Littera gesta docet; quid credas, allegoria; Moralis quid agas; quo tendas, anagobia.

The letter teaches events; allegory, what to believe; moral sense, how to behave; anagogy, what is to come.

—Augustine of Dacia, O.P.

Prepared by the Instructor

2021
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READER

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Irenaeus, Against Heresies (Selection) 37
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HSBS 4050

PATRISTIC — MEDIEVAL EXEGESIS

Instructor: Fr. Augustine Thompson, O.P.
Office Hours: Friday 9:40–11:00

COURSE DESCRIPTION:

The students of this seminar will read and discuss representative examples of Biblical Exegesis from the first century to the fourteenth century. Each meeting be topical. Students will prepare individual oral reports on their particular readings and give them during each session. After the reports, the rest of the time will be devoted to general discussion and comparison of the texts. The grading will be a 6000 to 6500 word (excluding notes) research paper and the weekly individual oral presentations of approximately 15 minutes each.

Required Books

The Bible. Those who are unacquainted with this book should read as much as they can.


https://www.amazon.com/Biblical-Interpretation-Sources-Christian-Thought/dp/0800614143/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1544832235&s=r-1&keywords=Karlfried++Froehlich%2C+Biblical+Interpretation


This book is out of print and will be available on reserve. But used copies are found here:


https://www.amazon.com/Study-Bible-Middle-Ages/dp/0268002671/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1544832409&s=r-1&keywords=Beryl+Smalley%2C+Study+of+the+Bible

Three Major Scholarly Overviews (optional)


It would be nice to have a copy of this, as it is an excellent resource, but the price is very high; a copy is on reserve.


(Grand Rapids: T&T Clark / Eerdmans, 1998-2001). Also expensive for all three volumes; on reserve.

Vol. 1: ISBN 978–0567086341 ($43.27)
https://www.amazon.com/Medieval-Exegesis-Scripture-Ressourcement-Retrieval/dp/0802841457/ref=sr_1_1?&s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1544832595&sr=1-1&keywords=Henri+de+Lubac%2C+Medieval+Exegesis%3A+The+Four+Senses+of+Scripture

Vol. 2: ISBN 978-0802841469 ($50.00)
https://www.amazon.com/Medieval-Exegesis-Scripture-Ressourcement-Retrieval/dp/0802841465/ref=sr_1_2?&s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1544832604&sr=1-2&keywords=Henri+de+Lubac%2C+Medieval+Exegesis%3A+The+Four+Senses+of+Scripture

https://www.amazon.com/Medieval-Exegesis-Scripture-Ressourcement-Retrieval/dp/0802841473/ref=sr_1_3?&s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1544832604&sr=1-3&keywords=Henri+de+Lubac%2C+Medieval+Exegesis%3A+The+Four+Senses+of+Scripture


Packet with study guides, assignments, bibliography, and additional readings.

**Other Requirements of Course:**

1. *Active* participation in discussions (50% grade), which includes:
   A. Being able to summarize everything in the “General Assignment.”
   B. Giving an oral report on your particular assignment from an ancient or medieval exegete; usually two students per reading; one will report, the other respond to the report.

2. A research paper (of 6000 to 6500 words (excluding notes)—50% of grade) on the writings of a writer or topic chosen by week 3 in consultation with the instructor. The paper will generally focus on tracing the history of exegesis for a particular Biblical passage (e.g. the Flood, the Form of the Tabernacle, the Weeks of Daniel, the Crossing of the Red Sea) through the Patristic and Medieval Periods.
SYLLABUS CALENDAR

WEEK ONE (9/10): Introduction by Instructor

WEEK TWO (9/17): Ancient Jewish-Christian Exegesis

WEEK THREE (9/24): Great Church and Gnostics (prospectus for paper due)

WEEK FOUR (10/1): Alexandrians: Origen

WEEK FIVE (10/8): Antioch: Theodore

WEEK SIX (10/15): The West: Augustine

WEEK SEVEN (10/22): Early Medieval Exegesis: Gregory

READING WEEK (10/29): No class

WEEK EIGHT (11/5): The Victorines and Symbolists: Richard of St. Victor (Outlines due)

WEEK NINE (11/12): Scholastic Exegesis I: Mostly Dominican Exegesis

WEEK TEN (11/19): Scholastic Exegesis II: Franciscan Exegesis

WEEK ELEVENT (11/26: Thanksgiving Recess): No class: work on papers

WEEK TWELVE (12/3): RESEARCH PAPER DRAFT DUE TODAY (No class).

WEEK THIRTEEN (12/10): STUDENT PAPER PRESENTATIONS

EXAM WEEK (12/17): PAPERS, REVISED IN LIGHT OF STUDENT COMMENTS, ARE DUE IN MY MAILBOX BY 5 P.M.
WEEKLY ASSIGNMENTS AND READINGS

Assignments for Week Two
ANCIENT JEWISH—CHRISTIAN EXEGESIS

This week we will examine the ways in which ancient Jews (including Jewish Christians) read sacred texts. The methods used fall into four categories.

1. “Pesher” A line-by-line commentary applying the text to contemporary events. This is best witnessed among Qumran sectarians.

2. “Midrash” A rewriting or elaboration of sacred texts incorporating popular and oral elaborations. The purposes are usually legal or homiletic. Unfortunately, virtually no Midrash exists from the 1st Century, all examples extant are after 200. But the earliest Midrash was based on principles of:

3. “Rabbinic Text Analysis” These are techniques for establishing meaning and interpreting texts. Although usually called “rabbinic” they are, in fact, typical of Hellenistic literary analysis generally. Examples in Jewish writing are late, but the methods were certainly in use in the first century.

4. “Allegory” This interpretive technique uses word study and parallelism to establish “spiritual” meanings behind the literal text. The classic examples in Jewish writing are in Philo of Alexandria.

First Century Christian authors (i.e. writers of New Testament books) used Rabbinic methods and allegory. The group work this week will focus on examples.

Particular Assignments

1. The Pesher to Habakuk (Packet)

2. Rabbinic Exegesis, Sifra, Froehlich, pp. 30–37

3. Philo’s Theory of Scripture, (Paulist Western Spirituality), pp. 79–86

4. Major Examples of Allegory in New Testament
   Doctrinal Allegory
   Romans 5:12–21: Adam is a Type of Christ
   Colossians 2:16-17: OT Rituals are Types of Christ
   Hebrews chapters 8-9: The Temple Cult is a Type of Christ.
   Hebrews 1 (cf. 2 Samuel 7:14): OT texts prove that the Christ is greater than angels.

   Anagogical Allegory
   Galatians 4:21–5:1: Sarah and Hagar are Types of Two Covenants
   Acts 2:5–36: Peter applies OT prophecies to Christ and Holy Spirit
Moral Allegory
1 Cor 10: 1–11: Christ/Rock in Desert
2 Cor 3:1–18: The Letter of Law is Type of the Spirit.

GENERAL ASSIGNMENT

For each of the Rabinic rules and examples of allegory, read the NT passage, take notes, and for each rule or example be ready to explain who the interpretation “works”?

RABBINIC RULES IN THE NT

Rule 1. Qal wahomer (“Light and Heavy”) Inference a fortiori:
Matt 12.11–12
Luke 6.3-5
John 10.31-38.
Rom 5.15–21
Rom 11.24
1 Cor 6.2–6
1 Cor 9.8–12
2 Cor 3.7-11
Heb 2.2–4
Heb 9.13–14
Heb 10.28–31
Heb 12.24–29

Rule 2. Gezerah shawah (“Equal Ordinance”) Inference from similar words:
Rom 4.3–8
Heb 7.1–28
Jas 2.21–26

Rule 3. Binyan ab mikathub ‘ehad (“Building a family from one verse”) General principle is established from one verse:
Mark 12.26–27 (cf. Ex 3.6)
Jas 5.16–18 (cf. 1 K 17.1)

Rule 4. Binyan ab mishene kethubim (“Building a family from two texts”) General principle established by relating 2 or more verses:
Rom 4.1-25 (Gen 15, 17, 18)
1 Cor 9.9, 13 (Deut 25.4 and 18.1-8)
Jas 2.21-26 (Gen 22, Gen 15, Is 41, Josh 2, 2 Chron 20).

Rule 5. *Kelal upherat* (“the general and the particular”) General principle explains particular; particular principle limits general:
- Mark 12.28-34

Rule 6. *Kayoze bo bemaqom ‘aher* (“As is found in another place”) Inference from an analogous passage:
- Mark 14.62 (Dan 7.9 with Ps 110.1)
- Gal 3.8-16 (Gen 12.3 with Gen 22.18)
- Heb 4.7-9 (Josh 1.13-15 with Ps 95.7-11)
- Heb 8.7-13 (Exod 19.5ff with Jer 31.31-34).

Rule 7. *Dabar halamed me’inyno* (“Meaning established by context”). Isolated text is explained by context:
- Matt 19.4-8
- Rom 4.7–12
- Gal 3.17
- Heb 4.3–10
- Heb 11.1-13
- Heb 11.35-40

Starting Guide to this Material

Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, chapters I–IV.
This week we examine the major interpretative issue of the mid-100s to 200s, the challenge of “Gnosticism.” The Gnostics not only read scripture differently from the “Great Church” (Catholic) Tradition, they composed their own scriptures. Our goal is understand how older exegesis could shade into Gnosticist readings and how the Great Church reacted against it.

**GENERAL ASSIGNMENT**

Barnabas represents a more or less orthodox allegorical reading of the scriptures, Ptolemy a theory of Gnostic reading.

Epistle of Barnabas (packet)

Ptolemy, Letter to Flora, Froehlich, pp. 37–43 (also in Trigg, pp. 59–71)

**PARTICULAR ASSIGNMENTS**

1. Gnostic Scripture: Gospel of Truth (in packet)

2. Gnostic Reading of John
   - Heracleon’s Prologue to John (packet)
   - Heracleon’s Commentary on John (packet) The oldest extant commentary on a book of the NT!

3. Orthodox Response
   - Irenaeus, Against Heresies, IV. 24–26 (packet, c. 26 also in Froehlich, pp. 44–47)

4. Orthodox Reading of Daniel and Revelation: Irenaeus V. 25–36 (packet) Irenaeus on these texts is the oldest orthodox biblical commentary!

5. Another Orthodox Apocalyptic reading of the Bible: Hippolytus *On Christ and Antichrist.* (packet)

After the reports on the individual readings, we will discuss the distinctions between Gnostic and Orthodox approaches to Scripture.

Those who would like to read more Gnostic texts may find them on-line at:

http://www.gnosis.org/library/valentinus/Valentinian_Writings.htm

**Starting Guide to the this Material**

ALEXANDRIAN EXEGESIS

The two great influences on Orthodox exegesis after the Gnostic controversies (and the effective disappearance of Gnosticism and its replacement by the Persian dualism of Manichaeanism) were the Catechetical School of Alexandria and the interpretative tradition usually associated with the Church in Antioch. Foundational writers of both schools wrote in Greek. The Latin West remained something of a backwater until about A.D. 300.

Although it is really a simplistic stereotype, the Alexandrians generally favored more spiritual (allegorical) interpretations and the Antiochians paid more attention to the historical sense. The most important Alexandrian writer, whose influence was vast, as Origen. After his death some of his ideas caused his name, if not ideas to fall from favor. The Greek Father most representative of Alexandria was St. Gregory of Nyssa. We now can happily read a commentary by the Coptic exegete Shenoute. Next week we will look at writers in the Antiochian tradition.

GENERAL ASSIGNMENT

Theory of Reading: Origen On First Principles, IV, in Froehlich, pp. 48–78

PARTICULAR ASSIGNMENTS

From Origen:

3. Practice II: On John, in Trigg, pp. 94–115

From Gregory of Nyssa:

4. Gregory of Nyssa, Prologue to Song, in Trigg, pp. 144–50
5. Gregory of Nyssa, Life of Moses, in Trigg, pp. 151–62

From Shenoute of Atripe:


Starting Guides to this Material

Charles Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, chapter VI and IX.

Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, vol. 1
The Antiochians, like the Alexandrians, included writers who achieved fame and saints and others who labored under the burden of suspicion of heresy, in this case Nestorianism (the idea that the humanity and divinity of Christ were so separated as to make him a schizophrenic composit of two persons: a Divine being, the Son, and a human being, Jesus. Diodore of Tarsus was the great theoretician of this tradition with his attack on “allegory.” St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great were its greatest practitioners. Both will be emphasized this week. The Antiochian tradition was especially important in the Syriac-speaking churches of the East.

GENERAL READING

Diodore of Tarsus, Prologue to Psalms, Froehlich, pp. 82–94

PARTICULAR ASSIGNMENTS

1. Theodore of Mopsuestia, On Galatians, Froehlich, in Trigg, pp. 95–103
2. Theodore of Mopsuestia, On Zacharia, Trigg, pp. 163–70
3. John Chrysostom, Sermon on MT 26:39 against Marcion (packet)
4. Basil the Great, Sermon 9 on Genesis (packet)

Starting Guide to the this Material

Charles Kannengiesser, Handbook of Patristic Exegesis, chapter IX, X, XIII
Ancient Latin exegesis began later than the Greek and borrowed heavily from it. Tertullian, the earliest Latin theologian, represents the “indigenous” Latin tradition: “common sense literalism” with little interest in allegory and anti-Gnostic in tone. The most original early Latin treatise was the Rules of Tyconius, a Donatist writing in the 380s. It is the first hermeneutical treatise in the West and, after receiving Augustine’s critical approval, was widely used.

“Ambrosiaster” (“Crappy Little Ambrose”), wrongly identified as that of St. Ambrose of Milan, represents the continuation in the 400s of older Latin common sense, moral literalism. The two major Latin Writers, Augustine and Jerome, both went through an “Origenist” period and both later turned very much against that style. Augustine’s later “On Abraham” represents his post-Origenist period. The general reading, the Augustine-Jerome correspondence, which is sometimes heated and harsh, reflects the controversy over Origen and controversy over the Vulgate translation from the Hebrew—probably the major events in Patristic Latin Biblical studies.

General Assignment

Augustine/Jerome, Correspondence, Trigg, pp. 250–95

Individual Assignments

1. Tertullian, Against Marcion, V. 2, 5, 7 (packet)
2. Tyconius, Rules, Froehlich, pp. 104–132
3. Ambrosiaster, on Paul, Trigg, pp. 223–38
4. Augustine, On Abraham, Trigg, pp. 239–49
5. Augustine, On Psalm 140 (packet)

Starting Guides to the this Material


This weeks readings represent Latin exegesis from 550 to 1100, saw a number of important developments, along with much repetitive transmission of earlier Latin exegesis. The most original writer from the earlier part of the period is undoubtedly St. Gregory the Great, whose Moral Reflections on Job combine typical Latin “moral” concerns with elaborate allegorism. The Venerable Bede was a more conventional synthesizer who drew principally on Augustine. Alcuin of York was also a synthesizer, most important for his revision of the Latin Vulgate.

A revolution in Latin biblical studies happened in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The “Ordinary Gloss” a running commentary on the whole bible provided later authors with a florilegium of Patristic exegesis. The whole Gloss (in Latin) is online at: http://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409 The Gloss appeared at the same time as the first applications of “scholastic” logical analysis to Biblical texts, moving from line-by-line explanations to discursus in “Question” format. Our example of this is from Peter Abailard.

General Assignment

Gregory the Great, Moral Reflections on Job (in this packet)

Particular Assignments


3. “The Ordinary Gloss” on Gen. 1. Translated by the instructor (in this packet) The whole Gloss (in Latin) is online at: http://lollardsociety.org/?page_id=409


Starting Guides to the this Material

Charles Kannengiesser, Handbook of Patristic Exegesis, chapter XII and Epilogue.
Medieval and Patristic Exegesis
Assignments for Week Eight

MEDIEVAL SYMBOLISTS

The twelfth century saw a number of highly “visual” exegetes and the continuation of symbolic exegesis, now focused often on mystical and apocalyptic topics. Hugh of St. Victor’s commentary on Noah’s Ark is classical. Another example of the Victorine school is Richard, whose allegorical exegesis of Joseph’s offspring in Genesis is representative. Geoffrey of Auxerre on Revelation is typical of monastic spiritual reading; Hildegard of Bingen and Joachim of Fiore make an interesting contrast as both authors draw on their own visionary experiences.

The last Victorine to consider is Andrew of St. Victor, who was the first Latin since Jerome to undertake serious study of Hebrew and rabbinic exegesis. A translation of his work on the Books of Kings is forthcoming, but perhaps the best introduction to him is Smalley’s chapter.

General Assignment

Hugh of St. Victor, The Mystical Ark of Noah, Book 1, chapters 7–18. In Selected Spiritual Writings [BV 5080.H77], pp. 52–72 (on reserve)

Particular Assignments


2. Geoffrey of Auxerre, On the Apocalypse [BS2825.A2 G413], sermons 1–5, pp. 17–64. (on reserve)


Starting Guides to the this Material

B. Smalley, Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, pp. 1–195 on the Victorines.

Henri de Lubac, Medieval Exegesis, vol. 3.
Assignments for Week Nine

SCHOLASTIC EXEGESIS I: MOSTLY DOMINICANS

The Franciscan Alexander of Hales and Dominican Thomas Aquinas both discussed the theory of inspiration and hermeneutical theory. A comparison of them will give some idea of how the older tradition was affected by the reception of Aristotle. The Dominican Hugh of St. Cher, whom we will not be reading, is of central importance in this period: he compiled the first verbal concordance of the Bible. This provided a tool not only for exegetes but, perhaps more importantly, for preachers. Thomas Aquinas’ output in exegesis was voluminous. The introduction to the Psalms commentary elaborates his Christological reading of that book. His commentary on Job, which makes interesting comparison with that of Gregory the Great, shows the impact of “scholastic” method and concerns about theodicy. The prologue and opening of his commentary on John show scholastic division and distinction at work for a highly theological biblical text. Finally, a sermon by Eckhart is included to give an idea of his highly spiritualized reading.

General Assignment

Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica I Q. 1 aa. 8–10: These three articles (8–10) begin on-line here: http://dhspriory.org/thomas/summa/FP/FP001.html#FPQ1A8THEP1

Particular Assignments

1. Alexander of Hales, Selections from the Sum of Theology, in Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism [PN 88.M45], pp. 212–23. (on reserve)

2. Thomas Aquinas, Commentary on the Psalms, introduction. Found on-line at: http://dhspriory.org/thomas/PsalmsAquinas/ThoPs0.htm
   Full text: http://dhspriory.org/thomas/PsalmsAquinas/index.htm

3. Thomas Aquinas, Commentary on Job, Prologue and Chapter 2, Lesson 2 (“Job Humbled”). This material is on-line at: http://dhspriory.org/thomas/SSJob.htm#0 and http://dhspriory.org/thomas/SSJob.htm#022
   Full text: http://dhspriory.org/thomas/SSJob.htm

4. Thomas Aquinas, Commentary on the Gospel of John, Prologue and Commentary on John 1: 1 (up to paragraph 29). These are found on-line at: http://dhspriory.org/thomas/SSJohn.htm#02
   and http://dhspriory.org/thomas/John1.htm
   Full text: http://dhspriory.org/thomas/SSJohn.htm


Starting Guide to this Material

B. Smalley, Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, pp. 196–263, on the Scholastics.
Medieval and Patristic Exegesis
Assignments for Week Ten

SCHOLASTIC EXEGESIS II: FRANCISCANS

The most medieval Franciscan exegete most available in English translation is Bonaventure. His methodological remarks in the Prologue to the Breviloquium provides an introduction to his thought. After Andrew of St. Victor, the next important medieval Hebraicist was the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra. A selection from his commentary on the Song of Songs gives some idea of his O.T. exegesis, the section from his commentary on the Book of Revelation shows contemporary concerns.

General Assignment

Bonaventure’s writings on hermenuetics in Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism [PN 88.M45], pp. 223–38. (On reserve)

Particular Assignments


2. Bonaventure, Commentary on Ecclesiastes, Question 1. In works [BX 890.B673 1979], vol. 7, pp. 89–126 (On reserve)

3. Nicholas of Lyra, Postilla on The Song of Songs [BS 1485.3.N5313], chapters 1–2, pp. 29–57. (on reserve)

4. Nicholas of Lyra, Apocalypse Commentary, chapters 18–20: pp. 200–20 (you may want to read more to get context–On reserve)

Starting Guide to the this Material

B. Smalley, Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages, pp. 264–374, on the Later Scholastics.
Course Goals, Grading Rubrics, Technology Requirements

Course Goals

This introductory level survey course seeks to impart to students:

1. An understanding of the institutional, intellectual, and cultural history of Christian exegesis of the scriptures from its Jewish roots to the end of the middle ages, the Church from the post-Biblical period to the end of the Middle Ages, sufficient to allow them intellectual integration of deeper studies on this material.
2. A sense of the ever provisional nature of all historical studies, which should encourage the students to model the academic humility and openness to contrasting opinions and methods that inform historical debate.
3. By reading difficult and alien writers on their own and achieving the mastery necessary to perform well on the course exams, the students should begin to develop the self-direction necessary for their future historical study.
4. Since students will make weekly presentations on their own project, giving and receiving from each other suggestions and criticism, collaborative and common ownership proper to research work and teaching.
5. By encountering a thought world that is profoundly different from our own modern one, students will acquire new perspectives that will allow them to prophetically challenge the commonplaces and prejudices of modern culture, including biblical studies and theology.

Course Outcomes

1. A broad knowledge of the history of the ancient and medieval Christian biblical exegesis as a whole, including its Jewish roots.
2. Beyond the broad outlines, ability to produce focused and critical research on an exegete or exegete of the period, resulting in a substantial research paper.
3. The ability to communicate the fruits of their study, especially in class discussions.
4. The ability to bring sound historical conclusions to bear on contemporary theological and ecclesiastical issues, especially during discussions.
5. An understanding of the historical relations between the Church and non-Christian religions, in particular in interpretation of the Hebrew scriptures and the Jewish roots of Christian exegesis.

Grading Rubrics

“A” signifies a comprehensive and accurate general understanding of the development of ancient and medieval Christianity and a sure and solid control of the ideas of all authors studied.

“A−” signifies a generally solid familiarity with the development of ancient and medieval Christianity and the ability to sketch out the basic ideas of the major authors and most minor authors studied.

“B+” signifies a basic familiarity with the general development of ancient and medieval Christianity,
but somewhat sketchy recall of the ideas of individual authors, including the major ones. This is only marginally satisfactory in master’s level work, even in an introductory class.

“B” signifies even less secure understanding of development and serious lacunae for even major authors. As such, although passing, this is probably not sufficient quality for master’s credit.

Below a “B” means that, for all intents and purposes, the performance is so poor that it should not be used to fulfil requirements in a master’s program.

Technology Requirements

All students should have access to technology sufficient to complete the course successfully. This includes a computer, laptop, or tablet, with webcam & microphone, with an updated operating system (Windows, Mac, Linux) and an updated internet browser (Chrome, Firefox); high speed internet bandwidth (preferably 10 mbps or greater but at least 3 mbps); Zoom and Moodle software, and the ability to use them. If students experience any difficulties with Moodle, Zoom, or other technology, they can contact Moodle support at moodle@gtu.edu. Students will receive a response within 24 hours.

NOTE: If you need special arrangements to meet the course requirements for reasons of some documented disability, please see the instructor after the first meeting of the seminar.
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. PATRISTIC TEXTS

1.1. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE COLLECTIONS

PL: *Patrología Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, some 221 volumes (1884-1902). Ends c. 1215. Oldest and least reliable of series, but still the most complete. MUST BE USED together with P. Glorieux, *Pour revaloriser Migne* (e. 1948), which offers Tables Rectificatives for the misattributions known at that time (Does not and cannot rectify numerous misprints).

Vol. 218 has a chapter-by-chapter index for the whole Bible starting on col. 113/114. It can be accessed here on line:
http://books.google.com/books?id=uAoRAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q=&f=false

PLS: *Patrología Latina--Supplementum* 5 vols. (1958-1974). For patristic period gives large numbers of texts, e.g. a couple of hundred Augustinian sermons not discovered in Migne’s time.

PG: *Patrología Graeca* or Graeco-Latina, 161 volumes (1857-1899). Greek patristic and Byzantine church writers until the 15th century. Same weaknesses as PL. No equivalent to Glorieux or PLS, but even more useful than PL because of incompleteness of GCS.


CSEL: *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (= Vienna Corpus). Begun in 1866 and still going on. Scholarly (but CC when available usually to be preferred) and still incomplete, even though some 97 volumes have been published; includes much but not all of Augustine. Will not go beyond the 5th century.

CC / CCSL: *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* (=Turnholt Corpus). Begun 1953 and still going on. Usually, but not always (see CSEL) the most up to date serial edition of Latin Fathers. Overlaps CSEL, but intended to go into the 8th century (already includes most of Bede’s works.) Usually excellent indices for each volume. Roughly 190 volumes published so far.

CCCM: *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis* (1966– ). Continuation of Turnholt Corpus. Intended ultimately to replace Migne. So far 251 volumes, but includes some 12th-century (e.g. Rupert of Deutz) and even some 13th-century (e.g. Johannes Ford) authors. Also includes some medieval vernacular works. Excellent indices.

PS: *Patrologia Syriaca*. 1894–1907, 2 vols, started the aim of publishing a collection that would contain Oriental texts, edited in the original tongues with a translation into Latin or a modern,

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1 This handlist was originally compiled by Prof. Gerald Caspary of U.C. Berkeley for his doctoral seminar on Patristic and Medieval Biblical Exegesis.
Western language. It was discontinued in its original form and replaced by:

PO: Patrologia Orientalis. Since 1904, 49 volumes to date. Unpublished texts in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Greek, Georgian, Slavonic, Syriac. Texts have a facing page translation in French or (rarely) English.

SC: Sources Chrétienes. Begun 1943 and still going on. Some 500 volumes. Selected editions of patristic and medieval sources in both Latin and Greek (and a few other sacred languages) with a French translation. Can be extremely useful. Editions are sometimes only lifted from the older collections, sometimes corrected, sometimes new. Particularly good for sermons and spirituality.

1.1.1 TRANSLATION COLLECTIONS


CB The Church's Bible, 3 vols. so far. Ed. Robert Wilken (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003–). Selections from Patristic and Medieval authors in translation organized verse by verse.

CCEL Christian Classics Ethereal Library, a website dedicated to producing e-texts of public domain Christian literature: http://www.ccel.org


LEC Library of Early Christianity. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2006–.


NPNF A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. 28 vols. in two series, denoted as NPNF1 and NPNF2. New York: 1886–1900, but frequently reprinted. E-text is commercially available on CD-ROM; online edition at CCEL.

WGRW Writings from the Greco-Roman World. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001–.

1.2. PATROLOGIES. CLAVES, HANDBOOKS, INDICES

PATROLOGIES

Quasten, Johannes, *Patrology*, 3 vols, with a posthumous vol. 4 on the West in the 4th to 5th centuries. Best available and most up to date. Lavish bibliographies, brief biography and brief resume of each main work for each patristic author.

Altaner, B., *Patrology* in 1 volume (translated from German) most readily available.

CLAVES

*Clavis Patrum Latinorum* ed. Dekker, 2nd ed., supplemental volume of *Sacris Erudiri* (1968). Extremely useful reference; gives best editions of old Fathers (through 6th/7th centuries) until that date. Useful concordance tables with parallels for PL, CCSL, GSEL, etc. Also some MSS references. Corrects misattributions; for misattributions in Migne usually better than Glorieux.

*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Mauritius Geerard, ed. (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1974), (5 vols. Provides the same resources for the major Greek Fathers.

HANDBOOKS


Pelikan, Jaroslav, *History of Christian Thought* (several volumes).

1.3. DICTIONARIES,encyclopedias, etc.

REAC *Realenzyklapedie für Altertum und Christentum*. (In progress; has now reached about letter S.) Only encyclopedia devoted entirely to early Christian and patristic periods. Excellent articles, up-to-date bibliographies.


LThK *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* (10 volumes), 3rd edition published 1957-65. Covers modern period too. Articles brief, Catholic perspective. But excellent bibliographies, and very broad in its inclusions. Should probably be first encyclopedia to look things up in, particularly for names, places and minor matters.

DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie Catholique* (15 volumes in 34 folios). Published from 1911-50. Long articles on theologians and strictly theological matters. Often old-fashioned and strong Catholic slant. Still useful, but more for scholastic than for patristic period.

DACL *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Leclercq and Cabrol, eds., 15 volumes, published from 1907-53. Out of date and very uneven. May articles deal with subjects well beyond the ken of liturgy and christian archeology. Do not neglect, but use with great caution.

DHGE *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, Baudrillart, ed., 18 volumes (1912-77). Old-fashioned, usually out of date. Most useful for dates and even more, place-names, but here too, LthK usually more useful (except for France).

1.4. PERIODICALS

*Vigiliae Christianae*: One of two periodicals exclusively dedicated to Early Christian and Patristic matters. Quarterly.

*Studia Patristica*: Only periodical devoted entirely to Patristic matters. Appears at irregular intervals under auspices of Texte und Untersuchungen.

*Colloques de Chantilly*: Only 3 volumes out. Like Oxford Patristic Conferences; meant to be patristic Spoleto colloquies.

Oxford Patristic Conferences: See above.

RB: *Revue Bénédictine*: All possible monastic subjects, including patristic period.

RM: *Revue Mabillon*: Mostly hagiographical matters, including patristic period.

*Sacris Erudiri*: Mostly spiritual, but also other religious subjects.

RScR: *Revue des sciences religieuses*: Occasionally some patristic articles.


JEH: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*: Occasionally some patristic articles.

ThSt: *Theological Studies*: Rather frequently patristic articles.


1.5 ONLINE INDEX

*BiblIndex*: *Index of Biblical Quotations in Early Christian Literature*

http://www.biblindex.mom.fr/
you have to register (it is free) and you are all set.
2. BIBLICAL EXEGESIS

2.1. MAJOR SETS

*Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*: ed. Friedrich Stegmüller (7 volumes) Alphabetically by author and then for anonymous works by library of main manuscript. Both printed works and manuscripts. Under each author by book of Bible in order from Genesis to Revelation. Extremely useful, covers from the Fathers into 15th century.

*Biblia Patrística*: Seven volumes to date. Lists patristic citations of biblical passages, now up to Didymus the Blind.

2.2. SELECTED SECONDARY WORKS

Daniélou, Jean, *Sacramentum futuri*, (From Shadows to Reality: Studies in Biblical Typology of the Fathers 1960, English translation). Together with the following item the best short introduction to typology,

________, *The Bible and the Liturgy*.

de Lubac, Henri, *Exégèse Médiévale*, 3 volumes. Fascinating. Terrible indices and bibliography. Slight bias in favor of “allegory”. Now available in English, see course description!

Smalley, Beryl, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Excellent indices and bibliographies. Strong bias in favor of literal meaning. De Lubac’s antagonist. See also her fundamental articles (and those of others) in RTAM (*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*).
PATRISTIC COMMENTARIES ON THE BIBLE BY BOOK

This does not pretend to be an exhaustive list. There are many Patristic works available in English beyond these. To find them, consult the tools listed in the general bibliography. Translation collections like the Ante and Post-Nicene Fathers, The Fathers of the Church, Ancient Christian Writers, etc. should also be consulted. Quasten’s 4 vol. Patrology is especially useful.

Pentateuch etc. (harmonies and works on multiple books)

Augustine. Questions on the Heptateuch. ET in WSA I/14 (projected).


Genesis


Ambrose. On Abraham. ET by T. Tomkinson (Etna, Ca.: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 2000).

Ambrose. Seven Exegetical Works. ET by M. P. McHugh in FC 65 (1972). [Homilies mostly on the patriarchs.]


Didymus the Blind. Commentary on Genesis. ET by R. C. Hill, under review by FC.


Exodus


Leviticus


1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings, 1-2 Chronicles


Job


Augustine. Notes on Job. ET in WSA I/14 (projected).

Chrysostom, John. Commentary on Job. ET by R. C. Hill (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox
Gregory the Great. Morals on the Book of Job. ET by anon. and J. Bliss in LFC 18, 21, 23, 31 (1844-50).

Psalms


Travers, Robert. Exposition made vpon the CXI. psalme. 1579 (STC 24180).

**Proverbs, Ecclesiastes**


**Song of Solomon**


*Ibn Ezra, Abraham. Commentary on the Song of Songs. ET by R. A. Block (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College / Jewish Institute of Religion, 1982).*


Theodoret of Cyrus. Commentary on the Song of Songs. ET by R. C. Hill (Brisbane: Australian Catholic University, 2001).

**Isaiah**


**Jeremiah, Lamentations**


**Ezekiel, Daniel**


Jerome. Commentary on Daniel. ET by G. L. Archer (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1958); e-text at CCEL.


**Minor Prophets**


**Gospels & Acts (harmonies and works on multiple books, etc.)**


Matthew

Augustine. Our Lord’s Sermon on the Mount. ET by W. Findlay, revised by D. S. Schaff, in NPNF1 6; by D. J. Kavanagh “with seventeen related sermons” in FC 11 (1951); by J. J. Epson in ACW 5 (1978); and in WSA I/16 (projected).

Augustine. Seventeen Questions on Matthew. ET in WSA I/15 (projected).


Mark


Dionysius Exiguus (d. c. 540). The exposition of Dionysius Syrus written above 900 years since on the evangelist St. Mark. ET by D. Loftus, 1672 (Wing D1525).


Luke


XXVIII


John

Augustine. Lectures or Tractates on . . . John. ET by H. Browne in LFC 26, 29 (1848-49); by J. Gibb & J. Innes in NPNF1 7; and by J.W. Rettig in FC 78, 79, 88, 90, 92 (1988-95).


Cyril of Alexandria. Commentary on . . . John. ET by P. E. Pusey and T. Randell in LFC 43, 48 (1874-85); available at CCEL.


Acts


Epistles (works covering multiple epistles)


Romans

Augustine. Propositions from the Epistle to the Romans and Unfinished Commentary on Romans. ET by P. F. Landes in Augustine on Romans (Chico, Cal.: Scholars Press, 1982); and in WSA I/17 (projected).


1-2 Corinthians

Chrysostom, John. Homilies on the Epistles to the Corinthians. ET of 1 Cor. by H. K. Cornish & J. Medley in LFC 4-5 (1839); of 2 Cor by J. Ashworth in LFC 27 (1848); revised ET of LFC by T. W. Chambers in NPNF1 12.


Galatians

Chrysostom, John. Commentary on Galatians. ET by anon. in LFC 6 (1840), revised by G. Alexander in NPNF1 13.


Ephesians

Chrysostom, John. Homilies on Ephesians. ET by anon., 1581 (STC 14632); and by W. J. Copeland in LFC 6 (1840), revised by G. Alexander in NPNF1 13.


Philippians


Colossians

1-2 Thessalonians


1-2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon


Hebrews


Catholic Epistles, James, 1-2 Peter, 1-2-3 John, Jude


Revelation


Various


Early Medieval Theology. ET by G. E. McCracken in LCC 9 of commentary excerpts from Gregory the Great (Job), Alcuin of York (Titus), Claudius of Turin (Galatians), Rupert of Deutz (John); and sermons by Raban Maur, Ivo of Chartres, and Agobard of Lyons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MEDIEVAL EXEGETES AVAILABLE IN ENGLISH:

Gregory the Great (540–604)


———. Homilies of Saint Gregory the Great on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. Translated by Theodosia Tomkinson (née Gray) and edited by Presbytera Juliana Cownie. Etna, CA: Center for Traditionalist Orthodox Studies, 1990. [Ezekiel]


Anonymous (Ps.-Jerome) (early 7th c.)


Isidore of Seville (d. 636)


Archbishop Theodore (c. 602–690) and Abbot Hadrian (c. 635–c. 709)

Bischoff, Bernhard, and Michael Lapidge. Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of
XXXII


Bede the Venerable (c. 673–c. 735)


———. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine on the Letters of the Blessed Apostle Paul. Translated by Dom David Hurst, OSB. Vol. 183, Cistercian Studies. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1999. [Romans; 1–2 Corinthians; Galatians; Ephesians; Philippians; Colossians; 1–2 Thessalonians; 1–2 Timothy; Titus; Hebrews]

———. Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles. Translated by Dom David Hurst, OSB. Vol.
XXXIII

82, Cistercian Studies. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1985. [James; 1–2 Peter; 1–3 John; Jude]


**Alcuin (c. 734–804)**


**Claudius of Turin (d. c. 827)**


**Haimo of Auxerre (d. c. 855)**


**Thietland of Einsiedeln (9th c.?)**


**John Scotus Erigena (c. 810–c. 877)**


**Ælfric of Eynsham (c. 955–c. 1010)**

Ivo of Chartres (c. 1040–1116)


Rupert of Deutz (c. 1075–1129)


Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1097–1141)


———. “The Soul’s Three Ways of Seeing (from the unfinished commentary on Ecclesiastes).” In Selected Spiritual Writings, pp. ?. Translated by a religious of the CSMV. New York: Harper and Row, 1962. [Ecclesiastes]
**Peter Abelard (1079–1142)**


**Ordinary Gloss (12th c.)**


**William of St. Thierry (c. 1085–c. 1148)**


Geoffrey of Auxerre (fl. early 12th c.)


Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153)


Honorius Augustodunensis (Honorius of Autun) (c. 1080–c. 1157)

Honorius Augustodunensis. The Seal of the Blessed Mary. Translated by Amelia Carr. Peregrina
Translation Series. Toronto: Peregrina, 1991. [Song of Solomon ?]


Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160)


Aelred of Rievaulx (c. 1109–1167)


Isaac of Stella (d. 1169)


Richard of St. Victor (c. 1100–1172)


Gilbert of Hoyland (d. 1172)


———. IV. Treatises, Sermons and Epistles with Roger of Byland’s the Milk of Babes. Translated by Lawrence C. Braceland, SJ. Vol. 34, Cistercian Fathers. Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications,
Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173)


Andrew of St. Victor (c. 1110–1175)


Peter Comestor (d. 1178)


Peter of Celle (c. 1115–1183)

Peter of Waltham (fl. 1190–1196)


John of Ford (c. 1150–1214)


Pope Innocent III (c. 1160/1–1216)


Jacques de Vitry (c. 1160–1240)


Alexander of Hales, OFM (c. 1186–1245)


Robert Grosseteste (c. 1168–1253)

Hugh of St. Cher, OP (c. 1200–1263)


Bonaventure, OFM (c. 1217–1274)


Thomas Aquinas, OP (1225–1274)

Online at http://www.ccel.org/a/aquinas/summa/home.html. [Method]


———. Aquinas’s Commentary on Romans. Translated by Steven C. Boguslawaski. In preparation. [Romans]
Henry of Ghent (c. 1217–1293)


Giles of Rome, OESA (c. 1243/7–1316)

Meister Eckhart (c. 1260–c. 1328)


Nicholas of Lyra, OFM (c. 1270–1349)


———. Selections from The Postilla on the Song of Songs. In The Song of Songs, Interpreted by


Richard Rolle (c. 1300–1349)


———. Richard Rolle’s Version of the Penitential Psalms, with his commentary, based on that of S. Augustine. Translated by Geraldine Hodgson. London: Faith Press, 1928. [Psalms 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143]

John Tauler, OP (c. 1300–1361)


Henry Suso (c. 1300–1366)


Wyclif, John (c. 1329–1384)


Anonymous (15th c.)

The Bible of the Poor [Biblia Pauperum]: A Facsimile and Edition of the British Library Blockbook C.9 D.2. Labriola, Albert C., and John W. Smeltz, eds. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press,
1990. [Genesis; Exodus; Leviticus; Numbers; Deuteronomy; Judges; 1–2 Samuel; 1–2 Kings; Ezra; Esther; Job; Song of Solomon; Daniel (including Bel and the Dragon); Jonah; 1 Maccabees; Matthew; Mark; Luke; John; Revelation]


John Felton (d. 1434)


Girolamo Savonarola, OP (1452–1498)


John Colet (1467–1519)


bibliography by books of bible:

Genesis
Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian.
Robert Grosseteste. On the Six Days of Creation:
Hugh of St. Victor. Books 1 and 3 of Noah’s Ark. In Selected Spiritual Writings
Richard of St. Victor. The Twelve Patriarchs; The Mystical Ark
Meister Eckhart. Selections from “Commentary on the Book of Genesis” and “Book of the Parables of Genesis.” In Meister Eckhart: The Essential Sermons,

Exodus
Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian.
Meister Eckhart. “Commentary on Exodus.” In Meister Eckhart, Teacher and Preacher
Nicholas of Lyra. “Selections from Nicholas of Lyra’s Commentary on Exodus.”
Richard of St. Victor. The Twelve Patriarchs; The Mystical Ark;
Peter Comestor. Sermon 102, “The Book of Life”.

Leviticus
Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian.

Numbers
Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian.

Deuteronomy
Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian.
Peter Comestor. Sermon 102, “The Book of Life”.

Ruth
“The Gloss on Ruth.” In Medieval Exegesis in Translation: Commentaries on the Book of Ruth
Hugh of St. Cher (attr.). “Postills on Ruth.” In Medieval Exegesis in Translation
Isidore of Seville. “On Ruth.” In Medieval Exegesis in Translation
Nicholas of Lyra. “Postills on Ruth.” In Medieval Exegesis in Translation
Peter Comestor. “On Ruth, from The Scholastic History.” In Medieval Exegesis in Translation

1 Samuel (Vulgate: 1 Kings)
Andrew of St. Victor. Commentary on Samuel and Kings.
Bernard of Clairvaux. “Sermon for the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost.”

2 Samuel (Vulgate: 2 Kings)
Andrew of St. Victor. Commentary on Samuel and Kings.

1 Kings (Vulgate: 3 Kings)
Andrew of St. Victor. Commentary on Samuel and Kings.

2 Kings (Vulgate: 4 Kings)
Andrew of St. Victor. Commentary on Samuel and Kings.
Achard of St. Victor. “Sermon 6: For Easter.” In Works

Ezra–Nehemiah
Bede the Venerable. Bede: On Ezra and Nehemiah.

Job
Gregory the Great. Morals on the Book of Job.
Peter of Waltham. Source Book of Self-Discipline
Thomas Aquinas. The Literal Exposition on Job

Psalms
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on the Psalms.
Richard Rolle. Richard Rolle’s Version of the Penitential Psalms, with his commentary
Achard of St. Victor. “Sermon 2: [First Sermon] for the Dedication [of a Church].”
Richard Rolle. “Short Exposition of Psalm 20" and “Treatise on the Twentieth Psalm.”
Peter of Celle. “A Sermon for Passion Sunday.”
Peter of Celle. “A Sermon for Holy Thursday.”
Richard of St. Victor. “Mystical Comments on the Psalms.”
Bernard of Clairvaux. “Lenten Sermons on the Psalm ‘He Who Dwells’.”

Ecclesiastes

Bonaventure. Commentary on Ecclesiastes.
Hugh of St. Victor. “The Soul’s Three Ways of Seeing (unfinished commentary on Ecclesiastes).”

Song of Solomon (Vulgate: Song of Songs)

The Glossa Ordinaria on the Song of Songs.
Nicholas of Lyra. The Postilla of Nicholas of Lyra on the Song of Songs.
Bede the Venerable. On the Song of Songs and Other Spiritual Writings.
Giles of Rome, OESA. Prologue to the Commentary on the Song of Songs.
Bernard of Clairvaux. Sermons on the Song of Songs.
Gregory the Great. Selections from Exposition of the Song of Songs.
Richard Rolle. “Comment on the First Verses of the Canticle of Canticles.”
Honorius Augustodunensis. Selections from Exposition of the Song of Songs.
William of St. Thierry. Selections from Exposition of the Song of Songs.
Bernard of Clairvaux. Selections from Sermons on the Song of Songs.
Selections from the Glossa Ordinaria on the Song of Songs. In The Song of Songs,
Nicholas of Lyra. Selections from The Postilla on the Song of Songs.
Rupert of Deutz. Selections from Commentary on the Song of Songs.
Bede the Venerable. Selections from Exposition of the Song of Songs.
Henry Suso. “Sermon 1.”
Gilbert of Hoyland. Sermons on the Song of Songs.
Richard of St. Victor. Selections from Explication of the Song of Songs.
John of Ford. Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs.
Honorius Augustodunensis. The Seal of the Blessed Mary.
William of St. Thierry. Exposition on the Song of Songs.

Isaiah

Achard of St. Victor. “Sermon 1
John Tauler. “Sermon 1 [Christmas]” and “Sermon 5 [Feast of Epiphany II].”
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah.

Lamentations

Gilbert the Universal. Glossa ordinaria in Lamentationes Jeremie prophete

Ezekiel
Gregory the Great. Homilies of Saint Gregory the Great on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel.
Richard of St. Victor. “On Ezekiel’s Vision (The First Part of the Prologue).”

Jonah

Haimo of Auxerre. Commentary on the Book of Jonah.

Habakkuk

Bede the Venerable. On Tobit and the Canticle of Habakkuk.

Tobit

Bede the Venerable, On Tobit and the Canticle of Habakkuk.

Ecclesiasticus (Sirach)

Achard of St. Victor. “Sermon 8: The Nativity of Blessed Mary.”
Meister Eckhart. “Sermons and Lectures on Ecclesiasticus.”
Bel and the Dragon (ch. 14 of Daniel in the Vulgate)

NEW TESTAMENT

Matthew

Thomas Aquinas. Cantena Aurea:
John Tauler. “Sermon 2 [Eve of Epiphany].” In Sermons
Aelred of Rievaulx. “Sermon 27: For the Feast of All Saints.”
Isaac of Stella. “Sermons for the Feast of All Saints.”
Thomas Aquinas. “From the Lectures on St. Matthew.”
ivo of Chartres. “Sermons”
Achard of St. Victor. “Sermons
Aelred of Rievaulx. “Sermon 2
Achard of St. Victor. “Sermon 5:
Meister Eckhart. “Latin Sermon 49.” In Meister Eckhart, Teacher and Preacher
Meister Eckhart. “Latin Sermon 40.3.” In Selected Writings

Mark

The First Commentary on Mark: An Annotated Translation (Ps.-Jerome).
Thomas Aquinas. Cantena Aurea
Innocent III. “Sermon for the Resurrection of the Lord.”
Bernard of Clairvaux. “Sermon for the Lord’s Ascension.”
John Tauler. “Sermon 18 [Ascension I].
Luke

Thomas Aquinas. Cantena Aurea
Bonaventure. Commentary on the Book of Luke,
Bernard of Clairvaux. Homilies in Praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
Aelred of Rievaulx. “Sermon 3: For the Nativity of the Lord.”
Isaac of Stella. “Sermons.” In Sermons on the Christian Year, I,
John Tauler. “Sermons
Isaac of Stella. “Sermons for Sexagesima.”
Meister Eckhart. “Latin Sermon 30” and “Latin Sermon 22.”
Bernard of Clairvaux. “Sermon for Rogation Days.”
Hugh of St. Cher. A Commentary on the Parable of the Prodigal Son

John

Bonaventure. Commentary on the Book of John.
Thomas Aquinas. Cantena Aurea
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on the Gospel of John
John Scotus Erigena. The Voice of the Eagle: Homily on the Prologue
John Tauler. “Sermons
Isaac of Stella. “Sermons for the First Sunday after the Octave of the Epiphany.
Bernard of Clairvaux. “Sermon for the Birthday of Saint John the Baptist.”

Gospels

Bede the Venerable. Homilies on the Gospels.
Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and HadrianGilbert of Hoyland. IV.
Treatises, Sermons and Epistles
Gregory the Great. Forty Gospel Homilies.

Acts

John Tauler. “Sermon 21 [Ascension IV]” and “Sermon 26 [Pentecost II].”

Romans

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas’s Commentary on Romans.
William of St. Thierry. Exposition on the Epistle to the Romans.
Peter Abelard. “Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans (An Excerpt from the Second Book).”
Thomas Aquinas. “From the First Lectures on St. Paul” and “From the Commentary on Romans.”
Meister Eckhart. “Latin Sermon 4.”

1 Corinthians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Colet, John. An Exposition of St. Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians.
John Tauler. “Sermon 47
Thomas Aquinas. “From the First Lectures on St. Paul” and “From the Commentary on Romans.”
“The School of Anselm of Laon: The Gloss on I Corinthians, Chapter 15.”

2 Corinthians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine

Galatians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians.
Claudius of Turin. Commentary on Galatians.
Meister Eckhart. “Latin Sermon 29

Ephesians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on St. Paul’s Epistle to the Ephesians.
John Tauler. “Sermon 19 [Ascension II].” In Sermons, pp. 69–73.
Bernard of Clairvaux. “Sermon for the Lord’s Ascension.”
Meister Eckhart. “Latin Sermon 45.”

Philippians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on St. Paul’s First Letter to the Thessalonians
John Tauler. “Sermon 76
Peter of Celle. “A Sermon for Palm Sunday.”

Colossians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
1 Thessalonians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on St. Paul’s First Letter to the Thessalonians

2 Thessalonians

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint
Haimo of Auxerre. Second Thessalonians
Thietland of Einsiedeln. Second Thessalonians

1 Timothy

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Thomas Aquinas. “From the First Lectures on St. Paul”

2 Timothy

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine

Titus

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Alcuin. Commentary on the Epistle to Titus

Philemon

Thomas Aquinas. Exposition of Paul’s Epistle to Philemon.
Meister Eckhart. “Latin Sermon 47.2.”

Hebrews

Bede the Venerable. Excerpts from the Works of Saint Augustine
Thomas Aquinas. Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude

Bede the Venerable. Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles.
Aelred of Rievaulx. “Sermon 28: To the Clerics at the Synod.”
John Tauler. “Sermons

Revelation

Bede the Venerable. Bede: On the Apocalypse.
Geoffrey of Auxerre. On the Apocalypse.
Nicholas of Lyra. Nicholas of Lyra’s Apocalypse Commentary.
Richard Rolle. “Commentary on the Apocalypse.”
APPENDIX

Course Goals and Evaluation of Work

*The goals and outcomes of this course are:*

01 Knowledge of the history of Christian exegesis of the Bible from the first to fourteenth century.

02 Proficiency in reading and interpreting medieval Biblical commentaries and an understanding of the “four-fold sense of scripture.

03 Skill in conducting a research seminar.

04 Skill in conducting a collaborative research project through discussion and critic of others work.

05 Skills needed to prepare and write a major research paper.

*The students’ work will be evaluated by these activities:*

A. Weekly 20 minute oral report

B. Participation in the Weekly Discussion of Readings and Report

C. Chairing an Occasional Discussion Session

D. A major research paper
### CURRICULAR OUTCOMES TABLE

In the following table, each Course Outcome is listed, followed by course activities and/or assignments by which the Course Outcome is to be measured, along with the DSPT Institutional Outcomes and Program Outcomes (here: MDiv Outcomes) to which the given Course Outcome contributes. Descriptions of the DSPT Institutional Goals and MDiv Program Outcomes are listed on the following page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Outcome</th>
<th>Activities &amp;/or Assignments To Measure Course Outcomes</th>
<th>Related Program and Institutional Goals and Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 01 Knowledge of the history of Christian exegesis of the Bible from the first to fourteenth century. | A. Weekly oral report  
B. Weekly discussion  
D. A substantial research paper | IGA1-Integrative Thinking  
GA2-Intellectual Humility  
GA3-Self-Direction  
MAThG1-foundational knowledge  
MAThG2-specialized knowledge  
MAThG4-communication skills |
| 02 Proficiency in reading and interpreting medieval Biblical commentaries and an understanding of the “four-fold sense of scripture. | A. Weekly oral report  
B. Weekly discussion  
D. A substantial research paper | IGA1-Integrative Thinking  
GA2-Intellectual Humility  
GA3-Self-Direction  
MAThG1-foundational knowledge  
MAThG2-specialized knowledge |
| 03 Skills needed for conducting a research seminar. | A. Weekly oral report  
B. Weekly discussion  
C. Discussion session chairing | IGA1-Integrative Thinking  
GA2-Intellectual Humility  
GA3-Self-Direction  
GB1-Ability to Collaborate  
MAThG1-foundational knowledge  
MAThG2-specialized knowledge  
MAThG3-writing skills  
MAThG4-communication skills |
| 04 Skill in conducting a collaborative research project. collaborative research project through discussion and critic of others work. | A. Weekly oral report  
B. Weekly discussion  
C. Discussion session chairing  
D. A substantial research paper | IGA1-Integrative Thinking  
GA2-Intellectual Humility  
GA3-Self-Direction  
GB1-Ability to Collaborate  
MAThG1-foundational knowledge  
MAThG2-specialized knowledge  
MAThG3-writing skills  
MAThG4-communication skills |
| 05 Skills needed to prepare and write a major research paper. | A. Weekly oral report  
B. Weekly discussion  
D. A substantial research paper | IGA1-Integrative Thinking  
GA2-Intellectual Humility  
GA3-Self-Direction  
GB1-Ability to Collaborate  
MAThG1-foundational RC knowledge  
MAThG2-specialized knowledge  
MAThG3-writing skills |
READER
The Pesher to Habakkuk
(Qumran: 1QpHab)

The word Pesher is translated “explanation” and the word Peshru “they explain thus.” The words invariably introduce a comment on the text of Habakkuk. The main character of the commentary is the “Teacher of Righteousness,” who is contrasted with and attacked by the “Wicked Priest.” Reconstruction of the historical background of the Pesher commentator would find parallels in any year in the Hasmonean period and the commentary fits the period. Among other references, column 8 contains references to the High Priest’s office and its cooperation with the Romans politically for the sake of gaining personal wealth. This reflects the end of the Hasmonean period during which corrupt political priests in cooperation with Herod the Great exploited the Priestly office.

The translation is fragmentary because 1: The first two pages are very mutilated; 2: because at least a full line and often more than one line is lost at the bottom of each page; 3: because several pages (3, 4, 5, 6) have holes extending upward into the text; 4: the commentator’s use of vocabulary and idiomatic grammatical construction unique to this document is sometimes obscure or confused. The bold print text is from the book of Habakkuk, the rest is commentary.

Column 1 — [The Teacher of Righteousness]

“Or cry out [to you, ‘Violence!’ but you do not] save? [Why do you make me look at injustice?]” [Hab 1: 2–3a]

. . . this generation ... upon them . . .

[Why do you tolerate wrongdoing? Destruction and violence are before me; there is strife, and conflict abounds.] [Hab 1: 3b]

about me . . . for exploitation. . . . and many . . . he . . .

Therefore the law is paralyzed, [and justice never prevails.]” [Hab 1: 4a]

. . . which is his burden in the Law of God . . .

[The wicked hem in] the righteous [so that justice is perverted.]” [Hab 1: 4b]

. . . he is the teacher of righteousness . . . and not the . . .

2 This translation is adapted and reformatted from that of Geza Vermes. The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Penguin, 2004).
Column 2 — [A New Covenant; End of Days]

[Behold the nations and see, marvel and be astonished; for I accomplish a deed in your days, but you will not believe it when] told. [Hab 1: 5]

[They explain thus: this concerns] those who were unfaithful together with the Liar, in that they [did] not [listen to the word received by] the teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God. And it concerns the unfaithful of the New [Covenant] in that they have not believed in the Covenant of God [and have profaned] his holy name.

And likewise, this saying is to be interpretation [as concerning those who] will be unfaithful at the end of days. They, the men of violence and the breakers of the Covenant, will not believe when they hear all that [is to happen to] the final generation from the Priest [in whose heart] God set [understanding] that he might interpret all the words of his servants the prophets, through whom he foretold all that would happen to his people and [his land].

For behold, I rouse the Chaldeans, that [bitter and hasty] nation, [Hab 1: 6a]

They explain thus: this concerns the Romans [who are] quick and valiant in war, causing many to perish. [All the world shall fall] under the dominion of the Kittim, and the [wicked . . .] they shall not believe in the laws of [God . . .]

Column 3 — [On the Romans]

[who march through the breadth of the earth to take possession of dwellings which are not their own] [Hab 1: 6b]

and they shall march across the plain, smiting and plundering the cities of the earth.

For it is as He said, to take possession of dwellings which are not their own. They are fearsome and terrible; their justice and grandeur proceed from themselves. [Hab 1: 7]

They explain thus: this concerns the Romans who inspire all the nations with fear [and dread]. All their evil plotting is done with intention and they deal with all the nations in cunning and guile.

Their horses are swifter than leopards and fleeter than evening wolves. [Hab 1: 8]

Their horses step forward proudly and spread their wings; They fly from afar like an eagle avid to devour.

All of them come for violence; the look on their faces is like the east wind. [Hab 1: 8–9a]

3 The Kittim, that is the”Westerners,” which in this text means the Romans and so it will be translated here an through the rest of the text.
[They explain thus: this] concerns the Romans who trample the earth with their horses and beasts. They come from afar, from the islands of the sea, to devour all the peoples like an eagle which cannot be satisfied, and they address [all the peoples] with anger and [wrath and fury] and indignation.

**Column 4 — [More on the Romans]**

For it is as he said, “the look on their faces is like the east wind. [they heap up] captives [like sand]” They scoff [at kings], and princes are their laughing-stock. [Hab 1: 10a]

They explain thus: this means that they mock the great and despise the venerable; they ridicule kings and princes and scoff at the mighty host.

They laugh at every fortress; they pile up earth and take it. [Hab 1: 10b]

They explain thus: this concerns the commanders of the Romans who despise the fortresses of the peoples and laugh at them in derision. To capture them, they encircle them with a mighty host, and out of fear and terror they deliver themselves into their hands. They destroy them because of the sins of their inhabitants.

The wind then sweeps on and passes; and they make of their strength their god. [Hab 1: 11]

They explain thus: [this concerns] the commanders of the Romans who, on the counsel of [the] House of Guilt, pass one in front of the other; one after another [their] commanders come to lay waste the earth.

[And they make] of their strength their God. [Hab 1: 11b]

They explain thus: this concerns [ . . . all] the peoples . . .

**Column 5 — [God’s Chastisement of the Wicked]**

[Lord, are you not from everlasting? My God, my Holy One, you will never die. You, Lord, have appointed them to execute] judgement; you have established them, O Rock, for chastisement. their eyes are too pure to behold evil; and you can not look on distress. [Hab 1: 12–13a]

They explain thus: this saying means that God will not destroy his people by the hand of the nations; God will execute the judgement of the nations by the hand of his elect. And through their chastisement all the wicked of his people shall expiate their guilt who keep his commandments in their distress.

For it is as he said, too pure of eyes to behold evil. [Hab 1: 13]

They explain thus: this means that they have not lusted after their eyes during the age of wickedness.
O traitors, why do you stare and stay silent when the wicked swallows up one more righteous than he? [Hab 1: 13b]

They explain thus: this concerns the House of Absalom and the members of its council who were silent at the time of the chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness and gave him no help against the Liar who flouted the Law in the midst of their whole [congregation].

Column 6 — [More on the Romans]

Thou dealest with men like the fish of the sea, Like creeping things, to rule over them. They draw [them all up with a fish-hook], and drag them out with their net, and gather them in [their seine. Therefore they sacrifice] to their net. Therefore they rejoice [and exult and burn incense to their seine; for by them] their portion is fat [and their sustenance rich.] [Hab 1: 14–16].

The Romans shall gather in their riches, together with all their booty, like the fish of the sea.

And as for that which he said, therefore they sacrifice to their net and Burn incense to their seine:

They explain thus: this means that they sacrifice to their standards and worship their weapons of war.

For through them Their portion is fat and their sustenance rich.

They explain thus: this means that they divide their yoke and their tribute—their sustenance—over all the peoples year by year, ravaging many lands.

Therefore their sword is ever drawn to massacre nations mercilessly. [Hab 1: 17]

They explain thus: this concerns the Romans who cause many to perish by the sword—youths, grown men, the aged, women and children—and who even take no pity on the fruit of the womb.

Column 7 — [The Final Generation]

I will take my stand to watch and will station myself upon my fortress. I will watch to see what he will say to me and how [he will answer] my complaint. And the Lord answered [and said to me, ‘write down the vision and make it plain] upon the tablets, that [he who reads] may read it speedily.” [Hab 2: 1–2]

And God told Habakkuk to write down that which would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end.

And as for that which He said, “that he who reads may read it speedily.

They explain thus: this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the
mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets.

For there shall be yet another vision concerning the appointed time. It shall tell of the end and shall not lie. [Hab 2: 3a]

They explain thus: this means that the final age shall be prolonged, and shall exceed all that the prophets have said; for the mysteries of God are astounding.

If it tarries, wait for it, for it shall surely come and shall not be late. [Hab 2: 3b]

They explain thus: this concerns the men of truth who keep the Law, whose hands shall not slacken in the service of truth when the final age is prolonged. For all the ages of God reach their appointed end as he determines for them in the mysteries of His wisdom.

[But the righteous shall live by his faith.] [Hab 2: 4b]

They explain thus: this concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the House of Judgement because of their suffering and because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness.

**Column 8 — [The “Wicked Priest” and the Temple]**

Moreover, the arrogant man seizes wealth without halting. He widens his gullet like hell and like death he has never enough. All the nations are gathered to him and all the peoples are assembled to him. Will they not all of them taunt him and jeer at him saying, “Woe to him who amasses that which is not his! How long will he load himself up with pledges?” [Hab 2: 5–6]

They explain thus: this concerns the Wicked Priest who was called by the name of truth when he first arose. But when he ruled over Israel his heart became proud, and he forsook God and betrayed the precepts for the sake of riches. He robbed and amassed the riches of the men of violence who rebelled against God, and he took the wealth of the peoples, heaping sinful iniquity upon himself. And he lived in the ways of abominations amidst every unclean defilement.

Shall not your oppressors suddenly arise and your torturers awaken; and shall you not become their prey? [Hab 2: 7]

[They explain thus: this concerns] the Priest who rebelled [and violated] precepts [of God . . . to command] . . .

**Column 9 — [Last Priests of Jerusalem; Conquest by the Romans]**

And as for that which He said, Because you have plundered many nations, all the remnant of the peoples shall plunder you. [Hab 2: 7–8a]

They explain thus: this concerns the last Priests of Jerusalem, who shall amass money and wealth
by plundering the peoples. But in the last days, their riches and booty shall be delivered into the hands of the army of the Romans. For it is they who shall be “the remnant of the peoples.”

**Because of the blood of men and the violence done to the land, to the city, and to all its inhabitants.** [Hab 2: 8b]

They explain thus: this concerns the Wicked Priest whom God delivered into the hands of his enemies because of the iniquity committed against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his Council, that he might be humbled by means of a destroying scourge, in bitterness of soul, because he had done wickedly to His elect.

**Woe to him who gets evil profit for his house; who perches his nest high to be safe from the hand of evil! You have devised shame to your house: by cutting off many peoples you have forfeited your own soul. For the [stone] cries out [from] the wall [and] the beam from the woodwork replies.** [Hab 2: 9–11a]

[They explain thus: this] concerns the [Priest] who . . .

**Column 10 — [The Condemned House]**

**That its stones might be laid in oppression and the beam of its woodwork in robbery. And as for that which he said, “by cutting off many peoples you have forfeited your own soul.”** [Hab 2: 11b]

They explain thus: this concerns the condemned house whose judgement God will pronounce in the midst of many peoples. He will bring him thence for judgement and will declare him guilty in the midst of them, and will chastise him with fire of brimstone.

**Woe to him who builds a city with blood and founds a town upon falsehood! Behold, is it not from the Lord of hosts that the peoples shall labour for fire and the nations shall strive for naught?** [Hab 2: 12–13]

They explain thus: this concerns the Spouter of Lies who led many astray that he might build his city of vanity with blood and raise a congregation on deceit, causing many thereby to perform a service of vanity for the sake of its glory, and to be pregnant with [works] of deceit, that their labour might be for nothing and that they might be punished with fire who vilified and outraged the elect of God.

**For as the waters cover the sea, so shall the earth be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord.** [Hab 2: 14]

They explain thus: [this means that] when they return . . . the lies. And afterwards, knowledge shall be revealed to them abundantly, like the waters of the sea.
Column 11 — [The Ignotious]

Woe to him who causes his neighbours to drink; who pours out his venom to make them drunk that he may gaze on their feasts! [Hab 2: 15]

They explain thus: this concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to the house of his exile that he might confuse him with his venomous fury. And at the time appointed for rest, for the Day of Atonement, he appeared before them to confuse them, and to cause them to stumble on the Day of Fasting, their Sabbath of repose.

You have filled yourself with ignominy more than with glory. Drink also, and stagger! The cup of the Lord’s right hand shall come round to you and shame shall come on your glory. [Hab 2: 16]

They explain thus: this concerns the Priest whose ignominy was greater than his glory. For he did not circumcise the foreskin of his heart, and he walked in the ways of drunkenness that he might quench his thirst. But the cup of the wrath of God shall confuse him, multiplying his . . . and the pain of . . .

Column 12 — [The Wicked Priest]

[For the violence done to Lebanon shall overwhelm you, and the destruction of the beasts] shall terrify you, because of the blood of men and the violence done to the land, the city, and all its inhabitants.] [Hab 2: 17a]

They explain thus: this saying concerns the Wicked Priest, inasmuch as he shall be paid the reward which he himself tendered to the poor. For Lebanon is the Council of the Community; and the beasts are the simple of Judah who keep the Law. God will condemn him to destruction just as he himself plotted the destruction of the poor,

And as for that which he said, because of the blood of the city and the violence done to the land. [Hab 2: 17b]

They explain thus: the city is Jerusalem where the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds and defiled the Temple of God. The violence done to the land: these are the cities of Judah where he robbed the poor of their possessions.

Of what use is an idol that its maker should shape it, a molten image, a fatling of lies? For the craftsman puts his trust in his own creation when he makes dumb idols. [Hab 2: 18]

They explain thus: this saying concerns all the idols of the nations which they make so that they may serve and worship them. But they shall not deliver them on the Day of Judgement.
Column 13 — [The Day of Judgement]

Woe [to him who says] to wood, ‘awake’, and to dumb stone, “arise”! [Can such a thing give guidance? Behold, it is covered with gold and silver but there is no spirit within it. But the Lord is in his holy temple] Let all the earth be silent before him! [Hab 2: 19–20].

They explain thus: this concerns all the nations which serve stone and wood. But on the Day of Judgement, God will destroy from the earth all idolatrous and wicked men . . .
HILLEL

Seven Principles of Exegesis

With N.T. Examples

Rule 1. Qal wahomer ("Light and Heavy") Inference a fortiori: what applies in a less important case will certainly apply in a more important case.

NT examples: Matt 12.11ff, Luke 12.24,28; 2 Cor 3.7-11; Heb 9.13ff; Luke 6.3-5; Rom 5.15,17; Rom 11.24; I Cor 6.2f; I Cor 9.9; Heb 2.2ff; Heb 10.28f; Heb 12.24ff; John 10.31-38.

Rule 2. Gezerah shawah ("Equal Ordinance") Inference from similar words: verbal analogy from one verse to another; where the same words are applied to two separate cases it follows that the same considerations apply to both.

NT examples: Mark 2.23-28; Luke 6.1-5; Rom 4.3,7; Heb 7.1-28; Jas 2.21ff.

Rule 3. Binyan ab mikathub 'ehad ("Building a family from one verse") General principle is taken from one verse: when the same phrase is found in a number of passages, then a consideration found in one of them applies to all of them.

NT examples: Mark 12.26; Jas 5.16ff.

Rule 4. Binyan ab mishene kethubim ("Building a family from two texts") General principle principle is established by relating two texts together; the principle can then be applied to other passages.

NT examples: Rom 4.1-25 (Abe and David); I Cor 9.9, 13 (from Deut 25.4 and 18.1-8); Jas 2.22-26 (Abe and Rahab).

Rule 5. Kelal upherat ("the general and the particular") Inference from a general principle, in which a general principle may be restricted by a particularisation of it in another verse; or conversely, a particular rule may be extended into a general principle.

NT examples: Mark 12.28-34; Rom 13.9ff (from Lev 19.18).

Rule 6. Kayoze bo bemagom 'aher ("As is found in another place") Inference from an analogous passage: a difficulty in one text may be solved by comparing it with another which has points of general (though not necessarily verbal) similarity.

NT examples: Mark 14.62 (anlgy of Dan 7.9 with Ps 110.1); Gal 3.8-16 (anlgy of Gen 12.3 and 22.18); Heb 4.7-9 (anlgy of Josh 1.13-15 with Ps 95.7-11); Heb 8.7-13 (anlgy of Exod 19.5ff with Jer 31.31-34).

Rule 7. Dabar halamed me 'inyano (Interpretation from the context or “meaning established by its context.”

NT examples: Matt 19.4-8; Rom 4.10f; Gal 3.17; Heb 4.9f.; heb 11.1-13; Heb 11.35-40.

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Rule 6 and Rule 2 are also evident in other techniques such as a string of quotations (Rom 11.8-10; 15.9-12; 1 Cor 3.19f; Heb 1.5-13; 1 Pet 2.7f) and merged or composite quotations (Rom 3.10-18; II Cor 6.16ff; 1 Cor 2.9) that often have appended to one text a snippet from another.
EPISTLE OF BARNABAS
(Selections)

CHAPTER 6
Proofs from the Prophets

1 When therefore he made the commandment what does he say? “Who is he that comes into court with me? Let him oppose me; or, who is he that seeks justice against me? Let him draw near to the Lord’s servant. 2 Woe unto you, for ye shall all wax old as a garment and the moth shall eat you up.” And again the Prophet says that he was placed as a strong stone for crushing, “Lo, I will place for the foundations of Sion a precious stone, chosen out, a chief corner stone, honourable.” 3 Then what does he say? “And he that hopeth on it shall live for ever.” Is then our hope on a stone? God forbid. But he means that the Lord placed His flesh in strength. For he says, “And he placed me as a solid rock.” 4 And again the Prophet says, “The stone which the builders rejected, this is become the head of the corner,” and again he says, “This is the great and wonderful day which the Lord made.” 5 I write to you more simply that you may understand: I am devoted to your love. 6 What then does the Prophet say again? “The synagogue of the sinners compassed me around, they surrounded me as bees round the honeycomb” and, “They cast lots for my clothing.” 7 Since therefore he was destined to be manifest and to suffer in the flesh his Passion was foretold. For the Prophet says concerning Israel, “Woe unto their soul, for they have plotted an evil plot against themselves, saying, ‘Let us bind the Just one, for he is unprofitable to us.’” 8 What does the other Prophet, Moses, say to them? “Lo, thus saith the Lord God, enter into the good land which the Lord swore that he would give to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and inherit it, a land flowing with milk and honey.” 9 But learn what knowledge says. Hope, it says, on that Jesus who will be manifested to you in the flesh. For man is earth which suffers, for the creation of Adam was from the face of the earth. 10 What then is the meaning of “into the good land, a land flowing with milk and honey”? Blessed be our Lord, brethren, who has placed in us wisdom and understanding of his secrets. For the prophet speaks a parable of the Lord: “Who shall understand save he who is wise, and learned, and a lover of his Lord?” 11 Since then he made us new by the remission of sins he made us another type, that we should have the soul of children, as though he were creating us afresh. 12 For it is concerning us that the scripture says that he says to the Son, “Let us make man after our image and likeness, and let them rule the beasts of the earth, and the birds of heaven, and the fishes of the sea.” And the Lord said, when he saw our fair creation, “Increase and multiply and fill the earth”; these things were spoken to the Son. 13 Again I will show you how he speaks to us. In the last days he made a second creation; and the Lord says, “See, I make the last things as the first.” To this then the Prophet referred when he proclaimed, “Enter into a land flowing with milk and honey, and rule over it.” 14 See then, we have been created afresh, as he says again in another Prophet, “See,” saith the Lord, “I will take out from them” (that is those whom the Spirit of the Lord foresaw) “the hearts of stone and I will put in hearts of flesh.” Because he himself was going to be manifest in the flesh and to dwell among us. 15 For, my brethren, the habitation of our hearts is a shrine holy to the Lord. 16 For the Lord says again, “And wherewith shall I appear before the Lord my God and be glorified?” He says, “I will confess to thee in the assembly of my brethren, and will sing to thee in the midst of the assembly of saints.” We then are they whom he brought into the good land. 17 What then is the milk and the honey? Because a child is first nourished with honey, and afterwards with milk. Thus therefore we also, being nourished on the faith of the promise and by the word, shall live and possess the earth. 18 And we have said above, “And let them increase and multiply and rule over the fishes.” Who then
is it who is now able to rule over beasts or fishes or the birds of heaven? For we ought to understand that to rule implies authority, so that one may give commandments and have domination. 19 If then this does not happen at present he has told us the time when it will; -- when we ourselves also have been made perfect as heirs of the covenant of the Lord.

CHAPTER 7
Fasting and the scapegoat

1 Understand therefore, children of gladness, that the good Lord made all things plain beforehand to us, that we should know him to whom we ought to give thanks and praise for everything. 2 If then the Son of God, though he was the Lord and was “destined to judge the living and the dead” suffered in order that his wounding might make us alive, let us believe that the Son of God could not suffer except for our sakes. 3 But moreover when he was crucified “he was given to drink vinegar and gall.” Listen how the priests of the Temple foretold this. The commandment was written, “Whosoever does not keep the fast shall die the death,” and the Lord commanded this because he himself was going to offer the vessel of the spirit as a sacrifice for our sins, in order that the type established in Isaac, who was offered upon the altar, might be fulfilled. 4 What then does he say in the Prophet? “And let them eat of the goat which is offered in the fast for all their sins.” Attend carefully, -- “and let all the priests alone eat the entrails unwashed with vinegar.” 5 Why? Because you are going “to give to me gall and vinegar to drink” when I am on the point of offering my flesh for my new people, therefore you alone shall eat, while the people fast and mourn in sackcloth and ashes, to show that he must suffer for them. 6 Note what was commanded: “Take two goats, goodly and alike, and offer them, and let the priest take the one as a burnt offering for sins.” 7 But what are they to do with the other? “The other,” he says, “is accursed.” Notice how the type of Jesus is manifested: 8 “And do ye all spit on it, and goad it, and bind the scarlet wool about its head, and so let it be cast into the desert.” And when it is so done, he who takes the goat into the wilderness drives it forth, and takes away the wool, and puts it upon a shrub which is called Rachel, of which we are accustomed to eat the shoots when we find them in the country: thus of Rachel alone is the fruit sweet. 9 What does this mean? Listen: “the first goat is for the altar, but the other is accursed,” and note that the one that is accursed is crowned, because then “they will see him” on that day with the long scarlet robe “down to the feet” on his body, and they will say, “Is not this he whom we once crucified and rejected and pierced and spat upon? Of a truth it was he who then said that he was the Son of God.” 10 But how is he like to the goat? For this reason: “the goats shall be alike, beautiful, and a pair,” in order that when they see him come at that time they may be astonished at the likeness of the goat. See then the type of Jesus destined to suffer. 11 But why is it that they put the wool in the middle of the thorns? It is a type of Jesus placed in the Church, because whoever wishes to take away the scarlet wool must suffer much because the thorns are terrible and he can gain it only through pain. Thus he says, “those who will see me, and attain to my kingdom must lay hold of me through pain and suffering.”

CHAPTER 8
The sacrifice of a heifer

1 But what do you think that it typifies, that the commandment has been given to Israel that the men in whom sin is complete offer a heifer and slay it and burn it, and that boys then take the ashes and put them into vessels and bind scarlet wool on sticks (see again the type of the Cross and the scarlet wool) and hyssop, and that the boys all sprinkle the people thus one by one in order that they
all be purified from their sins? 2 Observe how plainly he speaks to you. The calf is Jesus; the sinful
men offering it are those who brought him to be slain. Then there are no longer men, no longer the
glory of sinners. 3 The boys who sprinkle are they who preached to us the forgiveness of sins, and
the purification of the heart, to whom he gave the power of the Gospel to preach, and there are
twelve as a testimony to the tribes, because there are twelve tribes of Israel. 4 But why are there three
boys who sprinkle? As a testimony to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for these are great before God. 5
And why was the wool put on the wood? Because the kingdom of Jesus is on the wood, and because
those who hope on him shall live for ever. 6 But why are the wool and the hyssop together? Because
in his kingdom there shall be evil and foul days, in which we shall be saved, for he also who has pain
in his flesh is cured by the foulness of the hyssop. 7 And for this reason the things which were thus
done are plain to us, but obscure to them, because they did not hear the Lord’s voice.

CHAPTER 9
The circumcision

1 For he speaks again concerning the ears, how he circumcised our hearts; for the Lord says in
the Prophet: “In the hearing of the ear they obey me.” And again he says, “They who are afar off
shall hear clearly, they shall know the things that I have done;” and “Circumcise your hearts, saith
the Lord.” 2 And again he says, “Hear, O Israel, thus saith the Lord thy God,” and again the Spirit
of the Lord prophesies, “Who is he that will live for ever? Let him hear the voice of my servant.” 3
And again he says, “Hear, O heaven, and give ear, O earth, for the Lord hath spoken these things for
a testimony.” And again he says, “Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of this people.” And again
he says, “Hear, O children, a voice of one crying in the wilderness.” So then he circumcised our
hearing in order that we should hear the word and believe. 4 But moreover the circumcision in which
they trusted has been abolished. For he declared that circumcision was not of the flesh, but they erred
because an evil angel was misleading them. 5 He says to them, “Thus saith the Lord your God” (here
I find a commandment), “Sow not among thorns, be circumcised to your Lord.” And what does he
say? “Circumcise the hardness of your heart, and stiffen not your neck.” Take it again: “Behold, saith
the Lord, all the heathen are uncircumcised in the foreskin, but this people is uncircumcised in
heart.” 6 But you will say, surely the people has received circumcision as a seal? Yes, but every
Syrian and Arab and all priests of the idols have been circumcised; are then these also within their
covenant? -- indeed even the Egyptians belong to the circumcision. 7 Learn fully then, children of
love, concerning all things, for Abraham, who first circumcised, did so looking forward in the spirit
to Jesus, and had received the doctrines of three letters. 8 For it says, “And Abraham circumcised
from his household eighteen men and three hundred.” What then was the knowledge that was given
to him? Notice that he first mentions the eighteen, and after a pause the three hundred. The eighteen
is I (Greek letter for ten) and H (Greek letter for 8) -- you have Jesus -- and because the cross was
destined to have grace in the T he says “and three hundred.” So he indicates Jesus in the two letters
and the cross in the other. 9 He knows this who placed the gift of his teaching in our hearts. No one
has heard a more excellent lesson from me, but I know that you are worthy.

CHAPTER 10
The Food-law of the Jews -- The explanation in the Psalter

1 Now, in that Moses said, “Ye shall not eat swine, nor an eagle, nor a hawk, nor a crow, nor any
fish which has no scales on itself,” he included three doctrines in his understanding. 2 Moreover he
says to them in Deuteronomy, “And I will make a covenant of my ordinances with this people.” So
then the ordinance of God is not abstinence from eating, but Moses spoke in the spirit. 3 He mentioned the swine for this reason: you shall not consort, he means, with men who are like swine, that is to say, when they have plenty they forget the Lord, but when they are in want they recognise the Lord, just as the swine when it eats does not know its master, but when it is hungry it cries out, and after receiving food is again silent. 4 “Neither shalt thou eat the eagle nor the hawk nor the kite nor the crow.” Thou shalt not, he means, join thyself or make thyself like to such men, as do not know how to gain their food by their labour and sweat, but plunder other people’s property in their iniquity, and lay wait for it, though they seem to walk in innocence, and look round to see whom they may plunder in their covetousness, just as these birds alone provide no food for themselves, but sit idle, and seek how they may devour the flesh of others, and become pestilent in their iniquity. 5 “Thou shalt not eat,” he says, “the lamprey nor the polypus nor the cuttlefish.” Thou shalt not, he means, consort with or become like such men who are utterly ungodly and who are already condemned to death, just as these fish alone are accursed, and float in the deep water, not swimming like the others but living on the ground at the bottom of the sea. 6 Moreover, you shall not eat the rabbit. For what reason? Because “you should not,” he says “become a corruptor of the young or become like such men; for the rabbit multiplies every year its hidding places by the way, for it has as many burrows as it has years. 7. And you shall not eat the hyaena. Which means you should not become an adulterer or corrupter, not should you become like such men. Why? Because this animal changes its nature each year becoming male and then female. 8 Moreover, Moses abominates the weasel rightly. Meaning you should not become like those people who have oral sex, nor should you associate with women who are polluted by oral sex. This is because this animal conceives young through the mouth. 9 Moses received three doctrines concerning food and thus spoke of them in the Spirit; but they received them as really referring to food, owing to the lust of their flesh. 10 But David received knowledge concerning the same three doctrines, and says: “Blessed is the man who has not gone in the counsel of the ungodly” as the fishes go in darkness in the deep waters, “and has not stood in the way of sinners” like those who seem to fear the Lord, but sin like the swine, “and has not sat in the seat of the scorners” like the birds who sit and wait for their prey. Grasp fully the doctrines concerning food. 11 Moses says again, “Eat of every animal that is cloven hoofed and ruminant.” What does he mean? That he who receives food knows him who feeds him, and rests on him and seems to rejoice. Well did he speak with regard to the commandment. What then does he mean? Consort with those who fear the Lord, with those who meditate in their heart on the meaning of the word which they have received, with those who speak of and observe the ordinances of the Lord, with those who know that meditation is a work of gladness, and who ruminate on the word of the Lord. But what does “the cloven hoofed” mean? That the righteous both walks in this world and looks forward to the holy age. See how well Moses legislated. 12 But how was it possible for them to understand or comprehend these things? But we having a righteous understanding of them announce the commandments as the Lord wished. For this cause he circumcised our hearing and our hearts that we should comprehend these things.

CHAPTER 11
Baptism -- The Cross

1 But let us enquire if the Lord took pains to foretell the water of baptism and the cross. Concerning the water it has been written with regard to Israel that they will not receive the baptism that brings the remission of sins, but will build for themselves. 2 For the Prophet says, “Be astonished O heaven, and let the earth tremble the more at this, that this people hath committed two evils: they have deserted me, the spring of life, and they have dug for themselves a cistern of death.
3 Is my holy mountain Sinai a desert rock? For ye shall be as the fledgling birds, fluttering about when they are taken away from the nest.” 4 And again the Prophet says, “I will go before you and I will make mountains level, and I will break gates of brass, and I will shatter bars of iron, and I will give thee treasures of darkness, secret, invisible, that they may know that I am the Lord God.” 5 And, “Thou shalt dwell in a lofty cave of a strong rock.” And, “His water is sure, ye shall see the King in his glory, and your soul shall meditate on the fear of the Lord.” 6 And again he says in another Prophet, “And he who does these things shall be as the tree, which is planted at the partings of the waters, which shall give its fruit in its season, and its leaf shall not fade, and all things, whatsoever he doeth, shall prosper. 7 It is not so with the wicked, it is not so; but they are even as the chaff which the wind driveth away from the face of the earth. Therefore the wicked shall not rise up in judgment, nor sinners in the counsel of the righteous, for the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous, and the way of the ungodly shall perish.” 8 Mark how he described the water and the cross together. For he means this: blessed are those who hoped on the cross, and descended into the water. For he speaks of their reward “in his season”; at that time, he says, I will repay. But now when he says, “Their leaves shall not fade,” he means that every word which shall come forth from your mouth in faith and love, shall be for conversion and hope for many. 9 And again another Prophet says, “And the land of Jacob was praised above every land.” He means to say that he is glorifying the vessel of his Spirit. 10 What does he say next? “And there was a river flowing on the right hand, and beautiful trees grew out of it, and whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever.” 11 He means that we go down into the water full of sins and foulness, and we come up bearing the fruit of fear in our hearts, and having hope on Jesus in the Spirit. “And whosoever shall eat of them shall live for ever.” He means that whosoever hears and believes these things spoken shall live for ever.

CHAPTER 12
The Cross -- Joshua

1 Similarly, again, he describes the cross in another Prophet, who says, “And when shall all these things be accomplished? saith the Lord. When the tree shall fall and rise, and when blood shall flow from the tree.” Here again you have a reference to the cross, and to him who should he crucified. 2 And he says again to Moses, when Israel was warred upon by strangers, and in order to remind those who were warred upon that they were delivered unto death by reason of their sins -- the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses to make a representation of the cross, and of him who should suffer, because, he says, unless they put their trust in him, they shall suffer war for ever. Moses therefore placed one shield upon another in the midst of the fight, and standing there raised above them all kept stretching out his hands, and so Israel again began to be victorious: then, whenever he let them drop they began to perish. 3 Why? That they may know that they cannot be saved if they do not hope on him. 4 And again he says in another Prophet, “I stretched out my hands the whole day to a disobedient people and one that refuses my righteous way.” 5 Again Moses makes a representation of Jesus, showing that he must suffer, and shall himself give life, though they will believe that he has been put to death, by the sign given when Israel was falling (for the Lord made every serpent bite them, and they were perishing, for the fall took place in Eve through the serpent), in order to convince them that they will be delivered over to the affliction of death because of their transgression. 6 Moreover, though Moses commanded them: -- “You shall have neither graven nor molten image for your God,” yet he makes one himself to show a type of Jesus. Moses therefore makes a graven serpent, and places it in honour and calls the people by a proclamation. 7 So they came together and besought Moses that he would offer prayer on their behalf for their healing. But Moses said to them, “Whenever one of you,” he said, “be bitten, let him come to the serpent that is placed upon the tree, and let him hope, in faith
that it though dead is able to give life, and he shall straightway be saved.” And they did so. In this also you have again the glory of Jesus, for all things are in him and for him. 8 Again, why does Moses say to Jesus, the son of Naue, when he gives him, prophet as he is, this name, that the whole people should listen to him alone? Because the Father was revealing everything concerning his Son Jesus. 9 Moses therefore says to Jesus the son of Naue, after giving him this name, when he sent him to spy out the land, “Take a book in thy hands and write what the Lord saith, that the Son of God shall in the last day tear up by the roots the whole house of Amalek.” 10 See again Jesus, not as son of man, but as Son of God, but manifested in a type in the flesh. Since therefore they are going to say that the Christ is David’s son, David himself prophesies, fearing and understanding the error of the sinners, “The Lord said to my Lord sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy footstool.” 11 And again Isaiah speaks thus, “The Lord said to Christ my Lord, whose right hand I held, that the nations should obey before him, and I will shatter the strength of Kings.” See how “David calls him Lord” and does not say Son.

CHAPTER 13
Jews and Christians as heirs of the covenant

1 Now let us see whether this people or the former people is the heir, and whether the covenant is for us or for them. 2 Hear then what the Scripture says concerning the people: “And Isaac prayed concerning Rebecca his wife, because she was barren, and she conceived. Then Rebecca went forth to enquire of the Lord and the Lord said to her: two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples in thy belly, and one people shall overcome a people, and the greater shall serve the less.” 3 You ought to understand who is Isaac and who is Rebecca, and of whom he has shown that this people is greater than that people. 4 And in another prophecy Jacob speaks more plainly to Joseph his son, saying, “Behold the Lord hath not deprived me of thy presence; bring me thy sons, that I may bless them.” 5 And he brought Ephraim and Manasses, and wished that Manasses should be blessed, because he was the elder; for Joseph brought him to the right hand of his father Jacob. But Jacob saw in the spirit a type of the people of the future. And what does he say? “And Jacob crossed his hands, and placed his right hand on the head of Ephraim, the second and younger son, and blessed him; and Joseph said to Jacob, Change thy right hand on to the head of Manasses, for he is my first-born son. And Jacob said to Joseph, I know it, my child, I know it; but the greater shall serve the less, and this one shall indeed be blessed.” 6 See who it is of whom he ordained that this people is the first and heir of the covenant. 7 If then besides this he remembered it also in the case of Abraham, we reach the perfection of our knowledge. What then does he say to Abraham, when he alone was faithful, and it was counted him for righteousness? “Behold I have made thee, Abraham, the father of the Gentiles who believe in God in uncircumcision.”
THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH

Translated by Robert M. Grant

The gospel of truth is joy to those who have received from the Father of truth the gift of knowing him by the power of the Logos, who has come from the Pleroma and who is in the thought and the mind of the Father; he it is who is called “the Savior,” since that is the name of the work which he must do for the redemption of those who have not known the Father. For the name of the gospel is the manifestation of hope, since that is the discovery of those who seek him, because the All sought him from whom it had come forth. You see, the All had been inside of him, that illimitable, inconceivable one, who is better than every thought.

This ignorance of the Father brought about terror and fear. And terror became dense like a fog, that no one was able to see. Because of this, error became strong. But it worked on its hylic substance vainly, because it did not know the truth. It was in a fashioned form while it was preparing, in power and in beauty, the equivalent of truth. This then, was not a humiliation for him, that illimitable, inconceivable one. For they were as nothing, this terror and this forgetfulness and this figure of falsehood, whereas this established truth is unchanging, unperturbed and completely beautiful.

For this reason, do not take error too seriously. Thus, since it had no root, it was in a fog as regards the Father, engaged in preparing works and forgetfulnesses and fears in order, by these means, to beguile those of the middle and to make them captive. The forgetfulness of error was not revealed. It did not become light beside the Father. Forgetfulness did not exist with the Father, although it existed because of him. What exists in him is knowledge, which was revealed so that forgetfulness might be destroyed and that they might know the Father. Since forgetfulness existed because they did not know the Father, if they then come to know the Father, from that moment on forgetfulness will cease to exist.

That is the gospel of him whom they seek, which he has revealed to the perfect through the mercies of the Father as the hidden mystery, Jesus the Christ. Through him he enlightened those who were in darkness because of forgetfulness. He enlightened them and gave them a path. And that path is the truth which he taught them. For this reason error was angry with him, so it persecuted him. It was distressed by him, so it made him powerless. He was nailed to a cross. He became a fruit of the knowledge of the Father. He did not, however, destroy them because they ate of it. He rather caused those who ate of it to be joyful because of this discovery.

And as for him, them he found in himself, and him they found in themselves, that illimitable, inconceivable one, that perfect Father who made the all, in whom the All is, and whom the All lacks, since he retained in himself their perfection, which he had not given to the all. The Father was not jealous. What jealousy, indeed, is there between him and his members? For, even if the Aeon had received their perfection, they would not have been able to approach the perfection of the Father, because he retained their perfection in himself, giving it to them as a way to return to him and as a knowledge unique in perfection. He is the one who set the All in order and in whom the All existed and whom the All lacked. As one of whom some have no knowledge, he desires that they know him and that they love him. For what is it that the All lacked, if not the knowledge of the Father?
He became a guide, quiet and in leisure. In the middle of a school he came and spoke the Word, as a teacher. Those who were wise in their own estimation came to put him to the test. But he discredited them as empty-headed people. They hated him because they really were not wise men. After all these came also the little children, those who possess the knowledge of the Father. When they became strong they were taught the aspects of the Father’s face. They came to know and they were known. They were glorified and they gave glory. In their heart, the living book of the Living was manifest, the book which was written in the thought and in the mind of the Father and, from before the foundation of the All, is in that incomprehensible part of him.

This is the book which no one found possible to take, since it was reserved for him who will take it and be slain. No one was able to be manifest from those who believed in salvation as long as that book had not appeared. For this reason, the compassionate, faithful Jesus was patient in his sufferings until he took that book, since he knew that his death meant life for many. Just as in the case of a will which has not yet been opened, for the fortune of the deceased master of the house is hidden, so also in the case of the All which had been hidden as long as the Father of the All was invisible and unique in himself, in whom every space has its source. For this reason Jesus appeared. He took that book as his own. He was nailed to a cross. He affixed the edict of the Father to the cross.

Oh, such great teaching! He abases himself even unto death, though he is clothed in eternal life. Having divested himself of these perishable rags, he clothed himself in incorruptibility, which no one could possibly take from him. Having entered into the empty territory of fears, he passed before those who were stripped by forgetfulness, being both knowledge and perfection, proclaiming the things that are in the heart of the Father, so that he became the wisdom of those who have received instruction. But those who are to be taught, the living who are inscribed in the book of the living, learn for themselves, receiving instructions from the Father, turning to him again.

Since the perfection of the All is in the Father, it is necessary for the All to ascend to him. Therefore, if one has knowledge, he gets what belongs to him and draws it to himself. For he who is ignorant, is deficient, and it is a great deficiency, since he lacks that which will make him perfect. Since the perfection of the All is in the Father, it is necessary for the All to ascend to him and for each one to get the things which are his. He registered them first, having prepared them to be given to those who came from him.

Those whose name he knew first were called last, so that the one who has knowledge is he whose name the Father has pronounced. For he whose name has not been spoken is ignorant. Indeed, how shall one hear if his name has not been uttered? For he who remains ignorant until the end is a creature of forgetfulness and will perish with it. If this is not so, why have these wretches no name, why do they have no sound? Hence, if one has knowledge, he is from above. If he is called, he hears, he replies, and he turns toward him who called him and he ascends to him and he knows what he is called. Since he has knowledge, he does the will of him who called him. He desires to please him and he finds rest. He receives a certain name. He who thus is going to have knowledge knows whence he came and whither he is going. He knows it as a person who, having become intoxicated, has turned from his drunkenness and having come to himself, has restored what is his own.

He has turned many from error. He went before them to their own places, from which they departed when they erred because of the depth of him who surrounds every place, whereas there is
nothing which surrounds him. It was a great wonder that they were in the Father without knowing
him and that they were able to leave on their own, since they were not able to contain him and know
him in whom they were, for indeed his will had not come forth from him. For he revealed it as a
knowledge with which all its emanations agree, namely, the knowledge of the living book which he
revealed to the Aeons at last as his letters, displaying to them that these are not merely vowels nor
consonants, so that one may read them and think of something void of meaning; on the contrary, they
are letters which convey the truth. They are pronounced only when they are known. Each letter is a
perfect truth like a perfect book, for they are letters written by the hand of the unity, since the Father
wrote them for the Aeons, so that they by means of his letters might come to know the Father.

While his wisdom mediates on the logos, and since his teaching expresses it, his knowledge has
been revealed. His honor is a crown upon it. Since his joy agrees with it, his glory exalted it. It has
revealed his image. It has obtained his rest. His love took bodily form around it. His trust embraced
it. Thus the logos of the Father goes forth into the All, being the fruit of his heart and expression of
his will. It supports the All. It chooses and also takes the form of the All, purifying it, and causing
it to return to the Father and to the Mother, Jesus of the utmost sweetness. The Father opens his
bosom, but his bosom is the Holy Spirit. He reveals his hidden self which is his son, so that through
the compassion of the Father the Aeons may know him, end their wearying search for the Father and
rest themselves in him, knowing that this is rest. After he had filled what was incomplete, he did
away with form. The form of it is the world, that which it served. For where there is envy and strife,
there is an incompleteness; but where there is unity, there is completeness. Since this incompleteness
came about because they did not know the Father, so when they know the Father, incompleteness,
from that moment on, will cease to exist. As one’s ignorance disappears when he gains knowledge,
and as darkness disappears when light appears, so also incompleteness is eliminated by
completeness. Certainly, from that moment on, form is no longer manifest, but will be dissolved in
fusion with unity. For now their works lie scattered. In time unity will make the spaces complete.
By means of unity each one will understand itself. By means of knowledge it will purify itself of
diversity with a view towards unity, devouring matter within itself like fire and darkness by light,
death by life.

Certainly, if these things have happened to each one of us, it is fitting for us, surely, to think about
the All so that the house may be holy and silent for unity. Like people who have moved from a
neighborhood, if they have some dishes around which are not good, they usually break them.
Nevertheless the householder does not suffer a loss, but rejoices, for in the place of these defective
dishes there are those which are completely perfect. For this is the judgement which has come from
above and which has judged every person, a drawn two-edged sword cutting on this side and that.
When it appeared, I mean, the Logos, who is in the heart of those who pronounce it - it was not
merely a sound but it has become a body - a great disturbance occurred among the dishes, for some
were emptied, others filled: some were provided for, others were removed; some were purified, still
others were broken. All the spaces were shaken and disturbed for they had no composure nor
stability. Error was disturbed not knowing what it should do. It was troubled; it lamented, it was
beside itself because it did not know anything. When knowledge, which is its abolishment,
approached it with all its emanations, error is empty, since there is nothing in it. Truth appeared; all
its emanations recognized it. They actually greeted the Father with a power which is complete and
which joins them with the Father. For each one loves truth because truth is the mouth of the Father.
His tongue is the Holy Spirit, who joins him to truth attaching him to the mouth of the Father by his
tongue at the time he shall receive the Holy Spirit.
This is the manifestation of the Father and his revelation to his Aeons. He revealed his hidden self and explained it. For who is it who exists if it is not the Father himself? All the spaces are his emanations. They knew that they stem from him as children from a perfect man. They knew that they had not yet received form nor had they yet received a name, every one of which the Father produces. If they at that time receive form of his knowledge, though they are truly in him, they do not know him. But the Father is perfect. He knows every space which is within him. If he pleases, he reveals anyone whom he desires by giving him a form and by giving him a name; and he does give him a name and cause him to come into being. Those who do not yet exist are ignorant of him who created them. I do not say, then, that those who do not yet exist are nothing. But they are in him who will desire that they exist when he pleases, like the event which is going to happen. On the one hand, he knows, before anything is revealed, what he will produce. On the other hand, the fruit which has not yet been revealed does not know anything, nor is it anything either. Thus each space which, on its part, is in the Father comes from the existent one, who, on his part, has established it from the nonexistent. [. . .] he who does not exist at all, will never exist.

What, then, is that which he wants him to think? “I am like the shadows and phantoms of the night.” When morning comes, this one knows that the fear which he had experienced was nothing. Thus they were ignorant of the Father; he is the one whom they did not see. Since there had been fear and confusion and a lack of confidence and doublemindedness and division, there were many illusions which were conceived by him, the foregoing, as well as empty ignorance - as if they were fast asleep and found themselves a prey to troubled dreams. Either there is a place to which they flee, or they lack strength as they come, having pursued unspecified things. Either they are involved in inflicting blows, or they themselves receive bruises. Either they are falling from high places, or they fly off through the air, though they have no wings at all. Other times, it is as if certain people were trying to kill them, even though there is no one pursuing them; or, they themselves are killing those beside them, for they are stained by their blood. Until the moment when they who are passing through all these things - I mean they who have experienced all these confusions - awake, they see nothing because the dreams were nothing. It is thus that they who cast ignorance from them as sheep do not consider it to be anything, nor regard its properties to be something real, but they renounce them like a dream in the night and they consider the knowledge of the Father to be the dawn. It is thus that each one has acted, as if he were asleep, during the time when he was ignorant and thus he comes to understand, as if he were awakening. And happy is the man who comes to himself and awakens. Indeed, blessed is he who has opened the eyes of the blind.

And the Spirit came to him in haste when it raised him. Having given its hand to the one lying prone on the ground, it placed him firmly on his feet, for he had not yet stood up. He gave them the means of knowing the knowledge of the Father and the revelation of his son. For when they saw it and listened to it, he permitted them to take a taste of and to smell and to grasp the beloved son.

He appeared, informing them of the Father, the illimitable one. He inspired them with that which is in the mind, while doing his will. Many received the light and turned towards him. But material men were alien to him and did not discern his appearance nor recognize him. For he came in the likeness of flesh and nothing blocked his way because it was incorruptible and unrestrainable. Moreover, while saying new things, speaking about what is in the heart of the Father, he proclaimed the faultless word. Light spoke through his mouth, and his voice brought forth life. He gave them thought and understanding and mercy and salvation and the Spirit of strength derived from the limitlessness of the Father and sweetness. He caused punishments and scourgings to cease, for it was
they which caused many in need of mercy to astray from him in error and in chains - and he mightily destroyed them and derided them with knowledge. He became a path for those who went astray and knowledge to those who were ignorant, a discovery for those who sought, and a support for those who tremble, a purity for those who were defiled.

He is the shepherd who left behind the ninety-nine sheep which had not strayed and went in search of that one which was lost. He rejoiced when he had found it. For ninety-nine is a number of the left hand, which holds it. The moment he finds the one, however, the whole number is transferred to the right hand. Thus it is with him who lacks the one, that is, the entire right hand which attracts that in which it is deficient, seizes it from the left side and transfers it to the right. In this way, then, the number becomes one hundred. This number signifies the Father.

He labored even on the Sabbath for the sheep which he found fallen into the pit. He saved the life of that sheep, bringing it up from the pit in order that you may understand fully what that Sabbath is, you who possess full understanding. It is a day in which it is not fitting that salvation be idle, so that you may speak of that heavenly day which has no night and of the sun which does not set because it is perfect. Say then in your heart that you are this perfect day and that in you the light which does not fail dwells.

Speak concerning the truth to those who seek it and of knowledge to those who, in their error, have committed sin. Make sure-footed those who stumble and stretch forth your hands to the sick. Nourish the hungry and set at ease those who are troubled. Foster men who love. Raise up and awaken those who sleep. For you are this understanding which encourages. If the strong follow this course, they are even stronger. Turn your attention to yourselves. Do not be concerned with other things, namely, that which you have cast forth from yourselves, that which you have dismissed. Do not return to them to eat them. Do not be moth-eaten. Do not be worm-eaten, for you have already shaken it off. Do not be a place of the devil, for you have already destroyed him. Do not strengthen your last obstacles, because that is reprehensible. For the lawless one is nothing. He harms himself more than the law. For that one does his works because he is a lawless person. But this one, because he is a righteous person, does his works among others. Do the will of the Father, then, for you are from him.

For the Father is sweet and his will is good. He knows the things that are yours, so that you may rest yourselves in them. For by the fruits one knows the things that are yours, that they are the children of the Father, and one knows his aroma, that you originate from the grace of his countenance. For this reason, the Father loved his aroma; and it manifests itself in every place; and when it is mixed with matter, he gives his aroma to the light; and into his rest he causes it to ascend in every form and in every sound. For there are no nostrils which smell the aroma, but it is the Spirit which possesses the sense of smell and it draws it for itself and sinks into the aroma of the Father. He is, indeed, the place for it, and he takes it to the place from which it has come, in the first aroma which is cold. It is something in a psychic form, resembling cold water which is [...] since it is in soil which is not hard, of which those who see it think, “It is earth.” Afterwards, it becomes soft again. If a breath is taken, it is usually hot. The cold aromas, then, are from the division. For this reason, God came and destroyed the division and he brought the hot Pleroma of love, so that the cold may not return, but the unity of the Perfect Thought prevail.

This is the word of the Gospel of the finding of the Pleroma for those who wait for the salvation
which comes from above. When their hope, for which they are waiting, is waiting - they whose likeness is the light in which there is no shadow, then at that time the Pleroma is about to come. The deficiency of matter, however, is not because of the limitlessness of the Father who comes at the time of the deficiency. And yet no one is able to say that the incorruptible One will come in this manner. But the depth of the Father is increasing, and the thought of error is not with him. It is a matter of falling down and a matter of being readily set upright at the finding of that one who has come to him who will turn back.

For this turning back is called “repentance”. For this reason, incorruption has breathed. It followed him who has sinned in order that he may find rest. For forgiveness is that which remains for the light in the deficiency, the word of the pleroma. For the physician hurries to the place in which there is sickness, because that is the desire which he has. The sick man is in a deficient condition, but he does not hide himself because the physician possesses that which he lacks. In this manner the deficiency is filled by the Pleroma, which has no deficiency, which has given itself out in order to fill the one who is deficient, so that grace may take him, then, from the area which is deficient and has no grace. Because of this a diminishing occurred in the place which there is no grace, the area where the one who is small, who is deficient, is taken hold of.

He revealed himself as a Pleroma, i.e., the finding of the light of truth which has shined towards him, because he is unchangeable. For this reason, they who have been troubled speak about Christ in their midst so that they may receive a return and he may anoint them with the ointment. The ointment is the pity of the Father, who will have mercy on them. But those whom he has anointed are those who are perfect. For the filled vessels are those which are customarily used for anointing. But when an anointing is finished, the vessel is usually empty, and the cause of its deficiency is the consumption of its ointment. For then a breath is drawn only through the power which he has. But the one who is without deficiency - one does not trust anyone beside him nor does one pour anything out. But that which is the deficient is filled again by the perfect Father. He is good. He knows his plantings because he is the one who has planted them in his Paradise. And his Paradise is his place of rest.

This is the perfection in the thought of the Father and these are the words of his reflection. Each one of his words is the work of his will alone, in the revelation of his Logos. Since they were in the depth of his mind, the Logos, who was the first to come forth, caused them to appear, along with an intellect which speaks the unique word by means of a silent grace. It was called “thought,” since they were in it before becoming manifest. It happened, then, that it was the first to come forth - at the moment pleasing to the will of him who desired it; and it is in the will that the Father is at rest and with which he is pleased. Nothing happens without him, nor does anything occur without the will of the Father. But his will is incomprehensible. His will is his mark, but no one can know it, nor is it possible for them to concentrate on it in order to possess it. But that which he wishes takes place at the moment he wishes it - even if the view does not please anyone: it is God’s will. For the Father knows the beginning of them all as well as their end. For when their end arrives, he will question them to their faces. The end, you see, is the recognition of him who is hidden, that is, the Father, from whom the beginning came forth and to whom will return all who have come from him. For they were made manifest for the glory and the joy of his name.

And the name of the Father is the Son. It is he who, in the beginning, gave a name to him who came forth from him - he is the same one - and he begat him for a son. He gave him his name which
belonged to him - he, the Father, who possesses everything which exists around him. He possess the name; he has the son. It is possible for them to see him. The name, however, is invisible, for it alone is the mystery of the invisible about to come to ears completely filled with it through the Father’s agency. Moreover, as for the Father, his name is not pronounced, but it is revealed through a son. Thus, then, the name is great.

Who, then, has been able to pronounce a name for him, this great name, except him alone to whom the name belongs and the sons of the name in whom the name of the Father is at rest, and who themselves in turn are at rest in his name, since the Father has no beginning? It is he alone who engendered it for himself as a name in the beginning before he had created the Aeons, that the name of the Father should be over their heads as a lord - that is, the real name, which is secure by his authority and by his perfect power. For the name is not drawn from lexicons nor is his name derived from common name-giving. But it is invisible. He gave a name to himself alone, because he alone saw it and because he alone was capable of giving himself a name. For he who does not exist has no name. For what name would one give him who did not exist? Nevertheless, he who exists also with his name and he alone knows it, and to him alone the Father gave a name. The Son is his name. He did not, therefore, keep it secretly hidden, but the son came into existence. He himself gave a name to him. The name, then, is that of the Father, just as the name of the Father is the Son. For otherwise, where would compassion find a name - outside of the Father? But someone will probably say to his companion, “Who would give a name to someone who existed before himself, as if, indeed, children did not receive their name from one of those who gave them birth?”

Above all, then, it is fitting for us to think this point over: What is the name? It is the real name. It is, indeed, the name which came from the Father, for it is he who owns the name. He did not, you see, get the name on loan, as in the case of others because of the form in which each one of them is going to be created. This, then, is the authoritative name. There is no one else to whom he has given it. But it remained unnamed, unuttered, ’till the moment when he, who is perfect, pronounced it himself; and it was he alone who was able to pronounce his name and to see it. When it pleased him, then, that his son should be his pronounced name and when he gave this name to him, he who has come from the depth spoke of his secrets, because he knew that the Father was absolute goodness. For this reason, indeed, he sent this particular one in order that he might speak concerning the place and his place of rest from which he had come forth, and that he might glorify the Pleroma, the greatness of his name and the sweetness of his Father.

Each one will speak concerning the place from which he has come forth, and to the region from which he received his essential being, he will hasten to return once again. And he want from that place - the place where he was - because he tasted of that place, as he was nourished and grew. And his own place of rest is his Pleroma. All the emanations from the Father, therefore, are Pleromas, and all his emanations have their roots in the one who caused them all to grow from himself. He appointed a limit. They, then, became manifest individually in order that they might be in their own thought, for that place to which they extend their thoughts is their root, which lifts them upward through all heights to the Father. They reach his head, which is rest for them, and they remain there near to it so that they say that they have participated in his face by means of embraces. But these of this kind were not manifest, because they have not risen above themselves. Neither have they been deprived of the glory of the Father nor have they thought of him as small, nor bitter, nor angry, but as absolutely good, unperturbed, sweet, knowing all the spaces before they came into existence and having no need of instruction. Such are they who possess from above something of this
immeasurable greatness, as they strain towards that unique and perfect one who exists there for them. And they do not go down to Hades. They have neither envy nor moaning, nor is death in them. But they rest in him who rests, without wearying themselves or becoming involved in the search for truth. But, they, indeed, are the truth, and the Father is in them, and they are in the Father, since they are perfect, inseparable from him who is truly good. They lack nothing in any way, but they are given rest and are refreshed by the Spirit. And they listen to their root; they have leisure for themselves, they in whom he will find his root, and he will suffer no loss to his soul.

Such is the place of the blessed; this is their place. As for the rest, then, may they know, in their place, that it does not suit me, after having been in the place of rest to say anything more. But he is the one in whom I shall be in order to devote myself, at all times, to the Father of the All and the true brothers, those upon whom the love of the Father is lavished, and in whose midst nothing of him is lacking. It is they who manifest themselves truly since they are in that true and eternal life and speak of the perfect light filled with the seed of the Father, and which is in his heart and in the Pleroma, while his Spirit rejoices in it and glorifies him in whom it was, because the Father is good. And his children are perfect and worthy of his name, because he is the Father. Children of this kind are those whom he loves.
PTOLEMY

Commentary On The Gospel of John Prologue

Translation by Bentley Layton

John, the disciple of the Lord, intentionally spoke of the origination of the entirety, by which the Father emitted all things. And he assumes that the First Being engendered by God is a kind of beginning; he has called it “Son” and “Only-Begotten God.” In this (the Only-Begotten) the Father emitted all things in a process involving posterity. By this (Son), he says, was emitted the Word, in which was the entire essence of the aions that the Word later personally formed.

Now since he is speaking of the first origination, he does well to begin the teaching at the beginning, i.e. with the Son and the Word. He speaks as follows: “The Word was in the beginning, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. It was in the beginning, with God.” [Jn 1:1] First, he distinguishes three things: God; beginning; Word. Then he unites them: this is to show forth both the emanation of the latter two, i.e. the Son and the Word, and their union with one another, and simultaneously with the Father. For the beginning was in the Father and from the Father; and the Word was in the beginning and from the beginning. Well did he say, “The Word was in the beginning”, for it was in the Son. “And the Word was with God.” So was the beginning. “And the word was God”; reasonably so, for what is engendered from God is God. This shows the order of emanation. “The entirety was made through it, and without it was not anything made.” [Jn 1:3] For the Word became the cause of the forming and origination of all the aions that came after it.

But furthermore (he says), “That which came into being in it was Life.”[Jn 1:4] Here he discloses a pair. For he says that the entirety came into being through it, but Life is in it. Now, that which came into being in it more intimately belongs to it than what came into being through it: it is joined with it and through it it bears fruit. Indeed, inasmuch as he adds, “and Life was the light of human beings”, [Jn 1:4] in speaking of human beings he has now disclosed also the Church by means of a synonym, so that with a single word he might disclose the partnership of the pair. For from the Word and Life, the Human Being and the Church came into being. And he called Life the light of human beings because they are enlightened by her, i.e. formed and made visible. Paul, too, says this: “For anything that becomes visible is light.” [Eph 5:13] So since Life made the Human Being and the Church visible and engendered them, she is said to be their light.

Now among other things, John plainly made clear the second quartet, i.e. the Word; Life; the Human Being; the Church.

But what is more, he also disclosed the first quartet. describing the Savior, now, and saying that all things outside the Fullness were formed by him, he says that he is the fruit of the entire fullness. For he calls him a light that “shines in the darkness” [Jn 1:5] and was not overcome by it, inasmuch as after he had fitted together all things that had derived from the passion they did not become acquainted with him. And he calls him Son, Truth, Life, and Word become flesh. We have beheld the latter’s glory, he says. And its glory was like that of the Only-Begotten, which was bestowed on him by the Father, “full of grace and truth”. [Jn 1:14] And he speaks as follows: “And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us; we have beheld its glory, glory as of the Only-Begotten from the
Father.” [Jn 1:14] So he precisely discloses also the first quartet when he speaks of the Father; Grace; the Only-Begotten; Truth. Thus did John speak of the first octet, the mother of the entirety of aions. For he referred to the Father; Grace; the Only-Begotten; Truth; the Word; Life; the Human Being; the Church.
HERACLEON

Commentary on the Gospel of John

(Fragments)

The first known Gospel commentary was a commentary on the Gospel of John written around 170 AD. It was authored by a prominent Gnostic Christian and disciple of Valentinus, Heracleon. Heracleon was one of the most important Biblical exegetes of his day. His writings were carefully read by orthodox theologians such as Origen and Clement of Alexandria.

Fragments preserved in Origen’s Commentary on John:

Fragment 1, on John 1:3 (In John 1:3, “All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made.”) The sentence: “All things were made through him” means the world and what is in it. It excludes what is better than the world. The Aeon (i.e. the Fullness), and the things in it, were not made by the Word; they came into existence before the Word... “Without him, nothing was made” of what is in the world and the creation... “All things were made through Him,” means that it was the Word who caused the Craftsman (Demiurge) to make the world, that is it was not the Word “from whom” or “by whom,” but the one “through whom (all things were made)... It was not the Word who made all things, as if he were energized by another, for “through whom” means that another made them and the Word provided the energy.

Fragment 2, on John 1:4 In the saying, “What was made in him was Life” (John 1:4), ‘in him’ means ‘for spiritual people.’ For he (the Word) provided them with their first form at their birth, in that what had been sown by another he brought to form, illumination and into an outline of its own, and set it forth.

Fragment 3, on John 1:18 The words, “No one has ever seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known.” (John 1:18), were spoken, not by the Baptist, but by the disciple. Fragment 4, on John 1:21 (In John 1:21, “And they asked him, ‘What then? Are you Elijah?’ He said, ‘I am not.’ ‘Are you the prophet?’ And he answered, ‘No.’”) John acknowledged that he was not the Christ, and neither a prophet, nor Elijah.

Fragment 5, on John 1:23 (In John 1:23, “He said, ‘I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, ‘Make straight the way of the Lord,’ as the prophet Isaiah said.’”) The Word is the Savior, the voice in the wilderness is that symbolized by John, and the echo is the whole prophetic order... A voice which is well fitted to the Word, becomes Word, just as a woman is transformed into a man... The echo can be changed in a similar way into a voice, giving the place of a disciple to the voice which is changed into Word, but the place of a slave to the echo which is changed into voice... When the Savior speaks of a prophet and Elijah [Matthew 11:9,14], he is speaking not of John himself, but of his attributes. But when he calls him greater than the prophets and than those who are born of women

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[Matthew 11:9,11], then he is describing the character of John himself. When John is asked about himself, his answers relate to himself, not to attributes... His attributes, like clothes, were other than himself. If he were asked about his clothes “Are you your clothes?” he would not have answered “Yes.”... The Jews sent priests and Levites to question John because it was fitting for these people to concern themselves with, and investigate these matters, for they were firmly devoted to God, and because he (John) was of the Levitical tribe... They asked him if he were a prophet, wishing to know this more general fact [John 1:21]... It was prophetically arranged that Isaiah would call him (John) “greater,” since no other of all those who prophesied was deemed worthy of this honor by God.

Fragment 6, on John 1:25 (In John 1:25, “They asked him, ‘Then why are you baptizing, if you are neither the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?’”) The words of the Pharisees imply that the office of baptizing belonged to the Christ and Elijah and to every prophet. On them alone there is an obligation to baptize... The Pharisees asked the question from malice, and not from a desire to learn.

Fragment 7, on John 1:26 John’s answers to those sent by the Pharisees refer not to what they asked, but to what he wished.

Fragment 8, on John 1:26 (In John 1:26-27, “John answered them, ‘I baptize with water; but there stands among you one whom you do not know, even he who comes after me, the thong of whose sandal I am not worthy to untie.’”) The words, “there stands among you” are equivalent to “He is already here, and he is in the world and among human beings, and he is already manifest to you all.”... The statement, “He who comes after me,” shows John to be the forerunner of Christ, for he is in fact a kind of servant running before his master. In the words, “The thong of his sandal I am not worthy to untie,” the Baptist acknowledges that he is not worthy even of the lowliest service for Christ... (He means,) “I am not worthy that for my sake he should come down from the Greatness and should assume flesh as his sandal, concerning which I am not able to give any explanation or description, nor to unloose the arrangement of it.”... The sandal means the world... Everything must be understood in relation to that person who was indicated through John, that is the Craftsman of the world, who acknowledges through these words that he is inferior to Christ.

Fragment 9, on John 1:28 In Heracleon we read “Bethany” (rather than the variant “Bethabara” in the text Origen was familiar with).

Fragment 10, on John 1:29 (In John 1:29, “The next day he saw Jesus coming toward him, and said, ‘Behold, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world!’”) John spoke the words, “Lamb of God” as a prophet, but the words, “who takes away the sin of the world” as more than a prophet. The first expression was spoken with reference to his body, the second with reference to Him who was in that body. The lamb is an imperfect member of the genus of sheep; the same being true of the body as compared with the one that dwells in it. Had he meant to attribute perfection to the body he would have spoken of a ram about to be sacrificed.

Fragment 11, on John 2:12 (In John 2:12, “After this he went down to Capernaum, with his mother and his brothers and his disciples; and there they stayed for a few days.”) The words, “After this he went down to Capernaum,” indicate the beginning of a new dispensation, for “he went down” is not said idly. Capernaum, means these farthest-out parts of the world, the material realm into which he descended. And since the place was alien to him, he is not reported either to have done anything or said anything in it.
Fragment 12, on John 2:13 (In John 2:13, “The Passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem.”) This is the great feast. It was a type of the passion of the Savior, for the lamb was not only slain, but, on being consumed, provided rest as well. When sacrificed, it signified the passion of the Savior in this world; when consumed, the rest that is in the marriage.

Fragment 13, on John 2:13-16 The ascent to Jerusalem signifies the ascent of the Lord from material realm things to the animate (psychic) place, which is an image of Jerusalem. (In John 2:14, “In the sanctuary he found those who were selling oxen and sheep and pigeons, and the money-changers at their business.”) The words, “In the sanctuary, he found” and not “in the temple” are used so that it may not be thought to be the mere “calling” (animate), apart from the Spirit, which elicits help from the Lord. The sanctuary is the Holy of Holies, into which only the High-Priest enters, into which the spiritual go. The temple courtyard, where the Levites also enter, is a symbol of the animate ones who attain a salvation outside the Fullness (Pleroma). Those who are found in the temple selling oxen and sheep and doves, and the money-changers sitting there represent those who give nothing away out of charity, but regard the entrance of strangers to the temple as an occasion of trade and profit-making, and who provide the sacrifices for the worship of God for their own gain and love of money. (In John 2:15-16, “And making a whip of cords, he drove them all, with the sheep and oxen, out of the temple; and he poured out the coins of the money-changers and overturned their tables. And he told those who sold the pigeons, ‘Take these things away; you shall not make my Father’s house a house of trade.’”) And the whip which Jesus made of small cords and did not receive from another is an image of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit which blows away the wicked. The whip and the linen and the napkin and all such things form an image of the power and energy of the Holy Spirit... The whip was tied to a piece of wood, and this wood is a type of the Cross. On this wood the merchants who were intent on gain, and all wickedness was nailed up and done away... Out of these two substances was the whip made, for he did not make it of dead leather, but in order that he might make the Church no longer a den of robbers, but the house of his Father.

Fragment 14, on John 2:17 “Zeal for thy house will consume me.” (John 2:17) was spoken from the person of those powers which were cast out and destroyed by the Savior.

Fragment 15, on John 2:19 (In John 2:19, “Jesus answered them, ‘Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.’”) The words “in three days” are used instead of “on the third day.” The third day is the spiritual day, on which the resurrection of the Church is revealed.

Fragment 16, on John 2:20 (In John 2:20, “The Jews then said, ‘It has taken forty-six years to build this temple, and will you raise it up in three days?’”) The fact that Soloman completed the temple in forty-six years is an image of the Savior. The number six refers to matter, that is, the structure (of his body), and the number forty, which is the uncombined Four (Tetrad) refers to the inbreathing and the seed in the inbreathing.

Fragment 17, on John 4:12-15 (In John 4:13, Jesus answered and said to her, “Whoever shall drink of this water shall thirst again. But whoever shall drink of the water that I shall give shall never thirst again.”) Insipid, temporary, and unsatisfying was that life and its glory, for it was worldly. The proof of it being worldly is the fact that the cattle of Jacob drank from it (i.e. the well)... But the water which the Savior gives is from his spirit and his power... The words “shall never thirst again” mean that his life is eternal and never perishes as does the first (life) which the well provides, but rather
is lasting. For the Grace and gift of our Savior cannot be taken away, and is not consumed or destroyed in the one who partakes of it. The first life is perishable... (In John 4:14, “The water I shall give that one shall be a well of water within springing up into everlasting life.”) The words “springing up” (John 4:14) refer to those who receive what is richly supplied from above and who themselves pour forth for the eternal life of others that which has been supplied to them... (In John 4:15, The woman says to him, “Sir give me this water, that I shall not thirst, nor come hither to draw.”) The Samaritan woman showed the kind of faith that was inseparable from her nature and corresponded to it, in that she did not hesitate over what he told her... Having been only just pricked by the Word, from then on she hated even the place of the so-called living water... Through her words, the woman reveals that the water was toilsome, difficult to obtain, and not wholesome.

Fragment 18, on John 4:16-18 (In John 4:16, “He said to her, ‘Go and call your husband and come hither.’”) It is clear that he was saying something like this, “If you wish to receive this water, go call your husband.” The husband of the Samaritan woman mentioned by Jesus is her Fullness, so that, on coming with him to the Savior, she may obtain from him power and union and the mingling with her Fullness. For he was not speaking to her about her earthly husband and telling her to call him, for he knew quite well that she had no lawful husband... The Savior said to her, “Call your husband and come hither,” and meant by this her partner from the Fullness... In the spiritual sense she did not know her husband, in the simple sense she was ashamed to say that she had an adulterer, not a husband... (The words) “You have rightly said that you do not have a husband” (John 4:17) mean that in the world the Samaritan woman had no husband, for her husband was in the Aeon (i.e. Fullness). (In John 4:18: “You have had five husbands and the one you have now is not your husband.”) The six men indicate the whole of the material evil in which she was involved and with which consorted, when she lived irrationally in debauchery, and was insulted, rejected and abandoned by them (the men).

Fragment 19, on John 4:19 (In John it says “The woman said to him, ‘Sir, I perceive that you are a prophet.’”) The Samaritan woman acknowledged what was said to her by him. For it is characteristic of a prophet to know all things... She behaved in a way suited to her nature, for she neither denied, nor explicitly acknowledged her shame. She was convinced that he was a prophet and, by her question, she revealed at the same time the reason for which she had committed immorality. Because of ignorance of God and of the worship agreeable to God, she had also neglected all the things that were essential for her life, whereas what is necessary in life was always otherwise available to her. For she would not have come to the well which was outside the city... Wanting to learn in that way, and pleasing whom, and worshipping God, she might be released from her immorality, she said “Our fathers worshipped on this mountain; and you say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.” (John 4:20)

Fragment 20, on John 4:21 (In John it says, “Jesus said to her, ‘Woman, believe me, the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father.’”) The mountain represents the Devil, or his world, since the Devil was one part of the whole of matter, but the world is the total mountain of evil, a deserted dwelling place of beasts, to which all who lived before the law and all Gentiles render worship. But Jerusalem represents the creation or the Creator whom the Jews worship... The mountain is the creation which the Gentiles worship, but Jerusalem is the creator whom the Jews serve. You then who are spiritual should worship neither the creation nor the Craftsman, but the Father of Truth. And he (Jesus) accepts her (the Samaritan woman) as one of the already faithful, and to be counted with those who worship in truth.
Fragment 21, on John 4:22 (In John, “You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is of the Jews.”) The “you” stands for the Jews and the Gentiles... We must not worship as the Greeks do, who believe in the things of matter, and serve wood and stone, nor worship the divine as the Jews. They who think they alone know God do not know him, and worship angels, the month, and the moon.

Fragment 22, on John 4:22-23 “We worship” means the one who is in the Aeon (i.e. the Savior), and those who have come with him. For they knew whom they worship because they worship in truth. The words “salvation is of the Jews” are said because he was born in Judea, but not among them and because from that race salvation and the Word came forth into the world. As far as the spiritual sense is concerned, salvation came from the Jews because they are images of those who are in the Fullness... (In John 4:23, it continues, “But the hour is coming, and now is, when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for such the Father seeks to worship him”) For the previous worshippers worshipped in flesh and in error him who is not the Father... They worshipped the creation and not the true creator (cf. Romans 1:25), who is Christ, since “all things came into being through him, and apart from him nothing came into being.” (John 1:3)

Fragment 23, on John 4:23 continued Lost in the deep matter of error is that which is akin to the Father, which is sought after in order that the Father may be worshipped by those who are akin to him.

Fragment 24, on John 4:24 (In John 4:24a, it says,) “God is spirit.” Undefiled, pure, and invisible is his divine nature. (In John 4:24b, it says,) “Those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth.” Worthily of the one who is worshipped, in a spiritual, not a fleshly fashion. For those who have the same nature as the Father are themselves spirit, and they worship in truth, not in error, as the Apostle teaches when he calls this kind of piety “a rational service.” (Romans 12:2)

Fragment 25, on John 4:25 (In John it says, “The woman said to him, ‘I know that Messiah is coming, he who is called Christ; when he comes, he will show us all things.’”) The Church received Christ and was persuaded concerning him that he alone knows all things.

Fragment 26, on John 4:26-27 (According to John 4:26, Jesus said to her,) “I who speak to you am he.” Since the Samaritan woman was convinced that Christ, when he came, would announce everything to her, he said ‘Know that I who speak with you am he whom you expect.’ And when he acknowledged that he, the expected one, had come, “his disciples came” (John 4:27), for on their account he had come to Samaria.

Fragment 27, on John 4:28-30 (In John 4:28-29, “So the woman left her water jar, and went away into the city, and said to the people, ‘Come, see a man who told me all that I ever did. Can this be the Christ?’”) The water jar which is capable of receiving life is the disposition and the thought of the power which is from the Savior. She left it with him, that is, she had with the Savior such a vessel in which she had come to fetch living water. She returned to the world to announce the good tidings of Christ’s coming to the “calling” (i.e. the animate ones). For through the Spirit and by the Spirit the soul is drawn to the Savior. (In John 4:30, “They went out of the city and were coming to him.”) “They went out of the city” means out of their former way of life, which was worldly. And they came through faith to the Savior.
Fragment 28, on John 4:31 (In John 4:31, “Meanwhile the disciples besought him, saying, ‘Rabbi, eat.’”) They wished to share with him some of what they had obtained by purchase in Samaria. Fragment 29, on John 4:32 (In John 4:32, he said to them,) “I have food to eat of which you do not know.” Heracleon says nothing on this text.

Fragment 30, on John 4:33 (In John 4:33, “So the disciples said to one another, ‘Has any one brought him food?’”) They understood in a rather low way, and imitated the Samaritan woman when she said, “You have no bucket to draw with and the well is deep”

Fragment 31, on John 4:34 (In John 4:34, “Jesus said to them, ‘My food is to do the will of him who sent me, and to accomplish his work.’”) With the words “My food is to do the will of him who sent me,” the Savior explains to the disciples that this was what he had discussed with the woman, calling the will of the Father his “food.” For this was his sustenance, rest, and power. The will of the Father is that human beings should know the Father and be saved. This is the work of the Savior, on account of which he was sent to Samaria, that is, into the world.

Fragment 32, on John 4:35 (In John 4:35, “Do you not say, ‘There are yet four months, then comes the harvest’? I tell you, lift up your eyes, and see how the fields are already white for harvest.”) He speaks of the harvest of crops as having a fixed period of four months, whereas the harvest of which he is speaking was already fulfilled. The harvest is of the souls of believers. They are already ripe, ready for harvest, and suitable for being gathered into the barn, that is, through faith into rest, all those who are ready. For they are not all ready. Some were already ready, some were on the point of being ready, some are near to being ready, and some are still being sown.

Fragment 33, on John 4:35 continued What is indicated by the text, “The harvest is great but the laborers are few” (Matthew 9:37) is the same as is said by means of the other statement. It refers to being ready for harvest and suitable for gathering into the barn, through faith into rest, and suited for salvation and for reception of the Word.

Fragment 34, on John 4:36 (In John 4:36a, “The one who reaps receives a wage, and gathers fruit for eternal life.”) The words, “The one who reaps receives a wage” are said because the Savior call himself “the one who reaps.” And the wage of our Lord is the salvation and restoration (apokatastasis) of those who are harvested, brought about by his resting upon them. “And gathers fruit for eternal life,” is stated either because what is gathered is the fruit of eternal life or because it is itself eternal life.

Fragment 35, on John 4:36-37 The words “so that the sower and the reaper may rejoice together” (John 4:36b) For the sower rejoices because he sows, and because some of his seeds are gathered already, and he has hope for the rest of them. The reaper also rejoices because he harvests. But the former began by sowing, the latter by reaping. They could not begin at the same time, for sowing must come first and reaping afterwards. When the sower stops sowing, the reaper is still reaping. But, at present, both fulfill their individual tasks and both rejoice because they consider the perfection of the seeds as a common joy. And on the words “For here the saying holds true, ‘One sows and another reaps.’” (John 4:37): The Son of Man above the Place (of the Middle) sows; the Savior, himself also the Son of Man, harvests and sends as reapers the angels represented by the disciples, each for his own soul.
Fragment 36, on John 4:38 (In John 4:38, “I sent you to reap that for which you did not labor; others have labored, and you have entered into their labor.”) Neither through them nor by them were these seeds sown, meaning the apostles. Those who labored are the angels of the dispensation, through whom - as mediators - it (the seed) was sown and brought up. “You have entered into their labor” means those who sow and those who reap do not have the same work. The former, in cold and rain and with much toil, dig up the earth and sow. Through the entire winter, they care for it by hoeing and clearing away the weeds. But the latter enter upon a prepared fruit in summer and joyfully reap.

Fragment 37, on John 4:39 (In John 4:39, “Many Samaritans from that city believed in him because of the woman’s testimony, ‘That one told me all that I ever did.’) The words “from the city” mean “from the world.” And the phrase “because of the woman’s testimony” means “because of the spiritual Church.” The word “many” was used because there are many animate people but “the one” is the imperishable nature of the election, uniform and unique.

Fragment 38, on John 4:40 (In John 4:40, “So when the Samaritans came to him, they asked him to stay with them; and he stayed with them for two days.”) “He stayed with them,” not ‘among them’ and “for two days,” signifying either the present age and the one to come in marriage, or the time before the passion and the period afterwards during which he stayed with them, converted many more to faith through his own words, and the departed from them.

Fragment 39, on John 4:42 In the words “It is no longer because of your words that we believe” (John 4:42a), the word ‘only’ is missing. “For we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Savior of the world.” (John 4:42b) At first people believe in the Savior because they are led to that point by others, but when they encounter his words they no longer believe because of human testimony alone, but because of the Truth itself.

Fragment 40, on John 4:46-53 (In John 4:46, “So he came again to Cana in Galilee, where he had made the water wine. And at Capernaum there was an official whose child was ill.) The official was the Craftsman, for he himself ruled like a king over those under him. Because his domain is small and transitory, he was called an “official,” like a petty princeling who is set over a small kingdom by the universal king. The “child” “in Capernaun” is one who is in the lower part of the Middle (i.e. of animate substance), which lies near the sea, that is, which is linked with matter. The child’s proper person was sick, that is, in a condition not in accordance with the child’s proper nature, in ignorance and sins. (In John 4:47, “When he heard that Jesus had come from Judea to Galilee, he went and begged him to come down and heal his child , for it was at the point of death.”) The words “from Judea to Galilee” mean ‘from the Judea above.’... By the words “it was at the point of death,” the teaching of those who claim that the soul is immortal is refuted. In agreement with this is the statement that “the body and soul are destroyed in Hell.” (Matthew 10:28) The soul is not immortal, but is possessed only of a disposition towards salvation, for it is the perishable which puts on imperishability and the mortal which puts on immortality when “its death is swallowed up in victory.” (1 Corinthians 15:54) On “Unless you see signs and wonders you will not believe.” (John 4:48): It is fittingly said to the kind of person whose nature is determined through works, and who is convinced by means of sense-perception and does not believe the word. The words, “Come before my child dies” (John 4:49) were spoken because death is the goal and end of the law which kills through sins. Before the child was utterly put to death through sin, the father asks the only Savior to help his child, that is, the nature thus constituted. (In John 4:50, “Jesus said to him, ‘Go; your son
The man believed the word that Jesus spoke to him and went his way.” The words, “Your child will live”, were said by the Savior modestly, for he did not say, ‘Let him live,’ nor did he make it known that he himself provided the life. He went down to the sick person and healed the illness, and having raised that one to life through forgiveness, said, “Your child will live.” The words “the man believed” mean that even the Craftsman is very ready to believe that the Savior, even if not present, is able to heal. (In John 4:51, “As he was going down, his servants met him and told him, ‘Your child lives!’”) The words “his servants” refer to the angels of the Craftsman who bring tidings in the words “Your child lives” that the child is behaving fittingly and rightly, and no longer doing what is unseemly. The servants bring news to the official about the salvation of his child, since the angels are the first to see the actions of human beings in the world, whether they have conducted themselves well and sincerely since the sojourn of the Savior. (In John 4:52, “So he asked them the hour when he began to mend, and they said to him, ‘Yesterday at the seventh hour the fever left him.’”) By the hour, the nature of the person healed is defined (as animate). (In John 4:53, “The father knew that was the hour when Jesus had said to him, ‘Your child will live’; and he himself believed, and all his household.”) In addition, “he himself believed, and all his household” is said with reference to the order of angels and the human beings who are akin to him (i.e. the Craftsman). There is a question about whether or not some of the angels will be saved, namely those who descended to the daughters of men (Genesis 6:2). The destruction of the human beings of the Craftsman is made clear in the words “The children of the kingdom will be cast out into outer darkness.” (Matthew 8:12) Concerning them, Isaiah prophesied, “Children did I rear and bring up, but they have rejected me” (Isaiah 1:2), and he calls them alien children, and a wicked and lawless seed, a vineyard which produces thorns (Isaiah 5:6).

Fragment 41, on John 8:21 (In John 8:2, “Again he said to them, ‘I go away, and you will seek me and die in your sin; where I am going, you cannot come.’”) How can they come to be in a state of imperishability when they are in ignorance, unbelief and sin?

Fragment 42, on John 8:22 (In John 8:22, “Then said the Jews, ‘Will he kill himself, since he says, ‘Where I am going, you cannot come’?’”) The Jews said this because they entertained evil thoughts and considered themselves greater than the Savior. They supposed that they themselves would go away to God for eternal rest, but the Savior, making away with himself, to corruption and death unto which they thought they would not go. The Jews believed that the Savior said, ‘I am about to do away with myself and go to corruption, where you cannot come.’

Fragment 43, on John 8:37 (In John 8:37, “I know that you are descendants of Abraham; yet you seek to kill me, because my word finds no place in you.”) “Because my word finds no place in you” means it has no place because they are unsuitable for it either by their substance or by their disposition.

Fragment 44, on John 8:43-44a (In John 8:43-44a, “Why do you not understand what I say? It is because you cannot bear to hear my word. You are of your father the devil, and your wish is to do your father’s desires.”) The reason why they were unable to hear Jesus’ words and understand what he said is provided in the words, “You are of your father the Devil.” He says, ‘Why are you unable to hear my word? Because you are of your father the Devil’ meaning you are of the substance of the Devil. Thus he makes clear their nature, after convincing them in advance that they are neither the children of Abraham otherwise they would not have hated him, nor children of God because they did not love him.
Fragment 45, on John 8:44a Those to whom the word came were of the substance of the Devil.

Fragment 46, on John 8:44a The verse "You are of your father the Devil” is to be understood as meaning ‘of the same substance as the Devil.’ On “and your wish is to do your father’s desires”: The Devil has no will, but only desires. This was said not to those who are by nature children of the Devil, but to the animate people who have become children of the Devil by intent. Some who are of this nature may also be called children of God by intent. Because they have loved the desires of the Devil and performed them, they become children of the Devil, though they were not such by nature. The word “children” may be understood in three ways: first, by nature; secondly, by inclination; thirdly, by merit. (A child) by nature means (the child) is begotten by someone who is himself begotten, and is properly called “child.” (A child) by inclination is when one who does the will of another person by his own inclination is called the child of the one whose will he does. (A child) by merit is when some are known as children of hell, or of darkness and lawlessness, and the offspring of snakes and vipers. For these do no produce anything by their own nature; they are destructive and consume those that are cast into them; but, since they did their works, they are called their children. He now calls them children of the Devil, not because the Devil produces any of them, but because by doing the works of the Devil they became like him.

Fragment 47, on John 8:44b (In John 8:44b, “He was a murderer from the beginning, and has nothing to do with the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he lies, he speaks according to his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of lies.”) His nature is not of the Truth, but the opposite to the Truth: error and ignorance. Therefore he can neither stand in Truth, nor have the Truth in himself. From his nature he has falsehood as his own, and by nature he can never speak the Truth. Not only is he himself a liar, but he is also falsehood’s father. His “father” means his nature, since it is composed of error and falsehood.

Fragment 48, on John 8:50 (In John 8:50, “Yet I do not seek my own glory; there is one who seeks it and he will be the judge.”) The words “there is one who seeks it, and he will be the judge” do not refer to the Father. The one who seeks and judges is the one who avenges me, the servant commissioned for that purpose, who does not bear the sword in vain, the avenger of the king. This is Moses, as he said to them previously in the words, “on who you set your hope.” (John 5:45) The one who judges and punishes is Moses, that is, the law-giver himself. How then does he not say that all judgement has been delivered to him? (cf. John 5:22) He affirms it rightly: for the judge does this will as a servant when he judges, as happens clearly among human beings.

Fragments preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria:

Fragment 49, on Matthew 3:11 John says, “I baptise you with water, but there comes after me one who baptizes with spirit and fire.” (Matthew 3:11) He baptized no one with fire. But some have marked with fire the ears of those who are sealed, and have thus understood the apostolic word. (Heracleon is referring here to the gnostic group lead by Marcellina.)

Fragment 50, on Luke 12:8 (In Luke 12:8, “I assure you that whoever confesses in me publicly, the Son of Man will do the same in him before the angels of God”) The confession is made on the one hand that made in faith and conduct, on the other hand that made with the mouth. Confession with the mouth takes place also before the authorities, and this the multitudes incorrectly consider to be the only confession, for even the hypocrites can make this confession. But it will be found that
this word was not spoken universally. For not all who are saved made the confession by mouth, among whom are Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others. The confession by mouth is not universal, but relates to a part. What is universal is the confession in works and action, which corresponds to faith in him. And this confession is followed by the partial one before the authorities, if it is necessary and the situation requires it. That person will make the confession by mouth who has previously confessed rightly in disposition. And of those who confess, he rightly said “in me.” But in the case of those who deny he added a “me,” even if they confess him with the mouth, they deny him since they do not confess him in action. Only those who live in confession and action which conform to him confess “in him.” In their case he confesses himself, since he has grasped them, and is held by them so that they can never deny him. For those who are not in him deny him. For he did not say ‘whoever denies in me,’ but “in me”. For no one who was ever in him will deny him. “Publicly” the confession takes place in similar fashion before those who are saved and before the Gentiles, before the former by conduct also, and before the latter by the mouth.
CHAP 24
The conversion of the Gentiles was more difficult than that of the Jews; the labours of those apostles, therefore who engaged in the former task, were greater than those who undertook the latter.

1 Wherefore also Paul, since he was the apostle of the Gentiles, says, “I laboured more than they all.” For the instruction of the former, [viz., the Jews,] was an easy task, because they could allege proofs from the Scriptures, and because they, who were in the habit of hearing Moses and the prophets, did also readily receive the First-begotten of the dead, and the Prince of the life of God,—Him who, by the spreading forth of hands, did destroy Amalek, and vivify man from the wound of the serpent, by means of faith which was [exercised] towards Him. As I have pointed out in the preceding book, the apostle did, in the first place, instruct the Gentiles to depart from the superstition of idols, and to worship one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and the Framer of the whole creation; and that His Son was His Word, by whom He founded all things; and that He, in the last times, was made a man among men; that He reformed the human race, but destroyed and conquered the enemy of man, and gave to His handiwork victory against the adversary. But although they who were of the circumcision still did not obey the words of God, for they were despisers, yet they were previously instructed not to commit adultery, nor fornication, nor theft, nor fraud; and that whatsoever things are done to our neighbours’ prejudice, were evil, and detested by God. Wherefore also they did readily agree to abstain from these things, because they had been thus instructed.

2. But they were bound to teach the Gentiles also this very thing, that works of such a nature were wicked, prejudicial, and useless, and destructive to those who engaged in them. Wherefore he who had received the apostolate to the Gentiles, did labour more than those who preached the Son of God among them of the circumcision. For they were assisted by the Scriptures, which the Lord confirmed and tiff-filled, in coming such as He had been announced; but here, [in the case of the Gentiles,] there was a certain foreign erudition, and a new doctrine [to be received, namely], that the gods of the nations not only were no gods at all, but even the idols of demons; and that there is one God, who is “above all principality, and dominion, and power, and every name which is named;” and that His Word, invisible by nature, was made palpable and visible among men, and did descend “to death, even the death of the cross;” also, that they who believe in Him shall be incorruptible and not subject to suffering, and shall receive the kingdom of heaven. These things, too, were preached to the Gentiles by word, without [the aid of] the Scriptures: wherefore, also, they who preached among the Gentiles underwent greater labour. But, on the other hand, the faith of the Gentiles is proved to be of a more noble description, since they followed the word of God without the instruction [derived] from the [sacred] writings.

CHAP. 25
Both covenants were prefigured in Abraham, and in the labour of Tamar; there was, however, but one and the same God to each covenant.

I. For thus it had behoved the sons of Abraham [to be], whom God has raised up to him from the stones, and caused to take a place beside him who was made the chief and the forerunner of our faith (who did also receive the covenant of circumcision, after that justification by faith which had
pertained to him, when he was yet in uncircumcision, so that in him both covenants might be prefigured, that he might be the father of all who follow the Word of God, and who sustain a life of pilgrimage in this world, that is, of those who from among the circumcision and of those from among the uncircumcision are faithful, even as also “Christ is the chief corner-stone” sustaining all things; and He gathered into the one faith of Abraham those who, from either covenant, are eligible for God’s building. But this faith which is in uncircumcision, as connecting the end with the beginning, has been made both the first and the last. For, as I have shown, it existed in Abraham antecedently to circumcision, as it also did in the rest of the righteous who pleased God: and in these last times, it again sprang up among mankind through the coming of the Lord. But circumcision and the law of works occupied the intervening period.

2. This fact is indeed set forth by many other [occurrences], but typically by [the history of] Thamar, Judah’s daughter-in-law. For when she had conceived twins, one of them put forth his hand first; and as the midwife supposed that he was the first-born, she bound a scarlet token on his hand. But after this had been done, and he had drawn back his hand, his brother Phares came forth the first; then, after him, Zara, upon whom was the scarlet line, was born the second: the Scripture clearly pointing out that people which possessed the scarlet sign, that is, faith in a state of circumcision, which was shown beforehand, indeed, in the patriarchs first; but after that withdrawn, that his brother might be born; and also, in like manner, him who was the elder, as being born in the second place, [him] who was distinguished by the scarlet token which was fastened on him, that is, the passion of the Just One, which was prefigured from the beginning in Abel, and described by the prophets.

3. For it was requisite that certain facts should be announced beforehand by the fathers in a paternal manner, and others prefigured by the prophets in a legal one, but others, described after the form of Christ, by those who have received the adoption; while in one God are all things shown forth. For although Abraham was one, he did in himself prefigure the two covenants, in which some indeed have sown, while others have reaped; for it is said, “In this is the saying true, that it is one ‘people’ who sows, but another who shall reap;” but it is one God who bestows things suitable upon both—seed to the sower, but bread for the reaper to eat. Just as it is one that planteth, and another who watereth, but one God who giveth the increase. For the patriarchs and prophets sowed the word [concerning] Christ, but the Church reaped, that is, received the fruit. For this reason, too, do these very men (the prophets) also pray to have a dwelling-place in it, as Jeremiah says, “Who will give me in the desert the last dwelling-place?” in order that both the sower and the reaper may rejoice together in the kingdom of Christ, who is present with all those who were from the beginning approved by God, who granted them His Word to be present with them.

CHAP. 26.
The treasure hid in the scriptures is Christ; the true exposition of the scriptures is to be found in the Church alone.

1. If any one, therefore, reads the Scriptures with attention, he will find in them an account of Christ, and a foreshadowing of the new calling. For Christ is the treasure which was hid in the field, that is, in this world (for “the field is the world”); but the treasure hid in the Scriptures is Christ, since He was pointed out by means of types and parables. Hence His human nature could not be understood, prior to the consummation of those things which had been predicted, that is, the advent of Christ. And therefore it was said to Daniel the prophet: “Shut up the words, and seal the book even to the time of consummation, until many learn, and knowledge be completed. For at that time, when the dispersion shall be accomplished, they shall know all these things.” But Jeremiah also says, “In the last days they shall understand these things.” For every prophecy, before its fulfilment, is to men
of] enigmas and ambiguities. But when the time has arrived, and the prediction has come to pass, then the prophecies have a clear and certain exposition. And for this reason, indeed, when at this present time the law is read to the Jews, it is like a fable; for they do not possess the explanation of all things pertaining to the advent of the Son of God, which took place in human nature; but when it is read by the Christians, it is a treasure, hid indeed in a field, but brought to light by the cross of Christ, and 497 explained, both enriching the understanding of men, and showing forth the wisdom of God and declaring His dispensations with regard to man, and forming the kingdom of Christ beforehand, and preaching by anticipation the inheritance of the holy Jerusalem, and proclaiming beforehand that the man who loves God shall arrive at such excellency as even to see God, and hear His word, and from the hearing of His discourse be glorified to such an extent, that others cannot behold the glory of his countenance, as was said by Daniel: “Those who do understand, shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and many of the righteous as the stars for ever and ever.” Thus, then, I have shown it to be, if any one read the Scriptures. For thus it was that the Lord discoursed with, the disciples after His resurrection from the dead, proving to them from the Scriptures themselves “that Christ must suffer, and enter into His glory, and that remission of sins should be preached in His name throughout all the world.” And the disciple will be perfected, and [rendered] like the householder, “who bringeth forth from his treasure things new and old.”

2. Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the presbyters who are in the Church,—those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the apostles; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father. But [it is also incumbent] to hold in suspicion others who depart from the primitive succession, and assemble themselves together in any place whatsoever, [looking upon them] either as heretics of perverse minds, or as schismaries puffed up and self-pleasing, or again as hypocrites, acting thus for the sake of lucre and vainglory. For all these have fallen from the truth. And the heretics, indeed, who bring strange fire to the altar of God--namely, strange doctrines--shall be burned up by the fire from heaven, as were Nadab and Abiud. But such as rise up in opposition to the truth, and exhort others against the Church of God, [shall] remain among those in hell, being swallowed up by an earthquake, even as those who were with Chore, Dathan, and Abiron. But those who cleave asunder, and separate the unity of the Church, [shall] receive from God the same punishment as Jeroboam did.

3. Those, however, who are believed to be presbyters by many, but serve their own lusts, and, do not place the fear of God supreme in their hearts, but conduct themselves with contempt towards others, and are puffed up with the pride of holding the chief seat, and work evil deeds in secret, saying, “No man sees us,” shall be convicted by the Word, who does not judge after outward appearance, nor looks upon the countenance, but the heart; and they shall hear those words, to be found in Daniel the prophet: “O thou seed of Canaan, and not of Judah, beauty hath deceived thee, and lust perverted thy heart. Thou that art waxen old in wicked days, now thy sins which thou hast committed aforetime are come to light; for thou hast pronounced false judgments, and hast been accustomed to condemn the innocent, and to let the guilty go free, albeit the Lord saith, The innocent and the righteous shalt thou not slay.” Of whom also did the Lord say: “But if the evil servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming, and shall begin to smite the man-servants and maidens, and to eat and drink and be drunken; the lord of that servant shall come in a day that he looketh not for him, and in an hour that he is not aware of, and shall cut him asunder, and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.”

4. From all such persons, therefore, it be-bores us to keep aloof, but to adhere to those who, as I have already observed, do hold the doctrine of the apostles, and who, together with the order of priesthood, display sound speech and blameless conduct for the confirmation and correction of others. In this way, Moses, to whom such a leadership was entrusted, relying on a good conscience,
cleared himself before God, saying, “I have not in covetousness taken anything belonging to one of these men, nor have I done evil to one of them.” In this way, too, Samuel, who judged the people so many years, and bore rule over Israel without any pride, in the end cleared himself, saying, “I have walked before you from my childhood even unto this day: answer me in the sight of God, and before His anointed; whose ox or whose ass of yours have I taken, or over whom have I tyrannized, or whom have I oppressed? or if I have received from the hand of any a bribe or [so much as] a shoe, speak out 498 against me, and I will restore it to you.” And when the people had said to him, “Thou hast not tyrannized, neither hast thou oppressed us neither hast thou taken ought of any man’s hand,” he called the Lord to witness, saying, “The Lord is witness, and His Anointed is witness this day, that ye have not found ought in my hand. And they said to him, He is witness.” In this strain also the Apostle Paul, inasmuch as he had a good conscience, said to the Corinthians: “For we are not as many, who corrupt the Word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ;” “We have injured no man, corrupted no man, circumvented no man.”

5. Such presbyters does the Church nourish, of whom also the prophet says: “I will give thy rulers in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness.” Of whom also did the Lord declare, “Who then shall be a faithful steward, good and wise, whom the Lord sets over His household, to give them their meat in due season? Blessed is that servant whom his Lord, when He cometh, shall find so doing.” Paul then, teaching us where one may find such, says, “God hath placed in the Church, first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers.” Where, therefore, the gifts of the Lord have been placed, there it behoves us to learn the truth, [namely,] from those who possess that succession of the Church which is from the apostles? and among whom exists that which is sound and blameless in conduct, as well as that which is unadulterated and incorrupt in speech. For these also preserve this faith of ours in one God who created all things; and they increase that love [which we have] for the Son of God, who accomplished such marvellous dispensations for our sake: and they expound the Scriptures to us without danger, neither blaspheming God, nor dishonouring the patriarchs, nor despising the prophets.
25. The fraud, pride, and tyrannical kingdom of Antichrist, as described by Daniel and Paul.

1 And not only by the particulars already mentioned, but also by means of the events which shall occur in the time of Antichrist is it shown that he, being an apostate and a robber, is anxious to be adored as God; and that, although a mere slave, he wishes himself to be proclaimed as a king. For Antichrist being endued with all the power of the devil, shall come, not as a righteous king, nor as a legitimate king, i.e., one in subjection to God, but an impious, unjust, and lawless one; as an apostate, iniquitous and murderous; as a robber, concentrating in himself all satanic apostasy, and setting aside idols to persuade men that he himself is God, raising up himself as the only idol, having in himself the multifarious errors of the other idols. This he does, in order that they who do now worship the devil by means of many abominations, may serve himself by this one idol, of whom the apostle thus speaks in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians: “Unless there shall come a failing away first, and the man of sin shall be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he sits in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God.” The apostle therefore clearly points out his apostasy, and that he is lifted up above all that is called God, or that is worshipped—that is, above every idol—for these are indeed so called by men, but are not really gods; and that he will endeavour in a tyrannical manner to set himself forth as God.

2 Moreover, the apostle has also pointed out this which I have shown in many ways, that the temple in Jerusalem was made by the direction of the true God. For the apostle himself, speaking in his own person, distinctly called it the temple of God. Now I have shown in the third book, that no one is termed God by the apostles when speaking for themselves, except Him who truly is God, the Father of our Lord, by whose directions the temple which is at Jerusalem was constructed for those purposes which I have already mentioned; in which temple the enemy shall sit, endeavouring to show himself as Christ, as the Lord also declares [Mt 24:15–21]:

But when you shall see the abomination of desolation, which has been spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place (let him that reads understand), then let those who are in Judea flee into the mountains; and he who is upon the house-top, let him not come down to take anything out of his house; for there shall then be great hardship, such as has not been from the beginning of the world until now, nor ever shall be.

3 Daniel too, looking forward to the end of the last kingdom, i.e., the ten last kings, amongst whom the kingdom of those men shall be partitioned, and upon whom the son of perdition shall come, declares that ten horns shall spring from the beast, and that another little horn shall arise in the midst of them, and that three of the former shall be rooted up before his face. He says [Dan 7:8f.]:

And, behold, eyes were in this horn as the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and his look was more stout than his fellows. . . . I was looking, and this horn made war against the saints, and prevailed against them, until the Ancient of days came and gave judgment to the saints of the most high God, and the time came, and
the saints obtained the kingdom.

Then, further on, in the interpretation of the vision, there was said to him [Dan 7:23–25]:

*The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall excel all other kingdoms, and devour the whole earth, and tread it down, and cut it in pieces. And its ten horns are ten kings which shall arise; and after them shall arise another, who shall surpass in evil deeds all that were before him, and shall overthrow three kings; and he shall speak words against the most high God, and wear out the saints of the most high God, and shall purpose to change times and laws; and everything shall be given into his hand until a time of times and a half time.*

That is, for three years and six months, during which time, when he comes, he shall reign over the earth. Of whom also the Apostle Paul again, speaking in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians [2:8], and at the same time proclaiming the cause of his advent, thus says:

*And then shall the wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy by the presence of His coming; the wicked one’s coming is after the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and portents of lies, and with all deceitfulness of wickedness for those who perish; because they did not receive the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God will send them the working of error, that they may believe a lie; that they all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but gave consent to iniquity.*

4 The Lord also spoke as follows to those who did not believe in Him [Jn 5:43]: *I have come in my Father’s name, and you have not received Me: when another shall come in his own name, him you will receive, calling Antichrist the other, because he is alienated from the Lord. This is also the unjust judge, whom the Lord mentioned [Lk 18:2–8] as one who feared not God, neither regarded man, to whom the widow fled in her forgetfulness of God—that is, the earthly Jerusalem—to be avenged of her adversary. Which also he shall do in the time of his kingdom: he shall remove his kingdom into that city, and shall sit in the temple of God, leading astray those who worship him, as if he were Christ. To this purpose Daniel says again [Dan 8:12]:

*And he shall desolate the holy place; and sin has been given for a sacrifice, and righteousness been cast away in the earth, and he has been active, and gone on prosperously.*

And the angel Gabriel, when explaining his vision, states with regard to this person [Dan 8:23–25]:

*And towards the end of their kingdom a king of a most fierce countenance shall arise, one understanding dark questions, and exceedingly powerful, full of wonders; and he shall corrupt, direct, influence, and put strong men down, the holy people likewise; and his yoke shall be directed as a wreath round their neck; deceit shall be in his hand, and he shall be lifted up in his heart: he shall also ruin many by deceit, and lead many to perdition, bruising them in his hand like eggs.*

And then he points out the time that his tyranny shall last, during which the saints shall be put to flight, they who offer a pure sacrifice unto God [Dan 9:27]:

*And in the midst of the week—he says—the sacrifice and the libation shall be taken away, and the abomination of desolation shall be brought into the temple: even unto the consummation of the time shall the desolation be complete.*

Now three years and six months constitute the half-week.

5 From all these passages are revealed to us, not merely the particulars of the apostasy, and the doings of him who concentrates in himself every satanic error, but also, that there is one and the same God the Father, who was declared by the prophets, but made manifest by Christ. For if what Daniel prophesied concerning the end has been confirmed by the Lord, when He said [Mt 24:15],
When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which has been spoken of by Daniel the prophet (and the angel Gabriel gave the interpretation of the visions to Daniel, and he is the archangel of the Creator [Demiurgi], who also proclaimed to Mary the visible coining and the incarnation of Christ), then one and the same God is most manifestly pointed out, who sent the prophets, and made promise of the Son, and called us into His knowledge.

26. John and Daniel have predicted the dissolution and desolation of the Roman Empire, which shall precede the end of the world and the eternal kingdom of Christ. The gnostics are refuted, those tools of Satan, who invent another father different from the Creator.

In a still clearer light has John, in Apocalypse [17:12–14], indicated to the Lord’s disciples what shall happen in the last times, and concerning the ten kings who shall then arise, among whom the empire which now rules the earth shall be partitioned. He teaches us what the ten horns shall be which were seen by Daniel, telling us that thus it had been said to him:

And the ten horns which you saw are ten kings, who have received no kingdom as yet, but shall receive power as if kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and give their strength and power to the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them, because He is the Lord of lords and the King of kings.

It is manifest, therefore, that of these rulers he who is to come shall slay three, and subject the remainder to his power, and that he shall be himself the eighth among them. And they shall lay Babylon waste, and burn her with fire, and shall give their kingdom to the beast, and put the Church to flight. After that they shall be destroyed by the coming of our Lord. For that the kingdom must be divided, and thus come to ruin, the Lord declares when He says [Mt 123:25]:

Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand.

It must be, therefore, that the kingdom, the city, and the house be divided into ten; and for this reason He has already foreshadowed the partition and division which shall take place. Daniel also says particularly, that the end of the fourth kingdom consists in the toes of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar, upon which came the stone cut out without hands; and as he does himself say [Dan 2:33–34]:

The feet were indeed the one part iron, the other part clay, until the stone was cut out without hands, and struck the image upon the iron and clay feet, and dashed them into pieces, even to the end.

Then afterwards, when interpreting this, he says [Dan 2:41–42]:

And as you saw the feet and the toes, partly indeed of clay, and partly of iron, the kingdom shall be divided, and there shall be in it a root of iron, as you saw iron mixed with baked clay. And the toes were indeed the one part iron, but the other part clay.

The ten toes, therefore, are these ten kings, among whom the kingdom shall be partitioned, of whom some indeed shall be strong and active, or energetic; others, again, shall be sluggish and useless, and shall not agree; as also Daniel says [Dan 2:42–43]:

Some part of the kingdom shall be strong, and part shall be broken from it. As you saw the iron mixed with the baked clay, there shall be mingling among the human race, but no cohesion one with the other, just as iron cannot be welded on to pottery ware.

And since an end shall take place, he says [Dan 2:44–45]:

And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven raise up a kingdom which
shall never decay, and His kingdom shall not be left to another people. It shall break in pieces and shatter all kingdoms, and shall itself be exalted for ever. As you saw that the stone was cut without hands from the mountain, and brake in pieces the baked clay, the iron, the brass, the silver, and the gold, God has pointed out to the king what shall come to pass after these things; and the dream is true, and the interpretation trustworthy.

2 If therefore the great God showed future things by Daniel, and confirmed them by His Son; and if Christ is the stone which is cut out without hands, who shall destroy temporal kingdoms, and introduce an eternal one, which is the resurrection of the just; as he declares, *The God of heaven shall raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed*—let those thus confuted come to their senses, who reject the Creator [Demiurgum], and do not agree that the prophets were sent beforehand from the same Father from whom also the Lord came, but who assert that prophecies originated from diverse powers. For those things which have been predicted by the Creator alike through all the prophets has Christ fulfilled in the end, ministering to His Father’s will, and completing His dispensations with regard to the human race. Let those persons, therefore, who blaspheme the Creator, either by openly expressed words, such as the disciples of Marcion, or by a perversion of the sense of Scripture, as those of Valentinus and all the Gnostics falsely so called, be recognized as agents of Satan by all those who worship God; through whose agency Satan now, and not before, has been seen to speak against God, even Him who has prepared eternal fire for every kind of apostasy. For he did not venture to blaspheme his Lord openly of himself; as also in the beginning he led man astray through the instrumentality of the serpent, concealing himself as it were from God. Truly has Justin [in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. Ecc.* 4:18] remarked:

*That before the Lord’s appearance Satan never dared to blaspheme God, inasmuch as he did not yet know his own sentence, because it was contained in parables and allegories; but that after the Lord’s appearance, when he had clearly ascertained from the words of Christ and His apostles that eternal fire has been prepared for him as he apostatized from God of his own free-will, and likewise for all who unrepentant continue in the apostasy, he now blasphemes, by means of such men, the Lord who brings judgment upon him as being already condemned, and imputes the guilt of his apostasy to his Maker, not to his own voluntary disposition. Just as it is with those who break the laws, when punishment overtakes them: they throw the blame upon those who frame the laws, but not upon themselves. In like manner do those men, filled with a satanic spirit, bring innumerable accusations against our Creator, who has both given to us the spirit of life, and established a law adapted for all; and they will not admit that the judgment of God is just. Why also they set about imagining some other Father who neither cares about nor exercises a providence over our affairs, nay, one who even approves of all sins.*

27. The future judgment by Christ. Communion with and separation from the divine being. The eternal punishment of unbelievers.

1 If the Father, then, does not exercise judgment, it follows that judgment does not belong to Him, or that He consents to all those actions which take place; and if He does not judge, all persons will be equal, and accounted in the same condition. The advent of Christ will therefore be without an object, yea, absurd, inasmuch as in that case He exercises no judicial power. *For He came to divide a man against his father, and the daughter against the mother, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law* [Lk 10:25]; and when two are in one bed, to take the one, and to leave the
other; and of two women grinding at the mill, to take one and leave the other [Lk 17:34]; also at the time of the end, to order the reapers to collect first the tares together, and bind them in bundles, and burn them with unquenchable fire, but to gather up the wheat into the barn [Mt 13:30]; and to call the lambs into the kingdom prepared for them, but to send the goats into everlasting fire, which has been prepared by His Father for the devil and his angels. [Mt 25:33–46] And why is this? Has the Word come for the ruin and for the resurrection of many? For the ruin, certainly, of those who do not believe Him, to whom also He has threatened a greater damnation in the judgment-day than that of Sodom and Gomorrah [Lk 10:12]; but for the resurrection of believers, and those who do the will of His Father in heaven. If then the advent of the Son comes indeed alike to all, but is for the purpose of judging, and separating the believing from the unbelieving, since, as those who believe do His will agreeably to their own choice, and as, also agreeably to their own choice, the disobedient do not consent to His doctrine; it is manifest that His Father has made all in a like condition, each person having a choice of his own, and a free understanding; and that He has regard to all things, and exercises a providence over all, making His sun to rise upon the evil and on the good, and sending rain upon the just and unjust. [Mt 5:45]

2 And to as many as continue in their love towards God, does He grant communion with Him. But communion with God is life and light, and the enjoyment of all the benefits which He has in store. But on as many as, according to their own choice, depart from God. He inflicts that separation from Himself which they have chosen of their own accord. But separation from God is death, and separation from light is darkness; and separation from God consists in the loss of all the benefits which He has in store. Those, therefore, who cast away by apostasy these previously mentioned things, being in fact destitute of all good, do experience every kind of punishment. God, however, does not punish them immediately of Himself, but that punishment falls upon them because they are destitute of all that is good. Now, good things are eternal and without end with God, and therefore the loss of these is also eternal and never-ending. It is in this matter just as occurs in the case of a flood of light: those who have blinded themselves, or have been blinded by others, are for ever deprived of the enjoyment of light. It is not, however, that the light has inflicted upon them the penalty of blindness, but it is that the blindness itself has brought calamity upon them: and therefore the Lord declared [Jn 3:18–20]:

*He that believes in Me is not condemned*—that is, is not separated from God, for he is united to God through faith; on the other hand, He says—*but he that believes not is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God*—that is, he separated himself from God of his own accord—*For this is the condemnation, that light is come into this world, and men have loved darkness rather than light. For every one who does evil hates the light, and comes not to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that does truth comes to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that he has wrought them in God.*

28. The distinction to be made between the righteous and the wicked. The future apostasy in the time of Antichrist, and the end of the world.

1 Inasmuch, then, as in this world [Aïôv] some persons betake themselves to the light, and by faith unite themselves with God, but others shun the light, and separate themselves from God, the Word of God comes preparing a fit habitation for both. For those indeed who are in the light, that they may derive enjoyment from it, and from the good things contained in it; but for those in darkness, that they may partake in its calamities. And on this account He says, that those upon the right hand are called into the kingdom of heaven, but that those on the left He will send into eternal
fire for they have deprived themselves of all good.

2 And for this reason the apostle says [1 Thess 2: 10–12]:

   Because they received not the love of God, that they might be saved, therefore God shall also send them the operation of error, that they may believe a lie, that they all may be judged who have not believed the truth, but consented to unrighteousness.

For when the Antichrist has come, and of his own accord concentrates in his own person the apostasy, and accomplishes whatever he shall do according to his own will and choice, sitting also in the temple of God, so that his dupes may adore him as the Christ; why also shall he deservedly be cast into the lake of fire [Apoc 19:20]; this will happen according to divine appointment, God by His prescience foreseeing all this, and at the proper time sending such a man, that they may believe a lie, that they all may be judged who did not believe the truth, but consented to unrighteousness; whose coming John has thus described in Apocalypse [13:2–10]:

   And the beast which I had seen was like unto a leopard, and his feet as of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion; and the dragon conferred his own power upon him, and his throne, and great might. And one of his heads was as it were slain unto death; and his deadly wound was healed, and all the world wondered after the beast. And they worshipped the dragon because he gave power to the beast; and they worshipped the beast, saying, Who is like unto this beast, and who is able to make war with him? And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemy and power was given to him during forty and two months.

   And he opened his mouth for blasphemy against God, to blaspheme His name and His tabernacle, and those who dwell in heaven. And power was given him over every tribe, and people, and tongue, and nation. And all who dwell upon the earth worshipped him, every one whose name was not written in the book of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. If any one have ears, let him hear. If any one shall lead into captivity, he shall go into captivity. If any one shall slay with the sword, he must be slain with the sword. Here is the endurance and the faith of the saints.

After this he likewise describes his arm-bearer, whom he also terms a false prophet [Apoc 13:11–14]:

   He spoke as a dragon, and exercised all the power of the first beast in his sight, and caused the earth, and those that dwell therein, to adore the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he shall perform great wonders, so that he can even cause fire to descend from heaven upon the earth in the sight of men, and he shall lead the inhabitants of the earth astray.

Let no one imagine that he performs these wonders by divine power, but by the working of magic. And we must not be surprised if, since the demons and apostate spirits are at his service, he through their means performs wonders, by which he leads the inhabitants of the earth astray. John says further [Apoc 13:14]:

   And he shall order an image of the beast to be made, and he shall give breath to the image, so that the image shall speak; and he shall cause those to be slain who will not adore it.

He says also [Apoc 13:16–18]:

   And he will cause a mark to be put in the forehead and in the fight hand, that no one may be able to buy or sell, unless he who has the mark of the name of the beast or the number of his name; and the number is six hundred and sixty-six.

That is, six times a hundred, six times ten, and six units. He gives this as a summing up of the whole of that apostasy which has taken place during six thousand years.
3 For in as many days as this world was made, in so many thousand years shall it be concluded. And for this reason the Scripture says [Gen 2:2]:

Thus the heaven and the earth were finished, and all their adornment. And God brought to a conclusion upon the sixth day the works that He had made; and God rested upon the seventh day from all His works.

This is an account of the things formerly created, as also it is a prophecy of what is to come. For the day of the Lord is as a thousand years [2 Pet 3:8]; and in six days created things were completed: it is evident, therefore, that they will come to an end at the sixth thousand year.

4 And therefore throughout all time, man, having been molded at the beginning by the hands of God, that is, of the Son and of the Spirit, is made after the image and likeness of God: the chaff, indeed, which is the apostasy, being cast away; but the wheat, that is, those who bring forth fruit to God in faith, being gathered into the barn. And for this cause tribulation is necessary for those who are saved, that having been after a manner broken up, and rendered fine, and sprinkled over by the patience of the Word of God, and set on fire for purification, they may be fitted for the royal banquet. As a certain man of ours [Ignatius of Antioch, Romans 4] said, when he was condemned to the wild beasts because of his testimony with respect to God:

I am the wheat of Christ, and am ground by the tees of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of God.

29. All things have been created for the service of man. The deceits, wickedness, and apostate power of Antichrist. This was prefigured at the deluge, as afterwards by the persecution of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego.

1 In the previous books I have set forth the causes for which God permitted these things to be made, and have pointed out that all such have been created for the benefit of that human nature which is saved, ripening for immortality that which is possessed of its own free will and its own power, and preparing and rendering it more adapted for eternal subjection to God. And therefore the creation is suited to the wants of man; for man was not made for its sake, but creation for the sake of man. Those nations however, who did not of themselves raise up their eyes unto heaven, nor returned thanks to their Maker, nor wished to behold the light of truth, but who were like blind mice concealed in the depths of ignorance, the word justly reckons as waste water from a sink, and as the turning-weight of a balance—in fact, as nothing [Is 40:15]; so far useful and serviceable to the just, as stubble conduces towards the growth of the wheat, and its straw, by means of combustion, serves for working gold. And therefore, when in the end the Church shall be suddenly caught up from this, it is said [Mt 24:21], There shall be tribulation such as has not been since the beginning, neither shall be. For this is the last contest of the righteous, in which, when they overcome they are crowned with incorruption.

2 And there is therefore in this beast, when he comes, a recapitulation made of all sorts of iniquity and of every deceit, in order that all apostate power, flowing into and being shut up in him, may be sent into the furnace of fire. Fittingly, therefore, shall his name possess the number six hundred and sixty-six, since he sums up in his own person all the commixture of wickedness which took place previous to the deluge, due to the apostasy of the angels. For Noah was six hundred years old when the deluge came upon the earth, sweeping away the rebellious world, for the sake of that most infamous generation which lived in the times of Noah. And Antichrist also sums up every error of devised idols since the flood, together with the slaying of the prophets and the cutting off of the just. For that image which was set up by Nebuchadnezzar had indeed a height of sixty cubits, while the breadth was six cubits; on account of which Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, when they did not worship it, were cast into a furnace of fire, pointing out prophetically, by what happened to them,
the wrath against the righteous which shall arise towards the time of the end. For that image, taken as a whole, was a prefiguring of this man’s coming, decreeing that he should undoubtedly himself alone be worshipped by all men. Thus, then, the six hundred years of Noah, in whose time the deluge occurred because of the apostasy, and the number of the cubits of the image for which these just men were sent into the fiery furnace, do indicate the number of the name of that man in whom is concentrated the whole apostasy of six thousand years, and unrighteousness, and wickedness, and false prophecy, and deception; for which things’ sake a cataclysm of fire shall also come upon the earth.

30. Although certain as to the number of the name of Antichrist, yet we should come to no rash conclusions as to the name itself, because this number is capable of being fitted to many names. Reasons for this point being reserved by the holy spirit. Antichrist’s reign and death.

1 Such, then, being the state of the case, and this number being found in all the most approved and ancient copies of the Apocalypse, and those men who saw John face to face bearing their testimony to it; while reason also leads us to conclude that the number of the name of the beast, if reckoned according to the Greek mode of calculation by the value of the letters contained in it, will amount to six hundred and sixty and six; that is, the number of tens shall be equal to that of the hundreds, and the number of hundreds equal to that of the units (for that number which expresses the digit six being adhered to throughout, indicates the recapitulations of that apostasy, taken in its full extent, which occurred at the beginning, during the intermediate periods, and which shall take place at the end)—I do not know how it is that some have erred following the ordinary mode of speech, and have vitiated the middle number in the name, deducting the amount of fifty from it, so that instead of six decades they will have it that there is but one. I am inclined to think that this occurred through the fault of the copyists, as is wont to happen, since numbers also are expressed by letters; so that the Greek letter \[\varphi\] which expresses the number sixty was easily expanded into the letter iota [E] of the Greeks. Others then received this reading without examination; some in their simplicity, and upon their own responsibility, making use of this number expressing one decade; while some, in their inexperience, have ventured to seek out a name which should contain the erroneous and spurious number. Now, as regards those who have done this in simplicity, and without evil intent, we are at liberty to assume that pardon will be granted them by God. But as for those who, for the sake of vainglory, lay it down for certain that names containing the spurious number are to be accepted, and affirm that this name, hit upon by themselves, is that of him who is to come; such persons shall not come forth without loss, because they have led into error both themselves and those who confided in them. Now, in the first place, it is loss to wander from the truth, and to imagine that as being the case which is not; then again, as there shall be no light punishment inflicted upon him who either adds or subtracts anything from the Scripture [Apoc 22:19], under that such a person must necessarily fall. Moreover, another danger, by no means trifling, shall overtake those who falsely presume that they know the name of Antichrist. For if these men assume one number, when this Antichrist shall come having another, they will be easily led away by him, as supposing him not to be the expected one, who must be guarded against.

2 These men, therefore, ought to learn what really is the state of the case, and go back to the true number of the name, that they be not reckoned among false prophets. But, knowing the sure number declared by Scripture, that is, six hundred sixty and six, let them await, in the first place, the division of the kingdom into ten; then, in the next place, when these kings are reigning, and beginning to set their affairs in order, and advance their kingdom, let them learn to acknowledge that he who shall come claiming the kingdom for himself, and shall terrify those men of whom we have been speaking, having a name containing the aforesaid number, is truly the abomination of desolation. This, too, the
apostle affirms [1 Thess 5:3]:

\[
\text{When they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction shall come upon them.}
\]

And Jeremiah [8:16] does not merely point out his sudden coming, but even indicates the tribe from which he shall come, where he says:

\[
\text{We shall hear the voice of his swift horses from Dan; the whole earth shall be moved by the voice of the neighing of his galloping horses: he shall also come and devour the earth, and the fullness thereof, the city also, and they that dwell therein.}
\]

This, too, is the reason that this tribe is not reckoned in Apocalypse [7:5–7] along with those which are saved.

3 It is therefore more certain, and less hazardous, to await the fulfillment of the prophecy, than to be making surmises, and casting about for any names that may present themselves, inasmuch as many names can be found possessing the number mentioned; and the same question will, after all, remain unsolved. For if there are many names found possessing this number, it will be asked which among them shall the coming man bear. It is not through a want of names containing the number of that name that I say this, but on account of the fear of God, and zeal for the truth: for the name Evanthes [EYANΘΑΣ] contains the required number, but I make no allegation regarding it. Then also Lateinos [ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ] has the number six hundred and sixty-six; and it is a very probable solution, this being the name of the last kingdom of the four seen by Daniel. For the Latins are they who at present bear rulem [5]: I will not, however, make any boast over this coincidence. Teitan too, (TEITAN—the first syllable being written with the two Greek vowels å and é, among all the names which are found among us, is rather worthy of credit. For it has in itself the predicted number, and is composed of six letters, each syllable containing three letters; and the word itself is ancient, and removed from ordinary use; for among our kings we find none bearing this name Titan, nor have any of the idols which are worshipped in public among the Greeks and barbarians this appellation. Among many persons, too, this name is accounted divine, so that even the sun is termed “Titan” by those who do now possess the rule. This word, too, contains a certain outward appearance of vengeance, and of one inflicting merited punishment because the Antichrist pretends that he vindicates the oppressed. And besides this, it is an ancient name, one worthy of credit, of royal dignity, and still further, a name belonging to a tyrant. Inasmuch, then, as this name “Titan” has so much to recommend it, there is a strong degree of probability, that from among the many names suggested, we infer, that perchance he who is to come shall be called “Titan.” We will not, however, incur the risk of pronouncing positively as to the name of Antichrist; for if it were necessary that his name should be distinctly revealed in this present time, it would have been announced by him who beheld the apocalyptic vision. For that was seen no very long time since, but almost in our day, towards the end of Domitian’s reign.

4 But he indicates the number of the name now, that when this man comes we may avoid him, being aware who he is: the name, however, is suppressed, because it is not worthy of being proclaimed by the Holy Spirit. For if it had been declared by Him, the Antichrist might perhaps continue for a long period. But now as he was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the abyss, and goes into perdition [Apoc 17:8], as one who has no existence; so neither has his name been declared, for the name of that which does not exist is not proclaimed. But when this Antichrist shall have devastated all things in this world, he will reign for three years and six months, and sit in the temple at Jerusalem; and then the Lord will come from heaven in the clouds, in the glory of the Father, sending this man and those who follow him into the lake of fire; but bringing in for the righteous the times of the kingdom, that is, the rest, the hallowed seventh day; and restoring to Abraham the promised inheritance, in which kingdom the Lord declared [Mt 8:11], that many coming from the
east and from the west should sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

31. The preservation of our bodies is confirmed by the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ: the souls of the saints during the intermediate period are in a state of expectation of that time when they shall receive their perfect and consummated glory.

1 Since, again, some who are reckoned among the orthodox go beyond the pre-arranged plan for the exaltation of the just, and are ignorant of the methods by which they are disciplined beforehand for incorruption, they thus entertain heretical opinions. For the heretics, despising the handiwork of God, and not admitting the salvation of their flesh, while they also treat the promise of God contemptuously, and pass beyond God altogether in the sentiments they form, affirm that immediately upon their death they shall pass above the heavens and the Demiurge, and go to the Mother (Achamoth) or to that Father whom they have feigned. Those persons, therefore, who disallow a resurrection affecting the whole man, and as far as in them lies remove it from the midst of the Christian scheme, how can they be wondered at, if again they know nothing as to the plan of the resurrection? For they do not choose to understand, that if these things are as they say, the Lord Himself, in whom they profess to believe, did not rise again upon the third day; but immediately upon His expiring on the cross, undoubtedly departed on high, leaving His body to the earth. But the case was, that for three days He dwelt in the place where the dead were, as the prophet [Jeremiah supposedly—in Justin Martyr] says concerning Him:

And the Lord remembered His dead saints who slept formerly in the land of sepulcher; and He descended to them, to rescue and save them.

And the Lord Himself says [Mt 11:40]:

As Jonah remained three days and three nights in the whale’s belly, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth.

But when He ascended, what is it but that He also descended into the lower parts of the earth?

This, too, David says when prophesying of Him [Ps 86:23]:

And you have delivered my soul from the nethermost hell.

And on His rising again the third day, He said to Mary, who was the first to see and to worship Him [Jn 20:17]:

Touch Me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to the disciples, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father, and unto your Father.

2 If, then, the Lord observed the law of the dead, that He might become the first-begotten from the dead, and tarried until the third day in the lower parts of the earth [Eph 4:9]; then afterwards rising in the flesh, so that He even showed the print of the nails to His disciples [Jn 20:20–27]. He thus ascended to the Father—if all these things occurred, I say, how must these men not be put to confusion, who allege that the lower parts refer to this world of ours, but that their tuner man, leaving the body here, ascends into the super-celestial place? For as the Lord went away in the midst of the shadow of death [Ps 23:4], where the souls of the dead were, yet afterwards arose in the body, and after the resurrection was taken up into heaven, it is manifest that the souls of His disciples also, upon whose account the Lord underwent these things, shall go away into the invisible place allotted to them by God, and there remain until the resurrection, awaiting that event; then receiving their bodies, and rising in their entirety, that is bodily, just as the Lord arose, they shall come thus into the presence of God.

For no disciple is above the Master, but every one that is perfect shall be as his Master. [Lk 6:40]

As our Master, therefore, did not at once depart, taking flight to heaven, but awaited the time of His
resurrection prescribed by the Father, which had been also shown forth through Jonah, and rising
again after three days was taken up to heaven; so ought we also to await the time of our resurrection
prescribed by God and foretold by the prophets, and so, rising, be taken up, as many as the Lord shall
account worthy of this privilege.

32. In that flesh in which the saints have suffered so many afflictions, they shall receive the fruits of their labors;
especially since all creation waits for this, and God promises it to Abraham and his seed.

1 Inasmuch, therefore, as the opinions of certain people are derived from heretical discourses,
they are both ignorant of God’s dispensations, and of the mystery of the resurrection of the just, and
of the earthly kingdom which is the commencement of incorruption, by means of which kingdom
those who shall be worthy are accustomed gradually to partake of the divine nature; and it is
necessary to tell them respecting those things, that it behooves the righteous first to receive the
promise of the inheritance which God promised to the fathers, and to reign in it, when they rise again
to behold God in this creation which is renovated, and that the judgment should take place
afterwards. For it is just that in that very creation in which they toiled or were afflicted, being proved
in every way by suffering, they should receive the reward of their suffering; and that in the creation
in which they were slain because of their love to God, in that they should be revived again; and that
in the creation in which they endured servitude, in that they should reign. For God is rich in all
things, and all things are His. It is fitting, therefore, that the creation itself, being restored to its
primeval condition, should without restraint be under the dominion of the righteous; and the apostle
has made this plain in the Epistle to the Romans, when he thus speaks [Rom 8:19–21]:
   For the expectation of the creature waits for the manifestation of the sons of God.
   For the creature has been subjected to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who
   has subjected the same in hope; since the creature itself shall also be delivered from
   the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

2 Thus, then, the promise of God, which He gave to Abraham, remains steadfast. For thus He
said [Gen 13:13–14]:
   Lift up yours eyes, and look from this place where now you art, towards the north
   and south, and east and west. For all the earth which you see, I will give to you and
to your seed, even for ever.
And again He says [Gen 13:17], Arise, and go through the length and breadth of the land, since I
will give it unto you; and yet he did not receive an inheritance in it, not even a footstep, but was
always a stranger and a pilgrim therein. [Acts 7:5; Heb 11:13] And upon the death of Sarah his wife,
when the Hittites were willing to bestow upon him a place where he might bury her, he declined it
as a gift, but bought the burying-place (giving for it four hundred talents of silver) from Ephron the
son of Zohar the Hittite [Gen 23:11]. Thus did he await patiently the promise of God, and was
unwilling to appear to receive from men, what God had promised to give him, when He said again
to him as follows [Gen 15:13]:
   I will give this land to your seed, from the river of Egypt even unto the great river Euphrates.
If, then, God promised him the inheritance of the land, yet he did not receive it during all the time
of his sojourn there, it must be, that together with his seed, that is, those who fear God and believe
in Him, he shall receive it at the resurrection of the just. For his seed is the Church, which receives
the adoption to God through the Lord, as John the Baptist said [Lk 3:8]:
   For God is able from the stones to raise up children to Abraham.
Thus also the apostle says in the Epistle to the Galatians [14:28]:
   But you, brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of the promise.
And again, in the same Epistle, he plainly declares that they who have believed in Christ do receive Christ, the promise to Abraham thus saying [Gal 3:16]:

*The promises were spoken to Abraham, and to his seed. Now He does not say, And of seeds, as if He spoke of many, but as of one, And to your seed, which is Christ.*

And again, confirming his former words, he says [Gal 3:6–9]:

*Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness. Know you therefore, that they which are of faith are the children of Abraham. But the Scripture, fore-seeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, declared to Abraham beforehand, That in you shall all nations be blessed. So then they which are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham.*

Thus, then, they who are of faith shall be blessed with faithful Abraham, and these are the children of Abraham. Now God made promise of the earth to Abraham and his seed; yet neither Abraham nor his seed, that is, those who are justified by faith, do now receive any inheritance in it; but they shall receive it at the resurrection of the just. For God is true and faithful; and on this account He said [Mt 5:5], *Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.*

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33. Further proofs of the same proposition, drawn from the promises made by Christ, when he declared that he would drink of the fruit of the vine with his disciples in his Father’s kingdom, while at the same time he promised to reward them an hundred-fold, and to make them partake of banquets. The blessing pronounced by Jacob had pointed out this already, as Papias and the elders have interpreted it.

1 For this reason, when about to undergo His sufferings, that He might declare to Abraham and those with him the glad tidings of the inheritance being thrown open, Christ, after He had given thanks while holding the cup, and had drunk of it, and given it to the disciples, said to them [Mt 26:27]:

*Drink you all of it: this is My blood of the new covenant, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of the fruit of this vine, until that day when I will drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom.*

Thus, then, He will Himself renew the inheritance of the earth, and will re-organize the mystery of the glory of His sons; as David says [Ps 104:30], *He who has renewed the face of the earth.* He promised to drink of the fruit of the vine with His disciples, thus indicating both these points: the inheritance of the earth in which the new fruit of the vine is drunk, and the resurrection of His disciples in the flesh. For the new flesh which rises again is the same which also received the new cup. And He cannot by any means be understood as drinking of the fruit of the vine when settled down with his disciples above in a super-celestial place; nor, again, are they who drink it devoid of flesh, for to drink of that which flows from the vine pertains to flesh, and not spirit.

2 And for this reason the Lord declared [Lk 14:12–13]:

*When you make a dinner or a supper, do not call your friends, nor your neighbors, nor your kinsfolk, lest they ask you in return, and so repay you. But call the lame, the blind, and the poor, and you shall be blessed, since they cannot recompense you, but a recompense shall be made you at the resurrection of the just.*

And again He says [Mt 19:29; Lk 18:29–30]:

*Whosoever shall have left lands, or houses, or parents, or brethren, or children because of Me, he shall receive in this world an hundred-fold, and in that to come he shall inherit eternal life.*

For what are the hundred-fold rewards in this word, the entertainments given to the poor, and the suppers for which a return is made? These are to take place in the times of the kingdom, that is, upon
the seventh day, which has been sanctified, in which God rested from all the works which He created, which is the true Sabbath of the righteous, which they shall not be engaged in any earthly occupation; but shall have a table at hand prepared for them by God, supplying them with all sorts of dishes.

3 The blessing of Isaac with which he blessed his younger son Jacob has the same meaning, when he says [Gen 27:29]:

   Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a full field which the Lord has blessed.—But the field is the world [Mt 13:38], and therefore he added—God give to you of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, plenty of corn and wine. And let the nations serve you, and kings bow down to you; and be you lord over your brother, and your father’s sons shall bow down to you: cursed shall be he who shall curse you, and blessed shall be he who shall bless you.

If any one, then, does not accept these things as referring to the appointed kingdom, he must fall into much contradiction and contrariety, as is the case with the Jews, who are involved in absolute perplexity. For not only did not the nations in this life serve this Jacob; but even after he had received the blessing, he himself going forth from his home, served his uncle Laban the Syrian for twenty years [Gen 31:41]; and not only was he not made lord of his brother, but he did himself bow down before his brother Esau, upon his return from Mesopotamia to his father, and offered many gifts to him.[Gen 33:3] Moreover, in what way did he inherit much corn and wine here, he who emigrated to Egypt because of the famine which possessed the land in which he was dwelling, and became Subject to Pharaoh, who was then ruling over Egypt? The predicted blessing, therefore, belongs unquestionably to the times of the kingdom, when the righteous shall bear rule upon their rising from the dead; when also the creation, having been renovated and set free, shall fructify with an abundance of all kinds of food, from the dew of heaven, and from the fertility of the earth: as the elders who saw John, the disciple of the Lord [according to Papias of Hierapolis, as below], related that they had heard from him how the Lord used to teach in regard to these times, and say:

   The days will come, in which vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand dusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretes of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, “I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me.”

In like manner the Lord declared that a grain of wheat would produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear should have ten thousand grains, and every grain would yield ten pounds of clear, pure, fine flour; and that all other fruit-bearing trees, and seeds and grass, would produce in similar proportions; and that all animals feeding only on the productions of the earth, should in those days become peaceful and harmonious among each other, and be in perfect subjection to man.

4 And these things are bone witness to in writing by Papias [of Hierapolis, ca. A.D. 70–155, whose works are lost], the hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp, in his fourth book; for there were five books compiled by him. And he says in addition:

   Now these things are credible to believers.

And he says that:

   when the traitor Judas did not give credit to them, and put the question, ‘How then can things about to bring forth so abundantly be wrought by the Lord?’ the Lord declared, ‘They who shall come to these times shall see.’

When prophesying of these times, therefore, Isaiah [11:6–9] says:

   The wolf also shall feed with the lamb, and the leopard shall take his rest with the
kid; the calf also, and the bull, and the lion shall eat together; and a little boy shall lead them. The ox and the bear shall feed together, and their young ones shall agree together; and the lion shall eat straw as well as the ox. And the infant boy shall thrust his hand into the asp’s den, into the nest also of the adder’s brood; and they shall do no harm, nor have power to hurt anything in my holy mountain.

And again he says, in recapitulation [Is 65:25]:

Wolves and lambs shall then browse together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox, and the serpent earth as if it were bread; and they shall neither hurt nor annoy anything in my holy mountain, says the Lord.

I am quite aware that some persons endeavour to refer these words to the case of savage men, both of different nations and various habits, who come to believe, and when they have believed, act in harmony with the righteous. But although this is true now with regard to some men coming from various nations to the harmony of the faith, nevertheless in the resurrection of the just the words shall also apply] to those animals mentioned. For God is non in all things. And it is right that when the creation is restored, all the animals should obey and be in subjection to man, and revert to the food originally given by God (for they had been originally subjected in obedience to Adam), that is, the productions of the earth. But some other occasion, and not the present, is to be sought for showing that the lion shall then feed on straw. And this indicates the large size and rich quality of the fruits. For if that animal, the lion, feeds upon straw at that period, of what a quality must the wheat itself be whose straw shall serve as suitable food for lions?

34. He fortifies his opinions with regard to the temporal and earthly kingdom of the saints after their resurrection, by the various testimonies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel; also by the parable of the servants watching, to whom the Lord promised that he would minister.

1 Then, too, Isaiah [26:19] plainly declared that there shall be joy of this nature at the resurrection of the just, when he says:

The dead shall rise again; those, too, who are in the tombs shall arise, and those who are in the earth shall rejoice. For the dew from you is health to them.

And this again Ezekiel [37:12–14] also says:

Behold, I will open your tombs, and will bring you forth out of your graves; when I will draw my people from the sepulchers, and I will put breath in you, and you shall live; and I will place you on your own land, and you shall know that I am the L ORD.

And again the same speaks thus [Ezeck 28:25–26]:

These things says the L ORD, I will gather Israel from all nations whither they have been driven, and I shall be sanctified in them in the sight of the sons of the nations: and they shall dwell in their own land, which I gave to my servant Jacob. And they shall dwell in it in peace; and they shall build houses, and plant vineyards, and dwell in hope, when I shall cause judgment to fall among all who have dishonored them, among those who encircle them round about; and they shall know that I am the L ORD their God, and the God of their fathers.

Now I have shown a short time ago that the church is the seed of Abraham; and for this reason, that we may know that He who in the New Testament [Mt 3:9] raises up from the stones children unto Abraham, is He who will gather, according to the Old Testament, those that shall be saved from all the nations, Jeremiah [23:7, 6] says:

Behold, the days come, says the L ORD, that they shall no more say, The L ORD lives, who led the children of Israel from the north, and from every region whither they had been driven: He will restore them to their own land which He gave to their fathers.”
That the whole creation shall, according to God’s will, obtain a vast increase, that it may bring forth and sustain fruits such as we have mentioned, Isaiah [30:25–26] declares:

*And there shall be upon every high mountain, and upon every prominent hill, water running everywhere in that day, when many shall perish, when walls shall fall. And the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, seven times that of the day, when He shall heal the anguish of His people, and do away with the pain of His stroke.*

Now the *pain of the stroke* means that inflicted at the beginning upon disobedient man in Adam, that is, death; which stroke the Lord will heal when He raises us from the dead, and restores the inheritance of the fathers, as Isaiah [58:14] again says:

*And you shall be confident in the LORD, and He will cause you to pass over the whole earth, and feed you with the inheritance of Jacob your father.*

This is what the Lord declared [Lk 5:37–38]:

*Happy are those servants whom the Lord when He comes shall find watching. Verily I say unto you, that He shall gird Himself, and make them to sit down to eat, and will come forth and serve them. And if He shall come in the evening watch, and find them so, blessed are they, because He shall make them sit down, and minister to them; or if this be in the second, or it be in the third, blessed are they.*

Again John also says the very same in Apocalypse [20:6]:

*Blessed and holy is he who has part in the first resurrection.*

Then, too, Isaiah [6:11] has declared the time when these events shall occur; he says:

*And I said, Lord, how long? Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses be without men, and the earth be left a desert. And after these things the LORD shall remove us men far away, and those who shall remain shall multiply upon the earth.*

Then Daniel [7:27] also says this very thing:

*And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of those under the heaven, is given to the saints of the Most High God, whose kingdom is everlasting, and all dominions shall serve and obey Him.*

And lest the promise named should be understood as referring to this time, it was declared to the prophet [Dan 12:13]: *And come and stand in your lot at the consummation of the days.*

Now, that the promises were not announced to the prophets and the fathers alone, but to the Churches united to these from the nations, whom also the Spirit terms “the islands” (both because they are established in the midst of turbulence, suffer the storm of blasphemies, exist as a harbour of safety to those in peril, and are the refuge of those who love the height of heaven, and strive to avoid Bythus, that is, the depth of error), Jeremiah [31:10–14] thus declares:

*Hear the word of the LORD, you nations, and declare it to the isles afar off; say ye, that the LORD will scatter Israel, He will gather him, and keep him, as one feeding his flock of sheep. For the Lord has redeemed Jacob, and rescued him from the hand of one stronger than he. And they shall come and rejoice in Mount Zion, and shall come to what is good, and into a land of wheat, and wine, and fruits, of animals and of sheep; and their soul shall be as a tree bearing fruit, and they shall hunger no more. At that time also shall the virgins rejoice in the company of the young men: the old men, too, shall be glad, and I will turn their sorrow into joy; and I will make them exult, and will magnify them, and satiate the souls of the priests the sons of Levi; and my people shall be satiated with my goodness.*

Now, in the preceding book [4.8.3], I have shown that all the disciples of the Lord are Levites and priests, they who used in the temple to profane the Sabbath, but are blameless [cf. Mt 12:5] Promises
of such a nature, therefore, do indicate in the clearest manner the feasting of that creation in the kingdom of the righteous, which God promises that He will Himself serve.

4 Then again, speaking of Jerusalem, and of Him reigning there, Isaiah [31:9; 32:1] declares:

Thus says the LORD, Happy is he who has seed in Zion, and servants in Jerusalem. Behold, a righteous king shall reign, and princes shall rule with judgment.

And with regard to the foundation on which it shall be rebuilt, he says [Is 44:11–14]:

Behold, I will lay in order for you a carbuncle stone, and sapphire for your foundations; and I will lay your ramparts with jasper, and your gates with crystal, and your wall with choice stones: and all your children shall be taught of God, and great shall be the peace of your children; and in righteousness shall you be built up.

And yet again does he say the same thing [Is 65:18]:

Behold, I make Jerusalem a rejoicing, and my people a joy; for the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in her, nor the voice of crying. Also there shall not be there any immature one, nor an old man who does not fulfil his time: for the youth shall be of a hundred years; and the sinner shall die a hundred years old, yet shall be accursed. And they shall build houses, and inhabit them themselves; and shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them themselves, and shall drink wine. And they shall not build, and others inhabit; neither shall they prepare the vineyard, and others eat. For as the days of the tree of life shall be the days of the people in you; for the works of their hands shall endure.

35. He contends that these testimonies already alleged cannot be understood allegorically of celestial blessings, but that they shall have their fulfillment after the coming of Antichrist, and the Resurrection, in the Terrestrial Jerusalem. To the former prophecies he subjoins others drawn from Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Apocalypse of John.

1 If, however, any shall endeavour to allegorize prophecies of this kind, they shall not be found consistent with themselves in all points, and shall be confuted by the teaching of the very expressions in question. For example [Is 6:11]:

When the cities—of the Gentiles—shall be desolate, so that they be not inhabited, and the houses so that there shall be no men in them and the land shall be left desolate.

And Isaiah [8:9] says:

For, behold the day of the LORD comes past remedy, full of fury and wrath, to lay waste the city of the earth, and to root sinners out of it.

And again he says [Is 27:10]:

Let him be taken away, that he behold not the glory of God.

And when these things are done, he says [Is 6:12]:

God will remove men far away, and those that are left shall multiply in the earth.

[Is 65:21:]

And they shall build houses, and shall inhabit them themselves: and plant vineyards, and eat of them themselves.

For all these and other words were unquestionably spoken in reference to the resurrection of the just, which takes place after the coming of Antichrist, and the destruction of all nations under his rule; in the times of which resurrection the righteous shall reign in the earth, waxing stronger by the sight of the Lord: and through Him they shall become accustomed to partake in the glory of God the Father, and shall enjoy in the kingdom intercourse and communion with the holy angels, and union with spiritual beings; and with respect to those whom the Lord shall find in the flesh, awaiting Him from heaven, and who have suffered tribulation, as well as escaped the hands of the Wicked one. For
it is in reference to them that the prophet says:

*And those that are left shall multiply upon the earth.*

And Jeremiah the prophet has pointed out, that as many believers as God has prepared for this purpose, to multiply those left upon earth, should both be under the rule of the saints to minister to

*Look around Jerusalem towards the east, and behold the joy which comes to you from God Himself: Behold, your sons shall come whom you have sent forth: they shall come in a band from the east even unto the west, by the word of that Holy One, rejoicing in that splendor which is from your God.*

*O Jerusalem, put off your robe of mourning and of affliction, and put on that beauty of eternal splendor from your God. Gird yourself with the double garment of that righteousness proceeding from your God; place the miter of eternal glory upon yours head. For God will show your glory to the whole earth under heaven. For your name shall for ever be called by God Himself, the peace of righteousness and glory to him that worships God.*

*Arise, Jerusalem, stand on high, and look towards the east, and behold your sons from the rising of the sun, even to the west, by the Word of that Holy One, rejoicing in the very remembrance of God. For the footmen have gone forth from you, while they were drawn away by the enemy. God shall bring them in to you, being borne with glory as the throne of a kingdom. For God has decreed that every high mountain shall be brought low, and the eternal hills, and that the valleys be filled, so that the surface of the earth be rendered smooth, that Israel, the glory of God, may walk in safety. The woods, too, shall make shady places, and every sweet-smelling tree shall be for Israel itself by the command of God. For God shall go before with joy in the light of His splendor, with the pity and righteousness which proceeds from Him.*

2 Now all these things being such as they are, cannot be understood in reference to super-celestial matters; for God, it is said, *will show to the whole earth that is under heaven your glory.* But in the times of the kingdom, the earth has been called again by Christ to its pristine condition, and Jerusalem rebuilt after the pattern of the Jerusalem above, of which the prophet Isaiah [41:16] says, *Behold, I have depicted your walls upon my hands, and you are always in my sight,* and the apostle, too, writing to the Galatians [4:26], says in like manner, *But the Jerusalem which is above is free, which is the mother of us all.* He does not say this with any thought of an erratic Aeon, or of any other power which departed from the Pleroma, or of Prunicus, but of the Jerusalem which has been delineated on God’s hands. And in Apocalypse [21:2] John saw this new Jerusalem descending upon the new earth. For after the times of the kingdom, he says [Apoc 20:11]:

*I saw a great white throne, and Him who sat upon it, from whose face the earth fled away, and the heavens; and there was no more place for them.*

And he sets forth, too, the things connected with the general resurrection and the judgment, mentioning the dead, great and small. He says:

*The sea gave up the dead which it had in it, and death and hell delivered up the dead that they contained; and the books were opened.*

He says [Apoc 20:12–14]:

*Moreover, the book of life was opened, and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works; and death and hell were sent into the lake of fire, the second death.*

Now this is what is called Gehenna, which the Lord styled eternal fire [Mt 25:41]. *And if any one,* it is said [Apoc 20:15], *was not found written in the book of life, he was sent into the lake of fire.* And after this, he says [Apoc 21:1–4]:
I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and earth have passed away; also there was no more sea. And I saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from heaven, as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard— it is said—a great voice from the throne, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and He will dwell with them; and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them as their God. And He will wipe away every tear from their eyes; and death shall be no more, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain, because the former things have passed away.

Isaiah [45:17–18] also declares the very same:

For there shall be a new heaven and a new earth; and there shall be no remembrance of the former, neither shall the heart think about them, but they shall find in it joy and exultation.

Now this is what has been said by the apostle [1 Cor 7:31]: For the fashion of this world passes away. To the same purpose did the Lord also declare [Mt 26:35], Heaven and earth shall pass away. When these things, therefore, pass away above the earth, John, the Lord’s disciple, says that the new Jerusalem above shall then descend, as a bride adorned for her husband; and that this is the tabernacle of God, in which God will dwell with men. Of this Jerusalem the former one is an image—that Jerusalem of the former earth in which the righteous are disciplined beforehand for incorruption and prepared for salvation. And of this tabernacle Moses received the pattern in the mount [Ex 25:40]; and nothing is capable of being allegorized, but all things are steadfast, and true, land substantial, having been made by God for righteous men’s enjoyment. For as it is God truly who raises up man, so also does man truly rise from the dead, and not allegorically, as I have shown repeatedly. And as he rises actually, so also shall he be actually disciplined beforehand for incorruption, and shall go forwards and flourish in the times of the kingdom, in order that he may be capable of receiving the glory of the Father. Then, when all things are made new, he shall truly dwell in the city of God. For it is said [Apoc 21:5–6]:

He that sits on the throne said, Behold, I make all things new. And the Lord says, Write all this; for these words are faithful and true. And He said to me, They are done.

And this is the truth of the matter.

36. Men shall be actually raised: the world shall not be annihilated; but there shall be various mansions for the saints, according to the rank allotted to each individual. All things shall be subject to god the father, and so shall he be all in all.

1 For since there are real men, so must there also be a real establishment, that they vanish not away among non-existent things, but progress among those which have an actual existence. For neither is the substance nor the essence of the creation annihilated (for faithful and true is He who has established it), but the fashion of the world passes away [1 Cor 7:31]; that is, those things among which transgression has occurred, since man has grown old in them. And therefore this present fashion has been formed temporary, God foreknowing all things; as I have pointed out in the preceding book [4.5.6]; and have also shown, as far as was possible, the cause of the creation of this world of temporal things. But when this present fashion of things passes away, and man has been renewed, and flourishes in an incorruptible state, so as to preclude the possibility of becoming old, then there shall be the new heaven and the new earth, in which the new man shall remain continually, always holding fresh converse with God. And since (or, that) these things shall ever continue without end, Isaiah [66:22] declares:

For as the new heavens and the new earth which I do make, continue in my sight,
says the LORD, so shall your seed and your name remain.

And as the presbyters say, Then those who are deemed worthy of an abode in heaven shall go there, others shall enjoy the delights of paradise, and others shall possess the splendor of the city; for everywhere the Savior shall be seen according as they who see Him shall be worthy.

2 They say, moreover, that there is this distinction between the habitation of those who produce an hundred-fold, and that of those who produce sixty-fold, and that of those who produce thirty-fold: for the first will be taken up into the heavens, the second will dwell in paradise, the last will inhabit the city; and that was on this account the Lord declared [Jn 14:2], *In My Father’s house are many mansions*. For all things belong to God, who supplies all with a suitable dwelling-place; even as His Word says, that a share is allotted to all by the Father, according as each person is or shall be worthy. And this is the couch on which the guests shall recline, having been invited to the wedding [Mt 22:10]. The presbyters, the disciples of the apostles, affirm that this is the gradation and arrangement of those who are saved, and that they advance through steps of this nature; also that they ascend through the Spirit to the Son, and through the Son to the Father, and that in due time the Son will yield up His work to the Father, even as it is said by the apostle [1 Cor 20:25–26]:

*For He must reign till He has put all enemies under His feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.*

For in the times of the kingdom, the righteous man who is upon the earth shall then forget to die. But when He says, *All things shall be subdued unto Him*, it is manifest that He is excepted who did put all things under Him. And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him who put all things under Him, that *God may be all in all* [1 Cor 15:27–28].

3 John, therefore, did distinctly foresee the first resurrection of the just [Lk 14:14], and the inheritance in the kingdom of the earth; and what the prophets have prophesied concerning it harmonize with his vision. For the Lord also taught these things, when He promised that He would have the mixed cup new with His disciples in the kingdom. The apostle [Rom 8:21], too, has confessed that the creation shall be free from the bondage of corruption, so as to pass into the liberty of the sons of God. And in all these things, and by them all, the same God the Father is manifested, who fashioned man, and gave promise of the inheritance of the earth to the fathers, who brought the creature forth from bondage at the resurrection of the just, and fulfills the promises for the kingdom of His Son; subsequently bestowing in a paternal manner those things which neither the eye has seen, nor the ear has heard, nor has thought concerning them arisen within the heart of man [1 Cor 2:9; Is 64:4]. For there is the one Son, who accomplished His Father’s will; and one human race also in which the mysteries of God are wrought, *which the angels desire to look into* [1 Pet 1:12], and they are not able to search out the wisdom of God, by means of Which His handiwork, confirmed and incorporated with His Son, is brought to perfection; that His offspring, the First-begotten Word, should descend to the creature, that is, to what had been molded, and that it should be contained by Him; and, on the other hand, the creature should contain the Word, and ascend to Him, passing beyond the angels, and be made after the image and likeness of God.
HIPPOLYTUS OF ROME

Treatise on Christ and Antichrist

1 As it was your desire, my beloved brother Theophilus, to be thoroughly informed on those topics which I put summarily before you, I have thought it right to set these matters of inquiry clearly forth to your view, drawing largely from the Holy Scriptures themselves as from a holy fountain, in order that you may not only have the pleasure of hearing them on the testimony of men, but may also be able, by surveying them in the light of divine authority, to glorify God in all. For this will be as a sure supply furnished you by us for your journey in this present life, so that by ready argument applying things ill understood and apprehended by most, you may sow them in the ground of your heart, as in a rich and clean soil. By these, too, you will be able to silence those who oppose and gainsay the word of salvation. Only see that you do not give these things over to unbelieving and blasphemous tongues, for that is no common danger. But impart them to pious and faithful men, who desire to live holy and righteous with fear. For it is not to no purpose that the blessed apostle exhorts Timothy, and says [1 Tim 6:20–21],

O Timothy, keep that which is committed to your trust, avoiding profane and vain babbling, and opposition of science falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith.

And again [2 Tim 2:1–2],

You therefore, my son, be strong in the grace that is in Christ Jesus. And the things that you have heard of me in many exhortations, the same commit you to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.

If, then, the blessed apostle delivered these things with a pious caution, which could be easily known by all, as he perceived [2 Thess 3:2] in the spirit that all men have not faith, how much greater will be our danger, if, rashly and without thought, we commit the revelations of God to profane and unworthy men?

2 For as the blessed prophets were made, so to speak, eyes for us, they foresaw through faith the mysteries of the word, and became ministers of these things also to succeeding generations, not only reporting the past, but also announcing I the present and the future, so that the prophet might not appear to be one only for the time being, but might also predict the future for all generations, and so be reckoned a true prophet. For these fathers were furnished with the Spirit, and largely honored by the Word Himself; and just as it is with instruments of music, so had they the Word always, like the plectrum, in union with them, and when moved by Him the prophets announced what God willed. For they spoke not of their own power [2 Pet 1:21] (let there be no mistake as to that), neither did they declare what pleased themselves. But First of all they were endowed with wisdom by the Word, and then again were rightly instructed in the future by means of visions. And then, when thus themselves fully convinced, they spoke those things which were revealed by God to them alone, and concealed from all others. For with what reason should the prophet be called a prophet, unless he in spirit foresaw the future? For if the prophet spoke of any chance event, he would not be a prophet then in speaking of things which were under the eye of all. But one who sets forth in detail things yet to be, was rightly judged a prophet. Why prophets were with good reason called from the very first [1 Sam 9:9] “seers.” And hence we, too, who are rightly instructed in what was declared earlier by them, speak not of our own capacity. For we do not attempt to made any change one way or another among ourselves in the words that were spoken of old by them, but we make the Scriptures in which these are written public, and read them to those who can believe rightly; for that is a
common benefit for both parties: for him who speaks, in holding in memory and setting forth correctly things uttered of old; and for him who hears, in giving attention to the things spoken. Since, then, in this there is a work assigned to both parties together, viz., to him who speaks, that he speak forth faithfully without regard to risk, and to him who hears, that he hear and receive in faith that which is spoken, I beseech you to strive together with me in prayer to God.

3 Do you wish then to know in what manner the Word of God, who was again the Son of God, as He was of old the Word, communicated His revelations to the blessed prophets in former times? Well, as the Word shows His compassion and His denial of all respect of persons by all the saints, He enlightens them and adapts them to that which is advantageous for us, like a skilful physician, understanding the weakness of men. And the ignorant He loves to teach, and the erring He turns again to His own true way. And by those who live by faith He is easily found; and to those of pure eye and holy heart, who desire to knock at the door, He opens immediately. For He casts away none of His servants as unworthy of the divine mysteries. He does not esteem the rich man more highly than the poor, nor does He despise the poor man for his poverty. He does not disdain the barbarian, nor does He set the eunuch aside as no man [Is 56:3–4]. He does not hate the female on account of the woman’s act of disobedience in the beginning, nor does He reject the male on account of the man’s transgression. But He seeks all, and desires to save all, wishing to make all the children of God, and calling all the saints unto one perfect man. For there is also one Son (or Servant) of God, by whom we too, receiving the regeneration through the Holy Spirit, desire to come all unto one perfect and heavenly man [Eph 4:13].

4 For whereas the Word of God was without flesh, He took upon Himself the holy flesh by the holy Virgin, and prepared a robe which He wove for Himself, like a bridegroom, in the sufferings of the cross, in order that by uniting His own power with our moral body, and by mixing the incorruptible with the corruptible, and the strong with the weak, He might save perishing man. The web-beam, therefore, is the pass on of the Lord upon the cross, and the warp on it is the power of the Holy Spirit, and the woof is the holy flesh wrought woven by the Spirit, and the thread is the grace which by the love of Christ binds and unites the two in one, and the combs or rods are the Word; and the workers are the patriarchs and prophets who weave the fair, long, perfect tunic for Christ; and the Word passing through these, like the combs or rods, completes through them that which His Father wills.

5 But as time now presses for the consideration of the question immediately in hand, and as what has been already said in the introduction with regard to the glory of God, may suffice, it is proper that we take the Holy Scriptures themselves in hand, and find out from them what, and of what manner, the coming of Antichrist is; on what occasion and at what time that implores one shall be revealed; and whence and from what tribe he shall come; and what his name is, which is indicated by the number in the Scripture; and how he shall work error among the people, gathering them from the ends of the earth; and how he shall stir up tribulation and persecution against the saints; and how he shall glorify himself as God; and what his end shall be; and how the sudden appearing of the Lord shall be revealed froth heaven; and what the conflagration of the whole world shall be; and what the glorious and heavenly kingdom of the saints is to be, when they reign together with Christ; and what the punishment of the wicked by fire.

6 Now, as our Lord Jesus Christ, who is also God, was prophesied of under the figure of a lion [Apoc 5:5; cf. Gen 49:8], on account of His royalty and glory, in the same way have the Scriptures also earlier spoken of Antichrist as a lion, on account of his tyranny and violence. For the deceiver seeks to liken himself in all things to the Son of God. Christ is a lion, so Antichrist is also a lion; Christ is a king [Jn 18:37], so Antichrist is also a king. The Saviour was manifested as a lamb [Jn 1:29]; so he too, in like manner, will appear as a lamb, though within he is a wolf. The Saviour came
into the World in the circumcision, and he will come in the same manner. The Lord sent apostles among all the nations, and he in like manner will send false apostles. The Saviour gathered together the sheep that were scattered abroad [Jn 11:52], and he in like manner will bring together a people that is scattered abroad. The Lord gave a seal to those who believed on Him, and he will give one like manner. The Saviour appeared in the form of man, and he too will come in the form of a man. The Saviour raised up and showed His holy flesh like a temple [Jn 2:19], and he will raise a temple of stone in Jerusalem. And his seductive arts we shall exhibit in what follows. But for the present let us turn to the question in hand.

7 Now the blessed Jacob speaks to the following effect in his benedictions, testifying prophetically of our Lord and Saviour [Gen 49:8–12]:

Judah, let your brethren praise you: your hand shall be on the neck of yours enemies; your father’s children shall bow down before you. Judah is a lion’s whelp: from the shoot, my son, you are gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp; who shall rouse him up? A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he come for whom it is reserved; and he shall be the expectation of the nations. Binding his ass to a vine, and his ass’s colt to the vine tendril; he shall wash his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of the grapes. His eyes shall be gladsome as with wine, and his teeth shall be whiter than milk.

8 Knowing, then, as I do, how to explain these things in detail, I deem it right at present to quote the words themselves. But since the expressions themselves urge us to speak of them. I shall not omit to do so. For these are truly divine and glorious things, and things well calculated to benefit the soul. The prophet, in using the expression, a lion’s whelp, means him who sprang from Judah and David according to the flesh, who was not made indeed of the seed of David, but was conceived by the power of the Holy Spirit, and came forth from the holy shoot of earth. For Isaiah [11:1] says, There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall grow up out of it. That which is called by Isaiah a flower, Jacob calls a shoot. For first he shot forth, and then he flourished in the world. And the expression, he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp, refers to the three days’ sleep [or death, or couching] of Christ; as also Isaiah [1:21] says, How is faithful Zion become an harlot! it was full of judgment; in which righteousness lodged [or couched]; but now murderers. And David says to the same effect [Ps 3:5], I laid me down [or couched] and slept; I awaked: for the Lord will sustain me; in which words he points to the fact of his sleep and rising again. And Jacob says, Who shall rouse him up? And that is just what David and Paul both refer to, as when Paul says [Gal 1:1], and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead.

9 And in saying, A ruler shall not depart from Judah, nor a leader from his thighs, until he come for whom it is reserved; and he shall be the expectation of the nations, he referred the fulfillment of that prophecy to Christ. For He is our expectation. For we expect Him, and by faith we behold Him as He comes from heaven with power.

10 Binding his ass to a vine [Jn 15:1]: that means that He unites His people of the circumcision with His own calling. For He was the vine. And his ass’s colt to the vine-tendril: that denotes the people of the Gentiles, as He calls the circumcision and the uncircumcision unto one faith.

11 He shall wash his garment in wine, that is, according to that voice of His Father which came down by the Holy Spirit at the Jordan. And his clothes in the blood of the grape. In the blood of what grape, then, but just His own flesh, which hung upon the tree like a cluster of grapes?—from whose side also flowed two streams, of blood and water, in which the nations are washed and purified, which nations He may be supposed to have as a robe about Him.

12 His eyes gladsome with wine. And what are the eyes of Christ but the blessed prophets, who
foresaw in the Spirit, and announced beforehand, the sufferings that were to befall Him, and rejoiced in seeing Him in power with spiritual eyes, being furnished for their vocation by the word Himself and His grace?

13 And in saying, *And his teeth shall be whiter than milk*, he referred to the commandments that proceed from the holy mouth of Christ, and which are pure as milk.

14 Thus did the Scriptures preach before-time of this lion and lion’s whelp. And in like manner also we find it written regarding Antichrist. For Moses speaks thus [Deut 33:22]: *Dan is a lion’s whelp, and he shall leap from Bashan.* But that no one may err by supposing that this is said of the Saviour, let him attend carefully to the matter. *Dan*, he says, *is a lion’s whelp*; and in naming the tribe of Dan [cf. Irenaeus *Against Heresies* 18.2.30], he declared clearly the tribe from which Antichrist is destined to spring. For as Christ springs from the tribe of Judah, so Antichrist is to spring from the tribe of Dan. And that the case stands thus, we see also from the words of Jacob [Gen 49:17]: *Let Dan be a serpent, lying upon the ground, biting the horse’s heel.* What, then, is meant by the serpent but Antichrist, that deceiver who is mentioned in Genesis [3:1], who deceived Eve and supplanted Adam? But since it is necessary to prove this assertion by sufficient testimony, we shall not shrink from the task.

15 That it is in reality out of the tribe of Dan, then, that that tyrant and king, that dread judge, that son of the devil, is destined to spring and arise, the prophet testifies when he says [Gen 49:16], *Dan shall judge his people, as he is also one tribe in Israel.* But some one may say that this refers to Samson, who sprang from the tribe of Dan, and judged the people twenty years. Well, the prophecy had its partial fulfillment in Samson, but its complete fulfillment is reserved for Antichrist. For Jeremiah [8:16] also speaks to this effect:

> From Dan we are to hear the sound of the swiftness of his horses: the whole land trembled at the sound of the neighing, of the driving of his horses.

And another prophet [not in Bible] says:

> He shall gather together all his strength, from the east even to the west. They whom he calls, and they whom he calls not, shall go with him. He shall make the sea white with the sails of his ships, and the plain black with the shields of his armaments. And whosoever shall oppose him in war shall fall by the sword.

That these things, then, are said of no one else but that tyrant, and shameless one, and adversary of God, we shall show in what follows.

16 But Isaiah [10:12–17] also speaks thus:

> And it shall come to pass, that when the Lord has performed His whole work upon Mount Zion and on Jerusalem, He will visit the stout mind, the king of Assyria, and the greatness of the glory of his eyes. For he said, By my strength will I do it, and by the wisdom of my understanding I will remove the bounds of the peoples, and will rob them of their strength: and I will make the inhabited cities tremble, and will gather the whole world in my hand like a nest, and I will lift it up like eggs that are left. And there is no one that shall escape or gainsay me, and open the mouth and chatter. Shall the axe boast itself without him that hews therewith? or shall the saw magnify itself without him that draws it? As if one should raise a rod or a staff, and the staff should lift itself up: and not thus. But the Lord shall send dishonor unto your honor; and into your glory a burning fire shall burn. And the light of Israel shall be a fire, and shall sanctify him in flame, and shall consume the forest like grass.

17 And again he says in another place [Is 14:4–21]:

> How has the exacter ceased, and how has the oppressor ceased! God has broken the yoke of the rulers of sinners, He who smote the people in wrath, and with an
incurable stroke: He that strikes the people with an incurable stroke, which He did not spare. He rested confidently: the whole earth shouts with rejoicing. The trees of Lebanon rejoiced at you, and the cedar of Lebanon, saying, Since you are laid down, no feller is come up against us. Hell from beneath is moved at meeting you: all the mighty ones, the rulers of the earth, are gathered together—the lords from their thrones. All the kings of the nations, all they shall answer together, and shall say, And you, too, are taken as we; and you are reckoned among us. Your pomp is brought down to earth, your great rejoicing: they will spread decay under you; and the worm shall be your covering. How are you fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! He is cast down to the ground who sends off to all the nations. And you said in your mind, I will ascend into heaven, I will set my throne above the stars of heaven: I will sit down upon the lofty mountains towards the north: I will ascend above the clouds: I will be like the Most High. Yet now you shall be brought down to hell, and to the foundations of the earth! They that see you shall wonder at you, and shall say, This is the man that excited the earth, that did shake kings, that made the whole world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities, that released not those in prison. All the kings of the earth did lie in honor, every one in his own house; but you shall be cast out on the mountains like a loathsome carcass, with many who fall, pierced through with the sword, and going down to hell. As a garment stained with blood is not pure, so neither shall you be comely; because you have destroyed my land, and slain my people. You shall not abide, enduring for ever, a wicked seed. Prepare your children for slaughter, for the sins of your father, that they rise not, neither possess my land.

18 Ezekiel [28:2–10] also speaks of him to the same effect, thus:

Thus says the Lord God, Because yours heart is lifted up, and you have said, I am God, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the sea; yet are you a man, and not God, though you have set yours heart as the heart of God. are you wiser than Daniel? Have the wise not instructed you in their wisdom? With your wisdom or with yours understanding have you gotten you power, and gold and silver in your treasures? By your great wisdom and by your traffic have you increased your power? your heart is lifted up in your power. Therefore thus says the Lord God: Because you have set yours heart as the heart of God: behold, therefore I will bring strangers upon you, plagues from the nations: and they shall draw their swords against you, and against the beauty of your wisdom; and they shall level your beauty to destruction; and they shall bring you down; and you shall die by the death of the wounded in the midst of the sea. Will you yet say before them that slay you, I am God? But you are a man, and no God, in the hand of them that wound you. You shall die the deaths of the uncircumcised by the hand of strangers: for I have spoken it, says the Lord.

19 These words then being thus presented, let us observe somewhat in detail what Daniel says in his visions. For in distinguishing the kingdoms that are to rise after these things, he showed also the coming of Antichrist in the last times, and the consummation of the whole world. In expounding the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, then, he speaks thus [Dan 2:31–35]:

You, O king, saw, and behold a great image standing before your face: the head of which was of fine gold, its arms and shoulders of silver, its belly and its thighs of brass, and its legs of iron, and its feet part of iron and part of clay. you saw, then, till that a stone was cut out without hands, and smote the image upon the feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to an end. Then were the clay, the iron, the brass,
the silver, and the gold broken, and became like the chaff from the summer threshing-floor; and the strength of the wind carried them away, and there was no place found for them. And the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.

20 Now if we set Daniel’s own visions also side by side with this, we shall have one exposition to give of the two together, and shall be able to show how concordant with each other they are, and how true. For he speaks thus [Dan 7:2–14]:

I Daniel saw, and behold the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lioness, and had wings as of an eagle. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man’s heart was given to it. And behold a second beast like to a bear, and it was made stand on one part, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it. I beheld, and lo a beast like a leopard, and it had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, and the beast had four heads. After this I saw, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; it had iron teeth and claws of brass, which devoured and brake in pieces, and it stamped the residue with the feet of it; and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I considered its horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, and before it there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things.

21 I beheld till the thrones were set, and the Ancient of days did sit: and His garment was white as snow, and the hair of His head like pure wool: His throne was a flame of fire, His wheels were a burning fire. A stream of fire flowed before Him. Thousand thousands ministered unto Him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood around Him: the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spoke, till the beast was slain and perished, and his body given to the burning of fire. And the dominion of the other beasts was taken away.

22 I saw in the night vision, and, behold, one like the Son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and honor, and the kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and tongues shall serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.

23 Now since these things, spoken as they are with a mystical meaning, may seem to some hard to understand, we shall keep back nothing fitted to impart an intelligent apprehension of them to those who are possessed of a sound mind. He said, then, that a lioness came up from the sea, and by that he meant the kingdom of the Babylonians in the world, which also was the head of gold on the image. In saying that it had wings as of an eagle, he meant that Nebuchadnezzar the king was lifted up and was exalted against God. Then he says, the wings thereof were plucked, that is to say, his glory was destroyed; for he was driven out of his kingdom. And the words, a man’s heart was given to it, and it was made stand upon the feet as a man, refer to the fact that he repented and recognized himself to be only a man, and gave the glory to God.

24 Then, after the lioness, he sees a second beast like a bear, and that denoted the Persians. For after the Babylonians, the Persians held the sovereign power And in saving that there were three ribs in the mouth of it, he pointed to three nations, that is, the Persians, and the Medes, and the Babylonians; which were also represented on the image by the silver after the gold. Then there was
the third beast, a leopard, which meant the Greeks. For after the Persians, Alexander of Macedon obtained the sovereign power on subverting Darius, as is also shown by the brass on the image. And in saying that it had four wings of a fowl, he taught us most clearly how the kingdom of Alexander was partitioned. For in speaking of four heads, he made mention of four kings, that is, those who arose out of that kingdom. For Alexander, when dying, partitioned out his kingdom into four divisions [so Quintus Curtius 10.10].

25 Then he says: A fourth beast, dreadful and terrible; it had iron teeth and claws of brass. And who are these but the Romans? which kingdom is meant by the iron—the kingdom which is now established; for the legs of that image were of iron. And after this, what remains, beloved, but the toes of the feet of the image, in which part is iron and part clay, mixed together? And mystically by the toes of the feet he meant the kings who are to arise from among them; as Daniel also says in the words, I considered the beast, and lo there were ten horns behind it, among which shall rise another horn, an offshoot, and shall pluck up by the roots the three that were before it. And under this was signified none other than Antichrist, who is also himself to raise the kingdom of the Jews. He says that three horns are plucked up by the root by him, viz., the three kings of Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia, whom he cuts off in the array of battle. And he, after gaining terrible power over all, being nevertheless a tyrant, shall stir up tribulation and persecution against men, exalting himself against them. For Daniel [7:21, 11] says:

I considered the horn, and behold that horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them, till the beast was slain and perished, and its body was given to the burning of fire.

26 After a little space the stone [Dan 2:34, 45] will come from heaven which smites the image and breaks it in pieces, and subverts all the kingdoms, and gives the kingdom to the saints of the Most High. This is the stone which becomes a great mountain, and fills the whole earth, of which Daniel [7:13–14] says:

I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and was brought near before Him. And there was given Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom; and all peoples, tribes, and languages shall serve Him: and His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom shall not be destroyed.

He showed all power given by the Father to the Son [Mt 28:18], who is ordained Lord of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and Judge of all [Phil 2:10]: of things in heaven, because He was born, the Word of God, before all ages; and of things on earth, because He became man in the midst of men, to re-create our Adam through Himself; and of things under the earth, because He was also reckoned among the dead, preaching the Gospel to the souls of the saints [1 Pet 3:19], and by death overcoming death.

27 As these things, then, are in the future, and as the ten toes of the image are equivalent to so many democracies, and the ten horns of the fourth beast are distributed over ten kingdoms, let us look at the subject a little more closely, and consider these matters as in the clear light of a personal survey.

28 The golden head of the image and the lioness denoted the Babylonians; the shoulders and arms of silver, and the bear, represented the Persians and Medes; the belly and thighs of brass, and the leopard, meant the Greeks, who held the sovereignty from Alexander’s time; the legs of iron, and the beast dreadful and terrible, expressed the Romans, who hold the sovereignty at present; the toes of the feet which were part clay and part iron, and the ten horns, were emblems of the kingdoms that are yet to rise; the other little horn that grows up among them meant the Antichrist in their midst; the stone that smites the earth and brings judgment upon the world was Christ.
29 These things, beloved, we impart to you with fear, and yet readily, on account of the love of Christ, which surpasses all. For if the blessed prophets who preceded us did not choose to proclaim these things, though they knew them, openly and boldly, lest they should disquiet the souls of men, but recounted them mystically in parables and dark sayings, speaking thus [Apoc 17:9], *Here is the mind which has wisdom,* how much greater risk shall we run in venturing to declare openly things spoken by them in obscure terms! Let us look, therefore, at the things which are to befall this unclean harlot in the last days; and let us consider what and what manner of tribulation is destined to visit her in the wrath of God before the judgment as an earnest of her doom.

30 Come, then, O blessed Isaiah; arise, tell us clearly what you prophesied with respect to the mighty Babylon. For you spoke also of Jerusalem, and your word is accomplished. For you spoke boldly and openly [Is 1:7–8]:

*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 many strangers. The daughter of Zion shall be left as a cottage in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city.*

What then? Are not these things come to pass? Are not the things announced by you fulfilled? Is not their country, Judea, desolate? Is not the holy place burned with fire? Are not their walls cast down? Are not their cities destroyed? Their land, do not strangers devour it? Do not the Romans rule the country? And indeed these impious people hated you, and did saw you asunder, and they crucified Christ. You are dead in the world, but you live in Christ.

31 Which of you, then, shall I esteem more than you? Yet Jeremiah, too, is stoned. But if I should esteem Jeremiah most, yet Daniel too has his testimony. Daniel, I commend you above all; yet John too gives no false witness. With how many mouths and tongues would I praise you; or rather the Word who spoke in you! you died with Christ; and you will live with Christ. Hear ye, and rejoice; behold the things announced by you have been fulfilled in their time. For you saw these things yourselves first, and then you proclaimed them to all generations. you ministered the oracles of God to all generations. you prophets were called, that you might be able to save all. For then is one a prophet indeed, when, having announced earlier things about to be, he can afterwards show that they have actually happened. you were the disciples of a good Master. These words I address to you as if alive, and with propriety. For you hold already the crown of life and immortality which is laid up for you in heaven [2 Tim 4:8].

32 Speak with me, O blessed Daniel. Give me full assurance, I beseech you. you dost prophesy concerning the lioness in Babylon [Dan 7:4]; for you were a captive there. you have unfolded the future regarding the bear; for you were still in the world, and saw the things come to pass. Then you spoke to me of the leopard; and whence can you know this, for you are already gone to your rest? Who instructed you to announce these things, but He who formed you in from your mother’s womb [Jer 1:5]? That is God, you say. You have spoken indeed, and that not falsely. The leopard has arisen; the he-goat is come; he has smitten the ram; he has broken his horns in pieces; he has stamped upon him with his feet. He has been exalted by his fall; the four horns have come up from under that one [Dan 8:2–8]. Rejoice, blessed Daniel! you have not been in error: all these things have come to pass.

33 After this again you have told me of the beast dreadful and terrible [Dan 7:6]: *It had iron teeth and claws of brass: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it.* Already the iron rules; already it subdues and breaks all in pieces; already it brings all the unwilling into subjection; already we see these things ourselves. Now we glorify God, being instructed by you.

34 But as the task before us was to speak of the harlot, be you with us, O blessed Isaiah. Let us mark what you say about Babylon [Is 47:1–15].
Come down, sit upon the ground, O virgin daughter of Babylon; sit, O daughter of the Chaldeans; you shall no longer be called tender and delicate. Take the millstone, grind meal, draw aside your veil, shave the grey hairs, make bare the legs, pass over the rivers. your shame shall be uncovered, your reproach shall be seen: I will take justice of you, I will no more give you over to men. As for your Redeemer, He is the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel is his name. Sit you in compunction, get you into darkness, O daughter of the Chaldeans: you shall no longer be called the strength of the kingdom.

35 I was angry with my people; I have polluted mine inheritance, I have given them into yours hand: and you showed them no mercy; but upon the elders you have very heavily laid your yoke. And you said, I shall be a princess for ever: you did not lay these things to your heart, neither did you remember your latter end. Therefore hear now this, you that are delicate; that sit, that are confident, that say in your heart, I am, and there is none else; I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children. But now these two things shall come upon you in one day, widowhood and the loss of children: they shall come upon you suddenly in your sorcery, in the strength of yours enchantments mightily, in the hope of your fornication. For you have said, I am, and there is none else. And your fornication shall be your shame, because you have said in your heart, I am. And destruction shall come upon you, and you shall not know it. And there shall be a pit, and you shall fall into it; and misery shall fall upon you, and you shall not be able to be made clean; and destruction shall come upon you, and you shall not know it. Stand now with your enchantments, and with the multitude of your sorceries, which you have learned from your youth; if so be you shall be able to be profited. you are wearied in your counsels. Let the astrologers of the heavens stand and save you; let the star-gazers announce to you what shall come upon you. Behold, they shall all be as sticks for the fire; so shall they be burned, and they shall not deliver their soul from the flame. Because you have coals of fire, sit upon them; so shall it be for your help. you are wearied with change from your youth. Man has gone astray each one by himself; and there shall be no salvation for you.

These things does Isaiah prophesy for you. Let us see now whether John has spoken to the same effect.

36 For he sees, when in the isle Patmos, a revelation of awful mysteries, which he recounts freely, and makes known to others. Tell me, blessed John, apostle and disciple of the Lord, what did you see and hear concerning Babylon? Arise, and speak; for it sent you also into banishment [Apoc 17–18].

And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will show unto you the judgment of the great whore that sits upon many waters; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. And he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness: and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-colored beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet color, and decked with gold, and precious stone, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand, full of abominations and filthiness of the fornication of the earth. Upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth.
And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration. And the angel said unto me, Why did you marvel? I will tell you the mystery of the woman, and of the beast that carries her, which has the seven heads and the ten horns. The beast that you saw was, and is not; and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition: and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder (whose name was not written in the book of life from the foundation of the world) when they behold the beast that was, and is not, and yet shall be.

And here is the mind that has wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sits. And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not you come; and when he comes, he must continue a short space. And the beast that was and is not, (even he is the eighth), and is of the seven, and goes into perdition. And the ten horns which you saw are ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet; but receive power as kings one hour with the beast. These have one mind, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings; and they that are with Him are called, and chosen, and faithful.

And he said to me, The waters which you saw, where the whore sits, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. And the ten horns which you saw, and the beast, these shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh, and burn her with fire. For God has put in their hearts to fulfil His will, and to agree, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God shall be fulfilled. And the woman which you saw is that great city, which reigns over the kings of the earth.

After these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies. And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues: for her sins did cleave even unto heaven, and God has remembered her iniquities.

Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she has filled, fill to her double. How much she has glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she says in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judges her. And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication, and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning, standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is your judgment come. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man shall buy their merchandise any more. The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all fine wood, and all manner
vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and spices, and odors, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and goats, and horses, and chariots, and bodies, and souls of men. And the fruits that your soul lusted after are departed from you, and all things which were dainty and goodly have perished from you, and you shall find them no more at all. The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas, alas! that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! for in one hour so great riches is come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city? And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, Alas, alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her fatness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

42 Rejoice over her, you heaven, and you angels, and apostles, and prophets; for God has avenged you on her. And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all. And the voice of harpers and musicians, and of pipers and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in you; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in you; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in you; and the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in you; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in you: for your merchants were the great men of the earth; for by your sorceries were all nations deceived. And in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.

43 With respect, then, to the particular judgment in the torments that are to come upon it in the last times by the hand of the tyrants who shall arise then, the clearest statement has been given in these passages. But it becomes us further diligently to examine and set forth the period at which these things shall come to pass, and how the little horn shall spring up in their midst. For when the legs of iron have issued in the feet and toes, according to the similitude of the image and that of the terrible beast, as has been shown in the above, then shall be the time when the iron and the clay shall be mingled together. Now Daniel will set forth this subject to us. For he says [Dan 9:27]:

And one week will make a covenant with many, and it shall be that in the half of the week my sacrifice and oblation shall cease.

By one week, therefore, he meant the last week which is to be at the end of the whole world of which week the two prophets Enoch and Elias will take up the half. For they will preach, 260 days clothed in sackcloth, proclaiming repentance to the people and to all the nations.

44 For as two advents of our Lord and Saviour are indicated in the Scriptures, the one being His first advent in the flesh, which took place without honor by reason of His being set at nought, as Isaiah spoke of Him earlier, saying [Is 53:2–5],

We saw Him, and He had no form nor comeliness, but His form was despised and rejected above all men; a man smitten and familiar with bearing infirmity, for His face was turned away; He was despised, and esteemed not.

But His second advent is announced as glorious, when He shall come from heaven with the host of angels, and the glory of His Father, as the prophet says [Is 33:17],
You shall see the King in glory.
And [Dan 7:13–14]:

I saw one like the Son of man coming with the clouds of heaven; and he came to the Ancient of days, and he was brought to Him. And there were given Him dominion, and honor, and glory, and the kingdom; all tribes and languages shall serve Him:
His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away.

Thus also two forerunners were indicated. The first was John the son of Zacharias, who appeared in all things a forerunner and herald of our Saviour, preaching of the heavenly light that had appeared in the world. He first fulfilled the course of forerunner, and that from his mother’s womb, being conceived by Elizabeth, in order that to those, too, who are children from their mother’s womb he might declare the new birth that was to take place for their sakes by the Holy Spirit and the Virgin.

45 He, on hearing the salutation addressed to Elizabeth, leaped with joy in his mother’s womb, recognizing God the Word conceived in the womb of the Virgin. Thereafter he came forward preaching in the wilderness, proclaiming the baptism of repentance to the people, and thus announcing prophetically salvation to the nations living in the wilderness of the world. After this, at the Jordan, seeing the Saviour with his own eye, he points Him out, and says [Jn 1:29], Behold the Lamb of God, that takes away the sin of the world! He also first preached to those in Hades, becoming a forerunner there when he was put to death by Herod, that there too he might intimate that the Saviour would descend to ransom the souls of the saints from the hand of death.

46 But since the Saviour was the beginning of the resurrection of all men, it was right that the Lord alone should rise from the dead, by whom too the judgment is to enter for the whole world, that they who have wrestled worthily may be also crowned worthily by Him, by the illustrious Arbiter, to wit, who Himself first accomplished the course, and was received into the heavens, and was set down on the right hand of God the Father, and is to be manifested again at the end of the world as Judge. It is a matter of course that His forerunners must appear first, as He says by Malachi [4:5–6] and the angel,

I will send to you Elijah the Tishbite before the day of the Lord, the great and notable day, comes; and he shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, lest I come and smite the earth utterly.

These, then, shall come and proclaim the manifestation of Christ that is to be from heaven; and they shall also perform signs and wonders, in order that men may be put to shame and turned to repentance for their surpassing wickedness and impiety.

47 For John says [Apoc 11:3–6],

And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days, clothed in sackcloth.—that is the half of the week where of Daniel spoke—These are the two olive trees and the two candlesticks standing before the Lord of the earth. And if any man will hurt them, fire will proceed out of their mouth, and devour their enemies; and if any man will hurt them, he must in this manner be killed. These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy; and have power over waters, to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will. And when they shall have finished their course and their testimony—what says the prophet?—the beast that ascends out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them.

That is, because they will not give glory to Antichrist. For this is meant by the little horn that grows up. He, being now elated in heart, begins to exalt himself, and to glorify himself as God, persecuting the saints and blaspheming Christ, even as Daniel says [Dan 7:8–9],
I considered the horn, and, behold, in the horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things; and he opened his mouth to blaspheme God. And that born made war against the saints, and prevailed against them until the beast was slain, and perished, and his body was given to be burned.

But as it is incumbent on us to discuss this matter of the beast more exactly, and in particular the question how the Holy Spirit has also mystically indicated his name by means of a number, we shall proceed to state more clearly what bears upon him. John then speaks thus [Apoc 13:11–18]:

And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns, like a lamb, and he spoke as a dragon. And he exercised all the power of the first beast before him; and he made the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he did great wonders, so that he makes fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceives them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword and did live. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that has understanding count the number of the beast; for if is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred threescore and six.

By the beast, then, coming up out of the earth, he means the kingdom of Antichrist; and by the two horns he means him and the false prophet after him. And in speaking of the horns being like a lamb, he means that he will make himself like the Son of God, and set himself forward as king. And the terms, he spoke like a dragon, mean that he is a deceiver, and not truthful. And the words, he exercised all the power of the first beast before him, and caused the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, signify that, after the manner of the law of Augustus, by whom the empire of Rome was established, he too will rule and govern, sanctioning everything by it, and taking greater glory to himself. For this is the fourth beast, whose head was wounded and healed again, in its being broken up or even dishonored, and partitioned into four crowns; and he then Antichrist shall with knavish skill heal it, as it were, and restore it. For this is what is meant by the prophet when he says, He will give life unto the image, and the image of the beast will speak. For he will act with vigour again, and prove strong by reason of the laws established by him; and he will cause all those who will not worship the image of the beast to be put to death. Here the faith and the patience of the saints will appear, for he says:

And he will cause all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their forehead; that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, the name of the beast, or the number of his name.

For, being full of guile, and exalting himself against the servants of God, with the wish to afflict them and persecute them out of the world, because they give not glory to him, he will order incense-pans to be set up by all everywhere, that no man among the saints may be able to buy or sell without first sacrificing; for this is what is meant by the mark received upon the right hand. And the word—in their forehead—indicates that all are crowned, and put on a crown of fire, and not of life, but of death. For in this wise, too, did Antiochus Epiphanes the king of Syria, the descendant of Alexander of Macedon, devise measures against the Jews. He, too, in the exaltation of his heart, issued a decree in those times, that:
all should set up shrines before their doors, and sacrifice, and that they should march in procession to the honor of Dionysus, waving chaplets of ivy.

And that those who refused obedience should be put to death by strangulation and torture. But he also met his due recompense at the hand of the Lord, the righteous Judge and all-searching God; for he died eaten up of worms. And if one desires to inquire into that more accurately, he will find it recorded in the books of the Maccabees.

50 But now we shall speak of what is before us. For such measures will he, too, devise, seeking to afflict the saints in every way. For the prophet and apostle says:

_Here is wisdom, Let him that has understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred threescore and six._

With respect to his name, it is not in our power to explain it exactly, as the blessed John understood it and was instructed about it, but only to give a conjectural account of it; for when he appears, the blessed one will show us what we seek to know. Yet as far as our doubtful apprehension of the matter goes, we may speak. Many names indeed we find, the letters of which are the equivalent of this number: such as, for instance [cf. Irenaeus, _Against Heresies_ 18.30.3 above], the word Titan, an ancient and notable name; or Evanthes, for it too makes up the same number; and many others which might be found. But, as we have already said, the wound of the first beast was healed, and the second beast was to make the image speak, that is to say, he should be powerful; and it is manifest to all that those who at present still hold the power are Latins. If, then, we take the name as the name of a single man, it becomes Latinus. Why we ought neither to give it out as if this were certainly his name, nor again ignore the fact that he may not be otherwise designated. But having the mystery of God in our heart, we ought in fear to keep faithfully what has been told us by the blessed prophets, in order that when those things come to pass, we may be prepared for them, and not deceived. For when the times advance, he too, of whom these thing are said, will be manifested.

51 But not to confine ourselves to these words and arguments alone, for the purpose of convincing those who love to study the oracles of God, we shall demonstrate the matter by many other proofs. For Daniel [11:41] says:

_And these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon._

Ammon and Moab are the children born to Lot by his daughters [Gen 19:37–38], and their race survives even now. And Isaiah [11:14] says:

_And they shall fly in the boats of strangers, plundering the sea together, and they shall despoil them of the east: and they shall lay hands upon Moab first; and the children of Ammon shall first obey them._

52 In those times, then, he shall arise and meet them. And when he has overmastered three horns out of the ten in the array of war, and has rooted these out, that is, Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia, and has got their spoils and trappings, and has brought the remaining horns which suffer into subjection, he will begin to be lifted up in heart, and to exalt himself against God as master of the whole world. And his first expedition will be against Tyre and Berytus, and the neighboring territory. For by storming these cities first he will strike terror into the others, as Isaiah [23:4–5] says,

_Be you ashamed, O Sidon; the sea has spoken, even the strength of the sea has spoken, saying, I travailed not, nor brought forth children; neither did I nurse up young men, nor bring up virgins. But when the report comes to Egypt, pain shall seize them for Tyre._

53 These things, then, shall be in the future, beloved; and when the three horns are cut off, he will begin to show himself as God, as Ezekiel [28:2] has said earlier:

_Because your heart has been lifted up, and you have said, I am God._
And to the like effect Isaiah [14:13–15] says:

*For you have said in yours heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of heaven: I will be like the Most High. Yet now you shall be brought down to Hades, to the foundations of the earth.*

In like manner also Ezekiel [28:9]:

*Will you yet say to those who slay you, I am God? But you shall be a man, and no God.*

54 As his tribe, then, and his manifestation, and his destruction, have been set forth in these words, and as his name has also been indicated mystically, let us look also at his action. For he will call together all the people to himself, out of every country of the dispersion, making them his own, as though they were his own children, and promising to restore their country, and establish again their kingdom and nation, in order that he may be worshipped by them as God, as the prophet [not in Bible] says:

*He will collect his whole kingdom, from the rising of the sun even to its setting: they whom he summons and they whom he does not summon shall march with him.*

And Jeremiah [17:11] speaks of him thus in a parable:

*The partridge cried, and gathered what he did not hatch, making himself riches without judgment: in the midst of his days they shall leave him, and at his end he shall be a fool.*

55 It will not be detrimental, therefore, to the course of our present argument, if we explain the are of that creature, and show that the prophet has not spoken without a purpose in using the parable of the creature. For as the partridge is a vainglorious creature, when it sees near at hand the nest of another partridge with young in it, and with the parent-bird away on the wing in quest of food, it imitates the cry of the other bird, and calls the young to itself; and they, taking it to be their own parent, run to it. And it delights itself proudly in the alien pullets as in its own. But when the real parent-bird returns, and calls them with its own familiar cry, the young recognize it, and forsake the deceiver, and betake themselves to the real parent. This thing, then, the prophet has adopted as a simile, applying it in a similar manner to Antichrist. For he will allure mankind to himself, wishing to gain possession of those who are not his own, and promising deliverance to all, while he is unable to save himself.

56 He then, having gathered to himself the unbelieving everywhere throughout the world, comes at their call to persecute the saints, their enemies and antagonists, as the apostle and evangelist says [Lk 18:2–5]:

*There was in a city a judge, which feared not God, neither regarded man: and there was a widow in that city, who came unto him, saying, Avenge me of mine adversary. And he would not for a while: but afterward he said within himself, Though I fear not God, nor regard man; yet because this widow troubles me, I will avenge her.*

57 By the unrighteous judge, who fears not God, neither regards man, he means without doubt Antichrist, as he is a son of the devil and a vessel of Satan. For when he has the power, he will begin to exalt himself against God, neither in truth fearing God, nor regarding the Son of God, who is the Judge of all. And in saying that there was a widow in the city, he refers to Jerusalem itself, which is a widow indeed, forsaken of her perfect, heavenly spouse, God. She calls Him her adversary, and not her Saviour; for she does not understand that which was said by the prophet Jeremiah 4:11]:

*Because they obeyed not the truth, a spirit of error shall speak then to this people and to Jerusalem.*

And Isaiah [8:6–7] also to the like effect:

*Forasmuch as the people refuses to drink the water of Siloam that goes softly, but chooses to have Rasin and Romeliah’s son as king over you: therefore, lo, the Lord
brings up upon you the water of the river, strong and full, even the king of Assyria.

By the king he means metaphorically Antichrist, as also another prophet says [cf. Micah 5:5]:

And this man shall be the peace from me, when the Assyrian shall come up into your land, and when he shall tread in your mountains.

58 And in like manner Moses, knowing beforehand that the people would reject and disown the true Saviour of the world, and take part with error, and choose an earthly king, and set the heavenly King at nought, says [Deut 32:34–35]:

Is not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures? In the day of vengeance I will recompense them, and in the time when their foot shall slide.

They did slide, therefore, in all things, as they were found to be in harmony with the truth in nothing: neither as concerns the law, because they became transgressors; nor as concerns the prophets, because they cut off even the prophets themselves; nor as concerns the voice of the Gospels, because they crucified the Saviour Himself; nor in believing the apostles, because they persecuted them. At all times they showed themselves enemies and betrayers of the truth, and were found to be haters of God, and not lovers of Him; and such they shall be then when they find opportunity: for, rousing themselves against the servants of God, they will seek to obtain vengeance by the hand of a mortal man. And he, being puffed up with pride by their subserviency, will begin to despatch missives against the saints, commanding to cut them all off everywhere, on the ground of their refusal to reverence and worship him as God, according to the words of Isaiah [18:1–2]:

Woe to the wings of the vessels of the land, beyond the rivers of Ethiopia: woe to him who sends sureties by the sea, and letters of papyrus upon the water; for nimble messengers will go to a nation anxious and expectant, and a people strange and bitter against them; a nation hopeless and trodden down.

59 But we who hope for the Son of God are persecuted and trodden down by those unbelievers. For the wings of the vessels are the churches; and the sea is the world, in which the Church is set, like a ship tossed in the deep, but not destroyed; for she has with her the skilled Pilot, Christ. And she bears in her midst the trophy which is erected over death; for she carries with her the cross of the Lord. For her prow is the east, and her stern is the west, and her hold is the south, and her tillers are the two Testaments; and the ropes that stretch around her are the love of Christ, which binds the Church; and the net which she bears with her is the layer of the regeneration which renews the believing, whence too are these glories. As the wind the Spirit from heaven is present, by whom those who believe are sealed: she has also anchors of iron accompanying her, viz., the holy commandments of Christ Himself, which are strong as iron. She has also mariners on the right and on the left, assessors like the holy angels, by whom the Church is always governed and defended. The ladder in her leading up to the sail-yard is an emblem of the passion of Christ, which brings the faithful to the ascent of heaven. And the top-sails aloft upon the yard are the company of prophets, martyrs, and apostles, who have entered into their rest in the kingdom of Christ.

60 Now, concerning the tribulation of the persecution which is to fall upon the Church from the adversary, John also speaks thus [Apoc 12:1–6]:

And I saw a great and wondrous sign in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she, being with child, cries, travelling in birth, and pained to be delivered. And the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man-child, who is to rule all the nations: and the child was caught up unto God and to His throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has the place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days. And then when the
dragon saw it, he persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child. And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth. And the dragon was angry with the woman, and went to make war with the saints of her seed, which keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus.

61 By the woman then clothed with the sun, he meant most manifestly the Church, endued with the Father’s word, whose brightness is above the sun. And by the moon under her feet he referred to her being adorned, like the moon, with heavenly glory. And the words, upon her head a crown of twelve stars, refer to the twelve apostles by whom the Church was founded. And those, she, being with child, cries, travelling in birth, and pained to be delivered, mean that the Church will not cease to bear from her heart the Word that is persecuted by the unbelieving in the world. And she brought forth, he says, a man-child, who is to rule all the nations; by which is meant that the Church, always bringing forth Christ, the perfect man-child of God, who is declared to be God and man, becomes the instructor of all the nations. And the words, her child was caught up unto God and to His throne, signify that he who is always born of her is a heavenly king, and not an earthly; even as David also declared of old when he said [Ps 110:1]:

The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit you at my right hand, until I make yours enemies your footstool.

[Apoc 11:3]

And the dragon saw and persecuted the woman which brought forth the man-child. And to the woman were given two wings of the great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent.

That refers to the one thousand two hundred and threescore days (the half of the week) during which the tyrant is to reign and persecute the Church, which flees from city to city, and seeks concealment in the wilderness among the mountains, possessed of no other defence than the two wings of the great eagle, that is to say, the faith of Jesus Christ, who, in stretching forth His holy hands on the holy tree, unfolded two wings, the right and the left, and called to Him all who believed upon Him,

And unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in His wings.

62 The Lord also says [Mt 24:15–22; Mk 13:14–20; Lk 21:20–23]:

When you shall see the abomination of desolation stand in the holy place (whoso reads, let him understand), then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains, and let him which is on the housetop not come down to take his clothes; neither let him which is in the field return back to take anything out of his house. And woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck, in those days! for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved.

And Daniel [11:31; 12:11–12] says,

And they shall place the abomination of desolation a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waits, and comes to the thousand two hundred and ninety-five days.

63 And the blessed Apostle Paul, writing in [Second] Thessalonians [2:1–11], says:
Now we beseech you, brethren, concerning the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together at it, that you be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letters 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 the falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he sits in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Remember you not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things? And now you know what withholds, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity does already work; only he who lets, until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus 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. 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.

And Isaiah [26:10] says:

Let the wicked be cut off, that he behold not the glory of the Lord.

64 These things, then, being to come to pass, beloved, and the one week being divided into two parts, and the abomination of desolation being manifested then, and the two prophets and forerunners of the Lord having finished their course, and the whole world finally approaching the consummation, what remains but the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ from heaven, for whom we have looked in hope? who shall bring the conflagration and just judgment upon all who have refused to believe on Him. For the Lord says:

And when these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads; for your redemption draws near. [Lk 21:28] And there shall not a hair of your head perish. [Lk 21:18] For as the lightning comes out of the east, and shines even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together.[Mt 24:27]

Now the fall took place in paradise; for Adam fell there. And He says again [Mt 24:31]:

Then shall the Son of man send His angels, and they shall gather together His elect from the four winds of heaven.

And David also, in announcing prophetically the judgment and coming of the Lord, says [Ps 19:6]:

His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and His circuit unto the end of the heaven: and there is no one hid from the heat thereof.

By the heat he means the conflagration. And Isaiah [26:20] speaks thus:

Come, my people, enter you into your chamber, and shut your door: hide yourself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation of the Lord be past.

And Paul in like manner [Rom 1:7]:

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth of God in unrighteousness.

65 Moreover, concerning the resurrection and the kingdom of the saints, Daniel [12:2] says:

And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall arise, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.

Isaiah [26:19] says:

The dead men shall arise, and they that are in their tombs shall awake; for the dew
from you is healing to them.
The Lord says [Jn 5:25]:
Many in that day shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live.
And the prophet says [Eph 5:15]:
Awake, you that sleeps, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light.
And John says [Apoc 20:6]:
Blessed and holy is he that has part in the first resurrection: on such the second death has no power.
For the second death is the lake of fire that burns. And again the Lord says [Mt 13:43]:
Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun shines in his glory.
And to the saints He will say [Mt 25:34]:
Come, you blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.
But what says He to the wicked?
Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, which my Father has prepared.
And John says [Apoc 22:15]:
Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whore-mongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever makes and loves a lie; for your part is in the hell of fire.
And in like manner also Isaiah [66:24]:
And they shall go forth and look upon the carcasses of the men that have transgressed against me. And their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh.
66 Concerning the resurrection of the righteous, Paul also speaks thus in writing in [First] Thessalonians [4:12]:
We would not have you to be ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that you sorrow not even as others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them which are asleep. For the Lord Himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice and trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.
67 These things, then, I have set shortly before you, O Theophilus, drawing them from Scripture itself, in order that, maintaining in faith what is written, and anticipating the things that are to be, you may keep yourself void of offence both toward God and toward men [Tit 2:13], looking for that blessed hope and appearing of our God and Saviour, when, having raised the saints among us, He will rejoice with them, glorifying the Father. To Him be the glory unto the endless ages of the ages. Amen.
ST. JOHN CHrysostom

Homily on Matthew 26:39

Against Marcionists and Manichaeans.

On the passage *Father if it be possible let this cup pass from me, nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt*. And against Marcionists and Manichaens: also, that we ought not to rush into danger, but to prefer the will of God before every other will.

1. I lately inflicted a severe stroke upon those who are grasping and wish to overreach others; I did this not in order to wound them but in order to correct them; not because I hate the men, but because I detest their wickedness. For so the physician also lances the abscess, not as making an attack upon the suffering body, but as a means of contending with the disorder and the wound. Well to-day let us grant them a little respite, that they may recover from their distress, and not recoil from the remedy by being perpetually afflicted. Physicians also act thus; after the use of the knife they apply plasters and drugs, and let a few days pass whilst they devise things to allay the pain. Following their example let me today, devising means for them to derive benefit from my discourse, start a question concerning doctrine, directing my speech to the words which have been read. For I imagine that many feel perplexed as to the reason why these words were uttered by Christ: and it is probable also that any heretics who are present may pounce upon the words, and thereby upset many of the more simple-minded brethren.

In order then to build a wall against their attack and to relieve those who are in perplexity from bewilderment and confusion, let us take in hand the words which have been cited, and dwell upon the passage, and dive into the depths of its meanings. For reading does not suffice unless knowledge also be added to it. Even as the eunuch of Candace read, but until one came who instructed him in the meaning of what he was reading he derived no great benefit from it. In order therefore that you may not be in the same condition attend to what is said, exert your understanding, let me have your mind disengaged from other thoughts, let your eye be quick-sighted, your intention earnest: let your soul be set free from worldly cares, that we may not sow our words upon the thorns, or upon the rock, or by the way side, but that we may till a deep and rich field, and so reap an abundant harvest. For if you thus attend to what is said you will render my labour lighter and facilitate the discovery of that which you are seeking.

What then is the meaning of the passage which has been read “Father if it be possible let this cup pass from me?” What does the saying mean? For we ought to unlock the passage by first giving a clear interpretation of the words. What then does the saying mean? “Father if it be possible take away the cross.” How sayest thou? is he ignorant whether this be possible or impossible? Who would venture to say this? Yet the words are those of one who is ignorant: for the addition of the word “if,” is indicative of doubt: but as I said we must not attend to the words merely, but turn our attention to the sense, and learn the aim of the speaker, and the cause and the occasion, and by putting all these things together turn out the hidden meaning. The unspeakable Wisdom then, who knoweth the Father even as the Father knoweth the Son, how should he have been ignorant of this? For this knowledge concerning His passion was not greater than the knowledge concerning His essential nature, which He alone accurately knew. “For as the Father knoweth me” He says “even so know I the Father.”
And why do I speak of the only begotten Son of God? For even the prophets appear not to have been ignorant of this fact, but to have known it clearly, and to have declared beforehand with much assurance that so it must come to pass, and would certainly be.

Hear at least how variously all announce the cross. First of all the patriarch Jacob: for directing his discourse to Him he says “Out of a tender shoot didst thou spring up:” by the word shoot signifying the Virgin and the undefiled nature of Mary. Then indicating the cross he said “Thou didst lie down and slumber as a lion, and as a lion’s whelp; who shall raise him up?” Here he called death a slumbering and a sleep, and with death he combined the resurrection when he said “who shall raise him up?” No one indeed save he himself-wherefore also Christ said “I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again,” and again “Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up.” And what is meant by the words “thou didst lie down and slumber as a lion?” For as the lion is terrible not only when he is awake but even when he is sleeping, so Christ also not only before the cross but also on the cross itself and in the very moment of death was terrible, and wrought at that time great miracles, turning back the light of the sun, cleaving the rocks, shaking the earth, rending the veil, alarming the wife of Pilate, convicting Judas of sin, for then he said “I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood;” and the wife of Pilate declared “Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered many things in a dream because of Him.” The darkness took possession of the earth, and night appeared at midday, then death was brought to nought, and his tyranny was destroyed: many bodies at least of the saints which slept arose. These things the patriarch declaring beforehand, and demonstrating that, even when crucified, Christ would be terrible, said “thou didst lie down and slumber as a lion.” He did not say thou shall slumber but thou didst slumber, because it would certainly come to pass. For it is the custom of the prophets in many places to predict things to come as if they were already past. For just as it is impossible that things which have happened should not have happened, so is it impossible that this should not happen, although it be future. On this account they predict things to come under the semblance of past time, indicating by this means the impossibility of their failure, the certainty of their coming to pass. So also spake David, signifying the cross; “They pierced my hands and my feet.” He did not say they “shall pierce” but “they pierced” “they counted all my bones.” And not only does he say this, but he also describes the things which were done by the soldiers. “They parted my garments among themselves, and upon my vesture did they cast lots.” And not only this but he also relates they gave Him gall to eat, and vinegar to drink. For he says “they gave me gall for my food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.” And again another one says that they smote him with a spear, for “they shall look on Him whom they pierced.” Esaias again in another fashion predicting the cross said He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before his shearer is dumb, so openeth he not his mouth.” In his humiliation his judgment was taken away.”

2. Now observe I pray how each one of these writers speaks as if concerning things already past, signifying by the use of this tense the absolute inevitable certainty of the event. So also David, describing this tribunal, said, “Why did the heathen rage and the people imagine vain things? The Kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ.” And not only does he mention the trial, and the cross, and the incidents on the cross, but also him who betrayed him, declaring that he was his familiar companion and guest. “For,” he saith, “he that eateth bread with me did magnify his heel against me.” Thus also does he foretell the voice which Christ was to utter on the cross saying “My God, My God why hast thou forsaken me?” and the burial also does he describe: “They laid me in the lowest pit, in dark places, and in the shadow of death.” And the resurrection: “thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither shalt thou suffer thy
Holy One to see corruption;” and the ascension: “God has gone up with a merry noise, the Lord with the sound of the trump.” And the session on the right hand: “The Lord said to my Lord sit thou on my right hand until I make thy foes thy footstool.” But Esaias also declares the cause; saying, “for the transgressions of my people is He brought to death,” and because all have strayed like sheep, therefore is he sacrificed.” Then also he adds mention of the result, saying “by his stripes we have all been healed:” and “he hath borne the sins of many.” The prophets then knew the cross, and the cause of the cross and that which was effected by it, and the burial and the resurrection, and the ascension, and the betrayal, and the trial, and described them all with accuracy: and is He who sent them and commanded them to speak these things ignorant of them Himself? What reasonable man would say that? Seest thou that we must not attend merely to the words? For this is not the only perplexing passage, but what follows is more perplexing. For what does He say? “Father if it be possible let this cup pass from me.” Here he will be found to speak not only as if ignorant, but as if deprecating the cross: For this is what He says. “If it be permissible let me not be subjected to crucifixion and death.” And yet when Peter, the leader of the apostles, said this to Him, “Be it far from thee Lord, this shall not happen unto Thee,” He rebuked him so severely as to say; “get thee behind me Satan, thou art an offence unto me, for thou savourest not the things which be of God, but those which be of men:” although a short time before he had pronounced him blessed. But to escape crucifixion seemed to Him so monstrous a thing, that him who had received the revelation from the Father, him whom He had pronounced blessed, him who had received the keys of Heaven, He called Satan, and an offence, and accused him of not savouring the things which be of God because he said to Him, “Be it far from thee Lord, this shall never be unto Thee”-namely crucifixion. He then who thus vituperated the disciple, and poured such an invective upon him as actually to call him Satan (after having bestowed such great praise on him), because he said “avoid crucifixion,” how could He desire not to be crucified? and how after these things when drawing the picture of the good shepherd could He declare this to be the special proof of his virtue, that he should be sacrificed for the sake of the sheep, thus saying, “I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep?” Nor did He even stop there, but also added, “but he that is an hireling and not the shepherd seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth.” If then it is the sign of the good shepherd to sacrifice himself, and of the hireling to be unwilling to undergo this, how can He who calls Himself the good shepherd beseech that he may not be sacrificed? And how could He say “I lay down my life of myself”? For if thou layest down thy life of thyself, how canst thou beseech another that thou mayest not lay it down? And how is it that Paul marvels at Him on account of this declaration, saying “Who being in the form of God counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross.” And He Himself again speaks in this wise, “For this cause doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life that I may take it again.” For if He does not desire to lay it down, but deprecates the act, and beseeches the Father, how is it that He is loved on this account? For love is of those who are like minded. And how does Paul say again “Love one another even as Christ also loved us and gave Himself for us?” And Christ Himself when He was about to be crucified said “Father, the hour has come: glorify thy Son,” speaking of the cross as glory: and how then does He deprecate it here when He urges it there? For that the cross is glory listen to what the evangelist says “the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because Jesus was not yet glorified.” Now the hearing of this expression is “grace was not yet given because the enmity towards men was not yet destroyed by reason that the cross had not yet done its work.” For the cross destroyed the enmity of God towards man, brought about the reconciliation, made the earth Heaven, associated men with angels, pulled down the citadel of death, unstrung the force of the devil, extinguished the power of sin, delivered
the world from error, brought back the truth, expelled the Demons, destroyed temples, overturned altars, suppressed the sacrificial offering, implanted virtue, rounded the Churches. The cross is the will of the Father, the glory of the Son, the rejoicing of the Spirit, the boast of Paul, “for,” he says, “God forbid that I should boast save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.” The cross is that which is brighter than the sun, more brilliant than the sunbeam: for when the sun is darkened then the cross shines brightly: and the sun is darkened not because it is extinguished, but because it is overpowered by the brilliancy of the cross. The cross has broken our bond, it has made the prison of death ineffectual, it is the demonstration of the love of God. “For God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that every one who believes in Him should not perish.” And again Paul says “If being enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son.” The cross is the impregnable wall, the invulnerable shield, the safeguard of the rich, the resource of the poor, the defence of those who are exposed to snares, the armour of those who are attacked, the means of suppressing passion, and of acquiring virtue, the wonderful and marvellous sign. “For this generation seeketh after a sign: and no sign shall be given it save the sign of Jonas”; and again Paul says, “for the Jews ask for a sign and the Greeks seek wisdom, but we preach Christ crucified.” The cross opened Paradise, it brought in the robber, it conducted into the kingdom of Heaven the race of man which was about to perish, and was not worthy even of earth. So great are the benefits which have sprung and do spring from the cross, and yet doth He not desire to be crucified I ask? Who would venture to say this? And if He did not desire it who compelled Him, who forced Him to it? and why did He send prophets beforehand announcing that He would be crucified, if He was not to, and did not wish to undergo it? And for what reason does He call the cross a cup, if He did not desire to be crucified? For that is the word of one who signifies the desire which he has concerning the act. For as the cup is sweet to those who are thirsty so also was crucifixion to Him: wherefore also He said “With desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you,” and this He meant not absolutely, but relatively, because after that evening the cross was awaiting Him.

3. He then who calls the thing glory, and rebukes the disciple because he was trying to hinder Him, and proves that what constitutes the good shepherd is his sacrificing himself on behalf of the sheep, and declares that he earnestly longs for this thing, and willingly goes to meet it, how is it that He beseeches it may not come to pass? And if He did not wish it what difficulty was there in hindering those who came for that purpose? But in fact you behold Him hastening towards the deed. At least when they came upon Him He said “Whom seek ye?” and they replied “Jesus.” Then He saith to them “Lo! I am He: and they went backward and fell to the ground.” Thus having first crippled them and proved that He was able to escape their hands, He then surrendered Himself, that thou mightest learn that not by compulsion or force, or the tyrannical power of those who attacked Him, did He unwillingly submit to this, but willingly with purpose and desire, preparing for it a long time before. Therefore also were prophets sent beforehand, and patriarchs foretold the events, and by means of words and deeds the cross was prefigured. For the sacrifice of Isaac also signified the cross to us: wherefore also Christ said “Abraham your father rejoiced to see my glory and he saw it and was glad.” The patriarch then was glad beholding the image of the cross, and does He Himself deprecate it? Thus Moses also prevailed over Amaelek when he displayed the figure of the cross: and one may observe countless things happening in the Old Testament descriptive by anticipation of the cross. For what reason then was this the case if He who was to be crucified did not wish it to come to pass? And the sentence which follows this is yet more perplexing. For having said “Let this cup pass from me He added “nevertheless not as I will but as Thou wilt.” For herein as far as the actual expression is concerned we find two wills opposed to one another: if at least the Father desires Him to be crucified, but He Himself does not desire it. And yet we everywhere behold Him desiring and
purposing the same things as the Father. For when He says “grant to them, as I and Thou are one that they also may be one in us,” it is equivalent to saying that the purpose of the Father and of the Son is one. And when He says “The words which I speak I speak not myself, but the Father which dwelleth in me, He doeth these works,” He indicates the same thing. And when He says “I have not come of myself” and “I can of my own self do nothing” he does not say this as signifying that He has been deprived of authority, either to speak or to act (away with the thought!), but as desiring to prove the concord of his purpose, both in words and deeds, and in every kind of transaction, to be one and the same with the Father, as I have already frequently demonstrated. For the expression “I speak not of myself” is not an abrogation of authority but a demonstration of agreement. How then does He say here “Nevertheless not as I will but as Thou wilt”? Perhaps I have excited a great conflict in your mind, but be on the alert: for although many words have been uttered I know well that your zeal is still fresh: for the discourse is now hastening on to the solution. Why then has this form of speech been employed? Attend carefully, The doctrine of the incarnation was very hard to receive. For the exceeding measure of His lovingkindness and the magnitude of His condescension were full of awe, and needed much preparation to be accepted. For consider what a great thing it was to hear and to learn that God the ineffable, the incorruptible, the unintelligible, the invisible, the incomprehensible, in whose hand are the ends of the earth, who looketh upon the earth, and causeth it to tremble, who toucheth the mountains, and maketh them smoke, the weight of whose condescension not even the Cherubim were able to bear but veiled their faces by the shelter of their wings, that this God who surpasses all understanding, and baffles all calculation, having passed by angels, archangels, and all the spiritual powers above, deigned to become man, and to take flesh formed of earth and clay, and enter the womb of a virgin, and be borne there the space of nine months, and be nourished with milk, and suffer all things to which man is liable. Inasmuch then as that which was to happen was so strange as to be disbelieved by many even when it had taken place, He first of all sends prophets beforehand, announcing this very fact. For instance the patriarch predicted it saying “Thou didst spring from a tender shoot my son: thou didst lie down and slumber as a lion;” and Esaias saying “Behold the Virgin shall conceive and bear a son and they shall call His name Emmanuel;” and elsewhere again “We beheld Him as a young child, as a root in a dry ground;” and by the dry ground he means the virgin’s womb. And again “unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given?” and again “there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall spring out of his root.” And Baruch in the book of Jeremiah says “this is our God: no other shall be reckoned by the side of Him: He found out every path of knowledge and gave it to Jacob His servant, and Israel his beloved. After these things also He appeared upon the earth, and held converse with men.” And David signifying His incarnate presence said “He shall come down like the rain into a fleece of wool, and like the drop which distills upon the earth” because He noiselessly and gently entered into the Virgin’s womb.

4. But these proofs alone did not suffice, but even when He had come, lest what had taken place should be deemed an illusion, He warranted the fact not only by the sight but by duration of time and by passing through all the phases incident to man. For He did not enter once for all into a man matured and completely developed, but into a virgin’s womb, so as to undergo the process of gestation and birth and sucking and growth, and by the length of the time and the variety of the stages of growth to give assurance of what had come to pass. And not even here were the proofs concluded, but even when bearing about the body of flesh He suffered it to experience the infirmities of human nature and to be hungry, and thirsty, and to sleep and feel fatigue; finally also when He came to the cross He suffered it to undergo the pains of the flesh. For this reason also streams of sweat flowed down from it and an angel was discovered strengthening it, and He was sad and down-cast: for before He uttered these words He said “my soul is troubled, and exceeding sorrowful
ever unto death?” If then after all these things have taken place the wicked mouth of the devil speaking through Marcion of Pontus, and Valentinus, and Manichaeus of Persia and many more heretics, has attempted to overthrow the doctrine of the Incarnation and has vented a diabolical utterance declaring that He did not become flesh, nor was clothed with it, but that this was mere fancy, and illusion, a piece of acting and pretence, although the sufferings, the death, the burial, the thirst, cry aloud against this teaching; supposing that none of these things had happened would not the devil have sown these wicket doctrines of impiousness much more widely? For this reason, just as He hungered, as He slept, as He felt fatigue, as He ate and drank, so also did He deprecate death, thereby manifesting his humanity, and that infirmity of human nature which does not submit without pain to be torn from this present life. For had He not uttered any of these things, it might have been said that if He were a man He ought to have experienced human feelings. And what are these? in the case of one about to be crucified, fear and agony, and pain in being torn from present life: for a sense of the charm which surrounds present things is implanted in human nature: on this account wishing to prove the reality of the fleshly clothing, and to give assurance of the incarnation He manifests the actual feelings of man with full demonstration.

This is one consideration, but there is another no less important. And what is this? Christ having come to earth wished to instruct men in all virtue: now the instructor teaches not only by word, but also by deed: for this is the teacher’s best method of teaching. A pilot for instance when he makes the apprentice sit by his side shows him how he handles the rudder, but he also joins speech to action, and does not depend upon words alone or example alone: in like manner also an architect when he has placed by his side the man who is intended to learn from him how a wall is contructed, shows him the way by means of action as well as by means of oral teaching: so also with the weaver, and embroiderer, and gold refiner, and coppersmith:—and every kind of art has teachers who instruct both orally and practically. Inasmuch then as Christ Himself came to instruct us in all virtue, He both tells us what ought to be done, and does it. “For,” he says, “he who does and teaches the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.” Now observe; He commanded men to be lowly-minded, and meek, and He taught this by His words: but see how He also teaches it by His deeds. For having said “Blessed are the poor in spirit, blessed are the meek,” He shows how these virtues ought to be practised. How then did He teach them? He took a towel and girded Himself and washed the disciples’ feet. What can match this lowliness of mind? for He teaches this virtue no longer by His words only but also by His deeds. Again He teaches meekness and forbearance by His acts. How so? He was struck on the face by the servant of the high priest, and said “If I have spoken evil bear witness of the evil: but if well why smitest thou me?” He commanded men to pray for their enemies: this also again He teaches by means of His acts: for when He had ascended the cross He said “Father forgive them for they know not what they do.” As therefore He commanded men to pray so does He Himself pray, instructing thee to do so by his own unflagging utterances of prayer. Again He commanded us to do good to those who hate us, and to deal fairly with those who treat us despitefully: and this He did by his own acts: for he cast devils out of the Jews, who said that He Himself was possessed by a devil, He bestowed benefits on His persecutors, He fed those who were forming designs against Him, He conducted into His kingdom those who were desiring to crucify Him. Again He said to His disciples “Get you no gold nor silver neither brass in your purses,” thus training them for poverty: and this also He taught by His example, thus saying, “Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay His head.” And He had neither table nor dwelling nor anything else of that kind: not because He was at a loss to obtain them, but because He was instructing men to go in that path. After the same manner then he taught them also to pray. They said to Him “Teach us to pray.” Therefore also He prays, in order that they may
learn to pray. But it was necessary for them not merely to learn to pray but also how they ought to pray: for this reason He delivered to them a prayer in this form: “Our Father which art in Heaven hallowed be thy name, Thy kingdom come: Thy will be done, as in Heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread: and forgive us our debts as we also forgive our debtors: and lead us not into temptation:” that is into danger, into snares. Since then He commanded them to pray “lead us not into temptation,” He instructs them in this very precept by putting it in practice Himself, saying “Father if it be possible, let this cup pass away from me, thus teaching all the saints not to plunge into dangers, not to fling themselves into them but to wait for their approach, and to exhibit all possible courage, only not to rush forwards themselves, or to be the first to advance against terrors. Why so, pray? both to teach us lowliness of mind, and also to deliver us from the charge of vainglory. On this account it is said also in this passage that when He had spoken these words “He went away and prayed:” and after He had prayed He speaks thus to His disciples “Could ye not watch with me one hour? Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation.” Seest thou He not only prays but also admonishes? “For the Spirit indeed is willing,” He said, “but the flesh is weak.” Now this He said by way of emptying their soul of vanity, and delivering them from pride, teaching them self-restraint, training them to practice moderation. Therefore the prayer which He wished to teach them, He Himself also offered, speaking after the manner of men, not according to His Godhead (for the divine nature is impassable) but according to His manhood. And He prayed as instructing us to pray, and even to seek deliverance from distress; but, if this be not permitted, then to acquiesce in what seems good to God. Therefore He said “Nevertheless not as I will but as Thou wilt:” not because He had one will and the Father another; but in order that He might instruct men even if they were in distress and trembling, even if danger came upon them, and they were unwilling to be torn from present life, nevertheless to postpone their own will to the will of God: even as Paul also when he had been instructed practically exhibited both these principles; for he besought that temptations might be removed from him, thus saying “For this thing I besought the Lord thrice:” and yet since it did not please God to remove it, he says “Wherefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in insults, in persecutions.” But perhaps what I have said is not quite clear: therefore I will make it clearer. Paul incurred many dangers and prayed that he might not be exposed to them. Then he heard Christ saying “my grace is sufficient for thee, for my strength is made perfect in weakness.” As soon then as he saw what the will of God was, he in future submitted his will to God’s will. By means of this prayer then Christ taught both these truths, that we should not plunge into dangers, but rather pray that we may not fall into them; but if they come upon us we should bear them bravely, and postpone our own will to the will of God. Knowing these things then let us pray that we may never enter into temptation: but if we do enter it let us beseech God to give us patience and courage, and let us honour His will in preference to every will of our own. For then we shall pass through this present life with safety, and shall obtain the blessings to come: which may we all receive by the favour and lovingkindness of our Lord Jesus Christ, with Whom be to the Father, together with the Holy Ghost, glory, might, honour, now and for ever world without end. Amen.
1. How did you like the fare of my morning’s discourse? It seemed to me that I had the good intentions of a poor giver of a feast, who, ambitious of having the credit of keeping a good table saddens his guests by the poor supply of the more expensive dishes. In vain he lavishly covers his table with his mean fare; his ambition only shows his folly. It is for you to judge if I have shared the same fate. Yet, whatever my discourse may have been, take care lest you disregard it. No one refused to sit at the table of Elisha; and yet he only gave his friends wild vegetables. I know the laws of allegory, though less by myself than from the works of others. There are those truly, who do not admit the common sense of the Scriptures, for whom water is not water, but some other nature, who see in a plant, in a fish, what their fancy wishes, who change the nature of reptiles and of wild beasts to suit their allegories, like the interpreters of dreams who explain visions in sleep to snake them serve their own ends. For me grass is grass; plant, fish, wild beast, domestic animal, I take all in the literal sense. “For I am not ashamed of the gospel.” Those who have written about the nature of the universe have discussed at length the shape of the earth. If it be spherical or cylindrical, if it resemble a disc and is equally rounded in all parts, or if it has the forth of a winnowing basket and is hollow in the middle; all these conjectures have been suggested by cosmographers, each one upsetting that of his predecessor. It will not lead me to give less importance to the creation of the universe, that the servant of God, Moses, is silent as to shapes; he has not said that the earth is a hundred and eighty thousand furlongs in circumference; he has not measured into what extent of air its shadow projects itself whilst the sun revolves around it, nor stated how this shadow, casting itself upon the moon, produces eclipses. He has passed over in silence, as useless, all that is unimportant for us. Shall I then prefer foolish wisdom to the oracles of the Holy Spirit? Shall I not rather exalt Him who, not wishing to fill our minds with these vanities, has regulated all the economy of Scripture in view of the edification and the making perfect of our souls? It is this which those seem to me not to have understood, who, giving themselves up to the distorted meaning of allegory, have undertaken to give a majesty of their own invention to Scripture. It is to believe themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and to bring forth their own ideas under a pretext of exegesis. Let us hear Scripture as it has been written.

2. “Let the earth bring forth thee living creature.” Behold the word of God pervading creation, beginning even then the efficacy which is seen displayed to-day, and will be displayed to the end of the world! As a ball, which one pushes, if it meet a declivity, descends, carried by its form and the nature of the ground and does not stop until it has reached a level surface; so nature, once put in motion by the Divine command, traverses creation with an equal step, through birth and death, and keeps up the succession of kinds through resemblance, to the last. Nature always makes a horse succeed to a horse, a lion to a lion, an eagle to an eagle, and preserving each animal by these uninterrupted successions she transmits it to the end of all things. Animals do not see their peculiarities destroyed or effaced by any length of time; their nature, as though it had been just constituted, follows the course of ages, for ever young. “Let the earth bring forth the living creature.” This command has continued and earth does not cease to obey the Creator. For, if there are creatures which are successively produced by their predecessors, there are others that even to-day we see born
from the earth itself. In wet weather she brings forth grasshoppers and an immense number of insects which fly in the air and have no names because they are so small; she also produces mice and frogs. In the environs of Thebes in Egypt, after abundant rain in hot weather, the country is covered with field mice. We see mud alone produce eels; they do not proceed from an egg, nor in any other manner; it is the earth alone which gives them birth. Let the earth produce a living creature.”

Cattle are terrestrial and bent towards the earth. Man, a celestial growth, rises superior to them as much by the mould of his bodily conformation as by the dignity of his soul. What is the form of quadrupeds? Their head is bent towards the earth and looks towards their belly, and only pursues their belly’s good. Thy head, O man! is turned towards heaven; thy eyes look up. When therefore thou degradest thyself by the passions of the flesh, slave of thy belly, and thy lowest parts, thou approachest animals without reason and becomest like one of them. Thou art called’ to more noble cares; “seek those things which are above where Christ sitteth.” Raise thy soul above the earth; draw from its natural conformation the rule of thy conduct; fix thy conversation in heaven. Thy true country is the heavenly Jerusalem; thy fellow-citizens and thy compatriots are “the first-born which are written in heaven.”

3. “Let the earth bring forth the living creature. Thus when the soul of brutes appeared it was not concealed in the earth, but it was born by the command of God. Brutes have one and the same soul of which the common characteristic is absence of reason. But each animal is distinguished by peculiar qualities. The ox is steady, the ass is lazy, the horse has strong passions, the wolf cannot be tamed, the fox is deceitful, the stag timid, the ant industrious, the dog grateful and faithful in his friendships. As each animal was created the distinctive character of his nature appeared in him in due measure; in the lion spirit, taste for solitary life, an unsociable character. True tyrant of animals, he, in his natural arrogance, admits but few to share his honours. He disdains his yesterday’s food and never returns to the remains of the prey. Nature has provided his organs of voice with such great force that often much swifter animals are caught by his roaring alone. The panther, violent and impetuous in his leaps, has a body fitted for his activity and lightness, in accord with the movements of his soul. The bear has a sluggish nature, ways of its own, a sly character, and is very secret; therefore it has an analogous body, heavy, thick, without articulations such as are necessary for a cold dweller in dens.

When we consider the natural and innate care that these creatures without reason take of their lives we shall be induced to watch over ourselves and to think of the salvation of our souls; or rather we shall be the more condemned when we are found falling short even of the imitation of brutes. The bear, which often gets severely wounded, cares for himself and cleverly fills the wounds with mullein, a plant whose nature is very astringent. You will also see the fox heal his wounds with droppings from the pine tree; the tortoise, gorged with the flesh of the viper, finds in the virtue of marjoram a specific against this venomous animal and the serpent heals sore eyes by eating fennel.

And is not reasoning intelligence eclipsed by animals in their provision for atmospheric changes? Do we not see sheep, when winter is approaching, devouring grass with avidity as if to make provision for future scarcity? Do we not also see oxen, long confined in the winter season, recognise the return of spring by a natural sensation, and look to the end of their stables towards the doors, all turning their heads there by common consent? Studious observers have remarked that the hedgehog makes an opening at the two extremities of his hole. If the wind from the north is going to blow he shuts up the aperture which looks towards the north; if the south wind succeeds it the animal passes
to the northern door. What lesson do these animals teach man? They not only show us in our Creator a care which extends to all beings, but a certain presentiment of future even in brutes. Then we ought not to attach ourselves to this present life and ought to give all heed to that which is to come. Will you not be industrious for yourself, O man? And will you not lay up in the present age rest in that which is to come, after having seen the example of the ant? The ant during summer collects treasures for winter. Far from giving itself up to idleness, before this season has made it feel its severity, it hastens to work with an invincible zeal until it has abundantly filled its storehouses. Here again, how far it is from being negligent! With what wise foresight it manages so as to keep its provisions as long as possible! With its pincers it cuts the grains in half, for fear lest they should germinate and not serve for its food. If they are damp it dries them; and it does not spread them out in all weathers, but when it feels that the air will keep of a mild temperature. Be sure that you will never see rain fall from the clouds so long as the ant has left the grain out.

What language can attain to the marvels of the Creator? What ear could understand them? And what time would be sufficient to relate them? Let us say, then, with the prophet, “O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all.” We shall not be able to say in self-justification, that we have learnt useful knowledge in books, since the untaught law of nature makes us choose that which is advantageous to us. Do you know what good you ought to do your neighbour? The good that you expect from him yourself. Do you know what is evil? That which you would not wish another to do to you. Neither botanical researches nor the experience of simples have made animals discover those which are useful to them; but each knows naturally what is salutary and marvellously appropriates what suits its nature.

4. Virtues exist in us also by nature, and the soul has affinity with them not by education, but by nature herself. We do not need lessons to hate illness, but by ourselves we repel what afflicts us, the soul has no need of a master to teach us to avoid vice. Now all vice is a sickness of the soul as virtue is its health. Thus those have defined health well who have called it a regularity in the discharge of natural functions; a definition that can be applied without fear to the good condition of the soul. Thus, without having need of lessons, the soul can attain by herself to what is fit and conformable to nature. Hence it comes that temperance everywhere is praised, justice is in honour, courage admired, and prudence the object of all aims; virtues which concern the soul more than health concerns the body. Children love your parents, and you, “parents provoke not your children to wrath.” Does not nature say the same? Paul teaches us nothing new; he only tightens the links of nature. If the lioness loves her cubs, if the she wolf fights to defend her little ones, what shall man say who is unfaithful to the precept and violates nature herself; or the son who insults the old age of his father; or the father whose second marriage has made him forget his first children?

With animals invincible affection unites parents with children. It is the Creator, God Himself, who substitutes the strength of feeling for reason in them. From whence it comes that a lamb as it bounds from the fold, in the midst of a thousand sheep recognises the colour and the voice of its mother, runs to her, and seeks its own sources of milk. If its mother’s udders are dry, it is content, and, without stopping, passes by more abundant ones. And how does the mother recognise it among the many lambs? All have the same voice, the same colour, the same smell, as far at least as regards our sense of smell. Yet there is in these animals a more subtle sense than our perception which makes them recognise their own. The little dog has as yet no teeth, nevertheless he defends himself with his mouth against any one who teases him. The calf has as yet no horns, nevertheless he already knows where his weapons will grow. Here we have evident proof that the instinct of animals is
innate, and that in all beings there is nothing disorderly, nothing unforeseen. All bear the marks of
the wisdom of the Creator, and show that they have come to life with the means of assuring their
preservation.

The dog is not gifted with a share of reason; but with him instinct has the power of reason. The
dog has learnt by nature the secret of elaborate inferences, which sages of the world, after long years
of study, have hardly been able to disentangle. When the dog is on the track of game, if he sees it
divide in different directions, he examines these different paths, and speech alone fails him to
announce his reasoning. The creature, he says, is gone here or there or in another direction. It is
neither here nor there; it is therefore in the third direction. And thus, neglecting the false tracks, he
discovers the true one. What more is done by those who, gravely occupied in demonstrating theories,
trace lines upon the dust and reject two propositions to show that the third is the true one?

Does not the gratitude of the dog shame all who are ungrateful to their benefactors? Many are
said to have fallen dead by their murdered masters in lonely places. Others, when a crime has just
been committed, have led those who were searching for the murderers, and have caused the criminals
to be brought to justice. What will those say who, not content with not loving the Master who has
created them and nourished them, have for their friends men whose mouth attacks the Lord, sitting
at the same table with them, and, whilst partaking of their food, blaspheme Him who has given it to
them?

5. But let us return to the spectacle of creation. The easiest animals to catch are the most
productive. It is on account of this that hares and wild goats produce many little ones, and that wild
sheep have twins, for fear lest these species should disappear, consumed by carnivorous animals.
Beasts of prey, on the contrary, produce only a few and a lioness with difficulty gives birth to one
lion; because, if they say truly, the cub issues from its mother by tearing her with its claws; and
vipers are only born by gnawing through the womb, inflicting a proper punishment on their mother.
Thus in nature all has been foreseen, all is the object of continual care. If you examine the members
even of animals, you will find that the Creator has given them nothing superfluous, that He has
omitted nothing that is necessary. To carnivorous animals He has given pointed teeth which their
nature requires for their support. Those that are only half furnished with teeth have received several
distinct receptacles for their food. As it is not broken up enough in the first, they are gifted with the
power of returning it after it has been swallowed, and it does not assimilate until it has been crushed
by ruminating. The first, second, third, and fourth stomachs of ruminating animals do not remain
idle; each one of them fulfils a necessary function. The neck of the camel is long so that it may lower
it to its feet and reach the grass on which it feeds. Bears, lions, tigers, all animals of this sort, have
short necks buried in their shoulders; it is because they do not live upon grass and have no need to
bend down to the earth; they are carnivorous and eat the animals upon whom they prey.

Why has the elephant a trunk? This enormous creature, the greatest of terrestrial animals, created
for the terror of those who meet it, is naturally huge and fleshy. If its neck was large and in
proportion to its feet it would be difficult to direct, and would be of such an excessive weight that
it would make it lean towards the earth. As it is, its head is attached to the spine of the back by short
vertebrae and it has its trunk to take the place of a neck, and with it it picks up its food and draws
up its drink. Its feet, without joints, like united columns, support the weight of its body. If it were
supported on lax and flexible legs, its joints would constantly give way, equally incapable of
supporting its weight, should it wish either to kneel or rise. But it has under the foot a little ankle
joint which takes the place of the leg and knee joints whose mobility would never have resisted this enormous and swaying mass. Thus it had need of this nose which nearly touches its feet. Have you seen them in war marching at the head of the phalanx, like living towers, or breaking the enemies’ battalions like mountains of flesh with their irresistible charge? If their lower parts were not in accordance with their size they would never have been able to hold their own. Now we are told that the elephant lives three hundred years and more, another reason for him to have solid and unjointed feet. But, as we have said, his trunk, which has the form and the flexibility of a serpent, takes its food from the earth and raises it up. Thus we are right in saying that it is impossible to find anything superfluous or wanting in creation. Well! God has subdued this monstrous animal to us to such a point that he understands the lessons and endures the blows we give him; a manifest proof that the Creator has submitted all to our rule, because we have been made in His image. It is not in great animals only that we see unapproachable wisdom; no less wonders are seen in the smallest. The high tops of the mountains which, near to the clouds and continually beaten by the winds, keep up a perpetual winter, do not arouse more admiration in me than the hollow valleys, which escape the storms of lofty peaks and preserve a constant mild temperature. In the same way in the constitution of animals I am not more astonished at the size of the elephant, than at the mouse, who is feared by the elephant, or at the scorpion’s delicate sting, which has been hollowed like a pipe by the supreme artificer to throw venom into the wounds it makes. And let nobody accuse the Creator of having produced venomous animals, destroyers and enemies of our life. Else let them consider it a crime in the schoolmaster when he disciplines the restlessness of youth by the use of the rod and whip to maintain order.

6. Beasts bear witness to the faith. Hast thou confidence in the Lord? “Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk and thou shalt trample under feet the lion and the dragon.” With faith thou hast the power to walk upon serpents and scorpions. Do you not see that the viper which attached itself to the hand of Paul, whilst he gathered sticks, did not injure him, because it found the saint full of faith? If you have not faith, do not fear beasts so much as your faithlessness, which renders you susceptible of all corruption. But I see that for a long time you have been asking me for an account of the creation of man, and I think I can hear you all cry in your hearts, We are being taught the nature of our belongings, but we are ignorant of ourselves. Let me then speak of it, since it is necessary, and let me put an end to my hesitation. In truth the most difficult of sciences is to know one’s self. Not only our eye, from which nothing outside us escapes, cannot see itself; but our mind, so piercing to discover the sins of others, is slow to recognise its own faults. Thus my speech, after eagerly investigating what is external to myself, is slow and hesitating in exploring my own nature. Yet the beholding of heaven and earth does not make us know God better than the attentive study of our being does; I am, says the Prophet, fearfully and wonderfully made; that is to say, in observing myself I have known Thy infinite wisdom. And God said “Let us make man.” Does not the light of theology shine, in these words, as through windows; and does not the second Person show Himself in a mystical way, without yet manifesting Himself until the great day? Where is the Jew who resisted the truth and pretended that God was speaking to Himself? It is He who spoke, it is said, and it is He who made. “Let there be light and there was light.” But then their words contain a manifest absurdity. Where is the smith, the carpenter, the shoemaker, who, without help and alone before the instruments of his trade, would say to himself; let us make the sword, let us put together the plough, let us make the boot? Does he not perform the work of his craft in silence? Strange folly, to say that any one has seated himself to command himself, to watch over himself, to constrain himself, to hurry himself, with the tones of a master! But the unhappy creatures are not afraid to calumniate the Lord Himself. What will they not say with a tongue so well practised in lying? Here, however, words stop
their mouth; “And God said let us make man.” Tell me; is there then only one Person? It is not written “Let man be made,” but, “Let us make man.” The preaching of theology remains enveloped in shadow before the appearance of him who was to be instructed, but, now, the creation of man is expected, that faith unveils herself and the dogma of truth appears in all its light. “Let us make “O enemy of Christ, man. O y of hear God speaking to His Co-operator, to Him by Whom also He made the worlds, Who upholds all things by the word of His power. But He does not leave the voice of true religion without answer. Thus the Jews, race hostile to truth, when they find themselves pressed, act like beasts enraged against man, who roar at the bars of their cage and show the cruelty and the ferocity of their nature, without being able to assuage their fury. God, they say, addresses Himself to several persons; it is to the angels before Him that He says, “Let us make man.” Jewish fiction! a fable whose frivolity shows whence it has come. To reject one person, they admit many. To reject the Son, they raise servants to the dignity of counsellors; they make of our fellow slaves the agents in our creation. The perfect man attains the dignity of an angel; but what creature can be like the Creator? Listen to the continuation. “In our image.” What have you to reply? Is there one image of God and the angels? Father and Son have by absolute necessity the same form, but the form is here understood as becomes the divine, not in bodily shape, but in the proper qualities of Godhead. Hear also, you who belong to the new concision and who, under the appearance of Christianity, strengthen the error of the Jews. To Whom does He say, “in our image,” to whom if it is not to Him who is “the brightness of His glory and the express image of His person,” “the image of the invisible God”? It is then to His living image, to Him Who has said “I and my Father are one,” “He that hath seen me hath seen the Father,” that God says “Let us make man in our image.” Where is the unlikeness in these Beings who have only one image? “So God created man,” It is not “They made.” Here Scripture avoids the plurality of the Persons. After having enlightened the Jew, it dissipates the error of the Gentiles in putting itself under the shelter of unity, to make you understand that the Son is with the Father, and guarding you from the danger of polytheism. He created him in the image of God. God still shows us His co-operator, because He does not say, in His image, but in the image of God.

If God permits, we will say later in what way man was created in the image of God, and how he shares this resemblance. Today we say but only one word. If there is one image, from whence comes the intolerable blasphemy of pretending that the Son is unlike the Father? What ingratitude! You have yourself received this likeness and you refuse it to your Benefactor! You pretend to keep personally that which is in you a gift of grace, and you do not wish that the Son should keep His natural likeness to Him who begat Him.

But evening, which long ago sent the sun to the west, imposes silence upon me. Here, then, let me be content with what I have said, and put my discourse to bed. I have told you enough up to this point to excite your zeal; with the help of the Holy Spirit I will make for you a deeper investigation into the truths which follow. Retire, then, I beg you, with joy, O Christ-loving congregation, and, instead of sumptuous dishes of various delicacies, adorn and sanctify your tables with the remembrance of my words. May the Anomoean be confounded, the Jew covered with shame, the faithful exultant in the dogmas of truth, and the Lord glorified, the Lord to Whom be glory and power, world without end. Amen.
Chapter 2.
On the Epistle to the Galatians. The Abolition of the Ordinances of the Mosaic Law No Proof of Another God. The Divine Lawgiver, the Creator Himself, Was the Abrogator. The Apostle’s Doctrine in the First Chapter Shown to Accord with the Teaching of the Old Testament. The Acts of the Apostles Shown to Be Genuine Against Marcion. This Book Agrees with the Pauline Epistles.

The epistle which we also allow to be the most decisive against Judaism, is that wherein the apostle instructs the Galatians. For the abolition of the ancient law we fully admit, and hold that it actually proceeds from the dispensation of the Creator,——a point which we have already often treated in the course of our discussion, when we showed that the innovation was foretold by the prophets of our God. Now, if the Creator indeed promised that “the ancient things should pass away,” to be superseded by a new course of things which should arise, while Christ marks the period of the separation when He says, “The law and the prophets were until John” (Luke 16:16) ——thus making the Baptist the limit between the two dispensations of the old things then terminating——and the new things then beginning, the apostle cannot of course do otherwise, coming as he does in Christ, who was revealed after John, than invalidate “the old things” and confirm “the new,” and yet promote thereby the faith of no other god than the Creator, at whose instance it was foretold that the ancient things should pass away. Therefore both the abrogation of the law and the establishment of the gospel help my argument even in this epistle, wherein they both have reference to the fond assumption of the Galatians, which led them to suppose that faith in Christ (the Creator’s Christ, of course) was obligatory, but without annulling the law, because it still appeared to them a thing incredible that the law should be set aside by its own author. Again, if they had at all heard of any other god from the apostle, would they not have concluded at once, of themselves, that they must give up the law of that God whom they had left, in order to follow another? For what man would be long in learning, that he ought to pursue a new discipline, after he had taken up with a new god? Since, however, the same God was declared in the gospel which had always been so well known in the law, the only change being in the dispensation, the sole point of the question to be discussed was, whether the law of the Creator ought by the gospel to be excluded in the Christ of the Creator? Take away this point, and the controversy falls to the ground. Now, since they would all know of themselves, on the withdrawal of this point, that they must of course renounce all submission to the Creator by reason of their faith in another god, there could have been no call for the apostle to teach them so earnestly that which their own belief must have spontaneously suggested to them. Therefore the entire purport of this epistle is simply to show us that the supersession of the law comes from the appointment of the Creator——a point, which we shall still have to keep in mind. Since also he makes mention of no other god (and he could have found no other opportunity of doing so, more suitable than when his purpose was to set forth thereason for the abolition of the law —— especially as the prescription of a new god would have afforded a singularly good and most sufficient reason), it is clear enough in what sense he writes, “I marvel that you are so soon removed from Him who has called you to His grace to another gospel” (Gal 1: 6-7) —— He means “another” as to the conduct it prescribes, not in respect of its worship; “another” as to the discipline it teaches, not in respect of its divinity; because it is the office of Christ’s gospel to
call men from the law to grace, not from the Creator to another god. For nobody had induced them
to apostatize from the Creator, that they should seem to “be removed to another gospel,” simply
when they return again to the Creator. When he adds, too, the words, “which is not another” (Gal
1:7), he confirms the fact that the gospel which he maintains is the Creator’s. For the Creator
Himself promises the gospel, when He says by Isaiah: “Get you up into the high mountain, you that
bringest to Sion good tidings; lift up your voice with strength, you that bringest the gospel to
Jerusalem.” Also when, with respect to the apostles personally, He says, “How beautiful are the feet
of them that preach the gospel of peace, that bring good tidings of good” (Is 52:7) —— even
proclaiming the gospel to the Gentiles, because He also says, “In His name shall the Gentiles trust;”
that is, in the name of Christ, to whom He says, “I have given you as a light of the Gentiles.” (Is
42:6) However, you will have it that it is the gospel of a new god which was then set forth by the
apostle. So that there are two gospels for two gods; and the apostle made a great mistake when he
said that “there is not another” gospel (Gal 1:7), since there is (on the hypothesis) another; and so
he might have made a better defence of his gospel, by rather demonstrating this, than by insisting on
its being but one. But perhaps, to avoid this difficulty, you will say that he therefore added just
afterwards, “Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel, let him be accursed” (Gal 1:8),
because he was aware that the Creator was going to introduce a gospel! But you thus entangle
yourself still more. For this is now the mesh in which you are caught. To affirm that there are two
gospels, is not the part of a man who has already denied that there is another. His meaning, however,
is clear, for he has mentioned himself first in the anathema: “But though we or an angel from heaven
preach any other gospel.” (Gal 1:8) It is by way of an example that he has expressed himself. If even
he himself might not preach any other gospel, then neither might an angel. He said “angel” in this
way, that he might show how much more men ought not to be believed, when neither an angel nor
an apostle ought to be; not that he meant to apply an angel to the gospel of the Creator. He then
cursorily touches on his own conversion from a persecutor to an apostle —— confirming thereby the
Acts of the Apostles, in which book may be found the very subject of this epistle, how that certain
persons interposed, and said that men ought to be circumcised, and that the law of Moses was to be
observed; and how the apostles, when consulted, determined, by the authority of the Holy Ghost, that
“a yoke should not be put upon men’s necks which their fathers even had not been able to bear.”
Now, since the Acts of the Apostles thus agree with Paul, it becomes apparent why you reject them.
It is because they declare no other God than the Creator, and prove Christ to belong to no other God
than the Creator; while the promise of the Holy Ghost is shown to have been fulfilled in no other
document than the Acts of the Apostles. Now, it is not very likely that these should be found in
agreement with the apostle, on the one hand, when they described his career in accordance with his
own statement; but should, on the other hand, be at variance with him when they announce the
attribute of divinity in the Creator’s Christ —— as if Paul did not follow the preaching of the apostles
when he received from them the prescription of not teaching the Law.

Chapter 5.
The First Epistle to the Corinthians. The Pauline Salutation of Grace and Peace Shown to Be Anti-Marcionite. The Cross of
Christ Purposed by the Creator. Marcion Only Perpetuates the Offence and Foolishness of Christ’s Cross by His Impious
Severance of the Gospel from the Creator. Analogies Between the Law and the Gospel in the Matter of Weak Things, and
Foolish Things and Base Things.

My preliminary remarks on the preceding epistle called me away from treating of its
superscription, for I was sure that another opportunity would occur for considering the matter, it
being of constant recurrence, and in the same form too, in every epistle. The point, then, is, that it is not the usual health which the apostle prescribes for those to whom he writes, but “grace and peace.” (1 Cor 1:3) I do not ask, indeed, what a destroyer of Judaism has to do with a formula which the Jews still use. For to this day they salute each other with the greeting of “peace,” and formerly in their Scriptures they did the same. But I understand him by his practice plainly enough to have corroborated the declaration of the Creator: “How beautiful are the feet of them that bring glad tidings of good, who preach the gospel of peace!” (Is 52:7) For the herald of good, that is, of God’s “grace” was well aware that along with it “peace” also was to be proclaimed. Now, when he announces these blessings as “from God the Father and the Lord Jesus” (1 Cor 1:3), he uses titles that are common to both, and which are also adapted to the mystery of our faith; and I suppose it to be impossible accurately to determine what God is declared to be the Father and the Lord Jesus, unless we consider which of their accruing attributes are more suited to them severally. First, then, I assert that none other than the Creator and Sustainer of both man and the universe can be acknowledged as Father and Lord; next, that to the Father also the title of Lord accrues by reason of His power, and that the Son too receives the same through the Father; then that “grace and peace” are not only His who had them published, but His likewise to whom offense had been given. For neither does grace exist, except after offense; nor peace, except after war. Now, both the people of Israel by their transgression of His laws, and the whole race of mankind by their neglect of natural duty, had both sinned and rebelled against the Creator. Marcion’s god, however, could not have been offended, both because he was unknown to everybody, and because he is incapable of being irritated. What grace, therefore, can be had of a god who has not been offended? What peace from one who has never experienced rebellion? “The cross of Christ,” he says, “is to them that perish foolishness; but unto such as shall obtain salvation, it is the power of God and the wisdom of God.” (1 Cor 1:18) And then, that we may know from whence this comes, he adds: “For it is written, ‘I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent.” Now, since these are the Creator’s words, and since what pertains to the doctrine of the cross he accounts as foolishness, therefore both the cross, and also Christ by reason of the cross, will appertain to the Creator, by whom were predicted the incidents of the cross. But if the Creator, as an enemy, took away their wisdom in order that the cross of Christ, considered as his adversary, should be accounted foolishness, how by any possibility can the Creator have foretold anything about the cross of a Christ who is not His own, and of whom He knew nothing, when He published the prediction? But, again, how happens it, that in the system of a Lord who is so very good, and so profuse in mercy, some carry off salvation, when they believe the cross to be the wisdom and power of God, while others incur perdition, to whom the cross of Christ is accounted folly——how happens it, I repeat, unless it is in the Creator’s dispensation to have punished both the people of Israel and the human race, for some great offense committed against Him, with the loss of wisdom and prudence? What follows will confirm this suggestion, when he asks, “Hath not God infatuated the wisdom of this world?” (1 Cor 1:20) and when he adds the reason why: “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.” (1 Cor 1:21) But first a word about the expression “the world;” because in this passage particularly, the heretics expend a great deal of their subtlety in showing that by world is meant the lord of the world. We, however, understand the term to apply to any person that is in the world, by a simple idiom of human language, which often substitutes that which contains for that which is contained. “The circus shouted,” “The forum spoke,” and “The basilica murmured,” are well-known expressions, meaning that the people in these places did so. Since then the man, not the god, of the world in his wisdom knew not God, whom indeed he ought to have known (both the Jew by his knowledge of the Scriptures, and all the human race by their knowledge of God’s works), therefore
that God, who was not acknowledged in His wisdom, resolved to smite men’s knowledge with His foolishness, by saving all those who believe in the folly of the preached cross. “Because the Jews require signs,” who ought to have already made up their minds about God, “and the Greeks seek after wisdom” (1 Cor 1:22), who rely upon their own wisdom, and not upon God’s. If, however, it was a new god that was being preached, what sin had the Jews committed, in seeking after signs to believe; or the Greeks, when they hunted after a wisdom which they would prefer to accept? Thus the very retribution which overtook both Jews and Greeks proves that God is both a jealous God and a Judge, inasmuch as He infatuated the world’s wisdom by an angry and a judicial retribution. Since, then, the causes are in the hands of Him who gave us the Scriptures which we use, it follows that the apostle, when treating of the Creator, (as Him whom both Jew and Gentile as yet have) not known, means undoubtedly to teach us, that the God who is to become known in Christ is the Creator. The very “stumbling-block” which he declares Christ to be “to the Jews” (1 Cor 1:23), points unmistakeably to the Creator’s prophecy respecting Him, when by Isaiah He says: “Behold I lay in Sion a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense.” (Is 8:14) This rock or stone is Christ. (Is 28:16) This stumbling-stone Marcion retains still. Now, what is that “foolishness of God which is wiser than men,” but the cross and death of Christ? What is that “weakness of God which is stronger than men” (1 Cor 1:25), but the nativity and incarnation of God? If, however, Christ was not born of the Virgin, was not constituted of human flesh, and thereby really suffered neither death nor the cross, there was nothing in Him either of foolishness or weakness; nor is it any longer true, that “God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise;” nor, again, has “God chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty;” nor “the base things” and the least things “in the world, and things which are despised, which are even as nothing” (that is, things which really are not), “to bring to nothing things which are” (that is, which really are). (1 Cor 1:27) For nothing in the dispensation of God is found to be mean, and ignoble, and contemptible. Such only occurs in man’s arrangement. The very Old Testament of the Creator itself, it is possible, no doubt, to charge with foolishness, and weakness, and dishonour and meanness, and contempt. What is more foolish and more weak than God’s requirement of bloody sacrifices and of savoury holocausts? What is weaker than the cleansing of vessels and of beds? What more dishonourable than the discoloration of the reddening skin? (Lev 13:2-6) What so mean as the statute of retaliation? What so contemptible as the exception in meats and drinks? The whole of the Old Testament, the heretic, to the best of my belief, holds in derision. For God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound its wisdom. Marcion’s god has no such discipline, because he does not take after the Creator in the process of confusing opposites by their opposites, so that “no flesh shall glory; but, as it is written, He that glories, let him glory in the Lord.” In what Lord? Surely in Him who gave this precept. Unless, forsooth, the Creator enjoined us to glory in the god of Marcion.

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Chapter 7.

“And the hidden things of darkness He will Himself bring to light” (1 Cor 4:5), even by Christ; for He has promised Christ to be a Light (Is 42:6), and Himself He has declared to be a lamp, “searching the hearts and reins.” From Him also shall “praise be had by every man” (1 Cor 4:5), from whom proceeds, as from a judge, the opposite also of praise. But here, at least, you say he interprets.
the world to be the God thereof, when he says: “We are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.” (1 Cor 4:9) For if by world he had meant the people thereof, he would not have afterwards specially mentioned “men.” To prevent, however, your using such an argument as this, the Holy Ghost has providentially explained the meaning of the passage thus: “We are made a spectacle to the world,” i.e. “both to angels,” who minister therein, “and to men,” who are the objects of their ministration. Of course, a man of the noble courage of our apostle (to say nothing of the Holy Ghost) was afraid, when writing to the children whom he had begotten in the gospel, to speak freely of the God of the world; for against Him he could not possibly seem to have a word to say, except only in a straightforward manner! I quite admit, that, according to the Creator’s law (Lev 18:8), the man was an offender “who had his father’s wife.” (1 Cor 5:1) He followed, no doubt, the principles of natural and public law. When, however, he condemns the man “to be delivered unto Satan” (1 Cor 5:5), he becomes the herald of an avenging God. It does not matter that he also said, “For the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord” (1 Cor 5:5), since both in the destruction of the flesh and in the saving of the spirit there is, on His part, judicial process; and when he bade “the wicked person be put away from the midst of them” (1 Cor 5:13), he only mentioned what is a very frequently recurring sentence of the Creator. “Purge out the old leaven, that you may be a new lump, as you are unleavened.” (1 Cor 5:7) The unleavened bread was therefore, in the Creator’s ordinance, a figure of us Christians. “For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us.” (1 Cor 5:7) But why is Christ our passover, if the passover be not a type of Christ, in the similitude of the blood which saves, and of the Lamb, which is Christ? Exodus 12 Why does the apostle clothe us and Christ with symbols of the Creator’s solemn rites, unless they had relation to ourselves? When, again, he warns us against fornication, he reveals the resurrection of the flesh. “The body,” says he, “is not for fornication, but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body” (1 Cor 6:13), just as the temple is for God, and God for the temple. A temple will therefore pass away with its god, and its god with the temple. You see, then, how that “He who raised up the Lord will also raise us up.” (1 Cor 6:14) In the body will He raise us, because the body is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body. And suitably does he add the question: “Do you not know that your bodies are the members of Christ?” (1 Cor 6:15) What has the heretic to say? That these members of Christ will not rise again, for they are no longer our own? “For,” he says, “you are bought with a price.” (1 Cor 6:20) A price! surely none at all was paid, since Christ was a phantom, nor had He any corporeal substance which He could pay for our bodies! But, in truth, Christ had wherewithal to redeem us; and since He has redeemed, at a great price, these bodies of ours, against which fornication must not be committed (because they are now members of Christ, and not our own), surely He will secure, on His own account, the safety of those whom He made His own at so much cost! Now, how shall we glorify, how shall we exalt, God in our body (1 Cor 6:20), which is doomed to perish? We must now encounter the subject of marriage, which Marcion, more continent than the apostle, prohibits. For the apostle, although preferring the grace of continence (1 Cor 7: 7-8), yet permits the contraction of marriage and the enjoyment of it, and advises the continuance therein rather than the dissolution thereof. (1 Cor 7:27) Christ plainly forbids divorce, Moses unquestionably permits it.

Now, when Marcion wholly prohibits all carnal intercourse to the faithful (for we will say nothing about his catechumens), and when he prescribes repudiation of all engagements before marriage, whose teaching does he follow, that of Moses or of Christ? Even Christ, however, when He here commands “the wife not to depart from her husband, or if she depart, to remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband” (1 Cor 7: 10-11), both permitted divorce, which indeed He never absolutely prohibited, and confirmed the sanctity of marriage, by first forbidding its dissolution; and, if separation had taken place, by wishing the nuptial bond to be resumed by reconciliation. But
what reasons does the apostle allege for continence? Because “the time is short.” (1 Cor 7:29) I had almost thought it was because in Christ there was another god! And yet He from whom emanates this shortness of the time, will also send what suits the said brevity. No one makes provision for the time which is another’s. You degrade your god, O Marcion, when you make him circumscribed at all by the Creator’s time. Assuredly also, when the apostle rules that marriage should be “only in the Lord” (1 Cor 7:39), that no Christian should intermarry with a heathen, he maintains a law of the Creator, who everywhere prohibits marriage with strangers. But when he says, “although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth” (1 Cor 8:5), the meaning of his words is clear—not as if there were gods in reality, but as if there were some who are called gods, without being truly so. He introduces his discussion about meats offered to idols with a statement concerning idols themselves: “We know that an idol is nothing in the world.” (1 Cor 8:4) Marcion, however, does not say that the Creator is not God; so that the apostle can hardly be thought to have ranked the Creator among those who are called gods, without being so; since, even if they had been gods, “to us there is but one God, the Father.” (1 Cor 8:6) Now, from whom do all things come to us, but from Him to whom all things belong? And pray, what things are these? You have them in a preceding part of the epistle: “All things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come.” (1 Cor 3: 21-22) He makes the Creator, then the God of all things, from whom proceed both the world and life and death, which cannot possibly belong to the other god. From Him, therefore, among the “all things” comes also Christ. (1 Cor 3:23) When he teaches that every man ought to live of his own industry (1 Cor 9:13), he begins with a copious induction of examples—of soldiers, and shepherds, and husbandmen. (1 Cor 9:7) But he wanted divine authority. What was the use, however, of adducing the Creator’s, which he was destroying? It was vain to do so; for his god had no such authority! The apostle says: “You shall not muzzle the ox that treads out the grain,” and adds: “Does God take care of oxen?” Yes, of oxen, for the sake of men! For, says he, “it is written for our sakes.” (1 Cor 11:10) Thus he showed that the law had a symbolic reference to ourselves, and that it gives its sanction in favour of those who live of the gospel. He showed also, that those who preach the gospel are on this account sent by no other god but Him to whom belongs the law, which made provision for them, when he says: “For our sakes was this written.” Still he declined to use this power which the law gave him, because he preferred working without any restraint. Of this he boasted, and suffered no man to rob him of such glory (1 Cor 9:15) certainly with no view of destroying the law, which he proved that another man might use. For behold Marcion, in his blindness, stumbled at the rock whereof our fathers drank in the wilderness. For since “that rock was Christ” (1 Cor 10:4), it was, of course, the Creator’s, to whom also belonged the people. But why resort to the figure of a sacred sign given by an extraneous god? Was it to teach the very truth, that ancient things prefigured the Christ who was to be educated out of them? For, being about to take a cursory view of what befell the people of Israel he begins with saying: “Now these things happened as examples for us.” (1 Cor 10:6) Now, tell me, were these examples given by the Creator to men belonging to a rival god? Or did one god borrow examples from another, and a hostile one too? He withdraws me to himself in alarm from Him from whom he transfers my allegiance. Will his antagonist make me better disposed to him? Should I now commit the same sins as the people, shall I have to suffer the same penalties, or not? (1 Cor 10: 7-10) But if not the same, how vainly does he propose to me terrors which I shall not have to endure! From whom, again, shall I have to endure them? If from the Creator, What evils does it appertain to Him to inflict? And how will it happen that, jealous God as He is, He shall punish the man who offends His rival, instead of rather encouraging him. If, however, from the other god—— but he knows not how to punish. So that the whole declaration of the apostle lacks a reasonable basis, if it is not meant to relate to the Creator’s discipline. But the fact is, the apostle’s conclusion corresponds to the
beginning: “Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world have come.” (1 Cor 10:11) What a Creator! How prescient already, and considerate in warning Christians who belong to another god! Whenever cavils occur the like to those which have been already dealt with, I pass them by; certain others I dispatch briefly. A great argument for another god is the permission to eat of all kinds of meats, contrary to the law. (1 Cor 10: 25-27) Just as if we did not ourselves allow that the burdensome ordinances of the law were abrogated—but by Him who imposed them, who also promised the new condition of things. The same, therefore, who prohibited meats, also restored the use of them, just as He had indeed allowed them from the beginning. If, however, some strange god had come to destroy our God, his foremost prohibition would certainly have been, that his own votaries should abstain from supporting their lives on the resources of his adversary.
1. The Psalm which we have just sung is in many parts somewhat obscure. When by the help of the Lord what has been said shall begin to be expounded and explained, ye will see that ye are hearing things which ye knew already. But for this cause are they said in manifold ways, that variety of expression may remove all weariness of the truth.

2. “Lord, I have cried unto Thee, hear Thou me” (ver. 1). This we all can say. This not I alone say: whole Christ saith it. But it is said rather in the name of the Body: for He too, when He was here and bore our flesh, prayed; and when He prayed, drops of blood streamed down from His whole Body. So is it written in the Gospel: “Jesus prayed earnestly, and His sweat was as it were great drops of blood.” Luke xxii. 44. What is this flowing of sweat from His whole Body, but the suffering of martyrs from the whole Church? “Listen unto the voice of my prayer, while I cry unto Thee.” Thou thoughtest the business of crying already finished, when thou saidst, “I have cried unto Thee.” Thou hast cried; yet think not thyself safe. If tribulation be finished, crying is finished: but if tribulation remain for the Church, for the Body of Christ, even to the end of the world, let it not only say, “I have cried unto Thee,” but also, “Listen unto the voice of my prayer.”

3. “Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as incense, and the lifting up of my hands an evening sacrifice” (ver. 2). That this is wont to be understood of the Head Himself, every Christian acknowledgeth. For when the day was now sinking towards evening, the Lord upon the Cross “laid down His life to take it again,” (John x. 17). did not lose it against His will. Still we too are figured there. For what of Him hung upon the tree, save what He took of us? And how can it be that the Father should leave and abandon His only begotten Son, especially when He is one God with Him? Yet, fixing our weakness upon the Cross, where, as the Apostle saith, “our old man is crucified with Him,” (Rom. vi. 6). He cried out in the voice of that our “old man,” “Why hast Thou forsaken Me?” (Ps. xxii. 1; Matt. xxvii. 46). That then is the “evening sacrifice,” the Passion of the Lord, the Cross of the Lord, the offering of a salutary Victim, the whole burnt offering acceptable to God. That “evening sacrifice” produced, in His Resurrection, a morning offering. Prayer then, purely directed from a faithful heart, riseth like incense from a hallowed altar. Nought is more delightful than the odour of the Lord: such odour let all have who believe.

4. “Set, O Lord, a watch before my mouth, and a door of restraint around my lips” (ver. 3). He said not a barrier of restraint, but “a door of restraint.” A door is opened as well as shut. If then it be a “door,” let it be both opened and shut; opened, to confession of sin; closed, to excusing sin. So will it be a “door of restraint,” not of ruin. For what doth this “door of restraint” profit us? What doth Christ pray in the name of His Body? “That Thou turn not aside My heart to wicked words” (ver. 4). What is, “My heart”? The heart of My Church; the heart, that is, of My Body.”

5. But when thine heart hath not been turned aside, O member of Christ, when thy heart hath not been turned aside “to wicked words, to making excuses in sins, with men that work in iniquity,” thou shalt also not unite with their elect. For this followeth, “And I will not unite with their elect.” Who are “their elect”? Those who justify themselves. Who are their elect? Those “who trust in themselves that they are righteous, and despise others,” as the Pharisee said in the temple, “Lord, I thank Thee
that I am not as other men are.” (Luke xviii. 11). Who are their elect? “This Man, if He were a prophet, would know what manner of woman this is that touched His feet.” (Luke vii. 39). Here thou recognisest the words of that other Pharisee, who invited our Lord to his house; when the woman of that city, who was a sinner, came and approached His Feet.”

For even this woman herself, “if her heart had turned aside to wicked words,” would not have lacked wherewith to defend her sins. Do not women daily, her equals in defilement, but not her equals in confession, harlots, adulteresses, doers of shameful deeds, defend their sins? If they have not been seen, they deny them: if they have been caught and convicted, or have done their deeds openly, they defend them. And how easy is their defence, how ready, yet how headlong; how common, yet how blasphemous! “Had God not willed it, I had not done it: God willed it: fortune willed it: fate willed it.” “These are the defences of “the elect” of this world. But let the members of Christ, the Body of Christ, say, let Christ say in the name of His Body, “Turn not Thou aside, My Heart, to wicked words,” etc., “and I will not unite with their elect.”

6. “With men that work wickedness.” What wickedness? Let me mention some sinful wickedness of theirs. Let me tell you one open sinful wickedness, which they acknowledge. They say, it is better for a man to be an usurer than a husbandman. Thou askest the reason, and they assign one. “He vexeth the members of Christ, who cleanseth the earth with a furrow: he vexeth the members of Christ, who pulleth grass from the earth: he vexeth the members of Christ, who plucketh an apple from a tree. To avoid committing their imaginary murders in the farm, he committeth real murders in usury. He dealeth no bread to the needy. See whether there can be greater unrighteousness than this righteousness, i.e. as they consider it. He dealeth not bread to the hungry. Thou askest, wherefore? Lest the beggar receive the life which is in the bread, which they call a member of God, the substance of God, and bind it in flesh. What then do ye? why do ye eat? Have ye not flesh? Yes; but we, they say, forasmuch as we are enlightened by faith in Manes, by our prayers and our Psalms, forasmuch as we are elect, we cleanse thereby that bread, and transmit it into the treasure-house of the heavens. Such are the elect, that they are not to be saved by God, but saviours of God. And this is Christ, they say, crucified in the whole universe. I received in the Gospel Christ a Saviour, but ye are in your books the saviours of Christ. Plainly ye are blasphemers of Christ, and therefore not to be saved by Christ. Therefore lest a crumb be given to the hungry, and in the crumb a member of Christ suffer, is the hungry to die of hunger? False mercy to a crumb causeth true murder of a man. But who are their elect? “Turn not thou aside, my heart, to wicked words, and I will not unite with their elect.”

7. “The righteous One shall amend me in mercy, and convict me” (ver. 5). Behold the sinner confessing. He desireth to be amended in mercy, rather than praised deceitfully.” “Shall convict me,” but “in mercy:” shall convict, yet hateth not: yea, shall all the more convict, because He hateth not. And why doth he therefore give thanks? Because, “rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee.” Prov. ix. 8. “The righteous One shall amend me.” Because He persecuteth thee? God forbid. He requireth rather amending himself, who amendeth in hate. Wherefore then doth He amend? “In mercy. And shall convict me.” Wherein? “In mercy. For the oil of a sinner shall not enrich my head.” My head shall not grow by flattery. Undue praise is flattery: undue praise of a flatterer is the oil of a sinner.” Therefore men too, when they have mocked any one with false praise, say, “I have anointed his head.” Love then to be “convicted by the righteous One in mercy;” “love not to be praised by a sinner in mockery. Have oil in yourselves, and ye shall not seek the “oil of a sinner.” (Matt. xxv. 4).
8. Thou sayest to me, What am I doing? I am beset with flatterers; they cease not to besiege me; they praise in me what I would not, that praise in me what I hold in little esteem; what I hold dear they blame in me; flatterers, treacherous, deceivers. For instance, “Gaiuseius (Tertullian, Apol. c. 3): “What when the generality run upon an hatred of this name with eyes so closed, that, in bearing favourable testimony to any one, they mingle with it the reproach of the name. ‘A good man Cais Seius, only he is a Christian.’ So another, ‘I marvel that that wise man Lucius Titius hath suddenly become a Christian.’ No one reflected whether Caius be not therefore good and Lucius wise, because a Christian, or therefore a Christian because wise and good.” [See A.N.F. vol. iii. p. 20.—C.] is a great man, great, learned, wise; but why is he a Christian? For great is his learning, great his reading, great his wisdom.” If great is his wisdom, approve of his being a Christian; if great his learning, learnedly hath he chosen. In fine, what thou revilest, that pleaseth him whom thou praisest. But what? That praise sweeteneth not: it is “the oil of a sinner.” Yet ceaseth he not to speak so. Let him not therewith “fatten thy head;” that is, rejoice not in such things; agree not to such things; consent not to such things; rejoice not in such things; and then, if he have applied to thee the oil of flattery, yet hath thy head remained as it was, it has not been puffed up, it hath not swollen. “For still shall My word be well-pleasing to them.” Wait awhile: now they revile Me, saith Christ. In the early times of the Christians, the Christians were blamed on all sides. Wait as yet; and “My word shall be well-pleasing to them.” The time shall come when they shall conquer thousands of men, who shall beat their breasts, and say, “Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.” Even now, how many remain who blush to beat their breasts? Let them then blame us: let us bear it. Let them blame; let them hate, accuse, detract; “still shall My word be well-pleasing to them;” the time shall come when My word shall please them.” O wordy defence of iniquity! Verily now whole nations say this, and the thunder of nations beating their breasts ceaseth not. Rightly do the clouds thunder, wherein now God dwelleth. Where is now that wordiness, where that boasting, “I am righteous; nought of ill have I done”? Verily, when thou hast contemplated in Holy Scripture the law of righteousness, how far soever thou hast advanced, thou shalt find thyself a sinner. “What sort of man am I now speaking of, brethren? I speak of him who worshippeth God alone, who confesseth Christ, who knoweth the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost to be one God; who committest not fornication against Him; who worshippeth not devils; who seeketh him not aid from the devil; who holdeth the Catholic Church; whom no one complaineth of as cheating; under whose oppression no weak neighbour groaneth; who assaileth not another’s wife; who is content with his own, or even without his own, in such wise as is lawful, and as Apostolical discipline permitteth, with consent of both (1 Cor. vii. 5) or when she is not yet married. Even he who is such as this, is yet overtaken in such things as I have mentioned. For all these daily sins then what is our hope, save to say with humble heart in the Lord’s Prayer, while we defend not our sins, but confess them, “Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors;” (Matt. vi. 12) and to “have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous,” that He may be “the propitiation for our sins”? (1 John ii. 1, 2) See what followeth: “their judges have been swallowed up beside the Rock” (ver. 6). What is, “swallowed up beside the Rock? That Rock was Christ (1 Cor. x. 4). They have been swallowed up beside the Rock.” “Beside,” that is, compared, as judges, as mighty, powerful, learned: they are called “their judges,” as judging about morals, and laying down their opinions. This Aristotle said. Set him beside the Rock, and he is swallowed up. Who is Aristotle? Let him hear, “Christ hath said,” and he trembleth among the dead. This Pythagoras said, that Plato said. Set them beside the Rock, compare their authority to the authority 647of the Gospel, compare the proud to the Crucified. Say we to them “Ye have written your words in the hearts of the proud; He hath planted His Cross in the hearts: finally, He died, and rose again; ye are dead, and I will not ask how ye rise again.” So “their judges have been swallowed up beside” that “Rock.” So long do their words seem somewhat, till they are compared with the
Rock. Therefore if any of them be found to have said what Christ too hath said, we congratulate him, but we follow him not. But he came before Christ. If any man speak what is true, is he therefore before the Truth itself? Regard Christ, O man, not when He came to thee, but when He made thee. The sick man too might say, “But I took to my bed before the physician came to me.” Why, for that very reason has He come last, because thou first has sickened.

9. “They shall hear My Words, for they have prevailed.” My Words have prevailed over their words. They have spoken clever things, I true things. To praise one who talketh well is one thing, to praise One who speaketh truth is another. “They shall hear My Words, for they have prevailed.” How have they prevailed? Who of them has been taken offering sacrifice, when such things were forbidden by the law, and has not denied it? Who of them has been taken worshiping an idol, and has not exclaimed, “I did it not,” and feared lest he should be convicted? Such servants hath the devil. But how have the Words of the Lord prevailed? “Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves. Fear not those who kill the body,” etc. (Matt. x. 16, 28). He gave them fear, He suggested hope, He kindled love. “Fear not death,” He saith. Do ye fear death? I die first. Fear ye, lest a hair of your head perish? I first rise again in the flesh uninjured. Rightly have ye heard His Words, for they have prevailed. They spake, and were slain; they fell, and yet stood. And what was the result of so many deaths of martyrs, save that those words prevailed, and the earth being, so to speak, watered by the blood of Christ’s witnesses, the cross of the Church shot up everywhere? How have they “prevailed”? We have said already, when they were preached by men who feared not. Feared not what? Neither banishment, nor losses, nor death, nor crucifixion: for it was not death alone that they did not fear; but even crucifixion, a death than which none was thought more accursed. It the Lord endured, that His disciples might not only not fear death, but not even that kind of death. When then these things are said by men that fear not, they have prevailed.

10. What then have all those deaths of the martyrs accomplished? Listen: “As the fatness of the earth is spread over the earth, our bones have been scattered beside the pit” (ver. 7). “The bones” of the martyrs, that is, the bodies of the witnesses of Christ. The martyrs were slain, and they who slew them seemed to prevail. They prevailed by persecution, that the words of Christ might prevail by preaching. And what was the result of the deaths of the saints? What meaneth, “the fatness of the earth is spread over the earth”? We know that everything that is refuse is the fatness of the earth. The things which are, as it were, contemptible to men, enrich the earth. “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.” (Ps. cxvi. 15). As it is contemptible to the world, so is it precious to the husbandman. For he knoweth the use thereof, and its rich juice; he knoweth what he desireth, what he seeketh, whence the fertile crop ariseth; but this world despiseth it. Know ye not that “God hath chosen the contemptible things of the world, and those which are not, like as those which are, that the things which are may be brought to nought”? (1 Cor. i. 27, 28). From the dunghill was Peter lifted up, and Paul; when they were put to death, they were despised: now, the earth having been enriched by them, and the cross of the Church springing up, behold, all that is noble and chief in the world, even the emperor himself, cometh to Rome, and whither does he hasten? to the temple of the emperor, or the memorial of the fisherman?

11. “For unto Thee, Lord, are mine eyes; in Thee have I hoped, take not Thou away my life” (ver. 8). For they were tortured in persecutions, and many failed. It occurreth to him that many have failed, many have been in hazard, and as it were in the midst of the tribulation of persecution is sent forth the voice of one praying; “For unto Thee, Lord, are mine eyes:” I care not what they threaten who stand around, “unto Thee, Lord, are mine eyes.” More do I fix mine eye on Thy promises than on
their threats. I know what Thou hast suffered for me, what Thou hast promised me.

12. “Keep me from the trap which they have laid for me” (ver. 9). What was the trap? “If thou consentest, I spare thee.” In the trap was set the bait of the present life; if the bird love this bait, it fallleth into the trap: but if the bird be able to say, “The day of man have I not desired: Thou knowest (Jer. xvii. 16): “He shall pluck his feet out of the net,” etc. (Ps. xxv. 15). Two things he hath mentioned to be distinguished the one from the other: the trap he said was set by persecutors; the stumbling-blocks came from those who have consented and apostatised: and from both he desires to be guarded. On the one side they threaten and rage, on the other consent and fall: I fear lest the one be such, that I fear him; the other such, that I imitate him. “This I do to thee, if thou consent not.” “Keep me from the trap,” etc. “Behold, thy brother hath already consented.” “And from the stumbling-blocks,” etc.

13. “Sinners shall fall into his nets” (ver. 10). Not all sinners, certain sinners, who are so great sinners, as to love this life to such a degree as to prefer it to everlasting life, “shall fall into his trap.” But what sayest thou? Shall they that are such, thinkest thou, fall into his nets? what of Thy disciples, O Christ? Behold, when persecution was raging, when they all “left Thee alone, and went every one to his own (John xvi. 32): lo! they who were closest to Thee, in Thy trial and persecution, when Thine enemies demanded Thee to be crucified, abandoned Thee. And that bold one, who had promised Thee that he would go with Thee even unto death, heard from the Physician what was being done in him, the sick man. For being in a fever, he had said he was whole; but the Lord touched the vein of his heart. Then came the trial; then came the test; then came the accusation; and now, questioned not by some great power, but by a humble slave, and that a woman, questioned by a handmaid, he yielded; he denied thrice.” “He wept bitterly,” it saith. Not yet was he fitted to suffer. To him was said, “Thou shalt follow Me afterwards.” (John xiii. 36) Hereafter he was to be firm, having been strengthened by the Lord’s Resurrection. Not yet then was it time that those “bones” should be “scattered beside the pit.” For see how many failed, even to those who first hung on His mouth; even they failed. Wherefore? “I am alone, until I pass over:” for this followeth in the Psalm.”

14. Pascha, as they say who know, and who have explained to us what to read, meaneth “Passover.” When then the Lord’s Passion was about to come, the Evangelist, as though he would use this very word, saith, “When the hour was come that Jesus should pass over to the Father.” (John xiii. 1) We hear then of Pascha in this verse, “I am alone, until I pass over.” After Pascha I shall no longer be alone, after passing-over I shall no longer be alone. Many shall imitate Me, many shall follow Me. And if afterward they shall follow, what shall be the case now? “I am alone, until I pass over.” What is it that the Lord saith in this Psalm, “I am alone, until I pass over”? What is it that we have expounded? If we have understood it, listen to His own words in the Gospel. “Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit.” (John xii. 24, 32) “Therefore He was alone before He was put to death.” So far was any from dying for the Name, that is, for confessing the Name of Christ, before that Corn of wheat fell into the ground, that even John, who was slain just before Him, being given by a wicked king to a dancing woman, was not put to death because he confessed Christ. Of course he might have been put to death for this, and that by many. If for another reason he was put to death by one man, how much more might he have been put to death by those very men, who put Christ to death? For John gave testimony to Christ. They who heard Christ, wished to slay Him; the man who gave testimony to Him they slew not.”He is not slain by the Jews who gave free testimony to Christ, whom the Jews slew; he is slain by Herod, because he said to him, “It is not lawful for thee to have thy brother’s wife.” (Matt. xiv. 4) For his brother had
not died without issue. (Matt. xxii. 24) For the law of truth, for equity, for righteousness’ sake, he did die: therefore is he a saint, therefore a martyr; but yet he died not for that Name whereby we are Christians, wherefore, save that the saying might be fulfilled, “I am alone, until I pass over.”
Chapter 7

And Job was sitting on a dung heap, scraping his oozings with a potsherd. (2.8)

9. Of what is a potsherd made, but mud? But what are the oozings of the body, but mud? So to scrape his oozings with a potsherd is to try to clean mud with mud. The holy man had considered whence the body comes and, with a piece of an earthen vessel he scraped another broken earthen vessel. By this act he shows clearly how he had disciplined the body when it was healthy by taking such dismissive care of it when it is wounded. He shows how little he pampered his healthy flesh when he tended his wounds not with his hands, not with a piece of his clothing, but with a broken potsherd. The potsherd scraped the oozings: he saw himself in the piece of clay, and found a cure for his mind’s woes in the cleansing of a physical wound.

10. Often the mind is puffed up with pride by the things with which we surround our bodies. The things with which we surround ourselves conceal the fragility of our body from the eyes of the heart. There are worldly dignitaries, for example, braced by their worldly success, ruling from lofty positions, seeing the obsequiousness of the many serving their every whim: in the face of this they fail to consider their own fragility and do not regard the earthen vessel they bear with them: they forget how swiftly it is broken. But blessed Job, seeing evidence of his fragility in his circumstances and keeping self-abasement clearly before his eyes, is said to have sat not merely on the ground, on some clean spot as he could easily have done, but on a dungheap. He placed his body on a dungheap so that his mind would learn to judge well the value of the flesh that is taken from the earth in the first place. He placed his body on a dungheap so that the stench of the place would remind him how quickly the body will come to such a smelly state itself.

11. But as we see blessed Job bearing so many losses of property, grieving at the deaths of his children, tolerating so many wounds, scraping his running sores with a shard, sitting on a dunghill, oozing puss: we may well ask why it is that almighty God afflicts so terribly, as if contemptuously, those whom he knows are so dear to him for all eternity. But as I consider the wounds and sufferings of blessed Job, I call to mind the case of John the Baptist, and I am filled with wonder. He was filled with the spirit of prophecy while still in his mother’s womb, reborn, if I may say so, before he was born. He was truly a friend of the bridegroom; there never rose one greater among the children of women; he was a prophet and more than a prophet, but he was cast into prison and beheaded to pay for a girl’s dancing, and though he was a man of high gravity, he died as the laughing-stock of depraved men. Can we believe that there was any fault in his life to be purged by this disgraceful death? When could he have sinned even in by the way he ate, when all he ate were locusts and wild honey? How could he have sinned by the luxuriousness of his attire when he covered his body with rough camel’s hair? What offense could there have been in his way of life when he never left the desert? How could he had defiled himself with his speech when he lived far from the society of

men? But again, how could he have been held guilty of keeping silent when he violently reproached those who came out to him, saying, “Generation of vipers, who has shown you how to flee from the coming wrath?”

How then are we to understand that Job was singled out for God’s praise and still hurled by his blows to lie on a dungheap? How is it that John is praised by the voice of God and still dies at the command of a drunkard to pay for a dance? Why does almighty God so violently despise in this life the people he chose on high before all ages? It must be that he wants to show the faithful in their pity that he thrusts these holy people down to the depths because he knows how high he will raise them with reward later. He casts them outside to face contempt because he leads them on inwardly to the things that are beyond comprehension. Everyone should learn from this how much those God condemns will suffer in the next life if he punishes so much here below the ones he loves. How can we imagine how those who are convicted in the hour of judgment are to be stricken, if we see the lives of those whom the judge himself praises taken away in this manner?

Chapter 8

_His wife said to him, ‘Do you still persist with your simplicity? Curse God, and die.’_(2.9)

12. The ancient enemy usually tests the human race in two ways. He tries to break the hearts of those who stand to face him with suffering, or to soften them with persuasion. He employs both tactics vigorously against blessed Job. First he assails the lord of the estate with property losses, then he bereaves the father with the deaths of his children, then he smites the healthy man with wounds and infections. But because he sees him infected without but healthy within, and naked without but richer within for his praise of the creator, and cleverly realizing that God’s champion is taking strength from his troubles, Satan turns in defeat to the subtleties of persuasion in order to tempt him.

For he goes back to his old tricks, and because he knows how Adam can be deceived, he turns again to Eve. He saw blessed Job standing unconquered, in a veritable citadel of virtues, though swamped by so much loss of wealth and so many sufferings and wounds. Job had set his mind on high, and for that reason the enemy’s ploys could not penetrate his defenses. So the adversary looks about to see by what path he might ascend to this well-fortified citadel. Near at hand is the man’s wife and helpmate. Satan took possession of the woman’s heart and found there a kind of ladder by which he could approach the heart of the man. The soul of the wife was his access to the husband. But he won nothing by this device, because the holy man treated the woman as one subjected to him and not placed in authority over him. Speaking the truth, he showed how the serpent had stirred her up to speak perversely. It was appropriate that his manly criticism should discipline her fickle mind, especially because he knew from the first fall of the human race that a woman would not know how to teach rightly. So it is well put through Paul, “I do not permit a woman to teach,” for one time when a woman taught she separated us from eternal wisdom. So the ancient enemy loses now at Adam’s hands upon a dungheap what he had won from Adam in paradise. He sends the woman, his helper, to inflame Job with wickedly persuasive words, but she finds there instruction and holy teaching. She had been stirred up to ruin her husband, but returns well taught so that she might not be ruined herself. So it happens in battle at the hands of our mighty heroes, that the enemy’s weapons are themselves snatched away from him. Where Satan had thought to worsen the pain of Job’s wounds, instead he supplies virtue with weapons to use against himself.

13. From the wife’s words of wicked persuasion, we should be alert to see that the ancient adversary attempts to sway our state of mind not only by his own actions but even by using the people who are closest to us. When he cannot overwhelm our heart by his own arguments, he creeps
up on his goal through the words of those who are close to us. Hence it is written: “Beware of your sons and watch out for your servants.” Hence it is said through the prophet: “Let each one protect himself against his neighbor and place not his trust in all his brothers.” Hence again it is written: “A man’s servants are his enemies.” The enemy is clever, and when he sees himself driven away from the hearts of the good, he seeks out those whom they love greatly, and he offers blandishments in the words of the very people who are loved more than others. Thus while the power of love penetrates to the heart, the sword of his arguments readily breaks through to the innermost defenses of rectitude. So therefore it is after the loss of his wealth, after the funerals of his children, after the wounds and rendings of his body, that the ancient enemy incites the wife to speak.

14. We should notice when Satan chooses to attack the man’s mind with poisoned words. He adds words to wounds in the hope that the twisted hints of his argument will more easily prevail when the power of suffering is growing. If we consider the sequence of temptations closely we see just how cleverly the enemy rages. First he causes losses to property, losses that had nothing to do with Job’s own nature and that did not come near his own flesh. Then he took away his sons, for they were not yet Job’s own flesh, yet they were naturally of that flesh. Finally he struck even Job’s body. But because he did not succeed in wounding the mind by wounding the body, he now tries to employ the tongue of the woman joined to Job by marriage. While he laments losing in open combat, he hurls a javelin, as if from ambush, through the words of the wife, when she says, “Do you still persist with your simplicity? Curse God and die.” He took everything away to tempt Job, but he leaves the woman behind to tempt him: he has ruined everything for the holy man. But it is extraordinarily clever of him to have kept the wife as his helper, to say, “Do you still persist with your simplicity?” Eve returns to her old ways of speech. What does it mean to say, “abandon your simplicity,” but, “cast aside your obedience and eat what is forbidden”? And what is it to say, “Curse God and die,” but, “Disobey the command and live beyond the limits with which you were created”? But this strong Adam of ours was lying on a dungheap, though once he had stood, but feebly, in paradise.

Chapter 9

15. So he responds immediately to the words of wicked persuasion, saying:

‘You have spoken like a foolish woman. If we have taken good things from the hand of the Lord, how When refuse the bad?’ (2.10)

See how the enemy is beaten on all sides, broken on all sides, failing in every kind of temptation, even losing the woman’s support he had been used to. At this juncture it is pleasant to consider the holy man, stripped of everything on the outside, but full of God within. When Paul caught sight of the riches of wisdom within himself and saw his body without subject to decay, he said, “We have this treasure in earthen vessels.” In blessed Job, the earthen vessel suffered open sores without, but inside the unfailing treasury of wisdom poured forth running words of holy learning, as he said, “If we have taken good things from the hand of the Lord, how shall we refuse the bad?” The good things are the gifts of God, both the temporal and the eternal; the bad things he calls the tribulations he suffers, of which the Lord spoke through the prophet: “I am the Lord and there is no other, shaping the light and creating the darkness, making peace and creating what is evil.”

After all, it is not that evil things, which have no natural existence of their own, are created by the Lord, but the Lord says that he creates what is bad when he turns things good in themselves into sufferings for us when we act badly. In this way they become bad to sinners by virtue of the suffering they bring, while by their own nature, they are good. Thus, venom is death to man, but life to a
serpent. By loving the things around us, we draw away from the love of our creator, and while the mind turns away to subjugate itself to the creatures it loves, it separates itself from the company of its creator. Then the mind must be stricken by the creator through those very things which the mind had set up for itself against the creator. Where man in his pride does not fear to find occasion for sin, there he finds the punishment that will straighten him out. He comes back to the things he had abandoned all the more quickly for seeing that the things he had sought instead are full of suffering for him.

So it is well said, “shaping the light and creating the darkness,” because when the darkness of suffering is created by our outward sufferings, the light of the mind is accordingly lit within. He is “making peace and creating what is evil,” for peace with God is restored to us when created things, which are well made but not well lusted after, are turned into punishments that are, for us, bad. By our own fault we fall out of harmony with God, so it is fitting that we should find peace with Him again through sufferings, so that when the things that are created good become sources of suffering for us, the mind of the sinner should be disciplined and humbly reshaped to be at peace with the creator. Blessed Job calls his sufferings bad because he is thinking of the turmoil from which they arise to strike the unquestioned goodness of health and tranquility.

16. But we should especially note in his words with what skill and care he musters his presence of mind against his wife’s arguments, when he says, “If we have taken good things from the hand of the Lord, how shall we refuse the bad?” It is a great source of consolation in time of troubles to recall in adversity the many gifts of our creator. What sorrow brings will not break us if we bring to mind quickly the support that comes from God’s gifts. So it is written: “On good days, be not unmindful of the bad ones, and on bad days be not unmindful of the good ones.” Whoever receives gifts but at the time fears no punishment rapidly falls into pride through his glee. If a man is worn down by punishing troubles, but in the midst of those troubles does not console himself by thinking of the gifts that have come his way in the past, his peace of mind is rapidly destroyed by despair that sets in on all sides. So therefore the two attitudes are to be joined together, each supporting the other at all times. Recollection of God’s gifts tempers the pain of suffering, and fear of suffering should check the glee we feel on receiving those gifts.

The holy man therefore, to ease his worried mind in his sufferings, considers the delights of God’s gifts, saying, “If we have taken good things from the hand of the Lord, how shall we refuse the bad?” So it was fitting that he prefaced this by saying, “you have spoken like a foolish woman.” Because it is the woman’s sense, not her sex, that is against her, he does not say, “you have spoken like a woman,” but “like a foolish woman,” to show that her wicked ideas are the result of chance foolishness, not her inborn nature.

Chapter 10

_In all this Job did not sin with his lips._ (2.10)

17. We sin with our lips in two ways: when we say what is wrong or keep silent what is right. If silence was not sometimes a sin, the prophet would not have said, “Woe is me, that I have kept silent.” In all that he did blessed Job did not sin with his lips, for he spoke no arrogant words against the one who struck him, nor did he stifle a just response to his wife’s persuasions. He sinned not by speaking, nor by keeping silent, giving thanks to the father who was testing him and serving up wise doctrine to meet his wife’s wicked arguments. Because he knew what he owed to God, and what he owed his neighbor (specifically, patience to his creator, wisdom to his wife), he therefore taught his
wife by his rebuke and praised God by giving thanks. But which of us, if we should receive even a single wound of all those with which Job was smitten, would not soon lie prostrate at the very center of our being? See how he was laid low on the outside by the wounds of the flesh, but remained strong and erect within, protected by strength of mind. There he saw pass beneath him every arrow shot from without by the avenging hand of his rampaging enemy. He alertly snatched up the arrows fired directly, that wounded the flesh, and the ones fired obliquely, that came in his wife’s words. Our champion, caught up in the heat of the battle on all sides, opposed the shield of his patience to those arrows. He goes out in the face of a hail of weapons, for his mind is like a shield whose facets are the several virtues by which he is distinguished.

18. But the more heroically the ancient enemy is defeated, the more passionately he is driven to devise new traps. Because the wife had fallen silent under Job’s reproaches, he immediately summoned others to rise to the task of rebuke and insult. Just as he had sought to increase the pain of Job’s earlier losses by repeated reports of disaster, so now he attacks the stout heart with repeated barrages of insult.

Chapter 11

Three friends of Job heard all the evil that had befallen him and they came, each from his own home: Eliphaz the Themanite, Baldad the Suhite, and Sophar the Naamathite. For they had agreed that they would come jointly to see Job and console him. (2.11)

19. From the way they joined to come to console the afflicted friend, we see how great was their charity towards each other and towards the victim. Their zeal and good intentions are demonstrated merely by scripture’s testimony that they were friends of so great a man, yet this very intention of theirs is shadowed in the eyes of the punishing judge when they burst forth in speech full of indiscretion.

Chapter 12

And when they looked upon him from afar, they did not recognize him; crying out they wept, rent their garments, and scattered dust to the heavens upon their heads. (2.12)

20. Because illness had changed the appearance of the victim, the friends cry out and weep, rend their garments, and sprinkle dust on their heads. When they see that the one they come to see is changed, spontaneous sympathy changes the appearance even of those who come to console. The way of consolation is to try to lift the victim from his grief first by joining with him in sorrow and weeping. It is impossible to console someone with whose suffering you do not sympathize, for the further aloof you stand from his suffering, the less will the victim, whose state of mind you do not share, be willing to accept your consolation. The mind must be softened to be at one with the sufferer, embrace him, and thus lift him up. Iron cannot be joined to iron, unless both pieces are softened by the heat of the flame. What is soft cannot be joined with what is hard unless the hardness of the latter is softened and tempered so that it might almost become the very thing to which we seek to attach it. We cannot help the fallen to stand, unless we stoop from our rigid height first, for the posture of the erect is too far different from that of the fallen, and if we decline to bend, we can never lift.

The friends of the blessed Job, therefore, who came to lift him from his grief, necessarily took care to grieve along with him, and when they saw his wounded body took care to rend their own
garments. When they saw his visage altered, they took care to dirty their own heads with dust. Thus the afflicted friend would more readily hear their words, since he saw something of his own affliction in them.

21. But we must realize that whoever wishes to console the afflicted must set a limit to his own compassionate grief, or he will not only fail to ease the victim’s mind but even, if he should grieve too deeply, burden the soul of the victim with the weight of despair. Our compassion should match the sufferings of the afflicted in a way that moderates and supports, but does not exacerbate and weigh down. So perhaps we might conclude that the friends of blessed Job were too much afflicted with grief when they came to console him. They saw the victim’s sufferings but did not know his mind, and so they fell to sorrowing beyond measure, as if the victim, for all his strength, had been wounded in body but had fallen also in his heart.

*They sat with him on the ground seven days and seven nights; none said a word to him, for they saw his sorrow was overwhelming.* (2.13)

22. We do not know whether they sat by poor Job for seven days and seven nights without interruption, or whether they came to him repeatedly and frequently over that period. Often we say we did something for so many days, even though we were not constantly busy with it for that time. Sacred scripture often takes the whole for the part, just as it takes the part for the whole. It takes the part for the whole when it describes the household of Jacob: “Jacob went into Egypt with seventy souls.” Mentioning souls, it clearly intends us to understand bodies as well. On the other hand, scripture takes the whole for the part when Mary Magdalene at the tomb complains that “They have taken the Lord from the tomb and we do not know where they have put him.” She had come looking only for the body of the Lord, but speaks as if the Lord had been entirely taken away at once. It is not clear in this present passage whether the whole is to be taken for the part.

23. But we must not fail to notice that they were long silent and were rebuked when at last they spoke. Some there are who blurt out speaking hastily and continue carelessly what they began in haste. And some there are who begin speaking reluctantly, but once they begin, cannot keep their words in check. Seeing Job’s suffering, his friends kept long silent. But beginning late, they spoke without caution, because they would not spare Job’s feelings. They held their tongues, lest they begin rashly, but once they began they used no moderation to keep their consolation from becoming insult. They came with the good intention of offering consolation, but this pure gift they offered out of compassion to God was spoiled by their thoughtless speech. Indeed, it is written, “If you bring your offering rightly, but do not apportion it rightly, you have sinned.” We bring our offering rightly when we act with good intentions, but we apportion it wrongly if we do not carry out our intentions with care and attention. To apportion offerings rightly is to discern our own laudable enthusiasms correctly. The one who puts off doing this, even if he brings his offering rightly, is a sinner.

24. Often we act with good intentions, but when we neglect to use discernment and care we fail to see the goal by which our actions will be judged. And so sometimes what we thought would be matter for praise becomes the basis of accusation against us. Anyone who considers the actions of Job’s friends cannot fail to see the compassion that brought them to him. We should measure carefully the charity of their act, to come together as one at the side of the afflicted man. We should value their long-suffering patience, to sit silently by for seven days and nights. We should regard their compassion and sympathy, to sully their own heads with dust. But when they began to speak, thinking to win praise for their virtue, they made themselves liable to reproach. Often the uncautious find that what begins with thought only of reward is turned into sin in the end. They lost with their rash words the reward they had bought with their labors. If divine grace had not commanded them
to offer sacrifice in atonement, they could have been justly punished by the Lord for just that which they thought would be wondrous pleasing to the Lord. They displease the judge by the self-satisfied way they deign to speak as if in defense of the judge himself.

We say these things now to remind our readers to think carefully about the things they themselves do with bad intentions and beware of the Lord’s punishment, when they see him punish so severely deeds begun with good intention but tainted with neglect and carelessness. Who would not think himself to have earned a reward if he had either defended God in the eyes of his neighbor or even at least sat silently by for seven days and nights out of compassion for a neighbor? And still the friends of blessed Job found no reward for their labors, only guilt, for though they knew how good was the consolation they offered, they did not know how to balance it with the restraint of discernment. Whence we learn it is necessary to consider not only what we do, but also the care with which we do it. We should do not evil at all, but we should also do no uncautious good. The prophet admonishes us to perform good deeds with care, saying, “Cursed is the man who does the Lord’s work carelessly.”

Let this example profit us in this way, that we remember to tremble in the presence of the searching and boundless scrutiny of the awesome judge, not only for the sins we have committed, but as well for the good deeds (if there are any) we have done. Often what had been thought before a virtue becomes a fault when subjected to God’s judgment, and where a fitting reward was expected, just punishment is found instead.

25. We have discussed this passage now briefly according to the historical sense. Let us turn to the mystery of allegory. We spoke at the outset of this work about the unity of head and body and discussed carefully the great bond of charity between them. The Lord still suffers much here in the body (which is us) and yet his body (the church) already rejoices with its head (the Lord) in heaven. Now therefore we should depict the sufferings of the head, just to show how much it still suffers through its body. If our sufferings did not affect the head, he would never have cried out from heaven on behalf of his afflicted limbs to the persecutor, “Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?” If our sufferings were not pains for him, Paul would not have said, in affliction after his conversion, “I make up for the sufferings that Christ lacks, in my own flesh.” And still, rejoicing in the resurrection of the head, he speaks of the one who “brought us to life again and made us to sit with him in the heavens.” Sufferings and persecution kept him bound on earth, but though weighed down by his pains he was already living vicariously in heaven through the glory of the head. Because we know that head and body are always united, so we begin with the sufferings of the head to show subsequently the pains of the body.

We will not bother to repeat what we have already said repeatedly about Satan coming before the Lord, about their conversation, and the praises of Job spoken by their creator, for if the mind is long bogged down in matters already treated in detail, it is kept from getting to new material. We will make a beginning for our allegorical treatment, therefore, where we find something new said after the phrases already often repeated.

Chapter 14

‘But you have stirred me up against him, that I should afflict him for nothing.’ (2.3)

26. If blessed Job takes the part of our Redeemer in the time of his passion, how is it that the Lord says to Satan, “you have stirred me up against him”? The Mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus, came to bear the sufferings of our mortality in order to erase the guilt of our sins. But how does the Father claim that Satan stirred him to move against one who was of one and the same
nature as the father, when it is clear that no inequality of power, no diversity of will disturbs the harmonious unity of Father and Son? But yet the one who is equal to the father by virtue of his divinity came in the flesh to suffer for us. He would not have undergone these sufferings if he had not taken on the appearance of a man to redeem it from its doom. If the first man had not sinned, the second man would never have come to bear the indignities of the passion. So when the first man was stirred to move away from the Lord by Satan, then is the Lord himself stirred up against the second man.

So it is true to say that Satan stirred up the Lord to afflict Job, for he was the one who brought the first man in paradise down from the height of justice through the sin of disobedience. If Satan had not dragged the first Adam to the soul’s death as punishment for voluntary sin, the second Adam would never have come, without sin, to accept the voluntary death of the flesh. So it is well said of our Redeemer, “You have stirred me up against him, that I should afflict him for nothing.” As if to say openly: ‘Since he does not die for his own sake but for another’s, you stirred me up to afflict him when you drew the other away from me by your cunning arguments.’ Then it is appropriately added, “for nothing.” It is for nothing that someone is afflicted if he is weighed down with the punishment for sin but has never been tainted by the stain of that sin. It was for nothing that he was afflicted when he was made flesh and, having no sins of his own to admit, nevertheless undertook without guilt the punishment due to those who live by the flesh. This is what it means when he says through the prophet, “What I did not take, for that I paid the penalty.” The other one had been created to live in paradise, but in his pride tried to snatch away the appearance of divine power. The Mediator paid the penalty for that pride though free of guilt himself. Thus a certain wise man says to the Father, “Since you are just, you arrange all things justly. You also condemn the one who ought not be punished.”

27. But we must ask how it is that he is just and arranges all things justly, if he condemns the one who ought not be punished. Our Mediator should not have been punished on his own account, for he had been touched by no stain of guilt. But if he did not accept an unearned guilt, he would never have freed us from the death we had earned. Since the father is just, therefore, he punishes a just man and arranges all things justly, because he justifies all men by punishing one who is without sin in place of all the sinners. In that way, the elect might rise to the summit of righteousness, because the one who is above all things bore the penalties of our unrighteousness. Where it says in the one place that he is condemned when he should not be, here it says that he is afflicted “for nothing.” Taken in himself he was afflicted for nothing, but not for nothing when we consider what we ourselves have done. The rust of sin could not be scoured away except by the fire of suffering. So he came without fault to subject himself to suffering voluntarily, so that the punishments due our sins might rightly lose their victims by wrongly seizing hold of one who had been free of them. He was afflicted for nothing, and not for nothing, for he had no sin in himself, but by his own blood he washed away the stain of our sin.

Chapter 15

‘To which Satan answered, saying, ’Skin for skin; a man will give up everything he has to save his life. But reach out your hand and touch his face and his flesh: then you will see that he will curse you to your face.’ (2.4-5)

28. When the evil spirit sees our Redeemer resplendent with miracles, he cries out, “We know who you are, holy one of God.” The one who said this recognized the son of God and feared him. But sometimes, when he saw our Lord was capable of suffering, he thought (for he knew nothing of
the power of divine pity) that he was merely a man. He had learned that there were many placed in pastoral positions with an appearance of holiness who were altogether strangers to the inner workings of charity and took no thought for the sufferings of another. Taking him to be like the others, Satan was angry that he could not be overcome by such losses and burned to touch Job’s’s flesh with suffering, and said, “Skin for skin; a man will give up everything he has to save his life. But reach out your hand and touch his face and his flesh: then you will see that he will curse you to your face.” As if to say openly: ‘He fails to react to events outside himself; then we will truly see what sort he is, if he experiences in himself that which will make him suffer.’ When Satan seeks these things, he speaks not with real words, but with his desires; when his followers seek them, they fit words to their desires. He himself spoke through his followers, as we hear in the voice of the prophet, “Let us put the wood in his bread, and let us erase him from the land of the living.” To put wood in bread is to raise the gibbet of the cross on which to fix his body. They think they can erase his life from the land of the living when they think him mortal and think to put an end to him with death.

Chapter 16

So the Lord said to Satan, ‘So: he is in your hand--but only preserve his soul.’ (2.6)

29. Who would be so mad as to think that the creator of all things was given over to the hands of Satan? But if we have learned from truth, who of us does not know that all those who lived wickedly are joined to Satan as limbs of his body? Pilate was one of Satan’s limbs, failing to recognize even on the brink of death the Lord come to our redemption. The leaders of the priests were Satan’s body, when they attempted to drive the Redeemer of the world from the world, pursuing him even to the cross. When therefore our Lord gave himself over into the hands of Satan’s limbs, what else was he doing than allowing the hand of Satan to hold sway over him? His mission was to die on the outside, so that we might be freed within and without.

If we take the “hand of Satan” to be his power, Christ suffered the force of his hand in the flesh when he felt that power even in the spittle, the blows, the whips, the cross, and the lance of his passion. So he said to Pilate, one of Satan’s limbs, when he came to his hour of passion, “You would not have power over me if it had not been given to you from above.” But this power to which he had submitted outwardly he still put to his own uses inwardly. Pilate (or Satan, who was Pilate’s leader) was under the power of the one over whom he took power. The one from above arranged to undergo what he did at the hands of his persecutor, so that the cruelty that came from the wicked minds of the faithless could still work to the advantage of all the elect. It was inner compassion that determined him to suffer wicked things outwardly.

This is why it is said of him at the last supper, “Jesus knew that the Father gave all things into his hands, and that he had come from God and that he was going to God: so he rose from supper and put aside his garments.” See how, just as he was about to fall into the hands of his persecutors, he knew that he had even those persecutors in his power. It is clear that if he knew he had received all things, he must have possessed even those by whom he was possessed. Everything their malice was allowed to try again him he could inflict upon himself in the name of pity and compassion. So let it be said to Satan, “So: he is in your hand,” for the raving Satan won permission to smite his flesh, little knowing that he still served the Lord’s power.

30. Satan is commanded to spare the soul [anima], not because he is prohibited from touching it, but because he is thus shown to be unable to overpower it. The soul of our Redeemer is not upset by the force of temptation, the way it is with mere men like ourselves, who are often shaken by
temptation’s onrush. Our enemy was unable so much as to budge the mind of the mediator of God and man with temptation, even though he was permitted to take him up on a lofty mountain, to promise to give him the kingdoms of the world, to show him stones to be turned to bread. The Mediator bore with all this without, while his mind clung firmly to its divine strength within. Even if he was sometimes troubled and groaned in the spirit, he still arranged in his divine power how much he would be troubled in his human weakness, governing all things serenely and showing himself troubled to make up for human weakness. He remained calm within himself, arranging everything that he would do with a show of distress to manifest the humanity he had accepted.

31. When we love rightly, there is nothing in all creation dearer to us than our soul; thus we try to do justice to the weight of our love for others by saying we love them as much as our soul. Here then Job’s’s soul can stand for the life of the elect. When Satan is allowed to smite the flesh of the Redeemer, he is kept back from his soul, for when he takes power over the body to make it suffer, he loses his power over the elect, and when the flesh of the Redeemer dies on the cross, the minds of the elect are strengthened against temptation. So therefore it can be said, “So: he is in your hand—but only preserve his soul,” as if to say, ‘Have your way with his body and lose all rights of perverse dominion over his chosen ones, whom he has possessed in foreknowledge from all eternity.’

Chapter 17

32. Satan went out therefore from the presence of the Lord and afflicted Job with the most terrible sores, from the sole of his foot to the top of his head. (2.7)

None of the elect comes into this life without suffering the hostility of the enemy. The limbs of our Lord’s body from the beginning of time, though they live faithfully, have suffered much cruelty. Does not Abel show himself to have been one of the Lord’s limbs? He gave a foreshadowing of the Lord’s death not only in the pleasing sacrifice he offered, but even in the way he accepted death in silence. Of him it is written, “Like a lamb before the shearer he will be silent and not open his mouth.” From the foundation of the world, Satan has tried to destroy the body of the Redeemer. From the sole of his foot, therefore, to the top of his head, he inflicted wounds, beginning with the first people and continuing in his fury until he came to the very head of the church.

Chapter 18

He was scraping his oozings with a potsherd. (2.8)

33. In the hand of the Lord, what else is this potsherd but the flesh he took from our earthy nature? A shard is hardened by fire, while the flesh of the Lord came forth from his sufferings all the stronger. Dying in his infirmity, he rose again from death without infirmity. So it is rightly said through the prophet: “My strength is hardened like a potsherd.” His strength hardened like a potsherd when he fortified the weakness of the flesh he had accepted with the fire of his sufferings. But what should we understand by the oozings if not sin? Flesh and blood usually stand for the sins of the flesh, whence it is said through the psalmist, “Free me from blood.” The oozing here is the blood’s festering. So what is this ooze but the sins of the flesh grown worse with long habit? A wound begins to ooze, therefore, when a fault long neglected grows worse with habit. So the mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, handed over his body to the hands of his persecutors, scraping his pus with a shard in that he cleansed away sin from the flesh. “For he came,” as it is written, “in the likeness of sinful flesh, so that he might condemn sin of sin.” When
he offered the innocence of his flesh to the enemy, he wiped away the defilement of our flesh, and through the flesh by which the enemy held us prisoner he set us free. What we had made a tool of sin was transformed by our mediator into the armor of justice. With a shard, therefore, the pus is scraped, when sin is defeated by the flesh.

Chapter 19

He was sitting on a dungheap. (2.8)

34. He was not sitting in the forum where the law thunders forth, nor in some great edifice on a lofty throne, but on a dungheap. For the Redeemer of the human race took on flesh (Paul attests this), “choosing what was weak in the world to overthrow the mighty.” And was not our Redeemer sitting on a dungheap as buildings toppled when he settled peacefully among the pagans he had formerly rejected, leaving behind the Jews with their pride? He is wounded and away from home, because he suffered the hostility of Judea, was despised by his own race, and felt the pain of his sufferings, as John bears witness, saying, “He came to his own and his own received him not.” But the Truth itself tells us how it is that he settled peaceably on the dunghill, for it says, “There will be more joy in heaven for one sinner doing penance than for ninety-nine just souls in no need of penance.” He sits sorrowfully on a dungheap, for he freely embraces the hearts of the penitent after all their sins. For are not the hearts of the penitent a kind of dungheap? They weep for their sins as they regard their lives and put off their old selves as if they were heaping up their dung before them. In his troubles Job did not head for the mountain, but he stayed on the dungheap, because when our Redeemer came to his passion, he left behind the haughty hearts of the proud and found peace with the humble and the afflicted. He revealed this of himself even before the incarnation, when he said through the prophet, “To whom shall I look if not the man who is humble and peaceful and in awe of my words?”

35. Who can count up how many injuries he suffered at men’s hands, this one whose compassion brought so many gifts to men? Who can count up how much he endures even now, even while he reigns from heaven over the hearts of the faithful? He suffers daily everything that his elect suffer at the hands of the reprobate. Though the head of this body (we are the body) has raised himself free above all things, he still senses the injuries inflicted by the wicked through his body which remains here below.

But why must we say these things about the infidels, when we see many of those in the church itself who are devoted to things of the flesh, fighting with their wicked lives against the life of the Redeemer? There are those who pursue him with perverse deeds because they cannot use swords, who become enemies of the good when they see they cannot get what they want in the church. They involve themselves not only in wicked deeds but even work to twist the rectitude of the just away into perversity. They fail to keep their sight fixed on eternity and give way mean-spiritedly to a desire for things of this world. Their fall from eternity is more drastic, for they treating the temporal goods they see as if they were the only goods. The simplicity of the just disturbs them, so when they find a chance to unsettle the just, they urge their own two-facedness upon their brethren.
DAY ONE:
CREATION OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

Genesis 1, 1–5

Translated by the instructor from the 1535 edition
With the Interlinear and Marginal Glosses
“In the beginning God created”—It does not say, “In the beginning God said, ‘Let there be the heavens and the earth.’” Rather he said, “Let there be light,’ and there was light,” since by the words “heavens” and “earth” were to be understood universally everything that God made; next it will be explained, part by part, how he made them. Then it continues, “God said,” that is, he created through his Word. It says this because unformed spiritual or corporeal matter, when it first came to be, could not have been expressed by, “God said.” It would have been incongruous for God to have said, “Let there be,” because imperfection could not have reflected the form of the Word before it became a perfect creature by its kind’s turning back to its creator. So, when it then says, “God said, ‘Let there be’” we should understand that He then called back the imperfection of creation to himself. Beyond this, when it is said, “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,” this calls to mind the Son, since he is the “Beginning”; as, when it says, “God said, ‘Let there be’” it is likewise recalled that He is the Word. By “Beginning” is indicated that he is the origin of each creature which exists from Him; by “Word,” that he is the perfection of every creature called back to Him through Himself so that it might be formed by imitating the incommunicable form of the Word. Now, the Word of God does not have unformed life, since for Him to be is the same as to live, and to live is the same as to live blessedly. In contrast, a spiritual creature has unformed life, since for it to be is not the same as to live, nor is to live the same as to live blessedly, since, apart from the Wisdom of God, it lives foolishly and miserably.

Treating the creation of the world, the Scriptures with their opening words show God’s eternity and omnipotence because, Him, whom they show to have created the world at the beginning of time, they proclaim to have existed eternally before time. By the speed of His creating, they show that, He, who they say made heaven and earth at the opening of creation, was omnipotent, since for Him to will is to do. So it is well expressed: “In the beginning God created.” Both, that is, at the same time; no man can do both at the same time. The Prophet [David] also shows that the earth was made at the very opening of creation, when he says [Ps 101:26]: “Of old you established the earth, and the heavens are the work of your hands.” [Bede, Hexm. I]

The “Heavens” were not the visible firmament, but the Empyrean which is called fiery or intellectual—not on account of its heat, but on account of its splendor, it being filled completely with angels. So Job 38:4–7 says: “Where were you when . . . the morning stars sang in chorus.” Also note that this verse calls to mind three of the elements: by the word “heavens” we understand air, by “earth,” earth and the fire hidden in it. Of the fourth element, water, mention will be made later.

“In the beginning” means “in the Son” by whose becoming as man the way was opened for earthly men to became heavenly. “Heavens” means spiritual creation, perfect and blessed from the beginning; “earth” means as yet imperfect corporeal stuff. “Heavens” also means the unformed dispositions of the spiritual life as they can exist in themselves, not turned toward the creator who formed them. “Earth” also means the corporeal, without any quality which will later appear in formed matter. [Alcuin, In Gen.]

Here begins the Book of Genesis, which is called in Hebrew Bereshith.

N the beginning a God b created a the heavens b and

Scripture [Wisdom 11:17] says God “fashioned the universe from formless matter.” The matter was made from nothing; the appearances of the world were made from the unformed matter. So, before all time God made two things, angelic creation and unformed matter. Solomon [Sirach 18:1] says “The Eternal is judge of all things without exception.” At the origin, however, it was unformed stuff before he gave it a formed shape. So God creates the world, the angels, and the human soul from nothing, man and other creatures from something else. [Bede, In Gen. {PL 2:191}]

There are seven heavens; their names are, air, ether, olympus, space or fire, firmament, the heaven of the angels, and that of the Trinity. Jerome says the heaven of the Trinity is first, that of the angels second, and the firmament third. [Bede, In Gen.]

MYSTICAL SENSE. “In the beginning God created the heavens,” that is, those who have a celestial image. “And earth,” that is those who on account of their pride, resemble the earth by taking the image of the earthly man, making themselves deformed.

MORAL SENSE. “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.” In this chapter the creation of the world is described. In it the recreation of man is well symbolized because man is called a little world by the prophets and saints. Gregory explains Mark 16.15, “Preach the Gospel to every creature,” saying: By the words, “every creature,” is signified the good man; earth and all of creation signify the same thing even more. So, in the beginning, the perfection of man in his natural being was expressed when it was said, “In the beginning God created the heavens,” that is the spiritual man who came down from heaven (because God gives celestial things), “and earth,” that is human flesh which is called earth (because it belongs to the earth). Truly the flesh of fallen man has no good from itself: Romans 7:18, “For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, no good dwells.”
The earth was waste—This passage shows how and when the heavens were created along with the earth. It calls the earth “waste” because it does not intend this to be understood about heaven. Heaven was so high that it was protected from the mutability of the earth; as soon as it was created it was filled with the angels that Job 38:4–7 tells us were made in the beginning with heaven and earth, when he says, “Where were you when . . . the morning stars sang in chorus and all the sons of God shouted for joy?” He calls the angels the “morning stars” and the “sons of God.” The time and manner of creation of the visible heaven and the lights that were placed in it will be explained later. [Bede, Hexaem. {PL 2}]

“Waste and void,” that is, useless, fruitless, and without composition. All the elements were mixed and confused, and the whole region of the air was full of waters. These waters were not like those we know, but more like fine clouds, similar to those which are now above the heavens. [Strabo?]

“Darkness covered the abyss.” This was because there was no light, since if light existed it would have prevailed over the darkness and overcome it—as happens in a spiritual creature when it turns to that incomunicable light which is God. [Augustine]

“Darkness covered . . .” We should ignore anyone who would say scornfully that God created the darkness before the light because there was nothing in the water or air to cause darkness. Rather, by an established order of providence, God first created the waters with the heavens, the earth, and the other things which he wished then to dress with the beauty of light. It is to be noted that two elements of the world, water and earth, were created with heaven and that in these the other two, fire and air, were present. The waters, however, covered the whole face of the earth to such a height that they touched those areas which are now occupied by the waters above the firmament. The earth and water, however, are called formless stuff since everything we see now either took its origin from them or from nothing. Before they came into the light there was no place from which they could receive form. [Bede, ibid.]

“And the spirit of God was stirring above the waters” This passage either calls the whole of corporeal stuff “water,” so as to suggest from where are formed and made all things, according to their diverse species on earth, which we know are formed from a damp nature; or it indicates that before conversion the spiritual life has a fluid form. The Spirit of God “was stirring above” because all was under the good will of the Creator, who had undertaken the forming and perfecting. So it is said, “The spirit of God was stirring above the waters.” Do not think that the verb is “Merahephet,” that is, “brooded,” or “hovered,” the way a bird does over its eggs, impelled by love. Understand that we are not speaking of the Spirit of the World here, as many think, but of the Holy Spirit, who is Himself the life-giver of all things. If He is the life-giver, he is also creator, if the creator, then also God. Psalm 103:30: “When you send forth your spirit, they are created.” [Jerome, In Gen. {PL 3:939}]

MYSTICAL SENSE. “The earth was waste,” because it had put off its good form. “And void,” that is, of the fruit of good works. “Darkness,” that is the privation of true light. “Covered the abyss,” that is, the hearts of the proud.

“And the spirit was stirring . . .” that is, over restless hearts who lack peace of mind, because the Spirit does not dwell in them but overshadows them, until it is able to recall them from confusion to something better. [Isidore, In Gen?]

MORAL SENSE. “The earth was waste and void,” that is of good practices. “Darkness covered the abyss.” The word “abyss” signifies the human heart on account of its depths. So Jeremias 17:9: “The heart is perverse above all things and unsearchable,” or in another translation, “The heart is an abyss . . .” Nor does it contradict this interpretation that the spirit of man, which above is identical with the soul, is symbolized by heaven, since one and the same thing can symbolize diverse things on account of diverse properties. So, taking the text to mean the soul, the soul at its creation is lacking both wisdom and light. So it makes sense to add about the same soul, “Darkness covered the abyss.” “And the spirit of God.”—The human spirit is easily symbolized by the Spirit of God.
“And the spirit.” In whom all beings rest, given life by His breath, washed in the water of Baptism. “And the spirit of God was stirring above the waters.”—so God, that is the Creator, was over the fluid and confused stuff, so that he might order it as he would. It is indicated in this passage that the whole Trinity was active: “God,” that is the Father, the “Beginning,” that is the Son, and the “spirit of God,” that is the Holy Spirit.

So in this whole text of the Scriptures we can distinguish six ages of creation, separated by their dividing boundaries, as well as a seventh in which is hoped for that rest which Scripture recalls that God took. The beginning of the human race, when it began to enjoy the light, is to be compared to the first day when God made light. This age is the infancy of the whole universe, if we think of that universe as a man according to its proportionate magnitude. Man, when he was first born into the light, was in his first age or his infancy from Adam to Noe, that is for ten generations. The flood was like the evening of this age, just as our infancy was wiped away by the flood of our forgetfulness.

LITERAL SENSE. "God said—He perfected it; he had the power. This shows the speed and ease of God’s creating; [Alcuin] "God said: ‘Let there be light.’” The light made on the first day may be understood to be either spiritual or corporeal. If it is spiritual, it is not that coeternal with the Father through which all things were made. This is shown by what is said in Wisdom 7:29, that Wisdom, that is to say angelic and intelligent life, was before all things, and these flowed in an unformed way until they were turned back to the Creator. Maybe spiritual light was the first creature and called “heavens,” since it says, “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,” if it had been turned toward its creator. Then we read, “God said, ‘Let there be light,’ and light was made.” By means of this spiritual light we understand there to have been a clear division between light and darkness. The terminology of night and day signifies a distinction which shows that God left nothing without order. Nor was the perfection of creation lacking the ornament of universal beauty. In the Paschal Triduum “darkness becomes as light,” that will be the consummation of the creation just begun. So, this morning contains the beginning of its future.

"If, on the other hand, corporeal light was made on the first day, it was fitting that the world began decorated by light, so that all else that was to be created might be seen. If it be asked where was it created, since the deeps covered the whole height of the earth, this was in those places with the sun now shines during the day. Do not marvel that the light could shine in the waters, since the activities of sail-ors have shown this to be possible. When they are submerged for some reason, they find that the waters are lighted. And, besides, on the first day the waters were much thinner than now since they had not been brought together in one place. [Aug., Gen. Litt. 1,17]

“God said, ‘Let there be light.’” One might argue this was not temporally, since it temporally, then mutually, and if mutably, then through some created

God was stirring

the waters. God said, "Let there be light," and subject, since light is not the first creature. For indeed it was said earlier, “God created the heavens . . .” But certainly He was able, through the heavenly words, “Let there be light,” to make something temporally. So it is thus: corporeal light was made from some created subject which had been created earlier by the Lord saying, “Let there be light,” since, by some hidden motion of spiritual creation, he was able to do so by divine power. The voice of God did not sound corporeally, however, as it did in Mark 1,11: “‘Thou art my beloved Son . . .” What language would it have sounded in? There was, as yet, no diversity of languages nor any one language in which to speak, nor was there anyone to hear or understand. So then, in the speech of God was the Word of God, as a word is understood to be in the sound of the voice. These characteristics then belong to the Word by which all things were made: The words, “Let there be light,” which God spoke were eternal since the Word of God is coeternal. When we hear that God said, “Let there be light,” we understand that it was in the Word that this occurred.Then it is added, “And there was light,” we understand that no creature made preexisted in the Word according to the fixed extent of its type. When it is said that “God saw that the light was good,” we understand that it pleased him in the kindness of his Spirit, not later in temporal order when he, so to speak, thought about it.

*Rather, it pleased him that he made it in the same goodness that he kept it made. So then, God loved his creation into being and maintained it. [Augustine, Ibid., c.2]

MORAL SENSE. “Stirring above the waters,” that is, it naturally desires knowledge, which is symbolized by the waters. So Proverbs 5,16: “How may your water sources be dispersed abroad, streams of water in the streets,” that is by teaching publicly.

“God said, ‘Let there be light.’” That is to say the light of natural reason which is, in a certain way, the impression of the Divine Light within us. Psalm 4.7: “The light of thy countenance, O Lord, is signed upon us.”
“Let there be light.” In that condition, that is, in which all things exist atemporally in the Wisdom of God, before they exist in themselves. “And there was light.” That is, an angelic and celestial substance in itself temporal, as it was eternally in Wisdom, according to its incommunicability. Note the unformedness of this creature and its imperfection before it was formed by the love of the creator, for when it was formed it was not turned toward the light of incommunicable Word. [Augustine, ibid., c. 4, 5, 9]

“Let there be light.” If corporeal light was made, we do not understand how it could correspond with that of the Sun, nor was there a Moon or any stars. Rather, in that part of the heavens where the Sun is now, there was, not the light of the Sun, but something so like it that they could not be distinguished. Or, perhaps in that region God created the light in which he would make man. Then, when the light diminished from that part, this was called “evening.” But why would the Sun have been made later, if this light had sufficed for making day? On the other hand, if this light was for illuminating the upper regions, then it was suitable to make a Sun to illuminate the lower regions. Or, perhaps the brightness of the day was increased by the addition of the Sun. In any case, the expansion and contraction of this light we understand to have been like day and night, giving the same effect. There were however, no animals to experience the change. [Augustine, ibid., c. 10, 11, 16]

“God saw that the light was good”—He did not, of course, praise the light as something previously unknown, or then declare it worthy of praise. Then, so that the light did not dispel all the darkness of the world, we are told:

“God separated the light from the darkness”—He divided them not only according to quality but also according to place, placing the light in the upper reaches while the lower remained in darkness. [Augustine]

“Calling . . .”—This name was not given in any language, because in God is pure intellect without any discourse of language. Rather, “calling,” that is, “making to be called,” by creating a distinction which could be discerned and noticed.

“God separated . . .” This was done when light was made; what cannot be said at the same time by a man was done at the same time by God. The division between the light and the darkness is a distinction between something’s perfection and its actual state, in which it has defects of itself. I say that from the appearances of its created reality we know that night as a privation or defect which happens to creation over time, although the defect is sometimes lacking. “Evening” is the terminus of a perfected beginning. “Morning” is the start of something begun. Every creature is bounded by a certain beginning and an end. Then there were no solar days or the rising and setting of the Sun from which “evening” could be defined, since the Sun was made on the fourth day when, the lights were placed above in the firmament. [Augustine]

“And saw that the light.” God made the light and the darkness, so Daniel 3, 72: “O ye light and darkness, bless the Lord.” In this verse all creation is called to bless God. [Strabo?] Each person has in his life and works six distinct days, after which he hopes for rest. On the first day comes the light of faith when he first believes in unseen things because of the faith which God is willing to grant. [Isidore, In Gen. 2]

“And there was evening and morning.” The light slowly faded and, after the space of a day’s time, evening overtook the lower regions as now happens when the Sun passes in its orbit. Morning occurred when light returned to the land, and so another day began. Thus, one day, that is twenty-four hours, passed. It is to be noted that after the first three days the night was not completely dark since after the creation of the stars there was some light. It was fitting that day began with the return of the light so that a new day began in the morning, since in that way it was signified that every work of God is begun in the light and completed in it. [Augustine, De Gen. contra Man. 1, 1, 4]

MORAL SENSE. “Calling the light Day . . .” Understanding is light, ignorance darkness.
*“And there was evening and morning.”* In this life sin is never lacking in the exercise of just deeds so that we remain unshaken in ourselves, for, if rectitude casts out guilt, it still stands at the gateway of our thoughts, knocking to have them opened to it. So Moses says, “There was evening” and then adds, “and morning.” The Creator, then, foreseeing human failure, thus expresses temporally what happens in our mind. The light of rectitude is followed by the darkness of temptation. But since the light of the Elect is never extinguished by darkness, what follows is “evening” not “night.” So temptation merely hides the light of the Elect, it does not destroy it. [Gregory, Moral. VIII, vi]

It is to be noted that every creature which exists in spiritual light has no existence outside of God’s thought. So then, day follows day by repetition so that there be as many days as necessary to distinguish the six types of creatures belonging to the perfected completion of creation. . . . [Augustine, Gen. ad Litt., IV, xxii]