fear. If you venture to say that He is weak by nature, you appear to imperil your salvation; and if you say that He is overcome by fear of some stronger power, you will be affirming that evil is mightier than God, inasmuch as it is strong enough to resist and overcome His will; and this seems to me an absurd statement to make about God. These things, which according to you are able to overcome God, must surely be the true gods, that is to say, if by God we mean Omnipotence.

8. And I should like to also ask you a short question about matter itself. Tell me, is matter simple or compound? for the difference in things brings me to this turn in the argument. If matter is simple and uniform, and the world is compound, and consists of different substances and commixtures,596 we cannot say that it is made of matter, because compound things cannot consist of one simple substance; for when we speak of "compound" we mean a mixture 597 of several simple things. If, on the other hand, |207 you say that matter is compound, you will certainly affirm it to be compounded of simple things; and if it is compounded of simple things, there was a time when these simple things existed apart from one another, and it was by their being compounded together that matter was made; and this shows that matter was created. For if matter is compound, and compound things consist of simple things, there was a time when matter was not, that is, before the simple things came together; and if there was a time when matter was not, and there never was a time when the uncreated was not, it follows that matter cannot be uncreated. But from your view it follows that there will be many things uncreated. For if God was uncreated, and the simple things of which matter is compounded were uncreated, there will not be two and only two uncreated. But do you think that nothing opposes itself? That is my opinion. But water is the opposite of fire?

Certainly.

And, likewise, darkness is the opposite of light, and heat of cold? And moisture of drought?

Just so.

Well, now, if nothing opposes itself, and the things I have mentioned are opposed to one another, it follows that they are not one and the same matter, nor made of one and the same matter. And I wish to ask you a question like the others: Do you admit that the parts of a thing are not destructive of one another?

I do. And that fire and water, and the others I mentioned, are parts of matter?

Just so. And do you not also agree that water is destructive of fire, light of darkness, and so on with all similar things?

Yes.

If, then, the parts of a thing are not destructive of one another, and these things are destructive of one another, it follows that they are not parts of one another; and if they |208 are not parts of one another, they will not be parts of one and the same matter. But in fact they will not be matter at all, because that nothing is destructive of itself, as is the case with opposites. For nothing is opposed to itself, opposites being by nature opposed to things other than themselves; as for example, white

is not the opposite of white, but is said to be opposed to black; light, too, is shown not to be opposed to itself, but to darkness, and similarly with countless other things. So then, if matter is a single substance, it cannot be its own opposite; and if this doctrine of opposites holds good, it appears that there is no such matter. The foregoing is taken from Book VII. of the Praeparatio Evangelica of Eusebius; being, as he says, the work of Maximus,598 a Christian writer of some distinction. But it has been discovered word for word in Origen's discussion with the Marcionites and other heretics, Eutropius defending, Megethius opposing.

CHAP. XXV. ----That the "separation" which arises from foreknowledge does not do away with Free Will. From Book I. of the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, at the words "separated unto the gospel of God."

1. The third point to notice is the phrase "separated unto the Gospel of God";599 and in the Epistle to the Galatians the Apostle says the same thing about himself: "When it was the good pleasure of God, who separated me even from my mother's womb, to reveal his son in me."

600 They who do not understand that any one who is predestined through the foreknowledge of God is the cause of the events foreknown, take hold of such expressions as these, and think they can by them establish their doctrine that men are so constituted by nature that they must be saved. And some employ such passages to destroy man's Free Will, and also make use of the words in the Psalms, "The wicked are estranged from the womb." We may

|209

easily meet this by asking them to explain what comes next; for it is written, "The wicked are estranged from the womb; they go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies. Their poison is like the poison of a serpent."

601 And we will ask those who insist on the clearness of the words, whether the wicked who were estranged from the womb, as soon as they were born went astray and erred from the way of salvation, and whether this was their own doing. And how could the wicked who were estranged from the womb, both go astray as soon as they were born and also speak lies? For our opponents, I suppose, will never be able to show that in the moment of birth they uttered an articulate cry, and told lies. If, however, we observe the steps by which we approach predestination in the argument of the epistle which we are examining, we shall, once we have disposed of what inclines the simpler sort of readers to justify the charge of injustice brought against God's decree, be able to defend Him Who separated from his mother's womb, and separated unto the Gospel of God, Paul the servant of Jesus Christ, called to be an Apostle. The words stand thus: "We know that to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are called according to his purpose. For whom he foreknew, he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren: and whom he foreordained, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified."602

2. Let us, then, attend to the order of these statements. God first calls, and then justifies, and He does not justify those whom He did not call; and He calls, having before the calling foreordained, and He does not call whom He did not foreordain;603 and the foreordaining is not the origin of His calling and justifying; for if it were the origin of all that follows they who bring in by a side wind the

absurd doctrine of souls being "naturally constituted"

604 |210

might very plausibly have claimed the victory; but the foreknowledge comes before the foreordaining, for "whom he did foreknow," says the Apostle, "he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of his Son."

605 So then, God first surveyed the long series of events, and perceiving the will of certain men to be inclined to godliness, and also their efforts to attain thereto when their will was so inclined, and further, how they would wholly give themselves up to a virtuous life, He foreknew them, for He knows the present and foreknows the future; and whom He thus foreknew, He foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son. Now we know there is a Person, Who is the image of the invisible God,606 and it is His image which is called the image of the Son of God; and we think that this image is the human

607 soul which the Son of God assumed, and which for its merit became the image of the image of God. And it was to this, which we think is the image of the image of the Son of God, that God foreordained those to be conformed, whom, on account of His foreknowledge of them, He did foreordain. We must not therefore suppose that the foreknowledge of God is the cause of future events; but inasmuch as these events would follow the agent's own impulses, on this account He foreknew, for He knoweth all things before they be:608 and inasmuch as He knoweth all things before they be, He foreknew certain individuals and foreordained them to be conformed to the image of His Son; but others He saw

|211

estranged. And if any one objects, and asks whether what God foreknows might possibly not occur, we shall say it possibly might not; but granting this possibility, there is no necessity that it should occur, or not occur; and the events will not in the least be necessitated, but there is also the possibility of their not occurring. The subject of possibilities, however, belongs to the science of the skilled logician; so that if a man will cleanse the eye of his mind, he may thus be able to follow the subtle arguments, and may understand how, even in the course of ordinary events, there is nothing to prevent the possibility of a given circumstance issuing many ways, though, in fact, there will be only one out of the many, and that not necessitated; and the foreknowledge of it means that it will be, but will not of necessity be; for though it may possibly not occur, the prediction of it will not be conjecture but real foreknowledge.

3. And let no one think that we have said nothing about the phrase "according to his purpose," because it may seem to hamper our argument; for Paul says, "We know that to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are called according to his purpose."

609 The critic should observe that the Apostle also at once gave the reason for their being culled according to His purpose, saying, "Whom he did foreknow, them he also foreordained to bo conformed to the image of his Son." And who more fitting to be included in the justifying calling by the purpose of God, than those who love Him? And that the cause of the purpose and foreknowledge lies in our Free Will is clearly shown by the words, "We know that all things work together for good to them that love God"; for Paul all but said that if all things work together for

good, the reason is that they who love God are worthy of their working together. And here let us ask our opponents a question, and let them give us an answer. Just for a moment let us assume that we have some measure of Free Will,----and we will tell them that this is a fact, though they

|212

seek to destroy Free Will,----until on that assumption we can prove the unsoundness of their view. If Free Will is indeed a reality, will God, when He considers the chain of future events, foreknow what will be done by each possessor of Free Will through the exercise of that Free Will, or will He not foreknow? To say that He will not foreknow, is worthy of a man who knows nothing of the omniscience and majesty of God. But if they will admit His foreknowledge, let us ask them another question: Is His knowing the cause of future occurrences, assuming that men have Free Will? Or does He foreknow because the events will come to pass? And is it the truth that His foreknowledge is by no means the cause of what will result from man's Free Will? It is then possible for a man created free, under given circumstances, not to do one thing and to do another.

4. For these reasons, and others like them which might be adduced, we uphold the words, "Well done, good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord,"

610 and meaning attaches to all commendation. There is sound reason also in the words, "Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou oughtest to have put my money to the bankers."

611 Only thus can we maintain the justice of what is said to those on His right hand, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat,"

612 and so on; and to those on the left hand, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels: for I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat,"

613 and so on. But even supposing that the words "Separated unto the gospel of God,"

614 and "He that separated me from my mother's womb,"

615 imply some necessity, how could the Apostle reasonably say, "I buffet my body and bring it into bondage, lest by any means, after that I have preached to others, I myself should be

|213

rejected." 616 And further, "Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel."

617 For he clearly shows hereby that if he did not buffet his body and bring it into bondage as much as he could, he would be rejected after preaching to others, and that woe might have been unto him if he did not preach the Gospel. Perhaps, then, it was under these conditions that God separated him from his mother's womb: God saw the cause of the just separation, viz. that Paul would buffet his body, and bring it into bondage, because he feared lest having preached to others he himself might be rejected, and that, knowing there would be woe to him unless he preached the Gospel, being moved with fear towards God so that he might not be in woe, he would not hold his peace but would preach the Gospel. And this He also saw Who separated him from his mother's womb, and separated him unto His own Gospel, viz. that he would be in labours more

abundantly,618 in prisons more frequently, in stripes above measure, in death oft; that of the Jews he would five times receive forty stripes save one, that he would be thrice beaten with rods, once be stoned; and that he would suffer all this rejoicing in tribulations, and that, knowing that tribulation worketh endurance,619 he would endure. For these reasons it was meet that he should be separated unto the Gospel of God, as it was foreknown that he would be, and that he should be separated from his mother's womb. And he was separated unto the Gospel of God not because his nature was specially endowed and by its constitution surpassed the natures of men unlike him, but on account of his actions, first foreknown, but afterwards realised, every one of them, through his apostolic fitness and apostolic purpose. This is not the time to discuss the passage in the psalm, for it was a digression; so, God willing, it shall be discussed in its proper place, whenever we interpret the psalm. The foregoing will abundantly suffice for the term "separated."

|214

CHAP. XXVI. ----Of the question of things "good"and "evil"; that they partly depend on our own efforts

620 and partly do not; and (that) according to the teaching of Christ, but not as Aristotle thinks. From the treatise on the 4th Psalm, at the words, "Many say, who will show us the good things?"

621

1. Seeing that there is so much discussion as to what things are "good," what "evil," some affirming that good things and the contrary do not depend

622 on our own efforts, pleasure,623 for instance, as they declare, being a good thing, trouble an evil thing; while others identify "good" and "evil" with things dependent on our own efforts only, for they say that good

624 things are the virtues only and virtuous actions, and that evil things are the vices and vicious actions; and a third set of thinkers unite the two views, and tell us that good and evil things partly depend on our own efforts, partly do not: no wonder, if distracted by these sophistries the majority of believers, longing to learn what are really good things, cry out with the psalmist, "Who will show us the good things?"

621 That the good things naturally depend upon our own efforts, everybody who accepts the passage in the Gospel where the judgment is described, would unhesitatingly allow. For it says that a man is good, supposing him to hear the sentence, "Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things: enter thou into the joy of

|215

thy Lord." 625 And that is also good which proceedeth from the good man, out of his heart, as the Saviour says, "The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good."

626 And, in general, every fruit of a good tree, because it depends on a man's own efforts, is a good thing: such as love, peace, joy, long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control; and the contraries are evil things. And if, according to the teaching of Christ, there is a

something good and evil, and we must still look for it in things independent of our choice, and it should prove to be independent of our efforts, we shall on further investigation very quickly show. But, at any rate, things so called by those who unite what is within our choice with what is not, could not be good and evil; for they think that some good things pertain to the soul, others to the body, and that others are external; and similarly with evil things. And in respect of the soul, they speak of virtue and virtuous conduct, or vice and vicious conduct; as concerns the body, of health and vigour and beauty, or disease and sickliness and deformity; as regards externals, wealth, good birth and reputation, or poverty, humble origin and disgrace.

2. And some will suppose that likewise according to the Scriptures there are three kinds of good things, and three of evil; for while they allow that virtues and vices are "good" and "evil," according to the recognised distinction between virtue and vice, and the corresponding conduct on either side, they will make use of passages which declare that oven things pertaining to the body, and things external, are good or evil. And as regards virtues and vices, need I say anything? for we are taught by ethics that we ought to choose righteousness, and temperance, and prudence, and courage, and regulate our conduct according to these virtues; and that we ought to shun the contraries to them. We therefore require no illustrations of good things which are the objects of

|216

our own choice; but from many places they will adduce instances of good things which are bodily and external. On the present occasion it will suffice if we adduce certain passages from Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, to prove that promises are made to those who keep the commandments' while there are threats and curses against those who transgress them; for example, that health is a blessing, and disease the opposite, the following quotation from Exodus will show: "If thou wilt keep my commandments and my ordinances, I will put none of the diseases upon thee, which I put upon the Egyptians; for I am the Lord that healeth thee."

627 And the words also from Deuteronomy against sinners might be supposed to make bodily plagues and diseases an evil thing, and health and bodily strength, of course, a good thing. The passage stands thus: "If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law which are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and marvellous name, The Lord thy God; then The Lord thy God will make thy plagues wonderful, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and marvellous, and sore sicknesses, and very many. And he will bring upon thee again all the grievous plague of Egypt, which thou wast afraid of, and it shall cleave unto thee. Also every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the book of this law, will the Lord bring upon thee, until it utterly destroy thee."

628 And again to transgressors it is said, "I will appoint over you even fever and jaundice, that shall consume your eyes, and make your soul to pine away."

629 Further, in Deuteronomy 630

the Word threatens with incurable lockjaw 631

those who forsake godliness.

3. And they who understand outward blessings to be promised by the Divine word in Leviticus, will make use of the following: "If ye walk in my statutes, and

|217

keep my commandments, and do them: then I will give you the rain in its season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the plains shall yield their fruit. And your threshing shall overtake the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time, and ye shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land safely,"

632 and so on. And from Deuteronomy they will take and use the passage, "And it shall be when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ye observe to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God shall set thee on high above all: and all these blessings shall come upon thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God.633 Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, the herds of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy garners and thy kneading-troughs,"

634 and so on. And so again, on the contrary, it is said to the ungodly, "Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field. Cursed shall be thy garners and thy kneading-troughs. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, cursed the herds of thy cattle and the flocks of thy sheep."

635 And countless other passages will be brought forward by those who will have it that good and evil things are bodily and external. And they lay hold of the Gospels also, and tell us that the Saviour when He came took away from men, inasmuch as He deemed them evil things, bodily blindness, and deafness, and palsy, and healed every disease and every sickness,636 and gave instead of the evil things which previously prevailed, clearness of bodily sight, and hearing, and every form of health and strength; and they will put you out of countenance by what they allege, unless we are prepared to admit possession by devils and lunacy

|218

to be evil things,637 and, on the contrary, deliverance from them to be a good thing. Nay, the Apostles also in exercising the gifts of healing, and in working miracles, by the very nature of what they did brought good things to men and freed them from evil things. And they who say such things will pass over to the world to come, and allege that because pain is an evil thing sinners are committed to age-long fire; and if pain is an evil thing, pleasure must be a good one.

4. The foregoing clearly shows the arguments which mostly silence such readers as cannot dispose of the. scriptural statements which are adduced in favour of there being three kinds of good things and three of evil things. Moreover, not only have confessedly unsophisticated believers been thus beguiled, but even some of those who profess wisdom according to Christ have fallen into the snare; for they suppose such promises as these to be made by the Creator,638 and that beyond their literal signification the threats have no meaning. Well, then, in reply to all who so strangely apprehend the Scriptures, we must further inquire whether the Prophets, against whom no charge is brought, kept the law; Elias, for instance, the poorest of men, so poor that he had not bread of his own to eat, and was therefore sent to a woman of Zarephath which belonged to Zidon;639 and Eliseus, who at the house of the Shunammite had a very little chamber, and a bed, and a cheap candlestick, who also fell sick and died;640 and Isaiah, who went three years naked and barefoot;641 and Jeremiah, who was cast into a miry pit, and was

constantly derided, so that he prayed he might have a lodging-place in the wilderness;642 and John, who was in the deserts and ate nothing but locusts and wild honey, who had a leathern girdle about his loins, and was clothed in raiment of camel's hair.643 They will, I suppose, admit that these men kept the law. And we will ask whether

|219

what our opponents consider good things, were the lot of those who kept the law. And if they cannot show that this was so, there will be no escape for them; they will have to allow either that the promises which are said to be given to the godly are false, or that being true they must be anagogically interpreted; and once they are compelled to resort to allegory, there is an end of their supposition that the law threatens the ungodly with bodily disease, and such external things as are reckoned to be evils, and that the promise of bodily health and wealth is for those who follow after God.

5. And is it not foolish to make such a point of the ills of life, and to boast of those who suffer from them? For if tribulations are evil, and the Apostle speaks of rejoicing in tribulations,644 it is clear that he rejoiced in evil things; but this is foolish, and the Apostle was not a fool; and it follows that such exercises of the Apostle as he speaks of were not evil; being pressed on every side he is not straitened; he is perplexed, yet not unto despair;645 tempted, but not killed; thought to be poor, he maketh many rich, and supposed to have nothing, he possesses all things; for the whole world of wealth belongs to the believer, and not an obol to the unbeliever. And further, they who suppose that according to Scripture there are three kinds of good and three kinds of evil, have to face another fact, viz. that the righteous are ever in the midst of evils, for the word of prophecy says truly, "Many are the afllictions of the righteous."646 And they who suppose certain things to be evils might not unfitly remember what befell Job, to whom after that he had nobly borne the trials which compassed him about, the Divine word says, "And dost thou suppose that I dealt with thee for any other purpose than that thou mayest appear righteous?"

647 For if Job is shown to be righteous no other way than through this and that befalling him, how can we say that the causes of his appearing righteous are evils to him? And it follows that even the Devil is

|220

not an evil to the holy man. At all events, the Devil was not an evil to Job, for all things work together for good to those who love God, to those who are the called according to His purpose.648 And we further say that it is far from clear that, if the blessings are taken literally, the "righteous" man will be a partaker of those things which in the Scriptures are considered "good." For the story of many a holy man's life contradicts such interpretations. It is absurd to suppose that the holy man will be a money lender, opening banks in many nations,649 in town after town, distracted over payments and receipts, and following a prohibited business; for "the righteous man

650 putteth not out his money to usury, and taketh not rewards against the innocent"; and "he that doeth these things shall never be moved."

651 And, according to Ezekiel, "the holy man giveth not forth his money upon usury nor taketh increase."

652 And as for thinking that fever is inflicted on account of sins, that is an opinion of very ignorant people, for the causes of such a sickness are often clear enough; either the neighbourhood, or the quality of the water, or the character of the food. And if health and wealth are rewards for the righteous, no ungodly man ought to have health or wealth. But we must look for this health in the constitution of a man's soul, and the wealth we must take to be that ransom of a man's soul of which Solomon speaks,----"The ransom of a man's soul is his own riches."

653 But we must shun poverty, which is thus described: "A poor man endureth not a threat." And further, by wounds and bruises and sicknesses we must understand the evils which befall heedless souls through their wickedness; and the prophet blames the sufferers this way for being in such a condition, saying, "From the sole of the foot even unto the head, neither wound, nor bruise, nor festering sore (is healed); there is no plaster, nor oil, to put upon them, neither have they been bound up."

654 |221

6. This will be enough to enable any but the very dull, when they read the distracting passages of Scripture, to arrive at a worthy conception of the action of the Holy Spirit. But in order to silence those who think that in these passages we have the good things which shall be given to the saints, and, on the other hand, the evil things which shall be awarded to sinners, we must further observe that everything which exists on account of a given object is less important than that for which it exists; for instance, surgical operations, cauteries, and plasters, which are means to health, are less important than the health in view. And even supposing that regarded as remedies of the physician these things are called "good," we must understand that they are not the final good things of the healing art, but causes of them; from the physician's standpoint bodily health is the final good. Similarly, if we must keep certain commands for the sake of securing certain blessings, and the rewards are bodily and external, the good actions will not be good as ends in themselves, but only as productive of the blessings; and the wealth which our opponents suppose the Scripture to promise, and the bodily health, will excel the righteousness, and the very holiness, piety, and fear of God which constitute the upright and virtuous conduct. It is for men who do not know the dignity of virtue, but prefer material things to virtue itself, to accept such doctrines; for of all things it is most absurd to say that wealth and bodily health surpass upright and virtuous conduct. And, in fact, it is on account of these detestable opinions that some persons have come to believe that even after the Resurrection one of the first things promised is that we shall eat and drink such and such things, and some hold that we shall even beget children. As soon as ever these opinions reach heathen inquirers, they will make Christianity appear a very foolish thing; for some who are strangers to the Faith hold far better views.

7. Now we will apply what appears to be the results of our investigation of the sacred oracles. We alleged that

|222

we were content to say that "good" things and "evil" things, partly depend on our own efforts, and partly do not. We did not,655 however, reckon among the blessings which do not depend on our efforts, health and beauty and high descent and riches, and, as best we could, we endeavoured to briefly solve these perplexing passages. We must now say what the good things are which do not

depend on our efforts; for it is true that "except the Lord build the house, they labour but in vain who build it"; and "except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

656 Every one who is making progress is building a house, and every one that is perfect keepeth a city; and the work of him that buildeth is in vain, except the Lord build and the Lord watch. The power of the Lord which assists in the building of him that buildeth, and which cooperates with him who is himself unable to complete the edifice, is one of the good things which do not depend on our efforts; and we must take the same view of the city which is being watched. And just as if I were to say that the "good thing" of agriculture, that which produces the fruit, partly depends on ourselves in respect of the husbandman's skill, and partly does not so depend, in respect of the working of Providence for a genial atmosphere and an abundant supply of rain: so the "good thing" of the rational creature is made up of man's purpose, and the Divine power assisting him, when he has chosen the better life. There is need, therefore, both of our own purpose and of the Divine assistance, not only that we may become good and upright, but also that having become good and upright we may abide in virtue; for even if a man has been perfected he will fall away, if he be puffed up over his goodness and accounts himself the cause thereof, and does not fitly ascribe glory to Him who contributes more than all besides to the acquiring and keeping of his virtue.

|223

Something like this, we think, explains how it was that he who in Ezekiel is said to have walked blameless in all his ways, until iniquity was found in him,657 fell from heaven, viz., as Isaiah tells us, Lucifer, once a morning star, afterwards, undone and cast clown to

earth.658 For not only of the sons of men is it true that if a man be perfect and have not the wisdom of God, he is accounted but a thing of nought; but it is true even in the order of Angels, and of sovereign Powers, and in every rank of being that is Divine so far as God is with it. Anyway, perhaps because the holy Apostle sees that our purposing counts for far less than the power of God in the acquisition of the good things, he says that the result is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy;659 not as though God showeth mercy without our willing and running, but because our willing and running is as nothing in comparison with the mercy of God; and therefore, as is right and meet, he gives the credit of the good result rather to the mercy of God than to human willing and running.

8. Although we knew we should seem to be widely digressing, we have gone into all these details, for we are convinced of the necessity of the inquiry, if we are to handle the words, "Many say, who will show us the good things?"

660 As far as we could we have clearly pointed out to the many who say "Who will show us the good things?" what the good things are, and, consequently, also, what are the evil things, in order that through our exercises and prayers we may acquire the good things, and repel the evil things from our souls. But since in speaking men sometimes use literal expressions, and sometimes, I suppose, even use words in a wrong sense, we must not be surprised if occasionally we find those who hold unsound opinions applying the terms "good" and "evil" to bodily things, and what we call things external. For example, in Job we read, "If we receive good at the hand of God, shall wo not endure evil? "

661 And in Jeremiah, "Evil came down from |224

the Lord to the gates of Jerusalem." 662 Instead of saying, "If we receive such and such useful and pleasant things at the hand of Providence, shall we not put up with the unpleasant and painful ones?" Job says, "If we receive good at the hand of God, shall we not endure evil?" And instead of, "These particular events providentially happened to Jerusalem for the chastisement of its inhabitants," we have, "Evil came down from the Lord to the gates of Jerusalem." So then, readers who understand the facts must not quibble over the names, but must ascertain when the names are to be taken literally, and when on account of their limited connotation they are not taken in their strict sense. And even if the Saviour healed some of these disorders, and gave health, and sight, and hearing to men, we must look chiefly for their spiritual meaning, since the narratives prove that the word of the Gospel does heal the disorders of the soul. And there is no absurdity in supposing in such cases that what is related in the narrative was done to astonish the men of that time; so that if any were not convinced by argument and instruction, they might be silenced through the marvellous miracles, and yield assent to the teacher.

CHAP. XXVII. ----The meaning of the Lord's hardening Pharaoh's heart.

1. Nearly all readers of the Book of Exodus, both they who disbelieve, and they who say they believe it, are disturbed at the frequently occurring words, "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh,"

663 and "I will harden the heart of Pharaoh."

664 For among many other causes of men's disbelief we must include this, that things unworthy of God are spoken of God, and it is unworthy of God to bring about the hardening of any man's heart, and to effect the hardening in order that he who is hardened may disobey the will of Him who hardens. And they further ask, Is it not absurd for God to influence any one to disobey His will? That would be a clear proof that God did not wish

|225

Pharaoh to be obedient to His commands. And to ordinary believers it sounds very harsh to say, "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh." For readers who are convinced that there is no other God but the Creator,665 think that God arbitrarily, as it were, has mercy on whom He will have mercy, and hardens whom He will,666 when there is no reason why one man should have mercy shown him by God, and another be hardened by Him. And others, better advised than these, say they look upon Scripture as containing many secrets, and that they do not on that account turn aside from the sound faith; and one of the secrets they hold to be the true

667 account of this portion of Scripture. Others, alleging that there is a God other than the Creator, will have Him to be just but not good, very foolishly and impiously going the length of severing righteousness from goodness, and supposing that it is possible for righteousness to exist in any one apart from goodness, and for goodness to be separated from righteousness. And although they say this, they nevertheless, in contradiction of their own conception of a righteous God, concede the point that He hardens the heart of Pharaoh, and makes him disobedient to Himself. For if He who giveth to every man his due, and bestoweth on those who have themselves been the cause of progress or deterioration, such things as He knoweth each one to be fitted to receive,----if He is just, how can that God be just Who was the cause of Pharaoh's sin? not absolutely the cause, indeed, but so far as they understand Him to have contributed to Pharaoh's

becoming a most unrighteous man. For inasmuch as they refer the hardening of Pharaoh's heart to nothing worthy of the purpose of a just God, I fail to understand how, even on their own showing, they can make the hardener of Pharaoh's heart a just God. We must therefore press them in the exposition of the passage before us either to show how a just God hardens, or to pluck up courage and say that the Creator, because He hardens, is a wicked God. If they can find but scanty proofs that the just God is capable of hardening a man's

|226

heart, and dare not be so godless as to own that they charge the Creator with wickedness, let them take refuge in some other way of interpreting the words, "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh,"

668 and no longer contradict their own conception of a just God, because they think they understand the literal meaning. They will at last, perhaps, confess that they are at a loss to know what the Word is hinting at.

2. Away, then, with such conceptions of the Divine nature as we are investigating in the question before us. They are torn to shreds. But inasmuch as there are those who advance the plea of natural constitution, supposing some persons to have been created to perdition, and adduce these passages in support of their views, maintaining that their contention is clearly proved by the fact that Pharaoh's heart was hardened by the Lord, come, let us ask them a few questions. A man created to perdition would never be able to grow in goodness, because his original nature neutralises his efforts to attain to virtue. What need, then, was there for Pharaoh, who was, as you say, a son of perdition, to be hardened by God so that he should not let the people go? For you tell us that if he had not been hardened he would have let them go. Further, we should like an answer to another question: What would Pharaoh have done if he had not been hardened? If he had let them go, not being hardened, he had not a nature doomed to perdition. If he had not let them go, the hardening of his heart was superfluous; for he would just the same have refused to let them go, even if he had not been hardened. And what did God do to control his reason when he hardened him? And how is it that He blames him, saying, "Because thou disobeyest me, behold I will slay thy first-born."

669 Can it be that He who hardens, hardens one already hard. Clearly, the hard is not hardened, but the change is from softness to hardness; and softness of heart is, according to the Scripture, praiseworthy, as we have often observed. Let them,

|227

therefore, tell us whether Pharaoh turns from good to bad; further, whether God in blaming Pharaoh blames him without cause, or not without cause; if without cause, how is He any longer wise and just? if not without cause, Pharaoh was responsible for his sins of disobedience; and if he was responsible, he had not a nature doomed to perdition. We must certainly ask another question, because the Apostle, pushing his arguments to their full conclusion, says, "So then he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth. Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he still find fault? For who

withstandeth his will? " 670 Who, we ask, is it that hardeneth and hath mercy? The hardening surely does not belong to one God, and the having mercy to a different one, if we follow the apostolic utterance, but both are attributed to the

same God. Either, then, they who in Christ find mercy, belong to Him Who hardeneth Pharaoh's heart, and it is idle for our opponents to invent any other god than (as they allow Him to be) the good God, Who not only hath mercy but also hardens; or He would no longer be, as they suppose, even good.

3. We have advisedly gone into all these details at considerable length, in opposition to those who unwarrantably congratulate themselves on their understanding, and complain of our simplicity, in order to show that neither in their conceptions of God, nor in their doctrines of natures, does the Word when examined give them any support. For ourselves, we are for many reasons convinced, both as we study the sacred Scriptures, and as we contemplate the magnitude of the forces at work in creation, and the evidences of orderly design, that things visible and invisible, things temporal and things eternal, come from God the Creator, Who is to be regarded as one and the same with the Father of our Lord and Saviour, the good and just and wise God; and in handling the Scriptures we strive to keep that steadily in view, begging God our Saviour to show us all things pertaining to a good

|228

and just and wise God, for we suppose that the things we speak of cannot be regarded, at least by intelligent beings, as the result of chance, but that we must ask ourselves whether they are consistent with His goodness and justice and wisdom.

4. Something like this, then, we suppose to be the meaning of the words,"The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh."

671 The Word of God is a physician of the soul, and uses the most diverse, suitable, and seasonable methods of healing the sick; and of these methods of healing, some more, some less, give pain and torment to those who are under treatment; and the remedies, moreover, seem unsuitable, sometimes not; and, further, they act speedily or slowly; and are sometimes applied when the patients have had their fill of sin, or when, so to speak, they have only touched it. The whole of inspired Scripture abounds in proofs of each of these statements. For example, we read that remedies more or less sad were applied to the people in the course of what befell them, for the sake of punishment and correction, in wars of greater or less magnitude, and in famines of longer or shorter duration; and we have an instance of seemingly unsuitable treatment in the passage, "I will not punish your daughters when they commit whoredom, nor your brides when they commit adultery."

672 It may be that God leaves to themselves the souls that eagerly desire the sweets of bodily pleasure, until being satiated they abandon the objects of their longing; they are, as it were, sick of them, and not likely to fall quickly into the same snares, because they are disgusted and have been so far tormented. Souls are more slowly healed, because, if they were soon rid of their sufferings, they would think little of falling a second time into the same evils. The God who designed them knows all their different constitutions, and, for that He is an expert in the art of healing, it is for Him alone to say what is best to be done for each, and when.

5. In some bodily sicknesses, when the mischief is, as |229

they say, deep-seated, the physician with the aid of certain drugs draws and forces the matter to the surface, producing severe inflammation and swelling, causing more pains than those which a patient had before he put himself under treatment----as is the practice in cases of Hydrophobia and similar diseases. So God also, I think, deals with secret, deep-seated mischief in the soul. The physician might say in one of his cases, "I will set up inflammation round about the injury, and will force certain parts to swell, so as to produce a bad abscess"; and when he speaks thus, one hearer will not blame a scientific expert but will even praise him for, as it were, threatening to produce these effects, while another hearer will blame him, and will allege that a man who makes a cure depend on inflammations and abscesses must be a quack; so it is, I think, when God says, "I will harden the heart of Pharaoh."

673 And seeing that these things are written, he that heareth them as the oracles of God, observing the dignity of the Speaker, accepts them, and every one who seeketh, findeth a way of showing even herein the goodness of God;674 for the people were through the numerous miracles more openly assured of safety; and, secondly, there was goodness as regards the Egyptians, as many as, amazed at what took place, intended to follow the Hebrews: for "a mixed multitude," says the historian, "of the Egyptians went out with them";675 and there was perhaps a deeper and more secret purpose of benefiting Pharaoh himself, when he shall no longer conceal the poison nor check the malady, but draw it forth to the light, and perhaps by his conduct put a stop to it: so that having gone through all the stages of the eruption of the wickedness within him, he may find the tree which bore the evil fruit less vigorous, perhaps at last withering away, when he is overwhelmed in the sea: not, as one might suppose, to perish altogether, but that he may cast away and be relieved of the burden of

his sins, and, it |230

may be, descend to Hades in peace, or in less warfare of the soul.

6. Readers, however, may hardly be convinced: they will suspect that there is something forced in our version of the matter, viz. that the hardening of Pharaoh's heart was for his good, and that everything we are told, right up to the overwhelming in the sea, was for his sake. Let us see, then, if we cannot remove this reluctance, and convince our readers of the truth of what we say. "Many are the scourges," says David, "of the wicked";676 and his son teaches that "God scourgeth every son whom he re-receiveth."

677 And elsewhere David in a prophetic promise concerning Christ and those who believe on Him, says, "If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; if they profane my statutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I visit their transgressions with the rod, and their iniquities with scourges. But my mercy will I not utterly take from them."

678 So, then, it is a favour from the Lord that the transgressor is visited with a rod and the sinner with scourges. And so far as the sinner is not scourged, he is not yet brought under discipline and correction. And this is why God threatens, that if the sins of the inhabitants of Judah become great, He will no longer punish their daughters when they commit whoredom, nor their brides when they commit adultery.679 And elsewhere he says, "Because I have purged thee, and thou wast not purged, I will not again be furious over thee, nor again be jealous over thee."

680 So, then, there are sinners with whom God is not furious; if I may so speak, though He is angry, He is not furious.

7. We must also observe that the threats of the Prophets against the many end with "They shall know that I am the Lord";681 and not only the threats against the Israelites, but also those against the Egyptians and Assyrians and the other enemies of the people. And this

|231

familiar ending of many threats is found also in the Book of Exodus: "And all the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord":682 the usual sufferings being brought upon them for this very purpose, that they may know the Lord. And in the Maccabees something similar is said: "Now I beseech those that read this book, that they be not discouraged for these calamities, but that they judge those punishments not to be for destruction, but for a chastening of our nation. For it is a token of His great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered any long time, but forthwith punished. For not as with other nations whom the Lord forbeareth to punish, till they be come to the fulness of their sins, so dealeth he with us; but though he punish with adversity he doth not forsake his own people."

683 If the incurring punishment for sins is a token of God's great goodness, I would have you consider whether Pharaoh, inasmuch as he was punished after the hardening of his heart, and chastised as well as his people, was not punished with good reason, and according to his own wickedness. And David, as it were imitating God, and having due regard to times and seasons, when he gives Solomon command concerning Joab, to chastise him for his offences against Abner the son of Ner, and to slay him for his errors, goes on to say, "And thou shalt bring down his hoar head in peace to the grave."

684 And it is clear, as the Jew 685

also told us, that Joab's resting in peace would be the result of his punishment, torment and punishment being no longer due to him after his discharge therefrom, for he had therein already received his deserts. And so we think that every threat and pain and punishment, things that come from God, are never inflicted to injure the sufferers, but always to do them good. And what are considered the severest

|232

terms we can apply to God, fury and anger, are called rebuking and chastening in the passage, "O Lord, rebuke me not in thy fury, nor chasten me in thine anger";686 where the suppliant begs that he may not need rebuke through God's fury, and chastening through God's anger, for some there were who would be rebuked in God's fury, and chastened in His anger.

8. But that we may the more readily assent to what has been said, we must make use of similar passages from the New Testament. The Saviour says, "I came to cast fire upon the earth; and what will I, if it is already kindled."

687 If the fire which He came to cast upon the earth had not been a saving fire, at all events a saving fire for men, the Son of the good God would not have said this. And then there is the case of Peter, who, when with the sword of his mouth he slew Ananias and Sapphira, because they

sinned by lying,688 not to men but to the Lord, had in view not only the edification of such as seeing what was done would show more reverence towards the Faith of Christ, but also the welfare of the offenders visited with death. He wished them to depart from the body purified by their sudden and unexpected death; for they had some right on their side, inasmuch as they gave even the half of their possessions for the wants of the needy. And Paul also, though he pronounces the sentence of blindness on the companion of Sergius Paulus the Proconsul, endeavours through suffering to turn him from sin to godliness, for he says to him, "O full of all guile, and all villainy, thou son of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season."

689 What "season" would it be, except such time as, having been punished and tormented for his sins, he would repent and become worthy of both ways seeing the sun?----with his bodily eyes, that the Divine power might be proclaimed in the restoration of his sight,

|233

and with the eyes of the soul, when, as a believer he would delight in godliness. Demas, too, and Hermogenes, whom Paul

690 delivered to Satan that they might learn not to blaspheme, experienced something like what we have spoken of. And the man at Corinth that had his father's wife was himself, also, delivered to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord.691 No wonder, then, if the treatment of Pharaoh, so that he was hardened and finally involved in such chastisements, is to be traced to the goodness of God. For the present let the foregoing, which we put down as it came into our head, suffice for the words, "And the Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart."

692 If any one with due regard to God's glory should discover better arguments, and such as have no tincture of impiety, and can support them with the evidence of the Divine Scriptures, we will gladly avail ourselves of them.

Origen elsewhere discusses the same subject----

9. Among other considerations, I would further urge that possibly as physicians in the treatment of Hydrophobia, to prevent the poison from getting a hold within and killing the man, draw it to the surface, thus causing more acute suffering and inflammation: so God through His healing art draws out the secret mischief lurking in the depths of the soul, and makes it show itself, in order that He may afterwards induce a healthy state. This, I think, is the meaning of what we read in Deuteronomy: "And thou shalt remember all the way that the Lord thy God hath led thee these forty years in the wilderness, that He might humble thee, to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep His commandments, or no. And He humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that He might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every thing that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live."

693 Observe here that God humbles |234

and tries, in order that what is in each man's heart may be known, inasmuch as it lies deep and is revealed through tribulations. And such is the declaration of the Lord to Job in storm and whirlwind: "Dost thou think that I have dealt with thee for any other purpose than that thou mayest

appear righteous?" He did not say, "That thou mayest be righteous," but, "That thou mayest appear righteous.694 Righteous he was even before his trials, but God would have him show his righteousness by what befell him.

Elsewhere in the same Commentaries on Exodus----

10. One of our friends to relieve the difficulty takes an illustration from daily life, and tells us how frequently it happens that masters who are kind and long-suffering towards their erring servants say, "I ruined you"; and "I spoiled you"; meaning to imply that their kindness and long-suffering seem to have occasioned worse behaviour. As then a sophistical reasoner may say that because the master speaks thus, he confesses that he has spoiled the servant; so, it may be urged, what God in His goodness does, having been made the occasion of Pharaoh's hardness, is described as having hardened Pharaoh's heart. And our friend will discover in the Apostle's own words the softer meaning he desires: "Or despisest thou the riches of His goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up for thyself wrath in the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his works." 695 Anyway, the same Apostle, in the same Epistle to the Romans, says, "What if God, willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering vessels of wrath fitted unto destruction," 696 as if the long-suffering of God having endured the vessels of wrath, had, as it were, produced them. For if, because of His long-suffering He did not chastise the sinners but took pity on them, and if wickedness thereby abounded, He in a way by His long-suffering endured |235 the vessels of wrath, and, so to speak, Himself made them vessels of wrath, and accordingly Himself hardened their heart. For when Pharaoh, although so many signs and wonders were wrought, is not persuaded, but after his strange experiences still resists, is he not certainly proved to be harder and more unbelieving, and does it not look as though the hardness and unbelief had arisen from the marvellous miracles? The passage in the Gospel is similar: "For judgment came I into this world";697 for the Saviour did not purpose to come for judgment, but His coming for judgment of those who after His marvellous works believed not on Him was a consequence of His coming; He, moreover, came for the fall of many;698 but He did not purpose when He came to make them fall for whose fall He came. And elsewhere----

11. So the marvellous things, to those who accept them and believe, as was the case with the mixed multitude of Egyptians who went out with the people, mean mercy; but to the unbelieving they bring hardness of heart. And, further, besides what has been said, we may adduce similar passages from the Gospel, which go to show that even the Saviour appears to have been the cause of evil to some people. "Woe unto thee. Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works had been done in Tyre and Sidon which were done in you, they would have repented long ago, sitting in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon than for you. And thou, Capernaum," 699 and so on. The Saviour knew beforehand the unbelief of the dwellers at Chorazin and Bethsaida and Capernaum, and that it will be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for them. Why, then, does He do His marvellous works in Chorazin and Bethsaida, though He sees that those works will make it more tolerable in the day of judgment for the people of Tyre and Sidon than for them? |236 And again----

12. "And thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Israel is my son, my first-born: and I have said unto thee, Let my son go, that he may serve me; and if thou refusest to let him go: behold, I will slay thy son, thy first-born." 700 Let me ask those persons who allege that this is the action of a just God, and suppose, according to the literal meaning of the words, that Pharaoh's heart was hardened, how He Who hardened the heart of Pharaoh that he might not let the people go, can be just, and at the same time threaten that unless Pharaoh will let them go, He will slay his first-born son? Being hard pressed they will confess that He must be a bad God. Then, again, they will be upset by other passages and forced to escape from their bondage to the letter, inasmuch as the literal meaning, according to them, is inconsistent, with the justice of the Creator.701 And once they are compelled to investigate the matter, they will proceed so far that they will no longer accuse the Creator, but will allow that He is good. Let us then ask those who think they understand the words, "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh," 702 whether they believe the above threats were uttered by God through the mouth of Moses inspired for the occasion, or whether there was no truth in them? If there was no truth in them, God according to them is neither just nor true, and on their own showing is not God at all; but if the words were truly spoken, I would have them consider whether God does not blame Pharaoh as a free agent when He says, "If thou wilt not let my people go";703 and in another place, "How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me?"704 For the question, "How long wilt thou refuse to humble thyself before me?" 704 is intended to shame Pharaoh, because, if he did not humble himself, it was not that he could not, but that he would not. And then there is what was said before by Moses to Pharaoh: "That thou mayest know that the earth is the Lord's. |237 But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye have not yet feared the Lord." 705 This shows that they will fear----a good argument against the heterodox, for it proves the goodness of God, and disproves their tenet of a man's being naturally doomed to perdition. And in Book II. of the Commentaries on the "Song of Songs "----

13. Observe further that the sun though white and shining seems to be the cause of a man's turning black, not because of what it does itself, but because of him who turns black.706 And so also, perhaps, the Lord hardens Pharaoh's heart, though the cause of this was connected with the king's making the lives of the Hebrews bitter with hard service, in clay and in brick, and in all the service, not on the mountains and hills, but in the plains.707 For becoming a material man through his own wickedness, and living a life in all things according to the flesh, just because he is fond of clay, he wishes to turn 708 the Hebrews also into clay, for his own reason is not purified from the clay; and just as clay is hardened by the sun, so his reason was hardened by the bright beams of Godhead visiting Israel. And that something like this is the interpretation of the passage, and that it is not the purpose of God's servant to write mere history, will be clear to any one who notices that when the children of Israel groaned they did not groan because of the brick, nor because of the clay, nor because of the straw, but because of the service; and their cry went up to God not because of the clay, but, we repeat, because of the service.709 Wherefore God also heard their groans, though He did not hear the groaning of such as cried to Him, not because of the service, but because of the clay and their earthly condition. |238 This text was transcribed by Roger Pearse, 2003. All material on this page is in the public domain - copy freely.

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Early Church Fathers - Additional Texts

Prologue of Rufinus

Prologue of Rufinus.

Prologue of Rufinus.

I Know that very many of the brethren, induced by their thirst for a knowledge of the Scriptures, have requested some distinguished men, well versed in Greek learning, to translate Origen into Latin, and so make him accessible to Roman readers. Among these, when our brother and colleague1 had, at the earnest entreaty of Bishop Damasus, translated two of the Homilies on the Song of Songs out of Greek into Latin, he prefixed so elegant and noble a preface to that work, as to inspire every one with a most eager desire to read and study Origen, saying that the expression, "The King hath brought me into his chamber,"2 was appropriate to his feelings, and declaring that while Origen in his other works surpassed all writers, he in the Song of Songs surpassed even himself. He promises, indeed, in that very preface, that he will present the books on the Song of Songs, and numerous others of the works of Origen, in a Latin translation, to Roman readers. But he, finding greater pleasure in compositions of his own, pursues an end that is attended with greater fame, viz., in being the author rather than the translator of works. Accordingly we enter upon the undertaking, which was thus begun and approved of by him, although we cannot compose in a style of elegance equal to that of a man of such distinguished eloquence; and therefore I am afraid lest, through my fault, the result should follow, that that man, whom he deservedly esteems as the second teacher of knowledge and wisdom in the Church after the apostles, should, through the poverty of my language, appear far inferior to what he is. And this consideration, which frequently recurred to my mind, kept me silent, and prevented me from yielding to the numerous entreaties of my brethren, until your influence, my very faithful brother Macarius, which is so great, rendered it impossible for my unskilfulness any longer to offer resistance. And therefore, that I might not find you too grievous an exactor, I gave way, even contrary to my resolution; on the condition and arrangement, how ever, that in my translation I should follow as far as possible the rule observed by my predecessors, and especially by that distinguished man whom I have mentioned above, who, after translating into Latin more than seventy of those treatises of Origen which are styled Homilies and a considerable number also of his writings on the apostles, in which a good many "stumbling-blocks "are found in the original Greek, so smoothed and corrected them in his translation, that a Latin reader would meet with nothing which could appear discordant with our belief. His example, therefore, we follow, to the best of our ability; if not with equal power of eloquence, yet at least with the same strictness of rule, taking care not to reproduce those expressions occurring in the works of Origen which are inconsistent with and opposed to each other. The cause of these variations we have explained more freely in the Apologeticus, which Pamphilus wrote in defence of the works of Origen, where we added a brief tract, in which we showed, I think, by unmistakeable proofs, that his books had been corrupted in numerous places by heretics and malevolent persons, and especially those books of which you now require me to undertake the translation, i.e., the books which may be entitled De Principiis or De Principatibus, and which are indeed in other respects full of obscurities

and difficulties. For he there discusses those subjects with respect to which philosophers, after spending all their lives upon them, have been unable to discover anything. But here our author strove, as much as in him lay, to turn to the service of religion the belief in a Creator, and the rational nature of created beings, which the latter had degraded to purposes of wickedness. If, therefore, we have found anywhere in his writings, any statement opposed to that view, which elsewhere in his works he had himself piously laid down regarding the Trinity, we have either omitted it, as being corrupt, and not the composition of Origen, or we have brought it forward agreeably to the rule which we frequently find affirmed by himself If, indeed, in his desire to pass rapidly on, he has, as speaking to persons of skill and knowledge, sometimes expressed himself obscurely, we have, in order that the passage might be clearer, added what we had read more fully stated on the same subject in his other works, keeping explanation in view, but adding nothing of our own, but simply restoring to him what was his, although occurring in other portions of his writings.

These remarks, therefore, by way of admonition, I have made in the preface, lest slanderous individuals perhaps should think that they had a second time discovered matter of accusation. But let perverse and disputatious men have a care what they are about. For we have in the meantime undertaken this heavy labour, if God should aid your prayers, not to shut the mouths of slanderers (which is impossible, although God perhaps will do it), but to afford material to those who desire to advance in the knowledge of these things. And, verily, in the presence of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, I adjure and beseech every one, who may either transcribe or read these books, by his belief in the kingdom to come, by the mystery of the resurrection from the dead, and by that everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels, that, as he would not possess for an eternal inheritance that place where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth, and where their fire is not quenched and their worm dieth not, he add nothing to Scripture, and take nothing away from it, and make no insertion or alteration, but that he compare his transcript with the copies from which he made it, and make the emendations and distinctions according to the letter, and not have his manuscript incorrect or indistinct, lest the difficulty of ascertaining the sense, from the indistinctness of the copy, should cause greater difficulties to the readers.

1: Jerome is the person alluded to.

2: Cant. i. 4.

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