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THE SIXTH BOOK

OF THE

SELECT LETTERS OF SEVERUS

PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH

VOL. II. (TRANSLATION) PART II.

THE SIXTH BOOK
OF THE
SELECT LETTERS OF SEVERUS
PATRIARCH OF ANTIOCH
IN THE SYRIAC VERSION OF ATHANASIUS
OF NISIBIS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

E. W. BROOKS, M.A.

VOL. II. (TRANSLATION) PART II.

PUBLISHED FOR
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The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of the Holy Severus.

III. Third section.¹ That one ought not to hesitate p. 261.
on account of the *politeia* or character of
priests, but only ask whether they are orthodox
or of the right opinions.

1. *Of the same to Anastasius the count, the son of* 513-8.
Sergius. (From those during episcopacy, from the
7th book the 406th letter.)

See! overcome by the fervour and purity of your
gracious father's faith we have sent you the com-
munion or oblation, as seemed to you to be desirable :
because, while one and the same faith prevails in the
holy churches in the East and those in Egypt, one
must reckon the communion also to be one and of the
same value, since priests, whatever they be in their

¹ τίτλος.

p. 262.

conduct, cannot increase or diminish the sacrament. This the Theologian Gregory also somewhere says, making use of the following example. As, when two seals, one made of lead and the other of gold, bear one impress without any difference whatever, it of necessity follows that the wax sealed by them will bear the same signet and seal, a man who has not seen being unable to discern from the wax which stamp was made by the gold and which by the lead, so also in the case of priests, so long as they hold one and the same orthodox faith, and consummate a baptism, it may be, or the bloodless sacrifice, it is impossible to discern in which case the consecration or consummation was performed by the man who is golden or pure in his character, and in which by the man who by reason of the faultiness of his character resembles lead.¹ For the operation and grace of the sound faith which consummated both of them is one: but let no one look at the greater and less arising from the character of those who officiated. However, as I said, having been overcome by the abundance of fervent love which you have towards Christ, we have done what was commanded by you. *The end.*

¹ Or. xl. 26.

2. *Of the same to Ammian and Epagathus.* (From those after banishment, from the 7th book the 29th letter.)¹ 519-34.

I am astonished at the extent of your admirable goodness, that after such expenses on my behalf, who am not worthy of anything of the kind, expenses which you have incurred from love of God, you have considered it right to bestow these things upon me even when I am at a distance in greater abundance and with greater generosity. *And after other things.* But I rejoiced greatly, and offered prayers of thanksgiving to Christ who is God and the giver of all good, who has willed that a male child should be born to you the Christ-loving Ammian beyond all human hope. Since you have submitted the choice of his name to my judgment, out of the abundance of faith that you possess, and make me bold by urging me to say and do things above the measure that belongs to me, I have judged it to be a good and fitting thing that he should be named John: since the holy Baptist and Forerunner also was born to his parents beyond hope and expectation; and I believe that through his intercession he will live and reach the due length of life and advanced old age. Indeed on the very day on which I received your welcome letter that notified

p. 263.

¹ This was written two years before iii. 4 (p. 246), so that, if the inference as to the date of that letter (p. 244, note 3) is correct, this must be placed not earlier than 531.

his birth to me I placed it on the holy mysteries : and, when I was about to communicate after my custom in the divine communion (for it was a day of assembly), after the other lessons and the sacred song of Alleluia, I began to read the revered gospel : and I found the appointed lesson to be the story of the holy Fore-runner and Baptist, and his divine martyrdom and consummation, when he was beheaded for the sake of God's law ; and from the fact that it happened so I concluded that Jesus also the God of the sacred Gospels had sanctioned and approved the method of naming the boy which I had chosen. I beseech you not to delay even for the space of one day : but to seize the favourable opportunity that has been given us by God, and present the boy to the God-loving father Z'ura, for the divine laver of regeneration. But, when you enjoy such freedom from restraint, how can it be anything but a very unreasonable action, and such as to provoke Christ our Redeemer and God, to ask for the communion or oblation to be sent you by my meanness? Those persons to whom it is necessary to send it are those who are wholly deprived of divine communion : for, when the faith is one, the holy communion also is assuredly one, not something different and diverse, even if one of the offering priests have a heavenly and high, and the other a degraded and low character. It is not the man who offers the sacrifice, but Christ completes it through the words uttered by the offerer, and changes the bread into flesh and the cup into blood, by the power, inspiration,

and grace of His Spirit. For, this reason too it happened once that, when a famine had extended over the whole land, and Elijah the prophet was living in the torrent-bed called that of Cherith, by God's command ravens brought him every day bread in the morning and flesh in the evening, the narrative signifying that, though certain men be unclean like ravens, they are mediators through whom the divine food is given and imparted to us, and they do not inflict any injurious stain on those who partake, nor does the uncleanness and loose character of those who administer the divine grace cause any detriment to those who are fed, provided of course that their faith is orthodox and sound (you are not unaware that the law inserts the raven among the unclean kinds of birds).¹ Gregory the Theologian also, who was bishop of Nazianzus and teacher of all that is under heaven, in the discourse on holy baptism teaches that there is no difference whatever between the divine laver of regeneration performed by a priest of lax character and that which is given by a priest eminent for asceticism and the other virtues: explaining the matter by the following image and simile. As two seals, he says, of which one is made of pure unalloyed gold, and the other of lead, if they bear one and the same signet without difference in any point graven upon themselves, will both impress one and the same likeness upon wax without variation in any point, and

p. 266.

¹ Le. xi. 14.

p. 267. no one who has not seen them can discern from the wax which is the signet that was made by the golden seal, and which by the leaden, so, though one priest be a man of gold by reason of the purity of his character, and the other one that has the darkness and worthlessness of lead by reason of the remissness of his life, so long as they possess the one seal of the orthodox faith alike in all points, and in no way adulterated by heretical doctrine, both perform one baptism and one oblation, of the same power and glory, and nothing inferior in any point whatever.¹ Therefore your intelligences in the Lord must with all assurance² approach the divine communion of the saintly bishops who are living among you and of the God-loving presbyters who confess the same faith as we in all points and proclaim it with boldness, and do not shrink from fear, nor craftily adulterate it, as the Apostle says :³ for men such as these one ought to shun as manifest heretics. But, to speak with God's permission, you have plenty both of bishops and of presbyters that are genuine and have no adulteration about them. *Not the end.*

- 519-34. 3. *Of the same to Misael the deacon. (From those after banishment, from the 7th book the 30th letter.)*

Those who wish and desire to receive tokens of affection in God avoid under all circumstances receiving

¹ Or. xl. 26.

² πληροφορία.

³ 2 Co. ii. 19.

such outside the scope of the divine laws or obtaining gratification beyond what these wish as something grievous: among whom I had come to believe with the greatest possible confidence that your devoutness was included. For I confess that I loved you and do love you greatly on account of the gentleness of your manners and on account of the modesty of your character: and, in fine,¹ because for the sake of the orthodox faith you spurned all the stage-play of the world, and the deceitful pomps² of this life, and pleasures that wallow upon the earth and honours. But the request which, as I have been informed by letter, you are making, that the divine communion should be offered by my meanness and sent to you, for the sake of certain persons who are desirous of this, seems to have some kind of appearance of faith, but offends against the laws of the Spirit. For to those the oblation is of necessity sent who, while living in countries outside the boundaries and being orthodox, are deprived of priests to offer the rational and heavenly sacrifice. To speak with God's permission, since both saintly bishops and God-loving presbyters are living in the royal among cities, and without restraint and with boldness give the bread of life and the cup of immortality, it is a very superfluous and hurtful thing that the holy communion beyond the boundaries should be sent to you by my feebleness. Since there is one faith and the same sound

p. 268.

¹ κεφάλαιον.² φαντασίας.

p. 269.

confession not corrupted at all by any adulterating doctrine, there is also assuredly one communion of different priests who offer it ; who are as far apart as east from west, and confess the same unadulterated faith : although some be high and exalted to heaven, and elevated by labours of asceticism and the highest degree of virtues, and others men that creep on the earth owing to the remissness and idleness of their character. It is not the offerer himself who, as by his own power and virtue, changes the bread into Christ's body, and the cup of blessing into Christ's blood, but the God-befitting and efficacious power of the words which Christ who instituted the mystery commanded to be pronounced over the things that are offered. The priest who stands before the altar, since he fulfils a mere ministerial function, pronouncing his words as in the person of Christ, and carrying back the rite that is being performed to the time at which He began the sacrifice for His apostles, says over the bread, " This is my body which is given for you : this do in remembrance of me " : while over the cup again he pronounces the words, " This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." ¹ Accordingly it is Christ who still even now offers, and the power of His divine words perfects the things that are provided so that they may become His body and blood. But the priest who stands, since he fulfils a mere subsidiary function only, makes

p. 270.

¹ Lu. xxii. 19, 20.

no addition whatever to the rites that are performed, although he be an angelic and heavenly man in his character, nor does he detract anything from the divine grace, if he has lived a degraded and low life. This the divine writings confirm in another place also. Once, when Elijah the great among prophets was commanded to decree a famine against the land of Israel, because of the lawlessness and the prevalence of idolatry, he himself was commanded to dwell in hiding beyond Jordan, in the torrent-bed of Cherith ; “and the ravens brought him bread in the morning, and flesh in the evening : and he drank water from the torrent.”¹ But the law given by Moses reckoned ravens among unclean birds.² Hence this historical event that happened in the case of the prophet is pregnant with mystic and secret teaching. It teaches that the food given by God, which in the morning as it were, that is in the visible sense, is bread, but in the hidden and invisible sense (this is the signification of “the evening”) is flesh and God’s body, is in no way injured or impaired by those who mediate and minister, even if they be unclean men and loose in their character after the manner of ravens. Gregory also, the Theologian, who fed Nazianzus the small among cities, but is the teacher of the whole world over which the church is spread, who in the exalted nature of his theology reached to the citadel of Jerusalem in heaven, says in the discourse that was

p. 271.

¹ 3 R. xvii. 16.² Le. xi. 14.

delivered by him upon baptism that the same grace of adoption is obtained from the laver of regeneration both by a man who has received baptism from a priest eminent for virtues, and by a man who has received it from one who is degraded and grovelling in his character, both by a man who has received it from an archbishop, and by a man who has received it from a presbyter who holds the lowest rank. For both give one and the same seal, so long as they solemnize and preach one orthodox faith like in all points and sound. Just as, he says, a seal of gold and one of iron, or of some other cheaper material, so long as they bear one image and likeness engraved, not differing in anything, impress one and the same stamp on wax, and no one who was not present and saw can discern which is the wax that received the seal from the signet of gold, and which on the other hand is that which was sealed by the signet of iron, or by a cheaper signet, since both bear the same signet not differing in anything, in the same way baptism, and similarly also the offering of the sacrifice, in no way differs, not if the priest who celebrated these be, so to speak, a man of gold in his character and approved and illustrious, by reason of the purity which comes from the practice of virtues, nor if he be one who is, so to speak, of iron, and a man who is murky and dark in his life.¹ The difference of the character of those who officiate makes no difference whatever

¹ Or. xl. 26.

in the mysteries that are celebrated, so long as both confess one orthodox faith, and are not stained by the stain of any heresy, nor do despite to the freedom of the preaching through servile fear and do not declare the glory of the truth "with open face,"¹ or act craftily and speak with treacherous and deceitful tongue both what pleases the heretics and what pleases us the orthodox, and laugh at both sides in an illiberal and meretricious fashion, or lie under the stigma of open abominations: for such as these one ought to avoid and spurn as standing outside the sacred limits: but let us not inquire into sins that are not open. Of these we are not the judges, but God, who searches into things that are unknown and knows things that are hidden. Paul, who had Christ speaking in him, rejecting grovelling fear, said, "But we are not of timidity that leadeth to perdition, but of faith that gaineth us ourselves":² and spurning accursed craftiness, "For we are not as many which adulterate the word of God: but, as from the truth and as from God before God, speak we in Christ Jesus:"³ and again: "Not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully: but by manifestation of the truth commending ourselves to all conscience of men before God"⁴ And excluding open and notorious and stigmatized abomination he writes, "But fornication and all uncleanness and covetousness, let it not be even named among you, as becometh saints: nor abuse

p. 273.

p. 274.

¹ 2 Co. iii. 18.*² He. x. 39.³ 2 Co. ii. 7.⁴ *Id.* iv. 2.

or words of folly or of derision and of jesting, which are not desirable":¹ and again in another place, "Thou that preachest, 'thou shalt not steal,' dost thou steal? Thou that sayest, 'thou shalt not commit adultery,' dost thou commit adultery?"² These things, being open and matters of shame, are certainly to be avoided, and are unhallowed. It will be good and useful and will further confirm what has been said, if we also adduce the actual words of the Theologian Gregory which run thus: "Say not, 'Let a bishop baptize me, and he a metropolitan or a bishop of Jerusalem' (for the grace does not belong to places, but to the Spirit), 'and he one of those of high birth; for it is hard if my nobility shall be insulted by a baptizer; or a presbyter, but he also one of the unmarried, and he one of the continent and angelic in his character; for it is hard if I shall be defiled at the time of cleansing.' Seek not trustworthiness in the preacher, nor in him that baptizes. Another is the judge of these matters and searcher of things that are not clearly visible: since, 'man on the face, but God on the heart——' "³ But to you everyone is trustworthy for the cleansing. Only let him be one

p. 275. of those that are approved, and not of those that are openly stigmatized, nor an alien to the Church. Judge not the judges, you who need healing. Inquire not, I pray you, into the authority of those that cleanse you. Hesitate not concerning begetters.

¹ Eph. v. 3, 4.² Ro. ii. 21, 22.³ 3 R. xvi. 7.

One is better than another, or lower ; but everyone is higher than you. But look at it in this way. Take gold : take iron : and both of them rings : and suppose the same royal image impressed on them. Then let them stamp wax. How will this seal differ from that seal? In no way. Recognise the material in the wax ; and, if you are wiser than everyone, say which is the seal of the iron and which of the gold. And how is it one? Because the difference is in the material, not in the image. So let every baptizer be to you. For, though he is more exalted in character, yet the virtue of the baptism is equal : and everyone who imitates the same faith brings you perfection in the same way.”¹ Strengthened therefore by these wise admonitions of the God-inspired Scripture and of the approved instructors² of the apostolic church, inasmuch as you are entrusted with the ministry of God, warn our beloved brothers not to deceive themselves with such self-made fears, but to reckon and firmly believe the communion offered by our meanness to be one with that which is consummated by our fellow-ministers, by the saintly high-priests and God-loving priests who are living there, or are passing their lives in other places, and in all points think and say the same as we do, as aforesaid. If one man say, “I partake of the communion that was offered by so-and-so the patriarch,” and another boastingly say, “I partake

p. 276.

¹ Or. xl. 26.² *Marzane* = *μῦσται*.

of that which was offered by so-and-so the ascetic," and another speak more proudly and say, "I partake of that which was offered by so-and-so who is learned and skilled in the sacred doctrines and in the divine scriptures," such men will, unknown to themselves, have fallen into another blasphemy, and be assigning human conceptions to the gift of the divine power, and besides this abomination committing also the other sin of dividing the one Christ. These Paul will rebuke in the form of a question and very reproachfully when he says, "Has Christ been divided?"¹, as well as another of our Saviour's disciples when he writes in a general epistle, "It is not right, my brethren, that these things should be so."² Greet all that love us in the Lord. All our brothers who are with us greet you. *The end.*

p. 277.

- 521-36. 4. *Of the same to Cæsaria the patrician.*³ (*From those after banishment, from the 8th book the 54th*⁴ *letter.*)

May our Lord Jesus Christ the great God and our Saviour rebuke the spirit of infirmity, as is written in

¹ 1 Co. i. 13.² Ja. ii. 10.

³ Cf. Land., Anec. Syr. ii. 264 ff. This letter seems to have been written at the end of Cæsaria's life; and, as at the time of x 7, written during exile, she had not yet entered the convent in which she lived 15 years (Land., p. 267), it should probably be placed not earlier than 533.

⁴ B '44th.'

Luke,¹ and free your glorious modesty from this long trouble (for it is He who chastises and slays not, and smites and heals, as the divine Scripture teaches²), and render you sound and strong. This is our prayer by night and day and at all times, as God knows who hears us when we entreat : and we believe that He will complete His mercy towards you.³

Since you also ask³ for the communion, and say³ that you have not communicated³ all this long time, see ! we have now sent you³ this also, conceding on account of your infirmity a thing that is against the strictness of the sacred ordinances. But henceforth we beg you,³ and we adjure you³ by the divine power, and by Christ's infallible tribunal, before which we shall all stand, not to meditate,³ not to say do,³ anything of the kind again. It is a great and unpardonable sin that, when the faith of the orthodox priests is one, a man should take the holy and reverend communion from this one, and not take it from that. For it is Christ Himself and His mysterious words which are pronounced over the bread and the cup of blessing that complete the rational and bloodless sacrifice, not the priest who stands before the altar. This is taught both by the God-inspired words of the Old and of the New Testament, and by those who at different times fed the churches in an approved manner : the transgression of whose precepts brings great danger upon him who transgresses them : from which may

p. 278.

¹ Lu. iv. 39.² Ps. cxvii. 18 ; De. xxxii. 39.³ Masc. pl.

God deliver both you and our poor self! In the case of the religious deacon Misael also,¹ as well as the Christ-loving brothers Ammian and Epagathus, who about two years ago sent me a box and asked to have it filled full for them with the communion or holy oblation, I did not fall in with the impiety and superfluity of the request, writing as follows : [Here follows a citation from ep. 2, extending from 'But, when you enjoy' (p. 234 l. 17) to the end]. But it is incumbent upon us to lay down as a law concerning these things the utterances of Gregory the teacher of truth which we have mentioned, the actual words² of which are as follows : [Here follows the extract from Greg. Naz. given on p. 242 ff.]. If therefore both the divine laws of the sacred Scripture and the precepts of the saintly fathers and teachers give these commands, how is it not manifest breach of the law for a man to say, "I will not consent to partake of any other oblation but that which is consummated by so-and-so"? In the first place he divides Christ who in this also is one and undivided, and draws upon himself the condemnation of those who divide Him : in the second place, if such a man depart from human affairs, and go without having communicated and taken with him the last provisions, his soul will be liable to be seized by the demons, who will prevent it from making the upward journey and resting at once in some light countries, but will drag it away and convey it by force to the

¹ iii. 3.² λέξεις.

depths of countries that are dark and not light : in the third place, he will also lay himself under the burden of another condemnation for opposing the precepts of the fathers and high-priests and laying down a law, if one may so say, in opposition to these. Indeed Paul, when writing to the Romans about those who oppose political powers and authorities and their commandments, says these words : " Let every soul be subject to higher powers, for there is no power that is not from God : and those that exist are appointed by God. Whoever therefore opposeth the power opposeth the commandment of God. And those that oppose them shall receive judgment."¹ If these words apply to political or military powers, how great will be the condemnation of those that oppose the rulers of the holy church and their ordinances ! For the difference and distinction is as great as between heavenly and earthly things. Withdraw therefore and dissociate yourself from such an awful and terrible judgment, and look upon all the orthodox priests as one and as Christ Himself : and reckon the sacrifice performed by all of them to be one, and do not lay down decrees against your soul, decreeing and saying, " I will not touch any sacrifice except that which is performed by so-and-so." It is said in the legal writings given through Moses that, if a woman, being in her parents' house, decree a fast against her soul, or vow and promise to accomplish any other action, or swear that she will do something

p. 281.

¹ Ro. xiii. 1, 2.

or other, and her father hear and keep silent and do not dissent, she that vowed or decreed shall certainly and by all means be bound to accomplish her vows and decrees: but, if, when her father hear what his daughter in the first instance decreed, he do not consent, but dissent and reject the decrees, God also will annul them, and will not require her that decreed to accomplish them. Know therefore that your excellency's decree also is null and worthless. For Gregory the father, the speaker of divine things, rejects it, and does not allow you to discriminate between priests, and say positively, "I will not communicate in the holy mysteries, unless they be such as have been consummated by so-and-so." Hear also what the legal commandment says: "But, if her father dissent in the day on which he heard her vows and decrees which she decreed against her soul, they shall not stand. And the Lord shall absolve her, because her father dissented."¹ Do not therefore seek to accomplish in fact the things which you decreed, but which the father resisted and disowned; and the Lord will absolve you, and will free you from all sickness of soul and of body, and will grant you power to follow His laws in all things, and to impute divine things, as divine things, to God alone, and not to any man.

You say that all methods of treatment have been tried by the physicians, but all have been found useless

¹ Nu. xxx. 6.

and have been defeated by the long continuance of the illness. Look therefore at the pattern of the praiseworthy woman in the Gospels who was troubled by an issue of blood for twelve years, and had spent all her wealth on physicians, and like her draw near to Jesus, and, as Mark the Evangelist says, tell Him as God the whole case and the truth. If you do this in a pure fashion He will assuredly say to you, "My daughter, thy faith hath saved thee : go in peace, and be whole of thy plague."¹ Such illnesses need only the divine working in order to be healed, and this right-minded souls draw upon themselves in its entirety by confessing the sins that they have committed.
The end.

IV. Fourth section.² That one must not communicate indiscriminately or without investigation with heretics ; and how one ought to avoid being with them while they pray.

I. *Of the same to Zacharias of Pelusium. (From those during episcopacy, from the 1st book the 208th, 209th letter.)* 513-8.

You say, "What can be made pure by that which is impure?" But I say that this expression, inasmuch

¹ Mk. v. 33, 34.

² τίτλος.

p. 283. as it was uttered in the right spirit, makes your offering pure, although it was by nature impure and a thing acquired by iniquity (we will refrain from mentioning this in words). For there is nothing that makes God so glad as for a man to be the first to blame himself, even though he be a man who is free from all blame. He who has been the first to blame himself, progressing by degrees, will certainly give up the iniquity also. Wherefore He cries through the prophet, "Tell thou thy sins first, that thou mayest be justified."¹ So also that Canaanite woman, when she was compared to a dog and accepted the insult as true, heard the high and loud testimony, "O woman, great is thy faith, be it unto thee as thou wilt."² You deserve admiration for giving, and giving in such a spirit: but you would certainly have deserved greater admiration, if while doing this you communicated with us the orthodox. Do not think to yourself that, because you communicate with those who have prayer-house buildings, and for this reason say that you communicate with the church, that you say anything sound. This argument is childish and ridiculous: for a church is a collection of pious men which is joined in one union by right belief. As a witness of this, take Gregory the Theologian. In the discourse against the Arians he said, "These have the houses, we the indweller: these the temples, we God, and the privilege of becoming temples of the

¹ Is. xliiii. 26.

² Mt. xv. 28.

living God and living ones, soul-possessing oblations, rational whole burnt-offerings, perfect sacrifices to God through the adored Trinity : these a people, we angels : these presumption, we faith : these the power of threatening, we of praying : these the power of throwing, we of enduring : these gold and silver, we the pure word. You have made for yourselves houses of two stories and three stories (know the words of Scripture : "A cooling chamber divided by windows") : but these are not yet higher than my faith and heaven to which I am going. Small is my flock, but it does not go towards the rock. Narrow is my fold, yet it cannot be leaped over by wolves : yet it is not such as to admit a robber, or to be captured by thieves and strangers."¹ So far he. And we might have further quoted many other testimonies of the God-clad fathers, which say this same thing. But, not to extend the discussion to a great length, I leave the rest on one side, but will cite for you a passage from a certain presbyter (Isidore, I mean, a native of your city of Pelusium, who was wise in learning and in piety) which is sufficient for this present purpose. In writing to a certain bishop named Theodosius he speaks thus : "Let Eusebius who presides over the people that have their habitation in Pelusium learn what a church is. For it is most shameful and grievous that, when he does not know even this same thing, he should think to perform priestly functions.

p. 284.

¹ Or. xxxiii. 15.

- p. 285. For that the gathering of holy men gathered from right faith and illustrious character is a church, is well-known to those who have tasted wisdom. And that he, not knowing this, is pulling down that which is really the church by giving offence to many, while raising up the church-building, and spoiling the former by driving out the earnest men, while embellishing the latter with fine marble, this also is well-known to everyone. But, if he were to gain any distinct knowledge that a church is one thing and a church-building another (for the former is made up of spotless souls, while the latter is built of stones and beams) I think he will give up pulling down the former, and embellishing the latter beyond what is needful. For it was not for walls, but for souls that the King of Heaven came here. But, if he pretends not to know the fact stated, although it is abundantly clear even to those who are very deficient, I will try to explain this by examples. For, as a sacrifice-building is one thing and a sacrifice another, and an incense-building one thing and incense another, and a council-building one thing and a council another (for the former means the place in which they assemble, and the latter the men who deliberate, on whom the issues both of danger and of safety rest), so also with a church-building and a church. But, if he shall say that even so he has not understood, let him learn that in the apostles' days, when the church
- p. 286. abounded in spiritual gifts, and a glorious mode of life was practised, there were no church-buildings :

but in our days the church-buildings are embellished beyond what is right : while the church (but I do not wish to say anything harsh) is jeered at. For my part, if the choice had been laid before me, I would have chosen to be in those times, in which church-buildings embellished in this way did not exist, but the church was crowned with heavenly and divine gifts, rather than in these, in which the church-buildings are embellished with all kinds of marbles, but the church is stripped and bare of those spiritual gifts.”¹ *Not the end.*

2. *Of the same to Ammonius a presbyter of Alexandria, 513-6. in which he gave him information as to the mention of Peter who was bishop of Alexandria. (From those during episcopacy, from the 1st book the 22nd letter.)*

You bear witness to a wisdom in us which we do not possess, and you call yourself weak in comparison with this, as if we were inviting you to a wrestling-arena or a contest : but for my part I will in due season use the words of Job who says, “ But where was wisdom found ? and what is the place of understanding ? Man knoweth not the way thereof, neither is it found among men.”² Wherefore I looked to the Giver of wisdom, and to Him I yielded abundance of

p. 287

¹ Ep. ii. 246.

² Job xxviii. 12, 13.

understanding thoughts, and I do not come to your brotherly person with many words, but use as few words as possible. For I think that either you have forgotten what I wrote to you before, or you are purposely turning your mind away from it. For what else ought I to have done but communicate with you when the mention of Peter was inserted in the sacred tablets, without raising any objection? but I ought not also to be required to praise and call distinguished a man who is not at heart so regarded by me, although you are otherwise minded. *And after other things.* Whereas you say of Peter who was bishop of your city that he wrote to those who were at one time and another bishops of the city of Antiochus, and openly anathematized the things done at Chalcedon against the right faith, and the impious Tome of Leo, know that we too are not unaware of this: but we express blame on the ground that he embraced the communion of those who did not write the same things as he did. Indeed not a single man among those outside in the epistles that he addressed to him can be shown to have anathematized those who spoke or speak of two natures after the union, let alone the Chalcedonian Synod, or the blasphemous Tome of Leo. Tell me: if now also upon our writing to the prelate of the royal city maybe, and anathematizing the things that we actually anathematize he were to draw up a trimming letter, containing only a confession of the right faith, but not further an anathema of the offending

things also, would this suffice for a pure, sincere, firm conjunction? Not in the least. For instance, when Timothy was instituted after the expulsion of Macedonius, and sent a synodical letter to the saintly John, archbishop of the city of the Alexandrines, with nothing satisfactory about it, his holiness both wrote an epistle in answer, and through some method of mediation required him to remove the offending things by anathema; for he had held his peace, and had adopted the reprehensible course of silence. But the party of Dioscorus and Chæremon, having always been hirelings and hucksters of piety, were not contented with this only, but also caused a letter to be drawn up by the pious king, addressed to the saintly John, archbishop of your city, which contained no small complaints, on the ground that he had not been contented with the Henotikon only, as Peter and Athanasius and John who succeeded the latter had been, without requiring reference to be made in actual words to the impious things done at Chalcedon or to the impious Tome of Leo. And they induced the illustrious king for the purpose of proof to include in his pious letter a copy of the letters; the letters that Peter, Athanasius, and John addressed to the bishops who were outside: which had been produced at an earlier time also in the city of the Sidonians, when the synod of bishops was assembled there, and cast great shame upon us who were combating on behalf of orthodoxy, and nothing else was left to us

p. 289.

except only to hide ourselves and yield to manifest refutations.¹ To these was also attached a letter of the pious John the archbishop written to Dioscorus and Chæremon, to the effect that he did not ask for anything beyond the Henotikon only with no further addition. Do not therefore tell me that Peter wrote this and that to those who in earlier times occupied the throne of Antiochus' city: but show that they ever took upon themselves to write things agreeing with Peter's statements. Or, if you do not show this, he will be clearly convicted of having communicated with those who did not say and think the same as he did. How then did you bring yourself, and that though you are firm on all points, to write this assertion: "We for our part have done nothing new or great in anathematizing the Synod of Chalcedon and the impious Tome of Leo"?

p. 290.

The analogy² of the dead man, who defiles or does not defile water, and the difficulty arising from it you must not take in this way, subjecting the mind to bodily conceptions, and restricting pollution to the effect of a multitude of bodies. In the mind of those who examine with intelligence, a mention whether one or many of men who have committed impiety causes the same abomination: which nothing else can extinguish except an abundance as I have said of the water of right faith, copiously poured upon everyone,

¹ Cf. Zach. Rh. vii. 10.

² θεωρία.

and a loyal anathema of the offending things, like much water which covers the sea according to the expression of the prophet.¹ *Not the end.*

3. *Of the same to Dioscorus archbishop of Alexandria.* 516.
(From those during episcopacy, from the 1st book the 115th letter.)

Even when the brotherly person of your love of God is sending an embassy to the royal among cities, we are not separated from you in spirit : but we lift up to God hands that are not holy, but are much paralysed by sins ; yet still we lift them up and entreat Him, who holds in His hand the hearts of those that are held like rushing water, to incline our serene king's pious soul to compliance, and bestow grace upon your words, in order that you may obtain all that your mind desires, and rescue the Christ-loving city of the Alexandrines from the wrath that threatens it, while time is granted you to feed your flock by "the water of stillness."² When this has been brought to pass, we will again offer prayers of thanksgiving to Christ the Saviour of all and God, and will rejoice, and rejoice together with you at seeing by actual deeds themselves that our Lord is near and that He cares for us, so that even those who are outside our communion will say when they have seen

p. 291.

Is. xi. 9.

² Ps. xxii. 2.

these things, "Truly God is among you." This fact also we reckon to be a part of such graciousness towards us, that the God-loving bishop Soteric who is placed at the head of the God-loving bishops of First Cappadocia should wish to unite with us, and should put forward propositions¹ by means of which we ought to draw those who are in the royal city also to lawful conjunction, and the God-loving bishops of Second Cappadocia also are associated with him in such a purpose. Accordingly I have thought right to inform your sanctity, in order that by common consultation we may decide upon what ought to be done. They say that we ought to receive them upon their giving us satisfaction² up to this point, I mean up to the point of confessing the orthodox faith and anathematizing the things done at Chalcedon and the impious Tome of Leo, who was head of the church of the Romans (would he had never been so!), and those

p 292. who speak of two natures after the union and the energies and properties of these. We are by no means unaware that Timothy of holy memory, who lived in toils and labours of piety, in so far as to dwell in exile, and reckon it a pleasure to suffer for Christ, on his return thence under the Encyclical letter which had this effect, received to communion those who were separated upon their anathematizing what was wrongfully done at Chalcedon, and the impious Tome of Leo; but, since we must do all

¹ προτάσεις.² πληροφορία.

things with deliberation, and support ourselves by brotherly counsels, therefore we have referred the consideration of this matter to your sanctity, in order that you may immediately inform us of your opinion. For it is manifest that we will do those things which you judge to be proper. When we also received the sacred letter of your holiness from Pamphylia, we rejoiced at learning at the same time how you had also in scrupulous fashion and with consideration and in the manner that became you joined the God-loving Castor bishop of the metropolis of Perga in the conduct of the mysterious service, and had communicated with him in the divine mysteries, teaching him by what you did to keep the possession of the sound faith "with all observance,"¹ and to hold the beginning of our stability firm unto the end, as Paul says in his epistle to the Hebrews.² This will more especially be the case if they keep themselves free from association in communion with those of contrary opinions. Of this I for my part bore testimony to the Cappadocians also, reminding them moreover of the patristic law. For Basil of saintly memory in an epistle to a certain Urbicius who was a monk at that time wrote in the same strain: "We beg therefore that these things receive ecclesiastical correction, and that you hold aloof from communion with the heretics, knowing as you do that indifference in these things takes away from the boldness before Christ."³ In

p. 293.

¹ Pr. iv. 23.² He. iii. 14.³ Ep. 262. 2.

fact, to speak the truth, if a man believe rightly, but reckon association with adversaries as nothing, it is time for him to say like Paul, "I am become sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal."¹ *The end.*

- 513-8. 4. *Of the same to Dionysius bishop of Tarsus. (From those during episcopacy, from the 2nd book the 4th letter.)*

p. 294. How I behaved with all attention and respect towards you when you came here it is not mine to say, but it belongs to you who had the experience to declare this, if need demand. Of this also I think your religiousness is not unaware, that of your own accord and without pressure from anyone you confessed everything that is required for a confession of the orthodox faith and a renunciation of the offences that have divided the unity of God's holy churches, and ratified it in writing and in a letter. How is it then that you have treated things thus done with piety and of your own accord as nothing and do not keep them "with all observance," as it is written,² but admit to the ministry men who do not share your belief, and by the expressions which you carelessly and lightly utter to these show that you entered into union with the cause of piety rather because you gave way before the time than because you deliberately chose what was right? Perhaps it is time for me to say

¹ 1 Co. xiii. 1.

² Pr. iv. 23.

to you the words of the Apostle also, I mean, "Ye have not yet withstood unto blood in the combat against sin, and ye have forgotten the exhortation which speaketh unto you as unto sons."¹ I shall in fact be very much ashamed, and hide myself, if we, whose duty it is to see "the Lord's glory with open face"² and with boldness and after the manner of apostles, have the veil of fear and of respect of persons laid upon our hearts. Therefore let that which has been neglected receive the required correction and care. If the deed that has been done had been a case of rejecting my meanness, I would perhaps have overlooked it: but, if it is a case of insulting and contemning the orthodox faith, it is by no means a course free from danger for us to keep silence in this matter, if we have any regard for the eternal torture that is threatened. For the holy Basil also in writing to a certain Urbicius a monk speaks as follows: [Here follows the citation given on p. 259]. *The end.* p. 295.

5. *Of the same to Cosmas archimandrite of the monastery of the blessed Cyrus or Khurish. (From those during episcopacy, from the 2nd book the 16th letter.)* 513-8.

We have readily forgiven the devout Julian the sin that was involuntarily committed by him. Ignorance and the fact that the man who has sinned confesses this, and in consciousness of his fault asks for forgive-

¹ He. xiii. 4.

² 2 Co. iii. 18.

ness, is a sufficient defence. In fact, even when the service of Moses' law prevailed, a man's ignorance, or rather the sin arising from this, was not forgiven him on any other condition except on his offering the sacrifice for sin: and now also, when the bloodless sacrifice has taken its place, and the truth has expelled the shadow, in place of a sin-ram, or a pair of turtle-doves or young pigeons, and in place of offering fine wheat flour,¹ we have "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world"²: only if we duly confess the sin. For David also the speaker of divine things somewhere says in song, "I said 'I will confess my
p. 296. transgression to the Lord against myself,' and thou forgavest the iniquity of my heart."³ This also you must clearly know: that the Lord has forgiven through our meanness not only the man who committed the sin, but also all who in ignorance communicated with him. For do not think that the sin committed by the brother is less. For a man to associate in communion with heretics is grievous, and unpardonable, when the sin is voluntarily committed. For how is it anything but shameful that, while we do not consent to eat common sustenance with our own enemies, we should eat the heavenly bread which gives life to the world with the enemies of God, or that we should communicate with those that are wrongfully presented for ordination by them as with holy men, when the Apostle cries, "What communion hath light with darkness? or

¹ Le. v. 1-11.² John i. 29.³ Ps. xxxi. 5.

what part hath a believer with an unbeliever?"¹ and John the son of thunder writes to the believers, "If any man cometh unto you and bringeth not this teaching, receive him not in the house and say not to him 'Hail'; for he that saith to him 'Hail' is partaker of his evil deeds."?² Therefore, these things being so, keep your heart "with all observance," as it is written.³ For that "without faith it is impossible to please" is a declaration⁴ of the Holy Spirit.⁵ *The end.*

6. *Of the same to John the count from Antaradus.* p. 297.
513-8.
(*From those during episcopacy, from the 3rd book the 390th letter.*)

Your magnificent and believing consort did not need a letter of recommendation. For we will say both to you and to her in the words of the Apostle, "Ye are our epistle, written in our heart, and known and read by all men."⁶ However your actions seem gratifying, even those which are thought superfluous. As to the prelate of Arca, whereas you said in your letter that he reckons it an intolerable thing to do anything that annoys us, and this though he and those with him who are trying to bring him to this are making many prayers and entreaties, what was written seemed to be not clearly, but obscurely expressed:

¹ 1 Co. vi. 14, 15.² 2 J. 10, 11.³ Pr. iv. 23.⁴ ἀπόφασις.⁵ He. xi. 6.⁶ 2 Co. iii. 2.

but it informed me that he is pure in the communion which those men were desirous of rendering polluted through heretical association. And I for my part confess that this conduces to my pleasure. In fact the salvation of any man, especially of those that are loved like you, is fitly thought by me to be worth tens of thousands of talents of gold : or, to speak more justly, even worth all the pomp¹ and theatrical display in this world. But that you have rather bestowed a gift p. 298. upon yourself, not upon me, by doing this is easy to show from the God-inspired scripture. For John the speaker of divine things in an epistle to certain believers says as follows: "If any man cometh unto you and bringeth not this sound teaching, receive him not in the house, and say not to him, 'Hail.' For he that saith to him 'Hail' is partaker of his evil deeds."² And Paul the wise in writing to Titus expressed himself thus: "A man that is an heretic after one admonition and two avoid : knowing that such a man is perverted and sinneth, being self-condemned."³ And the words written by him to the Corinthians also lead to this sense : for he says, "Therefore 'come out from among them and be separate,' saith the Lord, 'and approach not an unclean man.'"⁴ However, not to spin out the letter by using many words, know that the great Basil also, the teacher of all that is under heaven, wrote this in his letters as a kind of rule and canon, in this manner : [Here follows the citation

¹ φαντασία.² 2 J. 10, 11.³ Tit. iii. 10.⁴ 2 Co. vi. 17.

given on p. 259]. These sacred commands therefore you have followed, in that you would not at all consent to come to the communion of those who profess opinions contrary to the orthodox faith. So that, if your firmness had slackened (as I pray may not happen), how great repentance would you have needed for transgressing the strictness of such a law! Wherefore
 p. 299.
 keep the gift that was given you by God, I mean that of the pure and unadulterated communion: for truly this is a gift of God. In fact Paul also somewhere speaks thus: "And this was not of you. For it is a gift of God: not of works, lest any man should boast."¹ The saying also of one of the wise men without seems to be in a way suited to the present topic; "It is harder for us to keep good things than to get them." This too it is good to consider: if he who eats with the king's adversaries is thought to sin beyond forgiveness, where ought we to place him who eats the mysterious and heavenly bread with those who hold opinions adverse to God? Let these words that we have written concerning your salvation which is highly regarded by us suffice: words few compared with the need, but too many for the compass of the letter. But that the ruler of Arca, whom I mentioned a short time ago, is exactly like a beast of burden and a pack-ass, and that he belongs to those who lead him rather than to himself, experience showed even before your words. You were wise and very intelligent in considering that

¹ Eph. ii. 8, 9.

that letter which exposes the false profession ought to be sent to those who conduct our *apokriseis* in the royal city: a thing which I have in fact done. But let it
 p. 300. not be unknown to your greatness that he spoke the truth when he said that he had received a letter from his brother which hindered him from making the journey to us, or rather which led him to death.
The end.

519-34. 7. *Of the same to father John Canopites.*¹ (*From those that were found outside the 23 books, the 4th letter.*)

We for our part, feeble although we are, write everything written by your holiness upon the tablets of our heart, as it is written,² and do not, as a man might think, read it over hastily. And we pray, as sinners, that your words may with God's help be continued to us in the time of trial. For I am in the habit of mentioning Basil and Gregory, and having their names constantly upon my tongue: but there is nothing resembling their virtue in me, seeing that I have passed all my life in negligence. As for those who, as your holiness says, starting from this place, go to other provinces³ and communicate indifferently, my conscience does not smite me as not having given this injunction with all my power and all my capacity for

¹ Cf. Vit. Sev. p. 23; Vit. Pet. Ib. p. 132.

² 2 Co. iii. 3.

³ ἐπαρχίας.

teaching, and said that want of carefulness in these things is great wickedness; whence I did not shrink from giving personal demonstration and proof even to women, when need called, that there is a great gulf, as in the passage in the Gospels,¹ between the orthodox communion and that of the adversaries, and that we have no communion or association with those of adverse opinions. But, if some men associate secretly in so great a number of cities and of provinces,² your sanctity knows that this reflects no blame on us. So far was I from being satisfied with the matter that I even wrote an epistle to some of our brothers in Alexandria to say that they ought not, on the pretext of worshipping in the holy places, to associate in communion with men of other opinions. These are our proceedings, and this is the position in which they stand. However matters are placed as in a balance and a scale of a balance, and we do not know what will be the result of the things that are being stirred in the royal city and the things reported concerning the synod that is to be held,³ seeing that they are variously told and differently at different times. But of this one thing we for our part are assured, that, while God extends His hand, no one will be able to lead us away from the right faith. From places and from sees removal by force is possible: but from belief it is wholly impossible, unless we ourselves

p. 301.

¹ Lu. xvi. 26.² ἐπαρχίας.³ Perhaps the conference of 532 (see Intr. p. viii).

desire it, and the fear of God be lacking in our souls. For "the Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him and in those that hope for His grace,"¹ as the singing prophet somewhere says. But you, father, help us with all the power that is in you by stretching forth your saintly hands. *The end.*

p. 302.

519-38. 8. *Of the same to the believers in Antioch. (From those after banishment, from the 2nd book the 9th letter.)*

To the holy church of God in Antioch, the devout clergymen and those that are among the people, Severus greeting in the Lord.

Neither at an earlier time when I left your Christ-loving city did you omit——. *And after other things.* And to others again, showing how great are the benefits of sufferings for Christ's sake, he wrote in an epistle, "Unto you it was given not only to believe on Christ, but also to suffer for His sake,"² calling it a gift given by God that they should suffer in the cause of piety. Fitly therefore and as beseems your intelligence and the earnestness of your character you are searching and inquiring both as to the exact nature of the right faith, and as to the way to observe this with carefulness. For a man to be polluted by the communion of heretics ruins all the labours and

¹ Ps. cxlvi. 11.

² Ph. i. 29.

toils even of the solitary life, and leads to hell and final destruction : from which the divine John the Evangelist also tried to hinder men, writing thus : [Here follows the citation given on p. 263]. The God-clad Basil too, the great doctor of the church, wrote in an epistle to a certain monk named Urbicius, saying : [Here follows the citation given on p. 259]. p. 303. In the letter to count Terence also he speaks thus : “ But, even if a man come from heaven itself, but is not in accord with the sound word of faith, I cannot reckon him a communicator in the sacraments.”¹ And in writing to the same Terence’s daughters who were deaconesses he repeats the same things in a terrifying form, because the Arians and Fighters against the Spirit were disturbing the churches of God and were surging against them tyrannically : “ But they who speak of either the Son or the Spirit as a creature, or reduce Him in any way to a subsidiary and servile office, are far from the truth : whose communion one should shun and from whose words one should turn away as being destructive of souls.”² And to Patrophilus the bishop he wrote thus : “ If these things seem to you a fit subject for grief, impute the separation to those who were the cause. But, if you judge them indifferent, pardon us when we do not consent to be of the leaven of those who teach other things.”³ Gregory also the Theologian wrote thus about the Arians who were in power at that time, as

¹ Ep. 214. 2.² Ep. 105.³ Ep. 250.

p. 304. I said, and compelled the orthodox to communicate with them against their will: "Having made this one charge only, that they did not assent to the impiety and were not polluted by the communion; which we shun as serpent's poison, that does not hurt the body but blackens the depths of the soul."¹ Let no one therefore cause you to depart from that which is right. For "in a very little while He that cometh will come and will not tarry":² and "He will render to every man according to his deeds."³ For it is in very truth "a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God."⁴ *Not the end.*

Sept.
537.

9. *Of the same to Andrew the reader and notary.
(From those after banishment, from the 9th book
the 62nd letter.)*

By a wonderful chance, such as no one expects before it happens, the letter of your devoutness was delivered to me on the fourth day of the present month of September, on which is celebrated the memory of the thrice-blessed Dioscorus, the archbishop and holy martyr, who is now counted among the heretics in Alexandria and anathematized by the impious. With this letter was also joined a letter of the holy virgins who were expelled from Antioch: which in us

¹ Or. xxxiii. 4.

² He. x. 37.

³ Ro. ii. 6.

⁴ He. x. 31.

excited many sighs and tears, but for them has prepared right glorious heavenly blessings, such as are described in the book of life. *And after other things.* But you have rightly determined that the Christ-loving freewomen shall in no way be afraid to visit their *anepsios* or cousin,¹ who is laid in the martyr's chapel of the holy Peter the archbishop and martyr. Where the bones of holy martyrs have previously been laid, it is right to pray without hesitation: especially when the place is in silence, and the heretics are not unlawfully conducting services or singing inside. In fact even Peter the bishop of holy memory from Iberia prayed in the house of the chapel of the glorious holy martyr and apostle Judas the brother of James, who is laid at Berytus (in the same fashion he prayed also at Tripolis in the house of the chapel of the holy victory-clad martyr Leontius).

As to the fact which you mention that they are constantly busying themselves about the offering that they made to me, I say that here again is a timely act on the part of the sacred martyrs and divine virgins who are expected from the East, and are ready to show forth in themselves as pious women the love of God. For my part, if I be hungry or thirsty, I will rend by force the mantle and tunic with which they are clad, if they do not generously feed me. May the Lord therefore in return for everything give them a perfect reward for their good will! You did rightly

¹ Syr. "uncle's son."

p. 306.

in informing us further of the decease of the pious bishop Zosimus, in order that we may praise God who did not allow him to be wholly perverted to any of the deeds of the adversaries, but to depart while in some sort counted in the communion of the orthodox, and find mercy in the judgment before the awful tribunal : that is, unless he is perhaps stained somewhere at bottom with the leprosy of heresy and with impious belief. In the case of men of this kind I say with confidence that they will find no place of clemency, seeing that, as far as in them lies, they have given strength to the noose of error to destroy the souls of many. *The end.*

519-35. 10. *Of the same to Cæsaria the patrician. (From those which were found outside the 23 books, the 15th letter.)*

p. 307.

Out of piety that loves instruction you ask whether some of the orthodox are doing well in not communicating with the heretics, but listening to the reading of the holy Gospel, or even staying during the time of the mysterious prayers, but not communicating in the rites that are being performed. To those who are not ignorant of the divine laws the answer is manifest. John the Evangelist, the speaker of divine things, wrote : [Here follows the citation given on p. 263]. If then it is not right to offer even a bare greeting to those who bring another teaching and do not teach

the orthodox faith, how can one communicate in prayers and in lessons or in any other such things with such men as these? And Paul the wise commands us to turn away even the very face from those who are in servitude to heresy, writing thus to Titus: [Here follows the citation given on p. 264]. He therefore who joins in assembly with the guilty renders himself subject to the same judgment. Nay even the holy canons of the Church have manifestly repudiated the principle of a man praying with heretics. For the hundred and thirty-fifth canon says; "It is not right to receive the blessings¹ of heretics, which are rather no-blessings and not blessings." And there immediately follows the hundred and thirty-sixth also, which says; "It is not right to pray with heretics or schismatics."² These statements give the strict rule. But, when I the mean one, as far as my mean knowledge extends, consider the broadness of the God-inspired scripture, I find that men who hold ministerial posts or high offices, and are obliged to accompany and attend upon rulers, receive an indulgence, if, when they go in with them and hear a lesson and prayers, they keep themselves perfect: I mean if they do not communicate in the communion from which they are divided. For instance in the fourth Book of Kingdoms there is something like this written. A certain captain of the host of the King of Syria of Damascus, by name Naaman, who was a leper, went to the prophet Elisha, and received

p. 308.

¹ *I.e.* εὐλογίαι, presents.² Mansi ii. 570.

cleansing from his affliction. And through his healing he recognised the one and only true God of Israel, the Maker and Creator of all, and spurned the falsely-named gods and his fathers' worship and error. And, when he was about to return to his own country, he said to the prophet that he would no more look upon the strange gods and vain demons. "But," he says, "although the King of Syria go into the temple of the demon in their country who is called Rimmon, and I also go in with him to do him honour and to support him with my hand, I will worship the true God in my heart, and I will recognise Him only, but I will not communicate with the king in the error and worship the demon with him. Only" (he says) "pray for me, that God may be gracious to me in this thing also on account of necessity." And the prophet was silent and did not praise or blame: but by silence he followed a middle line and gave him indulgence: and, having invoked peace upon him, he sent him away. But it is well that we cite also the actual words of the divine scripture, which Naaman spoke to the prophet himself, which run as follows: "'Thy slave will no more perform a burnt-offering or a sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord only. And in this thing the Lord will be gracious to thy slave, when my lord goeth into the house of Rimmon to worship him there, because he leaneth upon my hands. And, when he worshippeth in the house of Rimmon, I, being with him, will worship the Lord God. And the Lord will be gracious to thy slave in

this thing.' And Elisha said to Naaman, 'Go in peace.'"¹ Therefore, seeing that your glorious devoutness knows these things, I pray that with pure and sincere faith you may walk in the Lord's paths both in deed and in word. For besides your other excellencies I admire also your practice of reading and meditating on the divine words, the fruits and flowers of which are displayed in your God-loving letters, which gladden those before whom they come. *The end.*

V. Fifth section.² About clergymen or laymen who are converted from heresies.

1. *Of the same to John the tribune, in the name of father Leontius. (From those before episcopacy, from the 4th book the 2nd letter.)* 489-508.

For my part I thought that the negligence and sloth that has grown old with me, and the sleep of sins from which up to the present day I have not been roused, were unknown to the majority of men, but known to God only, "who knoweth the hearts," and makes "light the hidden things of darkness," and reveals the thoughts that are in the mind.³ But you by naming me a city set upon a height have caused me an increase of tears, if I not only injure myself by my

p. 310.

¹ 4 R. v. 17-19.

² τίτλος.

³ Ac. xv. 8; 1 Co. iv. 5.

forgetfulness, but also make myself a bad example to others who know me. The holy scripture knows of such cities also and evil powers, and men who regard impiety, whose memory the Lord destroyed with tumult. However, I considered that you were led by love and your faith towards Christ to write thus, though you distressed my wretchedness. But, concerning the other part of your letter, I was much grieved : and I prayed that the earth might open for me, seeing that you have dared to open a blaspheming mouth against the saint and archbishop Timothy, the preserver of the orthodox faith, who was left as a remnant and a root for Israel, enduring long exiles,¹ and bearing Christ's marks in him. What cause of blame is there, tell me, in the fact of his receiving canonically upon repentance those who were ordained by heretics, when they anathematized their heresy in writing? Are you not in the habit of hearing that

p. 311. Melitus,² the archbishop of Antioch, was ordained by Arians, and that he afterwards showed himself an approved champion of orthodoxy, insomuch that he was thought worthy to suffer many things, and put on the crown of confession? What then? Did those who received this man at that time and honoured him with tens of thousands of praises, one of whom was the great Basil, also praise or receive the man who ordained him, holding as he did Arian opinions? Nay, him they justly repudiated as having remained in the nets

¹ ἐξορίας.² Meletius is meant.

of Arius, while they admired Melitus as having by repentance purged away the dregs of heresy and combated on behalf of orthodoxy. But you say that the holy Timothy contradicted himself, seeing that at first he said that those who had been ordained should not be received, but at a later time received them. Being an old man and without learning and uninstructed I acquiesce in what you say. However, we find that the holy apostles also showed similar self-contradiction. For instance Peter, though he was in the habit of preaching the gospel to those of the circumcision only, and did not go on to preach to those of the nations also, because he thought it to be "unlawful to approach or join himself to anyone of another race," afterwards, when he had received a revelation from God, said, "God hath showed me also not to call any man common and unclean": and again, "God also who knoweth the hearts bare them witness, giving them the Holy Spirit even as unto us, and put no difference between us and them."¹ In such cases the purpose is approved though the things done are thought to appear in some way contradictory. But, that you may learn that it is not I only the uninstructed who say these things, I remember to have heard a discourse of the holy John, bishop of Constantinople, read: and I have now again looked for the book, and have copied some sentences from it for your affection, which give us an example bearing upon this

p. 312.

¹ AC. x. 28, xv. 8.

p. 313.

present subject, that we are not to be scandalized without reason. The discourse in which the holy man writes these things is the encomium on Paul the Apostle: and he speaks thus: "So neither would Paul have been known to imitate his Lord, except that he became now a Jew, now as one not under the law. For now he would keep the law: now he would neglect the law. And at one time he would cleave to the life here; at another again he would despise it. And now he would ask for money: now he would refuse it even when given. And he would sacrifice, and shave: and again he would anathematize the doers of these things. And now he would circumcize: now he would reject circumcision. And the things done were contradictory: but the thought and intention from which these proceeded was very consistent and consonant with itself. For he sought one thing, the salvation of those who saw and heard these things. For this reason now he would keep the law: now he would subvert it. For it was not only in what he did, but also in what he said that he was versatile and rich in expedients: not being changed in his mind, nor passing from one disposition to another, but remaining that which he was, and treating each of the said matters in accordance with the need of the time. Do not therefore speak evil of him on account of these things, but celebrate and crown him the more on account of these things. For in fact in the case of a physician also, when you see him now burning now feeding; and using now iron now medicine; and now prohibiting foods

and drinks, now allowing the patient to enjoy these without stint ; and at one time restricting him on all sides, at another ordering the man who has been seized with fever to drink a glass full of cold water, you do not blame him for the variation, nor because of the perpetual change : but you will then praise the technical skill the more, because you see it boldly applying methods that seem to us contradictory and hurtful, and pledging itself for a safe result. For such is the man of technical skill. But, if we accept a physician when he does these contradictory things, much more must we celebrate the soul of Paul, which approached those in trouble in this way.”¹ So far the holy John : p. 314. but I wish to say one other thing which also springs from rusticity and an uninstructed mind. I consider that all the bishops throughout the earth who are bound together with one another in the orthodox faith and combined in union are one. For all follow the model of one, of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Therefore, as, when Cyprian in Africa with the synod under him said that all who had been baptized by heresy ought to receive the laver of regeneration, as if they had never originally been baptized at all, but at last the opinion of Sixtus of Rome, and of Dionysius of Alexandria and of the others prevailed, so that those who had been baptized by heretics in the name of the three substances, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, were not re-baptized, no one of sound

¹ P. G. xlix. 498.

intelligence said that those saintly bishops contradicted themselves, but that upon later consideration they chose a better and more canonical course, so also the holy Timothy too at first, owing to the blasphemy and the impenitent heart of the Proterians as it was at the beginning, and the zeal of the orthodox people of the city of the Alexandrines, said that he would not accept
 p. 315. those who had been ordained by the opposite party : but at last, when they canonically repented and he lawfully accepted them, he did not show himself self-contradictory, but rather very consistent, since he said those things on account of the zeal of the believers, but allowed the canons to prevail, and accepted those who repented in accordance with the final conclusions of the fathers, and further by signing the Encyclical united himself to all the bishops in the world.¹ Though these things seem contradictory to many, yet nevertheless their one purpose was the salvation of those who had perished, and that those who stood upright might not under the influence of immoderate zeal leave the royal road, and turn away to that which is rather on the right side. Therefore, you that are beloved on account of our Lord Jesus, do not out of ignorance injure your soul : but hear me the unlearned and uninstructed, and do not revile the man of God, with whom all the fathers were satisfied at that time, not having received the satisfaction² that is from men, but that which is from God : and I the mean and sinful

¹ Cf. p. 181.

² πληροφορία.

am, as I persuade myself, no false witness of this. We did not love Timothy as having been crucified for us, as you say, but as having been a true bondservant of Him who was of His own accord crucified for the race of men, and a faithful and wise steward of God's mysteries:¹ who also contended against the heresy of the Diphysites or Nestorians, and the impious phantasy² of the Eutychianists, proclaiming Emmanuel to be one nature out of two, the Godhead that is and the manhood, and the same of one essence with the Father in the Godhead, and of one essence with us men in the manhood. For He took of the seed of Abraham and was made like us His brethren in all things except sin,³ in order that He might redeem those who were under sin, and might save us by His blood, and we might thenceforth be called a holy people, inasmuch as we were created by the blood of God, who suffered for us in the flesh and remained impassible. Let your beloved person know that to all who came to my pitifulness of the holy fathers in Pamphylia, and of the Christ-loving laymen, I read what was written to me by you: and each of them urged me to write to you many things taken from the doctors who were eminent at various times in the church. For some of them actually knew you at the time when Promotus the count, whose soul is at rest, was living in the royal city: with whom you perhaps in fact discussed these things. But for my part, seeing that

p. 316.

¹ Lu. xii. 42; 1 Co. iv. 1.² φαντασία.³ He. ii. 16, 17, iv. 15.

as an uninstructed and unlearned man I avoid many words, I have sent you in an epistle the fruit of my rusticity : having besought the merciful God to place in you the wisdom which is gentle and obedient, in respect of the things that have been written by me. May the Lord of peace and of tranquillity grant us peace and tranquillity at all times and in all ways!
The end.

p. 317.

- 513-8. 2. *Of the same to Nicias the bishop. (From those during episcopacy, from the 3rd book the 323rd letter.)*

We were surprised when your sanctity's letter came before us, by which we learned that Gennadius the devout presbyter of the village called Minidus had any doubt whether those who have received and undergone the spurious ordination, and have purged themselves of these dregs by petitions of confession which they presented to you, and have once put off by a written legal renunciation the strange and foreign clothing¹ in which they thought themselves to have been clothed by the heretics, ought to return to their former grade in the ministry. Therefore they must show this in deed by returning to the former grade, and in it performing their sacred ministrations, if we are not sinning in using this same expression, and mentioning "the

¹ Zeph. i. 8.

former," as if there were a second : whereas, since the second has no validity and is unknown to God, it is more fitting to say that they ought to minister in the true and only grade, which they have legally received, there being no other at all. For no one who has been legally ordained a deacon maybe shall be able to think of himself that he is a presbyter, whether by fraud or by some disowned and illegal hand. Therefore as I said, the devout Gennadius must know clearly that it is by deeds that they ought to unite to themselves those who have cast from them in writing the strange and accursed laying on of a heretical hand, if "the kingdom of God is not in word but in power,"¹ and not he that says "Lord, Lord!" but he that does the will of the heavenly Father enters into the kingdom of heaven.²
The end.

p. 318.

3. *Of the same to the monastery at Tagais. (From those during episcopacy, from the 4th book the 248th letter.)* 513-8.

When we asked the God-loving presbyter and archimandrite Neon how your honourable cloister is faring and what its condition³ is (if one were to call that cloister a dwelling-place of the orthodox faith the expression would be appropriate), he told me that some among you out of fervent zeal are divided in a matter of names, and are passing to questions outside the

¹ 1 Co. iv. 20.² Mt. vii. 21.³ κατάστασις.

p. 319. boundaries. But for my part I wish to remind you, who are disciples and hearers of Stephen who is among the saints, that the royal road both of the faith and of the active virtues is in danger not only from things that lie on the left side, but also much more from things that lie on the right and are not recognised, and from principles and causes that appear just and are able to deceive. You remember that, when the man remembered for sanctity made a union with the holy fathers in Palestine and in Alexandria, he found certain men to be deceived by considerations that lay rather on the right side, and to be passing to scruples self-created¹ and uncanonical, of which you have a clearer knowledge: and being moved with zeal he inquired into the affair, and subjected it to very careful examination: and the *diataxeis* or commands of the fathers who at various times fed the churches were scrutinized, and the truth was made manifest and judgment given in its favour by everyone, and it was decided to be right. I also when I came here found certain men saying that converts from the evil Chalcedonian faith to the orthodox faith ought to be re-baptized, on the ground that the holy bishops who met at Laodicea² and effected the deprivation of Flavian of evil name call those who confess two natures after the union Paulianists: and on the ground that Julius also, who was bishop of the city of the Romans, so termed

¹ *I.e.* ἐθελοθρησκεία (Col. ii. 23).

² Ephesus must be meant, but *cf.* p. 316.

them, as they said, in his letter to Dionysius the bishop of Corinth :¹ and I had a discussion with them, insomuch that I cited a certain enactment and showed that such must not be re-baptized, nor yet be re-anointed. Concerning names also, we must distinguish between times and look into them, and consider what ought to be required in the case of general unions, and not be confused by chance occurrences and mingle things that are not to be mingled, and excite disturbances against ourselves, and give others also, as is written, turbid filth to drink.² I should have wished to deal with these matters in this letter also : but, since various things have been written by me in epistles to different men upon this same subject,³ I have now made *isa* or copies of these compositions, and have given them to the God-loving presbyter Neon, in order that they may be read to the God-loving intelligence and devoutness of your sacred company and spiritual fellowship : and I am well assured that you will place them in the ears of your hearts, and will write them on the tablets of the inner man, and will be delivered from disturbance, and with all readiness will make prayers on behalf of us, who are daily incurring dangers for the sake of the sound word of faith, and are able to say with Paul, "I swear by my boast of you, my brethren, which I have in Christ Jesus, that I die daily,"⁴ it being understood that the Apostle endured

p. 320.

p. 321.

¹ P. L. viii. 929.² Eze. xxxiv. 19 (?).³ ὑπόθεσις.⁴ 1 Co. xv. 31.

such things as a test of his virtue, while we are chastised as a recompense for our sins, seeing that we have nothing else to set to the credit account, except that we show boldness on behalf of the orthodox faith.
The end.

- 515-8. 4. *Of the same to Theotecnus the presbyter and archiatros. (From those during episcopacy, from the 6th book the 161st letter.)*

With regard to the case¹ of Mark the devout monk and presbyter you have written throughout wisely and with the religious feeling and the intelligence that belongs to you. Know however that, even if we had not the instance of the saintly bishop Eleusinius, we have many other examples provided by the holy fathers in the times of the Arians, which charge us not to repel those who have been often perverted, and recurred to the evil thing as before, but, as far as is possible, to allow them the last repentance. It is related in church histories that Asterius, who was a sophist and author among the Arians,² was often received and often returned to his vomit,³ insomuch that this expression of his is cited in histories. He cried out lying on his face before everyone and saying, "Trample upon me, the salt which has lost its savour." Hosius also, the bishop of

p. 322.

¹ ὑπόθεσις.

² Cf. Socr. i. 36, Theod. Hist. Rel. p. 1321. I cannot find this story.

³ 2 Pe. ii. 22.

Corduba, the old man, whom Athanasius who is among the saints often called "a man of goodly old age,"¹ was often perverted and overcome by the times and again received, and many others. Therefore with Mark also this same principle should hold good, and he should be received on the basis of a written document, upon his anathematizing the heresies of the Diphysites and of the Massalians, together with the impious men themselves and their impiety. For indeed "both the impious man and his impiety are equally hated before God,"² as a wise man said; although the fathers as pilots³ from motives of policy received some men upon the impiety alone being anathematized (I refer to the *pepragmena* or things done at Chalcedon), thinking that those who did them were also anathematized at the same time in silence. When this is done it is absolutely necessary that the office of superintendent should also be entrusted to Mark, seeing that the majority of the brethren and, if one may so say, all are asking for him as you write. Indeed after considering the matter from many points of view I have come to this conclusion, that it is better that he should be canonically received now while he is humbled, than that, desired as he is by many persons, he should betake himself perhaps to the royal among cities, and do things that many are wont to do, and with money buy independence, and get the monastery

¹ Ap. c. Ar. 44 (?); cf. p. 207, note 1.

² W. xiv. 9.

³ κυβερνήται.

p. 323. under his control with liberty to follow the impiety with head bare and unashamed. I have also received the letter that you wrote about the hateful opinions of Romanus, in which you state that you have read the tome written by me cursorily. But I wish you to read it yet again and pay attention to the contents, and to condemn more strongly the impious man, and induce the saintly bishops also to do the same, and repudiate that wicked man by a common synodical letter addressed by them to my meanness. There is yet another thing that I had almost forgotten to make known to your religiousness, viz., that the devout Mark in what he said displayed an appearance of shrinking from the superintendence of the monastery, and seeking only to live at peace, and besides this asserted further that a royal letter had assigned the monastery to the apostolic see of the city of the Antiochenes, and that the clergymen in Tarsus had a spite against them, and prevented them from lesson-reading and the offering of oblations if they were in need, the holy remnants of the bloodless sacrifice being often lacking to them. And I said to him and to the man who was with him, "You cannot raise these matters now: but for the present you Mark must certainly show true repentance by a form of satisfaction¹ and by a change in your deeds, and then, if you have the witness of time to the blamelessness of your future conduct, we will also go on to settle the said points,² if

¹ πληροφορία.² κεφάλαια.

anyone try to act perversely towards you, and to do any spiteful and injurious action to your holy monastery." Therefore, in order that the questions raised upon these subjects too may not be unknown to you, I have added these few words in the letter. p. 324. Moreover on second thoughts I have determined to warn your religiousness of this further point also : that, when I was composing the letter to the metropolitan,¹ and I thought that the number of brethren living in the monastery was large, I came to the following decision : that is that the entrusting of the superintendence to the devout Mark should depend on the opinion of the majority. But I learn that there are not more than fifteen : and distinct information has been sent me that one or two only are thought to be opposed to him, and that it is certainly he who ought to receive the post of superintendent, upon giving complete satisfaction with sincerity and with his whole heart, so far as men can see. We have also sent an *ison* or copy of the form of satisfaction² which our notaries have drawn up, having compiled it from other forms³ that were previously composed by me in the cases of various persons.

The God-loving Basil bishop of Pompeiupolis has informed us that he has been compelled by the God-loving Dionysius bishop of the metropolis to undertake an unlawful laying on of hands or ordination. If this is really so, it is also proper that your love of

¹ v. 5.² πληροφορία.³ πληροφορίας.

God and the religious presbyter and logothete John should take care that it too receive correction.
The end.

p. 325.

515-8.

5. *Of the same to Dionysius bishop of Tarsus. (From those during episcopacy, the 6th book the 178th letter.)*

Having by many circuitous and roundabout methods succeeded in mastering the various aspects of the case¹ of the devout monk and presbyter Mark, and having considered all the circumstances that had come to my knowledge, and finding that he is repeatedly changing, I remembered Him who speaks through Jeremiah the prophet and says to Israel who had sinned, "Behold! I will enter into judgment with thee when thou sayest, 'I have not sinned'; because thou hast been very scornful so as to repeat thy ways"; and again, "if a man put away his wife, and she go from him and become another man's, shall she return to him again?"; and again, "Lift up thine eyes to uprightness and see where thou hast not been defiled."² But the same may be seen holding forth the broad path of repentance and saying through Isaiah the gracious words, "I held forth my hands all the day unto a disobedient and gain-saying people, who walk in a way that is not good but after their sins";³ and the day is the whole of this life according to Paul the Apostle who says, "Exhort yourselves daily while it is called to-day, that none of

¹ ὑπόθεσις.

² Jer. ii. 35, 36, iii. 1, 2.

³ Is. lxxv. 2.

you may be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin.”¹ Therefore my conclusion and judgment is that an opportunity for penitence be given to the said devout presbyter and monk Mark, in order that he may anathematize in writing the heresies in which he has shared, viz., that of those who divide our one Lord and God Jesus Christ into two natures after the union, and that also of the Massalians with the persons themselves and the doctrines, as we also here caused him to draw up a form of satisfaction² here in writing. For indeed we find certain men in the times of the Arians who removed themselves from the communion of the holy fathers and fell away to the error of the heretics, and were again converted and were not repelled. However the devout Mark must henceforth be cautious and know clearly that it is not possible for him to retain our communion and that of those who do not think the same as we do, seeing that Paul who had Christ speaking in him warns us to shun even communications with such men, saying, [Here follows the citation given on p. 264]. And John the speaker of divine things writing an epistle and holding the same opinion speaks thus; [Here follows the citation given on p. 263]. And Basil, who was moved by the same Spirit as these, and is an accurate teacher of the sacred laws, wrote in the letter to Urbicius the monk as follows; [Here follows the citation given on p. 259]. If the circumstances of the present case³ concerned

p. 326.

p. 327.

¹ He. iii. 13.² πληροφορία.³ ὑπόθεσις.

only the person of the devout presbyter and monk Mark, I would perhaps have closed the letter with these texts. But, since it is a habitation of many brethren, and a headship of rational souls that have taken upon them the philosophic life, in singing of the comeliness of which and the pleasure that it gives to God and in chanting those harmonious spiritual songs the prophet David sang crying, "Behold! what is good and what beautiful except that brethren should dwell together, as ointment upon the head that runs down upon the beard, the beard of Aaron?",¹ it is your sanctity's duty to look at the number of the brethren dwelling in the monastery, and to comply with the opinion of those who are the majority, provided firstly that the often-mentioned devout Mark did not intrude himself by force and violence, and secondly that he is not by his association disturbing and dissolving the bond of unity, to speak in the language of the Apostle,² and the concord of those who are living a life that has no association with the world's confusions, and is beautiful and lovely and resembles ointment. Repentance is not a thing of the same kind as the spiritual headship and superintendence of a monastery. Such men must be of approved character, and men who have walked in all virtue, according to the utterance of the Lord which says in the Gospels, "Who then is the faithful and wise bondman, whom his lord set over his house to give them the food in due season? blessed is the bondman

p. 328.

¹ Ps. cxxxi. 1, 2.² Eph. iv. 3 (?).

whom his lord shall come and find so doing.”¹ I therefore upon the devout monk and presbyter Mark showing penitence in canonical form and confessing his sin have opened to him the door of repentance. But it rests with you, as I said, to determine the question of the headship and superintendence of the monastery, according to the opinion of the brothers who form the majority : because in such cases it is the more fitting course to acquiesce in the wish of the greater number. This I say because I have received a written petition pleading for the devout presbyter and monk Mark, and containing signatures given by the devout clergymen and monks of the same said monastery, which are in number ten only. Therefore, p. 329. since it was not my part, being at a distance, to give a judgment upon the details of such a question, I have of necessity committed to your holiness the duty of making a detailed investigation of the matter. Considering therefore both points, I mean the superintendence of the cloister, and the gain or loss in regard to the brothers themselves, give a proper decision upon the disputed questions with help and inspiration and grace from above, without which it is impossible for any right action to be done.

As to the devout presbyter Julian, the brother of the God-loving bishop Serenus,² I forbear to say anything, being convinced that after such an experience he would never have dared to convey false

¹ Mt. xxiv. 45, 46.

² Cf. p. 114.

information to the pious ears of our serene Christ-loving king. If in addition to what has already been done he have presumed to do this also, he falls by divine and human laws, from which there is no possibility of escape. *The end.*

p. 330.

513-8.

6. *Of the same against those who say that men who have communicated with the Synod of Chalcedon, and are penitent and anathematize those who call our one Lord and God Jesus Christ two natures after the ineffable union and come over to the orthodox faith must be re-anointed. (From those during episcopacy, from the 9th book the 1st letter.)*

I for my part am not conscious in myself of any quality such as that to which you bear witness, when you say that the fame of our meanness has gone out over all the earth, and that we are one competent to teach and to heal the afflictions of the soul: but I know clearly that, if I utter anything that is on the right side and is capable of profiting, it is out of the writings and labours of the God-clad educators¹ of the church that I utter and speak this: and I think that I hear plainly from God what is said by the wise Paul, “And what hast thou that thou didst not receive? but if thou didst indeed receive it why

p. 331.

¹ *Maithyai raze* = *μυσταγωγοί*.

boatest thou as if thou didst not receive it?"¹ For I for my part am not competent to break the bread of knowledge for those that are hungry : on the contrary I gather the food of learning by picking up the crumbs of the orthodox shepherds, and so I seem to give this to others also. Wherefore it is from their labours that I make answer to your affection also, and it is by adducing their utterances that I find a solution of the doubts that have been raised.

Whereas you say that those who assembled at Chalcedon, and divided our one Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ by calling Him two natures after the union fell under the anathema laid down against abominable godless heresies, and that men coming from them are not to be received, but their "end is to be burned,"² because they are devoid of the grace of the Holy Spirit, know that you have missed the truth. That by denial of the faith they are stripped of every spiritual heavenly gift it is impossible for me to gainsay ; but that when they repudiate and renounce the heresy and condemn it by anathema, and come over to the church, they are according to the ordinances of the fathers to be received, I will try to show in what I am about to say (by the church I too mean the confession which is founded on the true faith, since Peter also heard the words, "Thou art Cephas and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of Hades shall

p. 332.

¹ 1 Co. iv. 7.² He. vi. 8.

not prevail against it":¹ and I find that Gregory the Theologian also says of the Arians who formerly held the temples of God, "They have the house, we the dweller in it: they the temples, we the privilege of becoming temples of the living God"²). Now, when Cyprian held a prominent position at Carthage in Africa, and God-loving bishops assembled there, who were in number eighty-seven, some from the same Africa itself, some from Mauretania and Numidia, they determined that those who come from all heresies should be perfected by the true baptism of the church,³ as if they had not been baptized at all, not distinguishing the character of each of the heresies, but bringing all under one pronouncement.⁴ It was from God-loving zeal that these adopted this resolution: as is clearly shown by the words which the holy Cyprian who has been mentioned wrote in epistles to Juvian and Quintus and Magnus, where he also includes a reference to those who are baptized on their beds during sickness.⁵ And soon afterwards Dionysius to whom it fell at that time to feed the church of the city of the Alexandrines, writing to Dionysius his namesake and Stephen, who presided over the holy church of the city of the Romans, made a distinction, saying that those who had been baptized in the name of the three substances, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, even though it were by heretics

¹ Mt. xvi. 18.² Or. xxxiii. 15.³ Cf. p. 212.⁴ ἀπόφασις.⁵ Ep. 69, 71, 73.

that they were baptized, but still such as confess the three substances, should not be re-baptized: but converts from the other heresies should certainly be perfected by the baptism of the church. This opinion the three hundred and eighteen fathers who assembled at Nicæa also followed, and those who fed the churches after them. Those who assembled in Africa in the days of Cyprian, looking at the common name of the heresies only, applied a single method of cure. But the contemporaries of the great Dionysius and those who came after him distinguished the varieties of diseases, and so applied to each of them the cure suited for it. Just as in bodily troubles every infirmity is termed disease, and they are expressed by this general name, which however covers many different diseases, fever for instance and dropsy and elephantiasis, so also in the weaknesses of the faith every aberration from the sound word is named generally heresy, but every one of the diseases that are included in this term is not of the same character: for neither do they hold an equal eminence in impiety. But, as a skilful physician heals a man with fever in one way, and in another a man who has ague maybe or dropsy, or is troubled by a swelling of the spleen, in the same way those also who healed and fed the churches with more than ordinary spirituality and sagacity judged it right to distinguish the nature of each heresy, and did not think the same cure fit to be applied to those who shared in the sickness of Novatus and of Photinus, and to those who had

p. 334.

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been stained with the corruption and mire of Paul of Samosata. The nineteenth canon of the three hundred and eighteen fathers requires those who come from Paul of Samosata to be re-baptized :¹ but in the case of converts from Photinus and Novatus to the orthodox church the hundred and tenth canon, which was enacted by the synod that assembled at Laodicea in Phrygia, decided that they should be perfected by chrism :² although much the same folly gives birth to the miserable heresy of Paul of Samosata and of Photinus, and they do not differ from one another except to a slight extent. And yet we for our part
 p. 336. follow the regulations of the fathers and do not make ingenious investigations, nor have recourse to that which in former times pleased Cyprian and those who assembled in Africa, whom we mentioned shortly before. For we must follow the common conclusions made at different times by the God-loving orthodox rulers of the churches, and not adduce the private conclusions of different men, or opinions which seem to contain self-created scrupulosity³ or strict teaching, and lay down a contrary law, and presumptuously contend against the holy fathers. Indeed the holy Cyprian himself, as if laying down a general canon in his letter to Quintus, enjoins that we ought to follow later principles adopted as a matter of expediency and for the sake of the union of the church, and not be

¹ Mansi ii. 676.

² *Ibid.* 566.

³ *Sebyanayuth dehltha* = ἐθελοθρησκεία (Col. ii. 23).

shackled by prejudices held at an earlier time : and I am convinced that he was moved by the Holy Spirit to say this beforehand : and that though he was then insisting that converts from all heresies should be perfected by the baptism of the church. This is what he says : “ Moreover also Paul the Apostle, being himself also concerned for peace and concord, entreats and teaches in his letter in such words as these : ‘ Let two or three prophets speak : and let the rest discern. But, if a revelation be made to another while sitting, let the first keep silence.’ By this he clearly taught and showed that many things are revealed to each man for the better : and therefore each man ought not to be constantly and at all times contending for the opinions which once won his approval and prevailed : but, if anything better and more beneficial show itself, gladly accept it. For, when better things are brought before us, we are not conquered, but are instructed : especially in things that conduce to the unity of the church, and to the hope and assurance of our salvation.”¹ Therefore it is right to consider what was determined by those who assembled at Ephesus to depose the impious Nestorius and anathematize his doctrines. Now after the examination of the heresy and its refutation, and the deprivation of that wicked man, Charisius a presbyter from Philadelphia (this is a city of the province² of the Lydians) came through into the midst, and laid before everyone a silly

p. 337.

p. 338.

¹ Ep. 71. 3.² ἐπαρχία.

symbol composed by Theodore of Mopsuestia the teacher of the folly of Nestorius, and showed that there were many from that country who had denied the accurate faith of the three hundred and eighteen fathers, and had fallen away to this alien and spurious symbol. And they were moreover brought in and anathematized the hateful heresy of Nestorius;¹ and they did not put forward any such canon declaring that converts from his perdition to the bright light of orthodoxy must be perfected by baptism or by chrism; nor has anyone been shown to have been anointed at that time: and this though the schism lasted a long time, and the bishops of the East supported Nestorius, and separated themselves from the Catholic synod, and afterwards joined themselves to the same and were reconciled at the time when Paul bishop of the city of the Emesenes went to Alexander's city and acted as mediator of the union between the churches in Egypt and in the East. As it seemed necessary to the men of earlier days that converts from heresies should be perfected through baptism, but afterwards a sagacious discrimination regarding the matter introduced the principle that some must be re-baptized, others re-anointed, so concerning the Nestorian heresy the fathers after examining the character of the heresy decided that the impious doctrine should only be anathematized by those who repent. Paul of Samosata and Photinus sinned

p. 339.

¹ Mansi iv. 1344.

against the very substance of God the Word, and assert the Lord born of Mary to be a mere man. But Nestorius says that He is the Word which existed before the ages, but divides the mystery of the dispensation into two by saying that it was not in substance but by brotherly conjunction that God the Word was united to the flesh containing the intellectual soul. Therefore we embrace the conclusion adopted by the fathers, and the cure that was introduced by them with reference to converts from the Nestorian heresy we hold as a law that cannot be shaken, and we do not have recourse to the conclusions p. 340. that were adopted and introduced by the men of earlier days with reference to other heresies: but we decide that each conclusion has its own validity in the case of those with reference to whom it was introduced: for everything whatever that God's priests decide, this is a law. As the men of earlier times gave the gift of the Holy Spirit to the heretics who were devoid of His grace by means of the true baptism of the church, and those who came later filled up what was lacking in those that repented by means of chrism, so in the case of converts from the evil belief of Nestorius also the fathers thought that an anathema of the heresy ought to be sufficient to fill up what is lacking in them; and, whatever was determined by them to be sufficient, this we, as I said, observe as a law. For it is written; "the lips of a priest shall keep knowledge: and they shall ask law at his mouth, because he is an

angel of the Lord the All-ruler.”¹ And, since this course was approved by them, we believe that it was rightly approved, in accordance with the apostolic statute that says, “With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth man confesseth unto salvation,”² according to the Lord’s utterance that does not lie which says, “By thy words thou shalt be justified.”³ This same principle one may see in the case of ordinations also. For the statute is that converts should be re-ordained, or should be ordained, when they come from those same heresies from which when men come over to piety after having received a spurious baptism from them they are perfected by the true baptism.⁴ And I will show you clearly that ordinations also that were performed by the Arians were accepted by those who then presided over orthodoxy. Now in the times of the Arians there were two sections among our brothers who confessed the orthodox faith in this great Christ-loving city of Antiochus, because of the wrongful expulsion of Eustace; and each of the same sections had an orthodox bishop, one having Paulinus and the other Melitus: and, Paulinus having left the life here and uncanonically appointed Evagrius his successor (for he ordained him alone without having two or three bishops with him as the ordinance of the church commands), after Melitus’ decease and his departure to God the other section lawfully and according to the

¹ Mal. ii. 7.² Ro. x. 10.³ Mt. xii. 37.⁴ Cf. p. 181.

canons nominated Flavian, by the *psephisma* of a large number of bishops, and Evagrius and Flavian disputed the throne;¹ and, the ordination of Evagrius (who had also departed from the life here) having been repudiated as unsound, Theophilus who was bishop of the city of the Alexandrines writes to Flavian to accept the clergymen who had been ordained by Evagrius, speaking thus: "Therefore in your days allow those also who assemble apart by themselves to be united to the clergy under your religiousness, and to the whole people. If we are in communion with the devout Anastasius, bishop of the church of the Romans, and he gives the communion of clergymen to those who assemble by themselves, and communicates with them all, you understand to what the conclusion points. Therefore, seeing that the reverend Anastasius our fellow-minister has communicated with them, I think it henceforth necessary that a concession on the ground of policy should be made to them, in order that the peace with our beloved fellow-ministers in the West may not be disturbed on account of anything that is wanting. Therefore I pray you to assume a salutary courage for a good end, in no point yielding to those who maintain the principles of strictness. Being an old man, you are well aware that our holy fathers cured more difficult matters than these, and that, adopting intelligent counsels, they became 'to those not under the

p. 343.

¹ Cf. p. 223.

law as not under the law,'¹ and checked things difficult to cure, and did not disturb the whole body of the church. Wherefore Ambrose also of blessed memory [received those who had received ordination from Auxentius his predecessor in Milan : and they received many others in the East who had not been ordained by the orthodox, lest, if these remained outside, the heresy of the Arians should strike root, and the flocks perish, and the greater portion of the body of the nations be lost. In this way they treated both those of Palestine and Phœnice and many others ; properly relaxing the strict rules of ordination for the sake of the salvation of the nations, so that after these things the universal concord might remain firm and unshaken. Accordingly, since things that are serious and are incurable were by making a great concession as far as was possible healed without turning to evil, it is not difficult, but very easy, for these things to be now managed ; since we have chosen by comparison the faults of the orthodox rather than the virtues of the Arians." Bearing these things in mind, show us that men who come from the heresy of Diphysitism, that is of the Nestorians, ought to be re-baptized, in order that we may be compelled to insist upon re-ordination also ; or, if you do not show this, respect the laws laid down by the fathers, and orderly administration. For neither has Timothy of holy memory, who fed the church of the Alexandrines in apostolic fashion,

¹ 1 Co. ix. 21.

been shown to have been inconsistent with himself, as you vainly suppose.¹ When the people under the influence of ardent enthusiasm were unwilling even to look at those who had received ordination from Proterius, he, wishing to soften their sternness and to follow a course opposed to them, spoke to them in such words as these, "Regard them just as if they had received ordination from me"; or, as you say, "I have determined to give them ordination" (for we will allow it to be thus): and, after seeing that by the application of this remedy the sternness of the zeal was softened, he did not in the matter of the reception of those who derived ordination from Proterius transgress against the moderation of the canons, nor was he carried away by the violence of zeal; but he restrained enthusiasm by the cords of politic action; and he induced them to acquiesce in the established canons. And, when he accepted the repentance of the converts, he did not give them ordination at all, a thing contrary to the intention of the canons; nor did he recur to the strictness of the men of early days and their stern method. As to the principle that these things are rather matters of politic administration, and not inconsistent, the divine Paul also signifies it to be so in that he circumcised Timothy by reason of the policy which he adopted towards certain persons, as the Book of the Acts clearly states, saying: "And he took and circum-

p. 345.

p. 346.

¹ Cf. pp. 181, 276.

cised him, because of the Jews who were there in the country. For all these knew that his father was a Gentile.”¹ But to the Galatians, who had turned to the observances of Judaism, he writes as for the general profit, and as if laying down a law for the whole church, and says: “Behold I Paul say unto you that, if ye are circumcised, Christ will profit you nothing.”² And that this is so the saintly John will bear witness, who with wisdom fed the holy church at Constantinople, in that in the fifth book of his Praises of the apostle Paul he speaks thus: “For he desires those things only which bring him advantages in God, even though it happened that these were contrary to the previous actions. For he was something versatile, and rich in expedients; not that he acted hypocritically (far be it!); but he became everything which the necessity of the preaching and the salvation of men required: and in this also he imitated his Lord. For God too would appear as a man also when it was necessary for Him so to appear; and again in fire when the time required this; and at one time in the form of an armed man and a soldier; and at another in the guise of an old man; and at another in the breeze; and at another as a wayfarer; and at another He becomes human, and did not refuse even to die so. But, when I said that this was necessary, let no one think that there is reference to compulsion; but to His mercifulness only. And He sits sometimes upon

p. 347.

¹ Ac. xvi. 3.² Ga. v. 2.

a throne ; sometimes again upon the cherubim. But all these things He did in accordance with the subservient dispensations. For this reason He said through the prophet also, 'I have multiplied visions ; and through prophets I have made myself like.' [Here follows the citation given at p. 278 ff. I give such variations only as are nearer to the original, which are as follows: l. 5 'Paul, who imitated his Lord, have been condemned. He becomes now a Jew, now as one not under the law ; now one who keeps' ; l. 12 om. 'again' ; l. 19 'For this reason he now supports the law, now subverts' ; p. 279 l. 9 'For this the man of professional skill does'.] For those that are diseased in soul require treatment and cure no less than those that are sick in body : and, if you simply offer them everything, the cause of their salvation will be ruined."¹ Holding this same opinion, the holy Theophilus also in the letter to Flavian, which we mentioned shortly before, speaks thus : "Therefore carry out this policy boldly. If the Apostle 'became to them that were without law as without law, being not without law to God, but under the law of Christ,' and 'became everything to every man that he might by all means save some,'² the reception of those who assemble apart according to the rank which they hold does not steal away your reputation,³ but rather indeed increases it ; nor yet are you acting inconsistently when the urgency of the case compels the adoption of a

p. 348.

¹ P. G. xlix. 498, 499.² I Co. ix. 21, 22.³ ὑπόληψις.

policy of concession for the sake of profit. You know that the blessed Paul also, looking to what was of advantage, circumcised Timothy; but puts the Galatians, who were circumcised, to shame, in that he writes, 'If ye are circumcised, Christ will profit you nothing.'¹ And, among wise men, he does not appear to be inconsistent, but to be acting in a politic manner towards living men, while healing troubles that occur with great profit."

But perhaps when you hear these things you will say, "Who is there among orthodox bishops who received those who assembled at Chalcedon, or rather those who succeeded to their sees, upon repentance?" But I as against this will bring before you a scriptural law which shows how the God of repentance accepts and justifies a sudden conversion to virtue, such as has now taken place in the countries of the East, where all by the divine counsel under behest from above have cast forth and banned the heresy of the duality of the natures with definite anathemas, and have in pure fashion confessed the faith of the fathers, which is pure from all corrupt mixture and alien addition. When in old times the Jews had lapsed, and had fallen into the pits of idolatry, and had so much neglected the law of their fathers that even the places for the performance of the priestly service that was commanded by Moses were no longer maintained, then Hezekiah was established as king, and, his mind having been en-

¹ Ga. v. 2.

lightened by God, he wished to sacrifice the passover according to the law, and according to the law he commanded that Aaron's sons only should offer the sacrifices, as is said in the Book of the Priests: "And they shall kill the calf before the Lord, and the priests Aaron's sons shall bring the blood near, and pour it out all round by the side of the altar that is before the doors of the tent of witness. And they shall flay the burnt-offering, and cut his limbs in pieces."¹ But at that time, since the priests were too few,² contrary to the intention of the law, Levites also were brought forward together with Aaron's sons to perform the service: and the passover was celebrated without the purification of the whole people having been strictly carried out. And God accepted the pleasant savour, having had regard to the completeness of the repentance of their hearts, though it was thought to be defective in the matter of lack of faith. But it is well also to recite to you the actual words of the Holy Spirit, which are written as follows, in the second part of the Book of Chronicles: "And the priests received the blood from the hand of the Levites, by reason of the numbers of the congregation, and they were not sanctified. And the Levites had the charge of sacrificing the passover, for everyone who could not be sanctified to the Lord, by reason of the multitude of people from Ephraim and from Manasseh, and from Issachar and

P. 349.

p. 350.

¹ Le. i. 5, 6.

² 12, 168 "But, since the priests were at that time too few."

from Zebulon, and they were not sanctified ; but they even ate this passover contrary to the scripture. And Hezekiah prayed for them, saying, ‘ The good Lord God be propitious toward every heart that has turned in sincerity to seek the Lord God of their fathers, and not according to the purification of the holy things.’ And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Hezekiah, and healed the people.”¹ Observe clearly the reason for which God accepted such repentance, as stated in the divine scriptures ; because they had prepared their hearts to seek the Lord God of their fathers. And even after the coming of Christ in the flesh one may see that this happened in the church also. Socrates, who wrote the Church History, related a similar thing in the seventh book and the second chapter ; and he writes thus : “ At Synada, a city of Phrygia Pacatiana, a certain Theodosius was bishop, who vigorously persecuted the heretics of the religious party of the Macedonians, of whom it contained many, expelling them not only from the city, but from the country-districts also. And this he did although it is not the practice of the church of the orthodox to persecute ; and not out of zeal for the right faith, but because he ministered to the passion of avarice, and was desirous of amassing gold from the heretics. For this reason he set everything in motion against those

p. 351. who held the opinions of Macedonius, putting arms into the hands of the clergymen who were subject to

¹ 2 Pa. xxx. 16-20.

him, and using countless tricks against them ; and he did not even refrain from putting them in bonds in law-courts : and especially their bishop, whose name was Agapetus, he harassed in various ways. But, since the governors of the country seemed insufficient for his purpose in the infliction of punishment, he betook himself to Constantinople, and asked for orders from the prefects.¹ And, while Theodosius was for this same reason spending time in Constantinople, Agapetus, the leader as I said of the religious party of Macedonius, came to a good resolution. For he consulted with the whole of his clergy, and summoned the people who were under subjection to him, and persuaded them to accept the faith]² of the co-essentiality. And, having arranged this, he ran immediately to the church as fast as he could with a great multitude or rather with the whole people. And after conducting prayer he occupies the throne on which Theodosius was wont to sit. And, having united the people, and preaching from that time the faith of the co-essentiality, he took possession of the churches under Synada. And, these things having happened in this way, not long afterwards Theodosius arrives, bringing with him assistance from the prefect.³ But, not knowing anything of what had happened, he made his way to the best of his ability towards the church. But, being driven from it by all alike, he again made his way to

p. 352.

¹ ὑπαρχοι.² The bracketed portion is supplied from another version : see text, p. 343, note 7.³ ἑπαρχος.

Constantinople. And, when he was there in the presence of bishop Atticus, he bewailed his fortune as having been without reason driven from the bishopric. But Atticus, since he knew that the affair had turned out for the benefit of the church, consoled Theodosius in words, persuading him to embrace a retired life without anger, and taught him to prefer the common good to his own, while he writes to Agapetus to keep the bishopric without imagining that any annoyance would result from Theodosius' anger."¹ Tell us therefore in this case, my excellent man, what chrism or what laying on of hands, or what ordination, confirmed these proceedings. Or is it matter of previous knowledge that the uprightness of their heart, to use the words of the divine scripture,² made these also genuine instead of spurious,³ and this though they had been converted from the stinking heresy of Macedonius which blasphemes against the Holy Spirit, in the case of which the perfecting rite of chrism is in fact laid down as necessary for those who repent from it? But perhaps under the influence of a mistaken feeling you will further bring up against us that you do not accept the testimony of Socrates who is a Novatian in heresy. But know plainly that especially in historical narratives even the statements of those that are such are accepted. For instance the holy Basil in his letter to Amphilochius cited the testimony

¹ Socr. vii. 3.² Ps. cxviii. 7.³ The word is corrupt: the other version shows this to be the meaning.

both of Eusebius known by the name of Pamphilus and of Origen, who in doctrines are faulty, saying that they are trustworthy owing to their great experience. And Basil cited the testimony of those men to support doctrines : but we do so only for a statement of bare historical fact. But it is well that we quote to you the actual testimony of the holy doctor, which is as follows : “ But, if Eusebius the Palestinian also is trustworthy in any man’s eyes on account of much experience, we produce the same expressions from him too in the ‘ Difficulties concerning the polygamy of the ancients.’”^{p. 354.} For he speaks thus, encouraging himself to deal with the subject : ‘ Inviting as a guide the holy God of the prophets through our Saviour Jesus with the Holy Spirit.’”¹ Upon Origen also, a man who has not much that is sound in him in all his tenets concerning the Spirit, we now find that under the Spirit’s direction he bestows praise in many of his comments on the Psalms. Follow therefore the statutes of the divine scripture, and the dispensations of the fathers of which they made use from time to time, under the influence of more subtle consideration and being much concerned for the abolition of the divisions and for church unity. There is in fact no one who denies that heretics are base and split coin, and in need of the grace of the Spirit. But the educators² of the church supplied this want in many ways ; in some cases by fresh baptism, in others by chrism, in others by those who repent

¹ De Sp. S. 72.² *Maithyai raze* = *μυσταγωγοί*.

p. 355. merely condemning the impious belief by anathema, and renouncing the stain of heresy, and attaching themselves to orthodox opinions. If you have recourse to what was approved by the men of earlier days, and say that the Holy Spirit must be given through chrism to converts from heresies, inasmuch as the heretics cannot give what they have not, it is time for you to have recourse to the other rule too and say that it is also absolutely necessary for them to be re-baptized, according to the opinion held by Cyprian. But it is very plain that we must follow the more recent precepts of the fathers, and the methods of cure which they introduced for each disease, and not issue commands out of presumption and pride, and lay down a law going beyond what seemed to them to be good. For "the Spirit bloweth where it listeth",¹ as it is written, and it determines the regulations of the high-priests, and accompanies their sacred utterances. I am convinced that it was for this reason that in the Acts of the Apostles also, when Cornelius the centurion and those with him had with all their heart believed in the preaching of Peter the chief of the apostles, the Holy Spirit went in advance of the water, so that Peter said, "Can any man forbid water to these that they should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Spirit even as we?"²

p. 356. If you think Theodotus³ a man of strict practice

¹ John iii. 6.

² Ac. x. 47.

³ Cf. Zach. Rh. v. 4; Evag. iii. 6; and see p. 185.

because he recently introduced chrism in the case of the heresy of the Diphysites, know clearly that others also among those who were zealous against this heresy were afflicted with a madness that surpassed his in strictness. For instance a certain Cassian, who was a disciple of father Romanus who is among the saints, who after an approved fashion was distinguished in Palestine for ascetic life and excelled at that time in tens of thousands of gifts of the Spirit, caused many of the disciples to secede: and he betook himself to Skanthin (?),¹ and used audaciously and illegally to baptize converts from the Chalcedonian evil belief. About this same Theodotus, who went through tens of thousands of changes, and contradicted himself, and is led in different directions at different times like the teachers of the adverse party, I might have said much, which I pass over. For he further also adhered to the fatuities of John the Rhetor,² who said that it was in His essence that the Word of God endured the saving cross and took upon Himself the passion on our behalf, and would not consent to call the one Lord and our God and Saviour Jesus Christ of one essence with us in the flesh: a point which you also omitted in the preface³ of the document that was published in which you make confession of faith, and thereby dealt us no small blow and gave cause of offence. Nevertheless, just as I said, it becomes us to pass his affairs by in

p. 357.

¹ 14,601 "Skthys" (Scythopolis?).

² Cf. Zach. Rh. iii. 10.

³ προοίμια.

silence: for we do not draw a defence from the sins of others for propositions advanced by ourselves, nor do we take the weakness of others as a support to strengthen our own position, but we establish our own case by the good and invincible arguments that we have, adducing the ordinances of the church and the dispensations of the fathers.

As to this other statement of yours, *i.e.* that difficulty has been caused to your mind by the fact that the God-loving bishops who assembled at Laodicea call those who cleave Emmanuel into two natures Paulianists,¹ you must on no account be alarmed by this. It is in fact a custom of the fathers to refer heresies to the roots from which they sprang by way of reducing them to something shameful. Hence they called the corruption of Arius idolatry, inasmuch as it exhorts us to worship a creature, and the witlessness of Sabellius they termed Judaism, inasmuch as it includes the three substances in one person after the Jewish fashion. But they did not on this account receive those who repented from these heresies as Gentiles or Jews, and men who have never been initiated. In consonance with this principle which I have just stated they also term those who are infected with the phantasmal tenet of Eutyches Manichees: not because they are in all respects enveloped in the nets of the Manichees, but because the fatuous idea of a phantasy is part of the vitiated conception of Mani,

¹ Cf. p. 284.

and is derived from him. After this manner the holy Cyril also in writing against Theodore of Mopsuestia said, “‘Sodom has been justified more than you’; you have surpassed the babblings of the heathen which they uttered against Christ, ‘reckoning the cross foolishness’; you have shown that the charges against Jewish arrogance are nothing.”¹ Therefore neither is anything shameful said by the saintly bishops who assembled at Laodicea, who called those who cleave the one Christ into a duality of natures after the ineffable and incomprehensible union Paulianists: nor ought we on this account to re-baptize those who repent from them like converts from Paul of Samosata. p. 359.

Thus much we have written to your affection as in a few words, lying as we are under a mass of many affairs, and not able, as we wished, to extend the refutation of your propositions,² so as to cover a wider field of examination: but, since you have a right disposition, and are not subject to prejudice, even what has been written is enough. We have in fact dealt with each of them in no defective manner in accordance with our ability, quoting the testimonies of the God-clad doctors of the church. *The end.*

¹ Mansi ix. 235.

² προτάσεις.

- 515-8. 7. *Of the same to Dionysius bishop of Tarsus. (From those during episcopacy, from the 10th book the 61st letter.)*

p. 360. That they who preside over Christ's rational flocks must look in front as much as they can, and must lead the sheep to a "place of grass," and pasture them by "the waters of stillness,"¹ and must watch lest anywhere any hurtful root and muddy perturbed drink corrupt the healthy conscience of those that are fed is already known to your love of God also. How is it therefore that those in Isauria and in the other provinces² are very justly blaming you for having incautiously received Indacus, who presides over Corycus, when he has not agreed in confessing the same faith as we, nor acquiesced in the common resolutions of the whole holy Synod of the God-loving bishops in the East?³ First, such a man ought not to have been received to communion without the judgment of the apostolic see: and, even if by reason of the pressure of the days of the saving Passion and of the Resurrection it had been right for him to be received, the rule as to the lawful mode of reception ought on no account to have been neglected. This is that all who hold to the same communion should think and say the same things. Hasten accordingly to bring the matter that you have neglected to correction: for you see that, if for a little

¹ Ps. xxii. 2.

² ἐπαρχίας.

³ The Synod of Tyre in 514-5 (Assem. B. O. ii. 18).

moment we close the eye of watchfulness, we kindle by this small spark a great flame of separation. But the course of healing is not difficult for you. In fact we hear that the whole honourable clergy of the holy church of God in Corycus have already with one accord removed the offences by a certain written renunciation and anathema, and that they readily hold to the orthodox faith and confession. Or, if you like, only make him satisfy the proper requirements and come according to custom to greet us, and leave the course of cure to us and to God. For we are able to bring him near to us by healing words. "Is there no balm in Gilead?" as Jeremiah says, or is it troubled by absence of physicians?¹ *The end.* p. 361.

8. *Of the same to the orthodox clergymen and laymen in Antioch. (From those after banishment, from the 2nd book the 24th letter.)* 519-20.

In everything the consideration of your vigour, church in Antiochus' city, causes me wonder, and the fact that you not only hold yourself readily and courageously against disturbing elements coming from without, but also manage your internal government wisely, and are guided in the right way by the gospel law. There has only just now come to the hearing of our meanness, far distant as we are in geographical situation, the epistle that was canonically addressed to

¹ Jer. viii. 22.

p. 362. you by the saintly bishops, who followed Christ who said to His disciples, "If they persecuted me they will also persecute you,"¹ and chose instead of their sees the sojourn in a strange land, and are settled in the great Christ-loving city of the Alexandrines, about those who have erred and fallen away to heretical communion, and have repented and wish to come back to the truth by the path of legal penitence, and to take thought for their salvation;² and that, after you who are in the city among the holy clergy and the believing people, who confirm the fact that you are clergy and people by keeping the orthodox faith, and are taught to "prove all things" and to "hold fast that which is good," as Paul says,³ had read the letter of the said holy bishops, you accepted the purport of the epistle, the contents of which are corroborated by the fatherly precepts of Timothy⁴ of apostolic and combatant memory, who died, if one may so say, or to speak more correctly came to life, amid the toils of exile. Wherefore also I have praised and gladly accepted the unanimity and concord of you all in this matter too, and have cried in admiration over your city that which is really said by Micah the prophet, "The Lord's voice shall be named over the city, and He shall save them that fear His name:"⁵ for one will not fall outside the limits of what is seemly if one call you the Lord's voice. For what

¹ John xv. 20.

² Cf. p. 339. As to the bearing of this upon the date see p. 341, note 3.

³ 1 Th. v. 21.

⁴ Cf. pp. 326, 339.

⁵ Mi. vi. 6.

is the Lord's voice but assuredly that which is made known by the laws of the Spirit, and confirmed by works, and in everything sets forth what is lawful, which also saves us? For it is seemly that you who have shown courage in the contests on behalf of piety should also not be without the virtues that are akin to this. Courage is then shown to be courage and not ferocity, when it stands boldly against the man who opposes, but towards the man who is bent bends itself pitifully. This is to "become everything to every man"¹ and from all sides to gain the power of assigning the proper treatment to different times and persons, and measuring out to each man that which suits him. Hold therefore to the words canonically addressed to you, and walk in them without turning aside to the right or to the left as it is written,² but opening the door of penitence to every man, according to the different methods of healing and the character of the sins committed. Whereas some, as I learn, of those who are said to have been re-ordained, a thing horrible even to hear, assert that this mockery was not performed over them, and in some cases no witness of such presumption is now forthcoming, I have come to the conclusion that there is no violation of right principle in the discreet and practical course proposed by the religious presbyter Philip of letting them assert this by oaths in writing. But in cases where there is confession, and an anathema of the man who ordained

p. 363.

p. 364.

¹ I Co. ix. 22.² Pr. iv. 27.

them has been put forward by them, and a hateful and unlawful prayer has followed, such men everyone must regard in no other way than as men who have been re-ordained, and, as has been resolved, await a common inquiry by the saintly bishops at the proper time.

After these rules have been thus observed, we ought not as I have said to block the lawful path of penitence. How shall we be able to block this, when the Lord cries from heaven and from above and says, "Knock and it shall be opened unto you"?¹ It lies with us therefore in brotherly love to admonish those that are remiss to knock vigorously and wait: but to open lies with Him, not with us. Let us not usurp the Lord's authority. Let us leave Him His part: but let us perform ours with earnestness. Let us show ourselves mild to our fellow-slaves, not harsh exactors of what is owing, inasmuch as we also are in need of mildness at the day of judgment. If you do this, and practise the exercise of each virtue in due season and in accordance with right, you will be, as is said by Micah the prophet who was mentioned shortly before, "a marvellous remnant of Jacob among the kindreds amidst many peoples, as dew that falleth from before the Lord,"² and cools those that have undergone the assault of the devil's "fiery darts":³ and all who see and hear that you are guided by God in your actions "will say, 'This great people is a wise and understanding people.' And what great people

p. 365.

¹ Mt. vii. 7.² Mi. v. 7.³ Eph. vi. 16.

is there who hath God nigh unto them, as the Lord God in all things wherein we call upon Him?"¹ Now that this has been begun let it also be carried further and brought to a conclusion, through the prayers of all saints. *The end.*

9. *Of the same to Simeon the presbyter and archimandrite of the monastery at Teleda. (From those after banishment, from the 2nd book the 28th letter.)* 521-31.

Joyfully I have received the greeting of your love of God, which refreshed me greatly even before reading it because even in its mere superscription only it bore your honoured name. *And after other things.* Since therefore the sacred text says of kings who act in this spiritual mind that "by patience kings prosper,"² it beseems your statesmanship,³ and is very consonant to it, with patience and in very great humility readily to receive those who wish to come to the orthodox faith and share with you in the same struggles, and to go forward to meet them and embrace and welcome them readily, so that the word of truth also may go on in the right way and make progress. It has in fact come to the hearing of our meanness that the flock of Simeon who has the lot of the saints have repudiated the impiety in writing, and

p. 366.

¹ De. iv. 6, 7² Pr. xxv. 15.³ πολιτεία.

have stripped themselves for the same *stadium* as you,¹ and that your sanctity used some strict words that are not suited to the present time: and I am astonished and cannot believe that this mind is yours. It was in fact you that they imitated because they are settled in your neighbourhood, and it was you who brought about this change for the better in them. *Not the end.*

- 519-38. 10. *Of the same to the monastery of Isaac of blessed memory. (From those after banishment, from the 2nd book the 29th letter.)*

I have been informed that Samuel of saintly and holy memory and presbyter and archimandrite of your holy cloister has departed from the life here, and gone to God.

And after other things. Only I beg that he will not on the repentance of those who have fallen and wish to come to the orthodox faith put forward the untempered cup of strictness, but besides this will take the cup of merciful discretion, and show the mercy of pity towards those who share our weakness, and are bought with the same blood of Christ, and have received the same "Spirit of adoption,"² and will imitate

p. 367.

¹ Hence this letter seems to have been written during the banishment of the monks, which began according to Jo. Eph. in 521 (Land Anec. Syr ii. 512), according to the so-called Zacharias (viii. 5) in 525, and ended according to both authors in 531.

² Ro. viii. 15.

the Father in heaven, who does not pour out His wrath according to our sins, but tempers it with mercy.
Not the end.

- II. *Of the same to John and John the presbyters and the rest. (From those after banishment, from the 2nd book the 71st letter.)* 520-34.

I owe thanks to God that after the winter-season I have again through your letter heard your sweet and cheerful voice. For to me to hold communication with you seems more cheerful and joyful than any spring. To delight and adorn ourselves with flowers from the meadows that quickly bloom and wither is not like weaving together blossoms of spiritual words. The first blossom, one very well adapted for giving joy, was contained in your letter in the fact that the celebration of the saintly Theodore the presbyter¹ provided a crowded festival and feast to those who assembled, so that the believers are confirmed in future hope even by what is seen now. For the departure hence of holy men and the remembrance of them on the occasion of this is a means of instruction and of meditation on the blessed life: the life which Christ promised when He revealed to us by actual experience the mystery of the Resurrection.

p. 368.

As to events in the East we also have certain know-

¹ The first Saturday in Lent (Sachau Verz. d. syr. Hdschr. zu Berlin, p. 486).

ledge of the same things that were also stated in your letter: and nothing beyond. Nevertheless the pangs caused by the impiety compel us to bring the foul birth out. It rests therefore with you, saintly men, and with all who love God to make supplication and to stir up your fervent prayers like a censer, and cast upon them "fine composite incense"¹ which is earnest and laborious supplication, supplication that at the same time reminds the divine ears of their wonders from eternity and is able to stop the corruption so that the Lord's congregation may not utterly perish, and the peoples say, "Where is their God?"²

p. 369. As to Silvanus who is of heretical ordination, but begs to be received, you ought not to be in difficulty seeing that the regulations of the holy Timothy³ have marked out the proper course for you, and have laid down for you the method to be followed in this case: so that everything that goes beyond and surpasses him falls outside the limits of what is proper. However it will rest with you who are at hand and know the man to shorten or lengthen his time according to the character of his repentance. If possible therefore, the God-loving Isidore bishop of the city of the Chalcidians will release this man. But, if it is thought that this will stir up affliction to his bonds, as the Apostle says,⁴ it is easy for him to go with a letter from you to the God-loving Epimachus bishop of Rhinocorura, and receive forgiveness. Only beware

¹ Ex. xxx. 7. ² Ps. lxxxviii. 10. ³ Cf. pp. 320, 339. ⁴ Ph. i. 16.

lest, when the man is forgiven, he use the freedom as an assistance in causing disturbance in various places, since such is the character that you ascribe to him in your letter.

As to John of blessed memory the reader and our scribe, I should perhaps have been sorry that he did not come to see me and was prevented from undertaking the daring journey which would have been in the winter and is full of dangers, had it not been that he met with such an end of life, and a gathering-place for which one might well pray and a holy tabernacle (I will not say grave), it being one that foreshadowed for him rest in the eternal mansions. We pray also that through your holy prayers he may receive the lot of the saints in all its fulness. However both he and the devout Sergius the reader when they came here injured many persons more than they edified them. One might hear them relating certain dreams and prophecies, on account of which, as they said, they hesitated to communicate with the holy churches in Egypt. From whom he heard these things I do not wish to say, lest I even seem to certain persons to be a hard man. Who is there who will not (and very rightly) pronounce against us as senseless, if we set ourselves against such prophecies and dreams, and while occupying ecclesiastical thrones forget these things, but, when we are outside and are expelled and driven out, again attend to dreams and repeat dreamy prophecy? However, since it is not my pleasure to make accusations, but to declare and explain to those

p. 370.

who love me what my position is, and proclaim it also to the adversaries, the communion that now prevails in the persecuted church of the East and in all the Egyptian church, and is pure in the proclamation of the faith, and in the rejection of the evil Chalcedonian impiety, and in purging itself of heretics and holding no association with them, this communion I so hold and to it I so draw near, as I drew near in it with the highest assurance¹ and a fixed mind, when our holy father Peter the bishop from Iberia was offering, and was performing the rational sacrifice. We did not by our concession give anything like what we received. We waived the strict observance of names according to the fathers' ordinances for the sake of the salvation of so many cities, and instead of it we obtained besides the East the whole of Egypt also supporting us and ranging itself on our side with a pure heart, and not bound in a yoke with unbelievers, to speak in the words of the Apostle.² Having cast this seed, we gained for fruits banishment of bishops: confession on the part of cities: martyr-like contests, such that men reckon every kind of torture small. This is to be seen not only in men, but also in women and in every sex, and every age: insomuch that the inhabitants of the whole of Egypt are ready to strip themselves for like contests, if the time summon. What manner of man then were we when we had these things granted us, a man deprived of bishops

¹ πληροφορία.² 2 Co. vi. 14.

and sitting in a corner, and resembling a pelican of the wilderness as the prophet sings,¹ and possessing a fruitless accuracy, insomuch that some were eager to proceed to new and different divisions? But God, knowing clearly that our holy fathers and His true servants always endeavoured to walk in the royal road, cut away these things and made them cease as if they had never begun at all, and instead of them by invisible means bestowed upon us riches that we had never desired or been able to conceive in our mind. He exposed the feebleness of human thoughts and efforts, but by means of facts themselves said, "For what the holy God hath purposed who shall annul? and His high hand who shall turn away?"² How then shall we be found speaking in a contrary sense, we whose duty it is to exhort those who communicate with us to show freedom of speech regarding these things? Indeed according to my information the wonderful Mitras showed himself more irrational even than irrational things by continually saying that he is not in communion with the holy churches here, and gave ground for laughter to those who have no soundness of their own, but apply themselves to find for themselves lines of defence and discoveries of methods of support from the weaker brethren among us, because he could not give a reason for this irrationality (I will not say "doubt"). Who is there who will not be disgusted with men who like Abimelech the

p. 372.

¹ Ps. ci. 7.² Is. xiv. 27.

offspring of Gideon's concubine, who illegally became king in Shechem by gathering round him depraved and profligate men, as the God-inspired scripture somewhere narrates,¹ illegally receive bishops who have been canonically repudiated and received deprivation, and make prayers over them, and crucify Christ afresh, as it is said,² and think that they are practising religion: men whom God has rendered more naked than a pebble as the text of Proverbs says, as their evil disposition deserves: men who have fallen so far into conflict with God as to presume to anathematize the Edict, under which, as those men say in so many words, the followers of Julian the presbyter,³ whose soul is at rest, continued joined in communion with Peter, who became bishop of the city of the Alexandrines after Timothy, unto this day, and went into the church with him; not knowing that they are laying under an anathema men whom, as they think, they ascribe to themselves as their fathers. For how is it that, the right confession being contained in the Edict, they sought to have that which is wanting added, *i.e.* a rejection of the Synod of Chalcedon, and when this was not added withdrew from communion? If the Edict deserved an anathema, they ought never to have assented to this at the beginning: but have demanded that it also be repudiated, like one of the repudiated doctrines. So great is the lack of instruction and the desire of amassing money: an object

¹ Judg. ix. 1-6.

² He. vi. 6.

³ Cf. Zach. Rh. vi. 1, 2, 4.

that "blinds" even "the eyes of the wise," as the sacred text says,¹ not to speak of men who turn their attention to their belly only: which they fatten every day and carry about like some honoured sister, making their cheeks red by constant feastings, and presenting them swollen with fat to those that meet them, and not hiding themselves at all. The good Anatolius also is one of these, who foretold death to some men who had in full assurance² communicated with the holy church in Alexandria, claiming to draw prophecies from that fat belly of his: but, when the prophecy failed to be fulfilled, he changed his tack and acted as a suppliant to those who had received his menaces. Having fallen in with them on the road, he knelt down and kept begging those who had been threatened to give him forgiveness, and only to return to communion with him. But they after laughing for a long time left him lying on the ground his prophecies and all. I pray your sanctities to be assured that a certain quiet man who had received such a threat from him, after communicating the knowledge to the holy church and accepting its help in considering what was best to do, by God's permission was smitten with bright tumours on the side, which many are in the habit of naming carbuncles. He, coming up to me (for he was one of those who know our affairs), begged me to touch the afflicted part: and I, beginning to weep, applied to it the chrism of the holy cross, and its

P. 374.

¹ De. xvi. 19.

² πληροφορία.

p. 375. venerated sign ; and I sent this man away expecting to die. And on the next day the Lord of hosts made the swelling caused by the tumours to disappear, and he did not keep his bed for one single hour : but, going about and following his usual pursuits, he was delivered from the affliction, “ walking and leaping and praising God ” ;¹ for the sacred scripture will again express this also. But, if I have become a fool by relating this, Anatolius the false prophet compelled me, even as the false apostles did Paul ;² though I am not Paul, and am a sinner, yet not a breaker of the law or the canons, but an observer of the law of Christ.³

Many other things also might have been related, which expose the foolishness of those men, but confirm the power of the truth : but the limits of a letter are not suited for such stories, seeing that they need the extended range of oral conversation. For the same Anatolius thought fit to say to certain men, “ Hosius an old man, in whom alone I had confidence, who also ” (he says) “ gave me the monastic garb, used to urge me, when I came to Palestine, to communicate with the bishop of the city of the Antiochenes, saying that he placed confidence in him. But, when ” (he says) “ I for my part went on to ask him whether I ought also to communicate with the bishop of the city of the Alexandrines, he answered that I ought not to do this. But I ” (he says), “ laughing at the contrariety and inconsistency of the words, declined

¹ Ac. iii. 8.² 2 Co. xii. 11.³ 1 Co. ix. 21.

to follow the advice." And many other falsehoods he tells. To women too he was to be seen prophesying, and presumptuously laying threats upon them, while not getting anything else from such practices but laughter only. However he does not perceive things that are of a nature to cause shame, because he takes his pleasure in loaves of bread and cooked dishes and various drinks that are offered him, and feeds his belly only. For this has in fact been his object for a long time. To such an extent did the good and excellent Mitras (for to him I return) use words without sense, that I almost even forgot my caution, and even asked to meet and speak with him, and prevent him from being shaken: but I have not been able to find a way of doing so, since the necessity that surrounds me hinders the accomplishment of my wish. For he put forward one and another counter-argument of contemptible character, swimming and tossing (?) in his own fatuities and driven hither and thither at random. Among these one is this. They used in fact to say of us that we communicated with Simeon who stood on the pillar: and against those who laid down this counter-argument some of our supporters brought forward the truth and said, "Accordingly on your principle Timothy also of holy memory will rightly incur blame in this matter, if one does not take into account considerations of expediency concerning the holy churches and the necessity of joining and binding them together. For indeed he also is shown to have sent clergymen to

p. 376.

p. 377.

the East : who communicated with Peter who at that time held the prelacy of the city of the Antiochenes, bringing with them a synodical letter. And, after all the names had been read, the bearers of this communicated in the oblation : one among whom was the man called Achillas." Then they out of contentiousness falsely disputed and said that Achillas had orders to remove the names, and he did not do as he was ordered, and after his return to Alexandria was visited with punishment and separation. But the fiction was refuted by the fact that Antiochene clergymen had come at that time to the city of the Alexandrines to buy wheat, Syria being afflicted with lack of wheat, and exercised the ministry here and communicated in the sacred oblation. And again those audacious men said, "why did I pronounce a laudatory discourse about him, when I ought to have held my peace, and to have given effect to the considerations of expediency by silence?" In answer to this I said to those who spoke, "The *prooimion* or preface of the discourse shows the whole truth. Because the unholy Nestorians, whose leader was Theodoret, wished to snatch for themselves the splendour of the man's character, and to attach this to the heresy, I in composing the discourse made the true statement that he actually drove away Theodoret and said that he did not even know the Synod : but that he believed in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. I added this argument also, which is very true, that a man who did not know letters did not

sign : and those who have grown old in the flock and yet survive showed this by many proofs. And in order to exclude the impiety I made this manifest in the discourse, and prevented the deception of the believing peoples who by this plea were being brought to what the heretics desired, and were spurning the substance¹ of the sound faith." So far said I. But I find that the holy fathers also defend conspicuous men who are capable of attracting many by their reputation,² and this while knowing that those men did not keep the accuracy of the faith, whom they enthusiastically and with many praises defended. Such was the conduct of Athanasius when he wrote on behalf of Dionysius against the Arians,³ who wished to snatch for themselves the reputation² of the man in support of their heresy. The purpose of Athanasius that made him compose the defence and the encomium was very plain : and this was, not to give the adversaries a chance of priding themselves upon him, and of putting forward the glory of Dionysius as a covering for their evil belief. p. 378.

Basil the great, as you know, in writing to Maximus the philosopher utters a pronouncement about Dionysius, in which he says these words : " Wherefore also he is many-coloured in his writings : now taking away the co-essentiality, on account of him who uses it in an evil way for the destruction of the substances, now accepting it and making a defence to his name- p. 379.

¹ κεφάλαιον.² ὑπόληψις.³ P. G. xxv. 480.

sake. In addition to these things he has regarding the Holy Spirit also left utterances that do not at all beseeem a spiritual man, exiling Him from the adorable Godhead, and reckoning Him with created and ministering nature in some lower place."¹ What then? When we hear these things, shall we bring a just accusation against Athanasius on the ground that by his defence he extolled and praised a man who thus fell from the right standard of accuracy? or shall we accept him the more on account of this high spiritual service of his and the skilful policy by which he did not allow the Arians to pride themselves in such a man and thereby hurl the more simple down into the pit? In all things the methods and actions of the fathers were directed to the end that the orthodox faith might be spread abroad and that this might prevail in the churches, and to the end that they might hinder the plots of the heretics, and might bar every opening for deceit against them, and that they might remove the stones from the royal road that no one might go astray.

I have given vent to these utterances, because I have grieved in my spirit as it is somewhere written² over the wonderful Mitras, who, as was said by the wise Paul to the Corinthians, suffers fools though he is wise.³ For this reason I said like Job, "Wherefore neither will I refrain my mouth; I will speak in the anguish of my spirit; I will open my mouth being

¹ Ep. 9. 2.² Ps. cvi. 7 (?).³ 2 Co. xi. 19.

constrained by the bitterness of my soul.”¹ I beg and entreat your holinesses, since still even now I have not had an opportunity of speaking with him (if I shall find an opportunity, I will not neglect it), yourselves to fill my place, and suggest to his smallness of soul not only these few things which I have said, but all that it is in the power of your understandings to say. But, if I too “have erred” (I will again quote the words of Job), “and a deceiver dwells with me,”² “teach me: and I will be dumb”;³ and “I will lay mine hand upon my mouth: and, having once spoken, I will not go on to speak a second time.”⁴ *The end.* p. 380.

12. *Of the same to John and John the brethren, presbyters and archimandrites. (From those after banishment, from the 2nd book the 72nd letter.)* 519-20.

Truly I say, and you ought certainly to believe me when I say, that it is not as the result of effort or of cogitation that I proceed to utter praises of you whenever I write an epistle to you, but out of the abundance of my heart according to the Lord's saying that does not lie my mouth is opened to speak.⁵ Wherefore, as soon as I reflect upon your actions, I find it hard to draw myself away from them and I continue to think of them, and I cannot bear to keep silence. I am in the same state as men who happen upon the p. 381.

¹ Job vii. 11.

² *Id.* xix. 4.

³ *Id.* vi. 24.

⁴ *Id.* xxxix. 34, 35.

⁵ Lu. vi. 45.

sight of a lovely body, and then, before they have sated themselves with the beauty or sufficiently gazed at it, are separated from it by force by someone.

In order to explain to you the astringent and instructive character of the salt that is in you, I will say this much only. You are honoured men and capable after the manner of great stars that shine and give light, such as were our Peter and Isaiah¹ the renowned men, seeing that you do not remain hid, but with them give forth rays that are like theirs, or else in a small degree inferior, and give light to "them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death"² as it is written: but now the scarceness and lack of such men makes you more honoured and causes you to be more highly reputed than they. Do not therefore behave haughtily to us in our hunger. It is your actions that we want, not you. Remain in the flesh. In fact not only when writing an epistle, but also when engaged in any ordinary conversation, if I ever do converse with anyone, I bring forward the mention of you like some pleasant odour, and I please both myself and those that hear. Do not therefore think that the words written are as you say the words of a scribe who has scattered "things old and things new,"³ but the words of love and of need only: since neither am I among those who praise at random, nor are you among those who delight in praises, and the subject⁴ of the letter itself is not concerned with praises.

p. 382.

¹ Cf. Land, Anec. Syr. iii. 346 ff.; Zach. Rh. v. 9, vi. 3.

² Lu. i. 79.

³ Mt. xiii. 52.

⁴ ὑπόθεσις.

I incurred a great debt of gratitude to our God and Saviour Christ when I learned that you the saintly presbyter had been restored to health after the deadly sickness, and that you are in tangible reality officiating in the rational sacrifices.

I am much surprised that you say that you were in doubt about the letter that was written by the saintly bishops who are settled here.¹ It was in fact free from all misunderstanding: especially in the matter of giving authority to the believers there and in particular to the solitary order to receive or not receive those who wish truly to repent: and, what is very important, that the forgiveness should await the assent of everyone, so that it should also require the unanimous opinion of the bishops who are absent. When all these things are put together, they both make those who made answer to the question blameless, and, when the precepts contained in the letter have been carried out, the reconciliation of all remains to be accomplished. I do not mention that the authors of the epistle followed the regulations of Timothy² of holy memory in all points. I do not say these things as if I had myself given counsel upon the matter. No man has known our place of abode at all or where we are, except only those whom we informed for the sake of the necessary requirements of our life. However the devout presbyter Thomas, having been invited by the bishops, in order that he might not be thought to be a haughty

¹ Cf. p. 320.

² Cf. pp. 320, 326.

and unsociable man, heard and answered them, and in proportion to the power that is in him often sowed the seed of caution in those that were willing.

As to the sign that was seen in the sky, it was seen here also in the same way and for many days. Among wise men outside an appearance of this kind consisting in the rising of an unusual star is called a *dokias* or *krinthiya*:¹ and, as thought even by those who have attained knowledge in such things, it betokens a change in affairs. In accordance with the purport of the divine words, the aforesaid star presented the shape of a rod: thus leading us, so to speak, to remember Him who says, "If they profane my statutes and keep not my commandments, I will visit their lawlessnesses with a rod, and their iniquities with stripes." Pray therefore that the other statement may be also added and applied upon our repentance, "But my grace will I not remove from them, nor will I do iniquity in my truth."² Let your sanctities know that there was also an earthquake here on the fourteenth of October: a thing which in general rarely happens in the regions of Egypt; and no ordinary earthquake, but violent enough to shake buildings and cause them to tremble for a long space of time, passing over the small ones only, while everyone so to speak felt it. In certain cities of Egypt, especially in Athrib, a pestilence and plague has also been reported to have occurred.

The books that were sent me by the presbyter

¹ Corruption of *κρινίτης* (?).

² Ps. lxxxviii. 32-34.

Stephen of God-loving memory I have not been able to look through, by reason of the shifting of the places in which necessity causes me to be. Indeed, as soon as I read some part, and think that I have collected some part towards the dissertation against the heretics at which I am working, often some report reaches me and makes me remove elsewhere, and what has been collected is annihilated. I am in the same state as Israel, when it was once under the hand of Midian: and as soon as they had sown warriors used to come up against them and encamp against them, as is written, and destroy the produce of the earth.¹ Therefore it is necessary for me like Gideon to collect a few grains of wheat now and a few later, and pound these because I do not dare to thresh, since I flee from before the face of Midian; for this also I will add from the same scripture.²

As to what you say has happened in the city of Cyrrhus, this news has come to us too; indeed the minute³ has also been sent in which he who in a Jewish spirit holds the presidency of that city⁴ made a confession to the effect that Diodorus and Theodore and the detestable gang of Nestorius differ in no way from the Chalcedonian synod, which like a seed is justly and truly traced to those who sowed tares upon

¹ Judg. vi. 3, 4.² *Ibid.* II.³ πρᾶξις.⁴ Sergius (Mansi ix. 349, 364, 365). If the reference is to Hypatius' inquiry, it follows that this letter as well as v. 8, in which also the letter of the bishops in Egypt is mentioned, was written in 520.

the good seed. And this the minister of falsehood rightly confessed.

Whereas, when you wrote before about Ascalon, I did not write any reply, being interrupted by constant anxieties, do not think to yourselves that any action taken by you is displeasing to me: for I am glad that there also you have again begun to plant a good plantation of faith. Even though the Philistines when they see us say, "Behold! the Hebrews come forth out of their holes where they hid themselves," we like Jonathan will say, "Come up because the Lord hath delivered them into the hands of Israel."¹ If therefore it shall at any time happen that we remain silent upon receiving anything written by you, do not think that it is because it is displeasing to us that we have remained silent. All things done by you are pleasing, and very pleasing. *The end.*

- 519-37. 13. *Of the same to Proclus and Eusebuna the bishops.*²
(From those after banishment, from the 3rd book the 35th letter.)

p. 386. It was not without sorrow nor with a mind free from affliction that I read the letter of your love of God: but, as is sung in the Psalms, "My heart was disturbed within me."³ *And after other things.* But what? If, even after taking all these offences that are so manifest into account we allow him to be purified by association only as Cyrus said, he will reckon this a

¹ 1 R. xiv. 11, 12.

² Ps. liv. 5.

³ Cf. p. 167.

small thing, and a thing that does not injure the soul on the most important points, and in the matter of its very salvation. Let him therefore, if he likes, ask the Theologian Gregory, and he will answer clearly: for I do not know how it is that, when besides the holy scripture you pride yourselves in the teachings of your countrymen, and can obtain from them instruction in what is right, you have had recourse to my poverty. What therefore says the mouth of Christ, the mouth that at all times instructs the church, and catches souls out of the pit of destruction, upon the principle that we must not associate in any way whatever with the adversaries who make an accusation and a charge out of the fact that those who stand upright are not perishing with them? [Here follows the citation from Greg. Naz. given on p. 270 with the variation "we" for "they".] How is it therefore that the excellent Cyrus asks for association only as he says to be permitted him like a man innocent on the other matters? And how is it that after confirming the impiety in writing he wishes to become an orthodox man not enrolled in writing and in a corner? Or do we not hear the great Basil saying in his letters, "But, if they say that they have repented, let them show their written form of repentance and an anathema of the faith of Constantinople, and separation from the heretics, and let them not deceive those that are simple"? Look therefore, I beg, to these columns of the church and your progenitors, and emulate their glory. For they are your progenitors, after the true and spiritual family: and

p. 387.

for you to put their glory to shame is in truth a deed of great shame, and worthy of the final and endless fire. Cappadocia is in danger of becoming a tale of laughter in our age. For indeed, if, as I pray may not happen, you be caught in those sophistical traps, the enemies of the truth will count the latter as added to the former and will laugh and say, "Cyrus has lapsed : Soterice has fallen : Proclus and Eusebiana after many circuitous courses and useless movements have been cast down into the same ditch : and the whole trap has been spread abroad. Great champions¹ of the faith Cappadocia displays to us." Therefore, even though there were nothing grievous to expect in the world to come, are these things tolerable to the ears of the pious? Will they not seem fraught with lamentations and tears to those that hope in Christ? Will they not mourn and instead of their garments rend their hearts, as the prophetic text says?² Be not, I beg and pray you, be not the cause of such lamentation. Short is our time : and "yet a very little while and He that cometh will come and will not tarry,"³ and "will reward every man according to his works" :⁴ and, while we are now gaping after the shadowy things of this world, He will come upon us and seize us in the midst of our pleasures : whereas we ought to have gone while watching. For, as the end of the life here finds us, so will He that shall judge us see us on the great effulgent day of the last judgment. May it come about that we are ready when

¹ ἀγωνισταί.² Joel ii. 12, 13.³ He. x. 37.⁴ Mt. xvi. 27.

we appear before Him, and that we find Him gentle, and not pronouncing the sentence that condemns, but that which acquits, and giving us a share in the good things that are prepared for those that have hoped in Him!

I have committed these things to writing in fear and trembling, and with caution lest anywhere I should think or utter anything contrary to the divine laws, and be found with those that are accused by the prophet as perverting justice,¹ or as possessing two weights contrary to the law,² and to be weighing the words of the Spirit not worthily nor intelligently, but inclining the balances of truth like a huckster, and making myself liable to the divine sentence. Pray therefore, saintly men, that I may receive forgiveness from Christ the great God and our Saviour, both for what has been written and for what has been omitted. *The end.* p. 389.

14. *Of the same to John and Philoxenus and Thomas the bishops, confessors on the hill of Marde. (From those after banishment, from the 4th book the 21st letter.)* 521-7.

On reading your sanctities' letter I thought of Elijah the Tishbite prophet, who when persecuted by impiety betook himself to the hill of Horeb, and as a reward for his tribulation gained the privilege of seeing and conversing with God, so far as is possible

¹ Mi. iii. 9.

² De. xxv. 13 (?); Pr. xx. 17 (?).

for men. When He that knows all things before they are as it is written¹ approached him like a father, and assumed the appearance of ignorance in order to comfort him, like a father who comforts his beloved son by playing with him, and in order to lighten the weariness and distress that he had incurred from the long journey, and said to him, "What doest thou here, Elijah?", he stirred up the zeal that was blazing in him and answered very hotly (and that though speaking to Him who knows all things and whom nothing escapes), "I have been zealous for the Lord the All-Ruler, because the sons of Israel have forsaken thee. Thine altars they have thrown down: and thy prophets they have slain with the sword. And I only am left: and they seek my life to take it away."² And He put fresh heart in him by revealing Himself to him in mightier fashion and initiating him in more perfect knowledge. Therefore I am convinced and assured that your love of God also, who have imitated the same pattern of zeal, and walk in the footsteps of a like mode of life,³ who engage as combatants not only in the contest of confession after the manner of martyrs, but also in the patient labours of the ascetic life, will also be gratified with the conversation and sight of God, and that you will render the hill called in the tongue of the country Marde no meaner than the hill of Horeb, but even more glorious than that. For by drawing to you companies of holy monks, and

¹ Sir. xxiii. 20.² 3 R. xix. 13, 14.³ πολιτεία.

of men who are living the cœnobitic life¹ while cleaving to orthodoxy, and by recalling and healing like shepherds and fathers at the same time those who have transgressed or otherwise become remiss and been swept away to follow the violence of the time you have also appropriated to your hill the glory of another higher and holier hill that is situated in Jerusalem, I mean on the corner-stone of Zion, the watch-house that is higher than all the earth, which you have surpassed by making more peculiar to yourselves in a higher sense the grace and title of the episcopate also, which were given you already by the Spirit, but are confirmed by works every day, as the Apostle says. Indeed I see many running and hastening to the summit of your hill also, even as to that hill, and saying the words of the prophecy that have been carried out in actual deeds, "Come let us go up to the hill of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob, and He will show us His way and we will walk in it."² And I have confidence in saying that they will not be disappointed of their hope. For you teach those who stand to keep the orthodox faith, and to practise a devout and just life: while to those who have been led away to error you teach the way of repentance by giving them forgiveness canonical and legal. Wherefore also, showing humility in this point too, you ask

p. 391

¹The letter therefore seems to have been written after the expulsion of the monks (*cf.* p. 324 n. 1). The *terminus ad quem* is fixed by the date of v. 15: see p. 352 and p. 358 note.

²Is. ii. 3.

P. 392.

our meanness how those who have been baptized by this heresy that now prevails ought to be received. To this I made answer in writing at an earlier time also when I was living in the city of the Antiochenes,¹ because certain persons in unthinking fervour had supposed that these ought to be perfected by chrism, just as the custom is for Arians and Fighters against the Spirit to be received. I think that the religious presbyter and archimandrite John also, who sent me your revered letter, has with him the treatise that was written by me on this point. But I will now also in the same way tell your sanctities in a few words a thing of which you too are not unaware: that at the holy œcumenical synod that assembled at Ephesus and effected the deposition of Nestorius, who raised the heresy of this Diphysite man-worship to a higher position, when Charisius a presbyter who came from the province² of the Lydians, and registered his fathers' house at Philadelphia, with many others who had been swept into the error of that heresy, presented petitions to it and exposed the creed previously concocted by the impious Theodore of Mopsuestia, it both received him and admitted him to clemency, not making any canonical pronouncement in their case about chrism or about anything else of this kind:³ but it lawfully decided that they were to renounce the heresy itself in writing and condemn it by anathema, and so be received and become members of Christ's flock.

¹ v. 6.² ἐπαρχία.³ Mansi iv. 1344; cf. p. 299.

And all from that time to the present day have been received on these terms by the orthodox bishops who lived at different times ; who did not do anything further with regard to them, nor abrogate the covenant¹ confirmed by the fathers, or lay down any additional commandment beyond what were laid down, as Paul somewhere says in writing to the Galatians.² Whence also a certain Theodotus, one of the bishops of Palestine,³ because he presumed to anoint certain persons, was repudiated and expelled, both by Timothy of holy memory, archbishop of the city of the Alexandrines, and by all who shared his opinions and were zealous with zeal that is "according to knowledge"⁴ and is pleasing to God. To remove in any matter whatsoever the landmarks that our fathers set up is wholly unlawful,⁵ even if a man is deceived by considerations that seem to be rather on the right side.

Upon this point these things are sufficient for your perfection in Christ. But I beg you also to extend your diligent watchfulness which becomes shepherds to the God-loving archimandrites and devout solitaries, those that are near you and those that are geographically far from you, and not allow anyone to disturb those that are more simple, in the matter of the question about the incorruptibility of the body of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, which was stirred up among us by Julian who wantonly became impious, and has departed from the life here, but

¹ διαθήκη.⁴ Ro. x. 2.² Ga. i. 8, 9.⁵ Pr. xxii. 28.³ Cf. p. 185.

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shall answer for his blasphemy and evil belief to the Judge of all, and shall then regret that he was not converted to a right state of mind by the warnings that he received, and this though he was admonished in a gentle and brotherly manner, as your sanctities also who saw what was written will bear witness.¹ It has come to my knowledge that certain men who do not perform any service as is written except things that are vain² have torn away an occasional line or two from what I wrote, and have tried to lead astray those that are easily cheated. And no wonder, when even about the wise Paul's epistles Peter the divine, who was instigated by the same Spirit of concord and apostleship, wrote, "which the unlearned and unstable wrest to their destruction, as they do also ~~the~~ other scriptures."³ Therefore you will do an act worthy of you if you write a common letter to all who have been driven from the holy cloisters, condemning the unlawful statements, and warning them to adhere to the teachings of the holy fathers which our meanness has cited. *The end.*

522-7. 15. *Of the same to Sergius, bishop of Cyrrhus, and Marion, bishop of Sura. (From those after banishment, from the 4th book the 81st letter.)*

I have read your sanctities' letter in no negligent way but very carefully indeed: for it was such as to

¹ Zach. Rh. ix. 9-13.

² Ja. i. 26.

³ 2 Pe. iii. 16.

attract even those whose mind wanders and who stare vacantly at the stage-play of the life here and cleave to it. *And after other things.* As to the sub-deacon who has fallen under a decree of separation from the miserable wicked Cyriac, if he repent of the sins that he has committed, the merciful sentence of God will absolve him through your holinesses. And, if anyone else also has committed or shall commit any such sin, as we pray may not be the case, he shall in an exactly similar way attain absolution according to your legal judgment, on account of Him who does "not wish the death of the sinner so much as that he be converted and live."¹ In fact even in the ordinance regarding Cyriac we have mixed with the severity the mild drug of penitence by inviting him also to recognise the sin that has been committed. For we hear Paul saying in his epistle to the Romans as follows: "Behold therefore the mildness and severity of God; on them which fell severity, but upon thee the mildness of God if thou continue in mildness."² For by everything this is what we are taught, to look to Him who sought the sheep that was lost, and bore it on His shoulders and carried it up and counted it in the flock of those that are being saved.

p. 395.

Greatly did I rejoice in the Lord, as the wise Paul somewhere said,³ that the religious presbyter and archimandrite John, trained as he is to do all things with understanding and guided by the divine Spirit,

¹ Eze. xxxiii. 11.² Ro. xi. 22.³ Ph. iv. 10.

brought first to your sanctities the letter written by me to the saintly bishops Philoxenus, Thomas, and John, who were then living on the hill called that of Marde.¹

p. 396. For my part I say that your ears and your tranquil and thoughtful mind, which is built up with all devoutness, are like a furnace of fire, in that they have the capacity of distinguishing what is alloyed from what is sound. Wherefore also I have gladly accepted your action in keeping with you the letter written by me to them, and first giving me the benefit of your advice. If therefore it is in order to cause fear and trembling in those who have turned their eyes towards penitence that your sanctities are making the delay in the matter of the reception of the children who were baptized by heretics, I concur with your purpose: only unless perhaps the long delay cause those who have turned their eyes towards penitence to become inert, and despair of being received by you, and return to their first vomit as it is written, and wallow again in the same mire.² Nevertheless the form of penitence that was once approved by the holy œcumenical synod that assembled at Ephesus in the case of those who have been baptized by men who hold the hateful profane doctrines of Nestorius³ must be maintained in full force, and there must be no thought either of

p. 397. second baptism or of chrism. Indeed those who did this when the impiety introduced as an innovation at Chalcedon first prevailed were repudiated both by the

¹ v. 14.

² 2 Pe. ii. 22.

³ Cf. p. 299.

holy Timothy who fed the great Christ-loving city of the Alexandrines in saintly fashion and by all the orthodox bishops, as having walked outside the royal and lawful road. But, if we are now going to discuss the question in what way those who are baptized by men who divide the one Christ into two natures after the ineffable union ought to be received, those who observe our actions carefully will say to us, and very rightly, "Why did you repudiate such an inquiry at the time when the impious wicked Flavian was driven from the see of the city of the Antiochenes, and all the bishops who deposed him were assembled together?" They will also blame us for receiving those who were ordained by him in the orders which they then held on merely anathematizing and renouncing the heresy. No one is so devoid of the sacred teachings of orthodoxy as not to call baptism given by any heresy imperfect and spurious: but those who know this look at the regulations of the holy fathers, and reflect that according to the character of the heresy treatment also must be applied, and the stain must be purged and expiated either by another baptism or by chrism, or by an anathema of the heresy, and the judgment of the orthodox priests and reception by them. The utterance of those who officiate with orthodox mind, whatever it may be, is accompanied also by the curative treatment and grace of the Spirit: since the word of the baptizer perfects baptism also and causes the Spirit to come down upon the water, on account of Him who graciously allowed

P. 398.

us who creep upon earth to share in this power. For He cleanses the washing of water by His word, as Paul says in his epistle to the Ephesians.¹ So also the word of the anointer is mingled with the chrism, and applies curative treatment and brings the grace of the Spirit into play. After the same fashion also an anathema of the heresy, when enjoined upon those who utter the condemnation by order of orthodox high-priests, and proffered by the mouth of those, as well as entrance into the holy of holies performed in accordance with the judgment of those who receive them brings healing to the sore, and causes the pure and sincere grace of the Spirit to flash invisibly upon those who have been accepted. With these things the sanction from above is also identified in the giving of the decision, according to the commandment plainly laid down in the Gospels of Him who said to Peter, "I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,"² and repeated the same again to all the disciples and said, "All things that ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and all things that ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."³ For there is nothing lawfully said by the orthodox high-priests, and performed in accordance with the divine commandments and canons, that is not full of the Holy Spirit, as David also the spiritual singer said,

¹ Eph. v. 26.² Mt. xvi. 19.³ *Id.* xviii. 18.

"I opened my mouth and breathed in spirit because I longed for thy commandments."¹ I beg your sanctities also to consult carefully the words written by me in Antiochus' city against those who dare to re-anoint contrary to the law,² and to reflect what unhallowed objections we met on their part, and that we have not held different opinions at different times, but always have the same thoughts, endeavouring as we do all the days of our life to guide our short-sighted mind by the writings of our holy fathers and their lawful regulations. If you like, assign a certain time for converts from heresy to the orthodox faith, in order that they may expiate their sin by tears and weeping, being admitted, that is, to expiation through your holy prayers and entreaties, and the outstretching of your saintly hands. Wherefore like Jacob the divine patriarch show them the rod of orthodox teaching, which is white and shines with sound doctrines, and is cleared of every green and dead hue of heresy :³ in order that these rational sheep, fired by your teachings, may cast from them all the murkiness and darkness of heresy, and in its stead put on the white and full light of the orthodox faith : and may clothe themselves in the many colours of virtues, and may cease to be counted among the heretics' unknown⁴ sheep, and may mix with those that are known, making up the one flock of the one Shepherd and God and our Saviour Christ.

p. 401.

¹ Ps. cxviii. 131.² v. 6.³ Ge. xxx. 37 ff.⁴ Marg. "late".

I for my part have written these things to you the ministers of Christ, and careful stewards of God's mysteries. But it will rest with your discriminations at the present time to take what steps you like in the existing circumstances. Only please communicate what we have written to our brothers and fellow-ministers who brought before us the question concerning this present matter, in order that it may not be thought that we did not deign to answer your sanctities: and, after you have examined all the circumstances conjointly, take the right course.

p. 402. As to the mad dogs who have followed the witless Romanus and the stony Julian we have not a word to say, seeing that, while we walk according to the law in all respects, both in doctrines and in canonical actions, they are absurdly spreading these contrary opinions concerning us. For neither will we for our part by reason of rivalry with those filthy men abandon the middle of the royal road and walk upon the rocks on the other side. We must listen to Him who cries with a loud voice through Isaiah the prophet to those who keep His laws, "Hearken unto me, ye that know judgment, my people in whose heart is my law; fear not the reproach of men, and be not overcome by their derision; for like a garment shall it be consumed by lapse of time, and like wool shall it be eaten by a moth; but my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation to generations." ¹

¹ Is. li. 7, 8.

This point also I have thought necessary to bring to the knowledge of your perfections in Christ our God : that the religious presbyter and archimandrite of the holy cloister of the blessed Bassus has sent two of his devout monks to the great Christ-loving city of Alexander, bearing a letter which states that they are in straits with regard to the sacred ministry, and in want of presbyters and deacons.¹ Wherefore also he begged me to write to your holinesses, or else to some other of the saintly bishops who share the same persecution with us, in order that you may satisfy this their need by your saintly and lawful hand. And, p. 403. since it was then the winter season, the letter remained, as I have been informed, in the same great city of the Alexandrines, because it was no longer possible for voyagers to cross the sea. Therefore I beg your sanctities not to be remiss in supplying such a need. In all good things it beseems you to show courage as well as to give comfort, and to be first in every action that is on the right side. For I intend, if God pleases, to write about this through you also, in order that either you or others with your sanction may carry out the duty which thus presents itself and is urgent : that is upon the archimandrites presenting with their testimony those who ought to be duly advanced to the ministry of the sacraments, lest any take necessity as an excuse for being appointed deacons and priests without discrimination and casually, without having any p. 404.

¹ Cf. i. 59.

virtue to qualify them for this, except that they desire the priesthood and diaconate. Therefore, now that you know these things, speaking with God's permission, I beg you, when the winter has passed, as soon as sailing begins, to write us a careful answer, saying what your opinion is on all the matters mentioned in the epistle, and to put our meanness in a safer position through your understanding in the Lord.

For the safety of the learned and Christ-loving scholastic Maximin we offer prayers of thanksgiving as sacrifices at all times, as we also stated in the previous letter: and we moreover give him loving greeting through your sanctities.

Against the last fatuous work of the wickedly impious Julian, which promulgates the same arguments upon the same subjects, I have not up to to-day begun to write,¹ although it is refuted beforehand by what has been already written by me before, so that everyone who meets with it will know its feebleness and the futility of the erroneous phantasy which he confessed. During the whole time of the summer, and that though I have been hiding in corners, I have never ceased being worried by constant letters from men who in various ways ask different questions at different times, and beg to have now scriptural expres-

¹ The last work of Julian must be the *Appendices*; and, as the answer of Severus to this is contained in the translation of Paul of Callinicus published in Apr. 528 (Assem. B. O. ii. 46), this letter cannot be placed later than 527.

sions, now doctrinal theories¹ explained to them. p. 405.
Also the loneliness of solitude, and the fact that I have not men at hand to serve as scribes when I want it in addition to the other things hinder me from writing. But I think that I shall be strengthened through your saintly prayers, and that I shall be sufficient for everything, if Christ our God grant me life and grace from above. *The end.*

VI. Sixth section.² That one must not take account of anathemas or separations pronounced by heretics.

I. *Of the same to Eleusinius the bishop. (From those during episcopacy, from the 1st book the 121st letter.)* 518.

Many men after gazing on the likenesses of those whom they love are refreshed and comforted, and think that by this they satisfy their affection. But I, not having fashioned a likeness of your sanctity for myself, but having joined it to myself, am the more attracted to the picture, and every hour, if I may so say, am smitten in my soul and yearn in thirst for your delightful and spiritual conversation, and wish to

¹ θεωρήματα.

² τίτλος.

p. 406. be immediately gratified by speaking with you, and to have again the former joy. But this I am well assured the Giver of all good things will give me and at no distant time.

However I rejoiced excessively at the contents of your holiness' epistle, and that the affair of the trial concerning the presbyters in the country did not come upon you as a snare. For it is manifest that, seeing they are still of this disposition, if you meet with them, you will envelop and catch these also in your spiritual nets.

You have also described very well and like men who are wise in all things the character of the many-footed Isidore, the unphilosophic and deceitful solitary, who for the destruction of the holy churches, as he thought, emulated the character of the cunning fox, and who composes his outward appearance only to an expression pleasing to everyone, but within carries a smoking firebrand according to the prophetic saying:¹ by which we believe that he will be utterly consumed, and will become fuel for it like faggot-material, and will not be changed into another man but reduced to ashes.

As to the man who has just been instituted and holds the prelacy of the royal city, we have learned that he is John called by the name of Florentinus,² who held the post of *syncellus* to him who is dead; who is thought to be inclined to the right opinions,

¹ Is. vii. 4.

² *Lit.* "John of Florentinus," i.e. Ἰωάννης ὁ Φλωρεντίνου, not necessarily "son of Florentinus."

and holds out some pleasing hopes to the orthodox, p. 407.
 but is more desirous of adopting a deceitful middle
 course, and of walking himself also according to that
 model which Timothy his predecessor adopted in his
 synodical letter. There are therefore two ways; for
 we must say briefly what ought to be done as it occurs
 to my feeble mind. Either you must accept the
 synodical letter, though it does not contain the same
 sense as the document of the ten bishops or anathema-
 tize the transactions¹ of Chalcedon and the Tome of
 Leo and those who called and call our one Lord and
 God Jesus Christ two natures after the union; or you
 must write what is repugnant to you and say that if
 he show himself such and such you will accept com-
 munion with him. But I am wondering whether a
 man who accepts a synodical letter is not obliged to
 communicate with those who bring this to him. But
 the advice which I have given you is that which I
 also am endeavouring to carry out, God supporting
 my feebleness.

Know that the God-loving bishop Soterice also is
 going up to the royal among cities with a similar
 purpose to that which you too declare in your letter.
 For the saintly bishop Entrechius has done him much
 good since the time that he has been more thoroughly
 on our side. Now however, now that he also has p. 408.
 learned that Timothy is dead and his successor has
 been appointed, he wishes to put off the journey, and

¹ πεπραγμένα.

see by events themselves what position the man who now presides over the royal city is inclined to take up, and so prepare himself for the questions that will arise. But he too intends, if he stay where he is, not to accept the synodical letter, unless it contain something that tends to heal the division of the holy churches. But keep this to yourself and tell no man whatever.

But know this too: that the anathema which has been reported to have been pronounced against us by him who has now been instituted is quite untrue. Certain men, in number very few, tried to make use of such rumours, and they were exposed and it became known by whom they were employed to do this: and the bishop who has now been instituted never consented to turn his attention to the rumours put about by those men: but on the next day we hear that some of them were actually arrested. However on New Sunday¹ so great an assembly of orthodox was purposely collected that those who were collected by a gleaning process by the heretics did not dare even to appear, but only to slink away and hide, and they were
p 409. in great fear, and by flight gained freedom from all harm.

The magnificent and believing silentiary Conon, when in conversation with him who now ranks before me, found that with regard to unity and with regard to our meanness he said such things as those who are

¹ Apr. 22, 518.

exceedingly orthodox would say. But I am wondering, as I also said before, whether he will withdraw from the middle position which inclines to both sides.

My reason for writing about the anathema that has been reported was that I wish merely to inform you of the sequence of events: otherwise I take no account whatever of such things. Anathemas by men who are not united in communion with those who hold right opinions, but walk contrary to us, are similar to what one would consider those to be that were pronounced by the Arians against the holy Athanasius and decreed his complete deposition without touching his faith at all. He who on account of his sound faith was able to hear from Christ the words, "Thou art Cephas and upon this rock I will build my church,"¹ has consequently also the power of binding and loosing, inasmuch as the heavenly mandate also sanctions such things. But, if he is carried beyond this rock, it is manifest that such a man does not escape detection as beating the air, as the Apostle says.² *The end.*

2. *Of the same to Archelaus the reader of Tyre.*
(From those during episcopacy, from the 1st book the 141st letter.)

p. 410.
513-8.

Our Christ-loving brothers the lord Menas and Isidore informed us that some of the readers, moved

¹ Mt. xvi. 18.

² 1 Co. ix. 26.

by divine zeal, recoiled from communion with that wicked man,¹ and he laid upon them, as he thought, a ban of excommunication; and that it is necessary for this to be removed by us. For my part I was surprised if they considered a ban laid upon them by a man repudiated for his faith to be a ban at all. Indeed the holy Cyril also in writing to Nestorius says this; "Those who spoke against you on account of the faith and have been separated by you are in communion with us. For it is not right that such men should be injured by your sentences."² If therefore it is on account of the orthodox faith only, and not for any other sin, that these too have received such a ban and have seceded from him, they are released. How could men who, as we said before, were never even placed under a ban at the beginning be under a ban? *The end.*

p. 411. VII. Seventh section.³ About monks and nuns.

513-8. I. *Of the same to Valieriana⁴ the deaconess and archimandritess. (From those during episcopacy, from the 3rd book the 10th, 15th letter.)*

I rejoiced greatly on learning that your religiousness had by God's decree received the headship of those

¹ Epiphanius; cf. p. 97.

³ τίτλος.

² Ep. 17 (P. G. lxxvii. 108).

⁴ Sic.

sacred virgins. *And after other things.* Wherefore gird up the loins of your understanding, and with watching and strenuousness guide the rational souls over which you have been appointed to be head to every good action. Require from them not only asceticism of body, but also purity of mind. Make the virgins' holy convent inaccessible to every male, and let none whatever set foot within their sacred precincts: neither if he be a boy in his time of life, nor if he has reached advanced old age, except the priest who performs divine service for you. Neither let the virgins look freely at one another, but with eyes turned downwards let them say what is needed. The lust of the flesh obtains occasions from the lust of the eyes, as the divine John the Evangelist says in his epistle.¹ Paul the wise also writes to the Ephesians, "Let no foul speech proceed out of your mouth: but that which is good for needful edification, in order that it may give grace to them that hear."² To this also your religiousness must carefully see: *i.e.* that all the virgins do not take their food separately, lest one be hungry and another drunken:³ but be at one and the same table, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles concerning those who in the beginning believed on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they were all together, and they broke bread in a house and "took food, with gladness and singleness of their heart praising God"; and that "the heart and soul of the whole number of

p. 412.

¹ 1 J. ii. 16.² Eph. iv. 29.³ 1 Co. xi. 21.

those who had believed was one, and none said of any of the things that he possessed that it was his own, but everything that they had was common.”¹ But neither let any of them keep a bondwoman within to minister to her: but let those that are young minister to those that have grown old. It is not lawful for a virgin or a solitary, who have promised to imitate Christ, to keep a bondman or bondwoman. “The Son of man,” He says, “came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.”² If therefore the bondwomen are willing to be bound with the yoke of virginity, after due examination receive these, and let them live with the rest as freewomen; and let them have no liberty of intercourse with their former mistresses, nor for the future perform service for them. “He that was called as a bondman in the Lord is the Lord’s freedman,”³ as the divine Apostle says. But, if they desire to minister to their mistresses in the monastery while yet bondwomen and living a secular life, use all your power to expel these women. If “evil communications corrupt gentle dispositions,”⁴ much more does the servile character cause corruption in the characters of the freeborn when it lives with them. But do not exert yourself to apply correction to all these things immediately, lest you grow weary of labours, and load yourself with an excessive burden: but cut away the

¹ Ac. ii. 44, 47, iv. 32.² Mt. xx. 28.³ 1 Co. vii. 22.⁴ *Id.* xv. 33.

evil practices little by little, and provide the proper remedy for every disorder, like the most skilled physicians: and, when you have healed one disorder according to the method proper for it, then bestir yourself to cure another also; and thus you will make the whole body sound by gradual corrections, and will win the reward of wise stewards.¹ Enforce God's laws: but slanders against you or contumelies despise; and thus you will be a good example of humility of mind to those under your headship. Those that are ill comfort: before those that are well hold out readiness for ascetic exercises. Those that are harassed by cares help and sympathize with them, inasmuch as you also are clad in bodily infirmity, and strengthen them with hopes for the future: teaching them that "the fashion of this world passeth away."² Warn them not to despise the work of their hands. In fact even the wise Paul used to work: and he would say, "These hands ministered to my necessities and to them that were with me. And I have showed you all things, how that ye ought so to labour and work and help the weak."³ Warn them to have ever in their mouth meditation upon the divine scriptures, and to sing night and day the songs that the Holy Spirit delivered to us through David's mouth, not men's hymns, which are made to give pleasure, and which weaken the soul and relax the vigour of asceticism. "Meditate upon these things: think upon these things:

p. 414.

¹ Lu. xii. 42-44.² 1 Co. vii. 31.³ Ac. xx. 34, 35.

in order that thy progress may be manifest to everyone":¹ and you may be as a ship that is engaged in commerce and gathers the spiritual profit from every quarter, in Christ Jesus our Lord. *The end.*

p. 415.

489-512. 2. *Of the same to Jannia the deaconess and archimandritess. (From those before episcopacy, from the 4th book the 118th, 121st letter.)*

The religious deacon, father Theodore, has asked me about the commands which he received from your devoutness. But I, being poor in knowledge and having no right even to open my mouth, seeing that I am doing no good service that gives me freedom to speak, have been under the necessity of writing these things, since I yielded to his entreaties accompanied by adjurations, and I also shrink from distressing you by silence. Therefore I wish your religiousness to know that she who is entrusted with the governance and headship of rational souls must possess unlimited fear, and a heart of mercy: fear, lest she neglect any of God's judgments or commandments, and do not teach them to the sisters or enforce them upon them: goodness of heart, lest in enforcing strict discipline she harshly and without sympathy make the Lord's gentle yoke heavy, and render His light burden grievous to be borne, though He Himself says in the Gospels, "For my yoke is gentle and my burden is light".²

¹ 1 Ti. iv. 15.

² Mt. xi. 30.

You did well therefore in showing condescension towards her who has been weak and has been tempted by the evil one, and in restoring her to repentance by displaying the mercy of pity towards her. Do not cease bearing with her as long as she displays penitence by works of asceticism that is worthy the name and able to wash away the pollution of sin. However, if her faults are such as to injure and stain the others also and inflict her leprosy upon them, like the stains of men of corrupt mind mentioned in the Apostle,¹ cut her off and cast her from you: "for it is good for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should fall into hell."² Only so long must you bear with her as the detriment is confined to her, and does not pass to the others also like some grievous flood. Expel from the company of the sisters all license and idle speech, unrestrained and unseemly laughter, and adornment of the body or of clothes, from which spring fornication and foul and filthy thoughts. For one may wear the lowly and dark tunic itself or cloak in no modest or chaste fashion, but wantonly and immodestly, and walk unbecomingly, and turn one's eyes about in a disorderly way, and use dissolute language, and place one's limbs in a languishing posture, and so satisfy the passion of elegance, and excite the lascivious desires. Command them therefore to keep their heart "with all carefulness,"³ and with David to cry, "My flesh trembled for

p. 416.

p. 417.

¹ 1 Ti. vi. 5.² Mt. v. 29.³ Pr. iv. 23.

fear of thee: for I was afraid of thy judgments.”¹ If the fear of God reach our mind, and we persuade ourselves that to-morrow we shall be dust and ashes, and that the fire of hell that is not quenched will receive us, we shall slay all carnal pleasure. For he that trembles for fear of God is dead to deeds of sin: but he is alive to works of righteousness: and he takes no account of the labour of watching: but he rejoices and delights in the consolation of song; and at working with his hands he is ready and cheerful, seeing that, having fled from the greed and covetousness of the world, he gains by his own toil his daily bread to eat, and often also to give of it to a poor man, and to feed Christ when hungry. To all kinds of obedience also such a one is prompt, and carries out what is commanded without cause for blame and immediately, saying according to the Lord’s commandment, “That which is my duty to do I have done,”² and fears to open his mouth and speak idle and inexpedient words, and lose his toil.

Let us pray therefore that the fear of God may be bestowed upon us, which is itself the beginning of good works and their preservation and completion. For “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom”:³ and “let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.”⁴

Besides all other things I wish you to know this:

¹ Ps. cxviii. 120.

² Lu. xvii. 10.

³ Ps. cx. 10.

⁴ 1 Co. x. 12.

that, if you do not through your honourable demeanour offer yourself as a model of good works to those who are being taught, and by your actual conduct show them uncorruptness and modesty, as the Apostle says,¹ during your teaching, though you perish ten thousand times every day, you will profit nothing: but you will be “as sounding brass,” and as “a tinkling cymbal”:² since our teacher and God Jesus Himself first began to do, and then to teach, thereby giving us a model of virtue. The prophet David also shows that a man cannot otherwise open his mouth and speak spiritual words, unless he has first loved and served God’s commandments: for he says, “I opened my mouth and breathed in spirit, because I loved thy commandments.”³

I have out of affection reminded your religiousness of these things as in a few words: but do you in your deeds show better things than these. *The end.*

3. *Of the same to Simeon archimandrite of the great monastery. (From those during episcopacy, from the 3rd book the 35th letter.)*

p. 419.
513-8.

A report has reached us that your religiousness in the pursuit of quietude and the desire of remaining constantly in prayer and holding intercourse with God wishes to neglect the rational flock of brethren that

¹ Tit. ii. 7.

² 1 Co. xiii. 1.

³ Ps. cxviii. 131.

has been entrusted to you by our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that your mind is not much set upon the charge of them : but that for this reason you are desirous of nominating an administrator of the government of the monastery. When we heard this, we were astonished : and we did not, and still even now do not think it true : for this is alien to your perfection. You know well the apostolic statute that says, "Let every man wherein he was called therein abide," and that "we were bought with a price,"¹ and that we must with all our might fulfil the will of the Lord who bought us the captives with His own blood. But what is God's will, except that a man seek not his own profit, but his neighbour's?² That the retention of the charge of the rational sheep who have been committed to you brings you nearer to God than quietude our Lord and Saviour is witness, who in the Gospels said thrice to Peter, "Peter, lovest thou me?", and said that this is the token of love towards Him, "Feed my sheep" and "Feed my lambs."³ Therefore retain the spiritual headship with all devotion, and do not, while you are on a path that is higher than all paths, turn your mind to another which cannot make God so near to you : I forbear to say that it actually grieves His Holy Spirit. The allegation that you have also cut yourself off from the sacred ministry I am ashamed even to write. It was this especially which made me not think the statements true : so that, even if some

p. 420.

¹ 1 Co. vii. 23, 24.² *Id.* x. 24.³ John xxi. 15-17.

verbal bond or oaths have been put forward by your sanctity without consideration, we reckon this as a thing that is not right. Wherefore we release you from such a ban, if we ought to call this a ban at all, and we also urge you to preside over your flock entirely, not with half your mind, and to officiate at the bloodless sacrifice. *The end.*

4. *Of the same to Naunus¹ bishop of Seleucia. (From those during episcopacy, from the 10th book the 384th, 385th letter.)* 513-8.

Be it known to your love of God that Pelagius, having been afflicted with disdain of the divine laws of the Spirit, and having disobeyed our summons which very gently summoned him, because he was not conscious in himself of any soundness, and could not make a defence to the accusations against him, derived so much benefit from his great presumption that he obtained many further witnesses to his own audacity and impiety. He was in fact required to give account or be tried for what he had done before the glorious count of the East, who was present in the honourable bishop's house,² and he did not need the expressions of his accusers, or any witnesses: but by his own words he was convicted of trying to make a defence in a crooked and crafty manner. For truly speaks the

¹ *Sic.*

² ἐπισκοπεῖον.

sacred text which says, "He that is incautious with his lips being perverse shall be tripped up":¹ and again, "A fool's lips lead him to evil things, and his presumptuous mouth calleth down death upon him."² Our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ Himself also, who uttered these words and words like them in those that said them, says in the Gospels, "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and, "The evil man out of the evil treasure bringeth forth and putteth out evil things."³ Not to make many words, he was shown to be liable to many punishments: but by reason of the clemency to which the aforesaid glorious count of the East also as well as my meanness was by inclination disposed, he was adjudged indeed to be wholly unworthy to reside in the holy monastery situated by the chapel-house of the glorious apostle Thomas in the city of the Seleucenes, because he sows disturbances among the brethren: but for the present as a discipline for his sins to live for a short time in any monastery that we please. For he has not ceased sinning against the brethren as the Apostle says⁴ and wounding their consciences, and so injuring Christ, to whom every sin that is sinned reaches, since in graciousness He makes our afflictions His own. How was it anything but shameful that he should bring his brother into the monastery, who is a Nestorian and will not consent⁵ to set foot even in the

¹ Pr. x. 8.² *Id.* xviii. 9.³ Mt. xii. 34, 35.⁴ 1 Co. viii. 12.⁵ We rather require "is not fit".

outer court of the holy church or on the path to it, and admit him to be received by him; and further in the case of a man who was formerly a solitary, who is stained with the hateful belief of Nestorius, and calls our one Lord and God Jesus Christ two natures after the divine and ineffable union, and was reproofed and after the reproof said, "It is the same thing for us to speak of two natures and of one incarnate nature of God the Word," not only admitted him to entrance into the monastery, but even to give the divine communion to the brethren? And how could it be tolerable to those who know how to give right judgments that, while the commemoration of Epiphanius is allowed as p. 423. an indulgence by me, he should take this man as a support for his own wickedness, and should in psalms and hymns of praise call one who has been admitted to indulgence a theologian, insomuch as to put down a certain small jug or flask and say, "It is a relic of the holy Epiphanius," and use this turbid filth, as the prophetic text says,¹ to give drink to the rational sheep? Not to prolong the letter by citing every one of the facts established by examination, by committing these and like sins he was shown to be drawing into his own impiety those of the brethren also who are specially simple and have specially rustic minds. The archimandrite also of the monastery that has been often mentioned fell under great blame for keeping silent on these matters, and closing his eyes, as the

¹ Eze. xxxix. 19.

saying is : and, had it not been that I and the glorious count of the East yielded to his white hairs and advanced old age, and he received forgiveness, he would perhaps have been taught to be watchful in the case of sins directed against God. For it is written, "If a man sin against a man, they shall pray for him : but, if he sin against God, who shall pray for him?"¹ For this reason we also, being concerned for the conscience of the brethren, and desiring to give no entrance to impiety, have disallowed what was previously permitted as an indulgence, I mean the commemoration or
p. 424. mention of Epiphanius. It was also resolved that the *programma* or superscription of the faith should be put up before the gate, after the model of the other monasteries of the orthodox, on account of Him who said "What I tell you in the darkness speak in the light ; and what ye hear in the ear preach upon the housetops."² For that which He when He had become man for reasons of expediency delivered in quiet, and to few in number, speaking to His disciples, this He ordered to be clearly preached throughout the world. The reason that a man obtains an indulgence and a concession is not that he may by means of it rebuild the impiety, but that he may by gradual ascent increase the strictness of his practice. In this way, after God had allowed the sons of Israel, who had been brought from heathen denseness, the sacrifices through "the blood of bulls and goats," as the Apostle

¹ I R. ii. 25.² Mt. x. 27.

says,¹ men like David the prophet, advancing towards knowledge, said, "In burnt-offerings thou delightedst not; a sacrifice unto God is a broken spirit."² The apostles also, after having allowed circumcision to those who believed from among the Jews, after these things, when the preaching of religion had advanced further, said and taught and wrote in their epistles, "Ye who are justified by law have fallen from grace": and, "If I yet preach circumcision, why am I again persecuted?"³: and, "Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear?"⁴ These things were carried into effect; and those who received the concession that was allowed on account of imperfection forgot this, and pressed on to perfection: and neither did the true Israelites lapse into demon-worship because of the indulgence of sacrifices, nor did those who believed among the Jews in the beginning and were circumcised recur to the shadowy worship.

Therefore, these things being so, the matter of the superintendence of the monastery too was ordered and settled in writing, the magnificent count of the East also being present, in order that the seeds of all disunion may be removed from before the feet: against which we urge your holiness also to keep a watchful mind, and not suffer anything of the kind to

¹ He. x. 4.² Ps. l. 18, 19.³ Ga. v. 4, 11.⁴ Ac. xv. 10.

p. 426. happen henceforth in the same holy monastery. All the devout brethren were charged with threats both by me and by the glorious count of the East not to bring forward any matter tending to disturbance or confusion unsuited to solitaries, but to be subject to their religious archimandrite, and in all things to think, say, and do what is in harmony with the orthodox faith and with the solitary life. But, if they do anything contrary to these things, they must no longer expect the castigation suited to monks, but that which is suited to men living the unregulated and undisciplined life in the world.

But these things your love of God ought to have first arranged and settled yourself, and not have thrown such labours upon me, who am harassed by the great turmoil of affairs. *The end.*

513-8. 5. *Of the same to Victor bishop of Philadelphia. (From those during episcopacy, from the 4th book the 156th letter.)*

That the thing which holds Christianity together is love we are all assured. But what is the peculiarity of love except to regard a neighbour as itself? Therefore, since we have heard a report that is not good about the devout John, who formerly ministered to the presbyter Ælian who is among the saints, to the effect that he has lapsed into love of money and the vileness of filthy lucre, and the other vices that are akin to

these (if the text is not false which said that "the love of money is the root of all evil things"¹), we urge your holiness, who besides your other good qualities are rich also in the virtue of obedience, to send this man to his own monastery in order that he may keep quiet : p. 427. especially since he came to us in an improper way and as one may say self-invited, and not by invitation and as one who is carrying out an order so that he might also receive a reward. For I have learned that his evil repute has also reached our holy fathers of the house of the saintly John and Theodore. In what way I do not intend to say : but that those who related these things are not liars, and that they have "the fear of God before their eyes,"² and that they are greatly devoted to your love of God I know and am assured, and I have gained this knowledge from actual experience. I remember also that the devout John often showed a lucre-loving character in affairs, in the neighbourhood of the holy monasteries where I and your love of God lived, and that he did not edify us much (for we must speak thus moderately). The occasion of this hunting after lucre in him was that old man, and the attendance on that invalid, and the disguise thence derived, coloured with Melian earth³ of this kind. Therefore I beg your holiness to purge away this blot also and reflect that nothing is likely to impair the whole administration of those who preside over a people (not

¹ 1 Ti. vi. 10.² Ps. xxxv. 1.³ A substance used by painters ; see Liddell & Scott *s.v.* Μήλιος.

p. 428. only spiritual administration but also political or any other kind whatever) so much as intercourse with those who are constantly with them and serve them and are entrusted by them with things that cannot be entrusted to those without. For this reason the prophet David, leaving us a rule and a statute for an illustrious life, sang to the God of all, "When the wicked man turned aside from me I did not know": and, "Mine eyes are upon the faithful of the land that they may sit with me: and he that walked in a blameless way he ministered to me":¹ and the passages that agree with and resemble these, words which everyone sings and takes into his mouth, but few, and those such as you, display in act.

These things have been written by us with the love of Christ going in advance and filling up the measure of the letter. Though we are sinners, we are in the habit of endeavouring to do what is good not for the sake of anything else, but for the sake of goodness itself only. *The end.*

513-7. 6. *Of the same to Stephen bishop of Apamea. (From those during episcopacy, from the 7th book the 106th letter.)*

I have thought it necessary to commend to your love of God the man who brings you this letter, and to

¹ Ps. c. 4, 6.

state the reason for which he has come to you. The magnificent and Christ-loving Marinus wrote to me to say that the man is his kinsman, and that he is in need of some assistance, as many say ; and that by reason of his retiring character he would not consent to throw himself into political affairs and obtain relief from that source : but he thought it suited to his habits to be included among the clergy of the city of the Apamenes : for he is in fact also from that same country. Therefore he asked in his letter that this might be carried out for him in actual fact. And I after investigating the man's mode of life found, as far as was possible for men, that he had not neglected modesty of conduct. But do you also with men fitted for this purpose examine the man further, and you will know that he is not one unworthy of such a favour. This presupposed, we shall be paying a very just debt to the magnificent and Christ-loving Marinus, who concerns himself much about our affairs, if we include the man among the clergy of the holy church of the Apamenes, and admit him to the order of the diaconate. So much for this matter. p. 429.

As to the circumstances of the time, I beg you to remember our humble admonitions, and do all things with discretion, and reckon all other things second to the integrity of the orthodox faith, in order that you may appear perfect and say like Paul, " I can do all things, in Christ which strengtheneth me." ¹

p. 430.

¹ Ph. iv. 13.

The men of the blessed 'Akiba have written to me about John the monk, who has betaken himself to a temporary retirement with you, to the effect that it was not by their counsel that he removed from their monastery, but also that here too he sought to be ordained on his own authority ¹ (I must use their words); and this they explained not only by their letter, but also by sending devout monks here. Accordingly I beg you not to lay a daring hand upon him until his archimandrite gives his consent; lest we be found to be incurring blame, as breaking the holy ordinances of the churches and of the monasteries. *The end.*

- 513-8. 7. *Of the same to the wife of Calliopius the patrician* ²
on a diptych. (From those during episcopacy, from
the 8th book the 157th letter.)

Being engaged in hearing a certain cause, I had not time to attend to what was written by your highness immediately. But, now that I have read it, I have this much to say: that concerning the confession of faith it is necessary for me to give you an admonition. For in such things as these it is not right to be negligent. For we hear the Apostle saying, "For necessity is laid upon me: and woe unto me if I preach not the gospel."³ Indeed, even when such a

¹ αὐθεντία.

² Cf. Jo. Mal. p. 401, and Wright, C.B.M. 335.

³ 1 Co. ix. 16.

thing is said in simplicity as you say, it is foreign and alien to the right confession, I mean that Christ should be reckoned as an addition to the Holy Trinity, or, *vice versa*, that we should place Him before and in this way confess the Trinity. Having positive knowledge that you¹ are sound¹ in the faith, and that you rejoice at such an admonition, I have written to you, and that with very just confidence. But, since the same apostle says in writing in another place, "Let your speech be always seasoned with grace as with salt,"² with grace that does not fall outside the limits of devoutness I have added also the case of that woman: and that though it is certainly in no way alien to believing women to help one another, especially in such urgent matters. The practice of women teaching in public and giving expositions to men the wise Paul disallowed, saying, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over a man: but let her be in silence."³ But that they should correct their sisters in their assemblies and conversations he properly permitted, especially those who are advanced in age, calling them "teachers of good things,"⁴ in order that they may give an example to the others also in everything. Also the women who were taught at that time by the Lord show that instruction in religion is not foreign even to the female sex. For this reason too he accepted Mary who was industrious in this matter, saying, "Mary hath chosen for herself the good part,

p. 432.

¹ Masc. pl.² Col. iv. 6.³ I Ti. ii. 12.⁴ Tit. ii. 3.

which shall not be taken from her.”¹ Accordingly both to learn and to teach such things, in a proper manner and according to the character of each person, belongs to every sex and is praiseworthy and blessed. I forbear to go on to refer to Paul who says in his epistle to the Philippians about certain women, “Which combated with me in the gospel with Clement and my other helpers,”² in order not to be thought to be prolonging the argument, and doing detriment to the brevity of an admonitory letter. *The end.*

519-38. 8. *Of the same to Eustace a young monk. (From those after banishment, from the 5th book the 38th letter.)*

Your devoutness acted rightly and lawfully in informing both that saintly old man at an earlier time and our meanness now of the thought that troubles you.

And after other things. Know therefore that our Lord and God Jesus Christ, by way of making the road that leads to salvation broad for us (for His p. 433. “commandment is exceeding broad,”³ as the singing prophet says, although it seems narrow to many by reason of the hardness and difficulty of works of virtue), when in the Gospels urging us to bear the cross and follow Him, and to despise the worldly matter that draws our mind away from heavenly things, and press on to perfection, in one place says,

¹ Lu. x. 42.

² Ph. iv. 3.

³ Ps. cxviii. 96.

“ If thou wilt be perfect, go sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven, and come follow me ” : while in another place He laid down a principle saying, “ Everyone that hath forsaken house or brethren or sisters or mother or father, or wife or children, or lands, for my name’s sake shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life.”¹

Since therefore you also have by God’s grace chosen for yourself and completed one of the said roads by forsaking all for His name, do not let your thoughts distress you and think that you ought in all points and under all circumstances to carry the other method into effect also, I mean that of selling what you have forsaken and giving to the poor. Indeed Basil the great in divine teaching, when drawing up the ascetic canons for us, ordered us to testify to a charge of sacrilege only against men who hold property that belongs to us, saying that the voice of religion does not permit us to go to law about it. If therefore you be able to do so out of a superfluity (for neither is there any need for you to do even this as a matter of necessity and compulsion), I mean to take a part also of your father’s or mother’s inheritance to help the poor, without relaxing the laws of the Spirit and being involved in the confusions of courts, the action is good and not to be disallowed, and it ought not to be despised. For the same doctor said, “ But every-

p. 434.

¹ Mt. xix. 21, 29.

where let us take care lest by reason of one commandment we be seen to be breaking another.”¹ You are therefore in need of a believing man, one who is powerful in the state,² and able to receive instructions and commissions from your devoutness as to the claims which it is proper to make, in order that he may hold the fear of law-courts³ only before those who hold your property, and when they have given way demand from them some of the things that can be demanded. For you do not require him to be led into suits in the courts,³ if those men be very unjust, and to be further found to be yourself going to law through the instrumentality of the man who has received the instructions and do violence to the laws and rules of the Spirit, which prohibit you from going to law. This I say, because among the things written by you you stated that, if you do not at once remind those who hold the things that belong to you, you will be barred by the time that has elapsed from any claim or indictment. *Not the end.*

p. 435.

519-38. 9. *Of the same to the Christ-loving Isidora. (From those after banishment, from the 9th book the 13th letter.)*

The fact that I learned from your Christ-loving modesty's letter (to speak with God's permission) that

¹ Reg. Fus. Tract. ix. 2.

² πολιτεία.

³ δικαστήρια.

both you and our common children are sound both in soul and in body was a cause of great joy to me.

And after other things. And she is blessed because of her departure: but you are more blessed in that you did not see her in the body, for the sake of the law of the Spirit and the future eternal hope. You will assuredly see her there, since by enduring not to see her here you have consecrated your endurance as a sacrifice to God. This principle is also stated in the sayings of the holy old men who after an approved fashion gained distinction in the solitary and immaterial life. Once indeed, when father Pœmen was following the life of philosophic quietude with his brothers, and the door of his cell was shut, his mother stood outside the house, and he spoke to her thus in so many words, "Do you wish to see us here, or to see us in that country?" ; and the old woman said to him: "If I do not see you here shall I certainly see you there, my son?" ; and he answered her, "If you force yourself not to see us here, you will see us there." And she went away rejoicing and saying, "Shall I certainly see you there? I do not seek to see you here."¹ These things were said and done by those understanding old men, and fathers of the holy and solitary life, not because they were cruel and unkind men in respect of the claims of nature, but because they were taught by the God-inspired scripture that those who have been set apart and consecrated to God have no

p. 436.

¹ Apoph. Pat. Pœm. 76 (P. G. lxx., 340).

family on earth, but among angelic hosts and the heavenly spirits. For this reason Moses in his blessings said of the tribe of Levi that was set apart to perform priestly functions, from which was Aaron the first high-priest, and those who after him wore the robe of judgment and the revelation and truth upon their breast (these were bright stones, which signified the fact that all things that are true and are not revealed to most men are revealed by God to the high-priests), "Give to Levi his revelations, and his truth to the saintly man." Then also he adduces the cause of such honour, saying, "Who saith to his father and to his mother, 'I have not seen thee': and acknowledged not his brethren and his sons."¹ For this reason Elisha also, who was working at the tilling of the earth, and was looking after twelve yoke of oxen ploughing, when he suddenly received the heavenly calling from Elijah the prophet, was not allowed to see his parents and bid them farewell: but, when he said, "Let me kiss my father and my mother and I will follow after thee," he heard the prophet indignantly commanding him and saying, "Go and turn back, what have I done to thee?"² Jesus Himself also, the teacher and God of the prophets, and of the righteous men who have been from all time and from the beginning of the world, for the sake of example and instruction to us made answer in the sacred Gospels to the man who said to Him while

¹ De. xxxiii. 8, 9.² 3 R. xix. 20.

He was teaching the multitudes, "Behold! thy mother and thy brethren stand without and seek to speak with thee," and said in the ears of everyone, "Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?": and He stretched forth His hand towards His disciples, and said: "Behold! my mother and my brethren. For, whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, he is my brother and sister, and mother."¹

And again after other things. With regard also to the burial of that blessed God-loving virgin's body, if you determine upon a course worthy of the perfection of Christians and the high garb of virginity, you will allow her to be buried in the place where she placed her spirit in the heavenly Father's hands, an expression which Christ, the new first fruits of our race, left us as an inheritance, when He died the voluntary death for our liberation and said, "My Father in thy hands I place my spirit."² For "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof"³ says the singing prophet: who also in another place teaches that the whole earth is a foreign land to holy men, and that they have no country, in that he sings thus to God over all: "I am a denizen with thee, and a sojourner, like all my fathers."⁴ The reason that patriarchs such as Jacob and Joseph desired to be removed from the country of the Egyptians to the land of promise, and there receive perfect burial, was that with prophetic

p. 438.

¹ Mt. vii. 47-50.² Lu. xxiii. 46.³ Ps. xxiii. 1.⁴ *Id.* xxxviii. 13.

eyes they foresaw our God and Saviour's Resurrection, which was to take place there; for which reason also the observances of the divine service and worship were confined to these places only, so that in the legal writings also the following command is given by Moses, "Take heed that thou offer not thy burnt offerings in every place where thou shalt see, but in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose."¹ But now, when the gospel service and the worship in spirit has embraced all the ends of the world, and one sacrifice has been offered for the sin of the whole world (for, "Behold!" He says, "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world"²), it is lawful for us to do spiritual service and to worship and pray everywhere, and no one can any longer be found among saints and those who conducted themselves according to the perfection of the gospel who gave injunctions or who greatly concerned himself about being buried in this land or in that. For they looked to the hope of the resurrection, and the last trump, which shall in the same manner awake those who sleep from the dust of earth, as says Daniel the divine among prophets,³ and "from end to end of heaven,"⁴ as Jesus Christ who spoke in the prophets said in the Gospels; who to the Samaritan woman also who

p. 439. thought that the observances of worship were limited and confined either to Mount Gerizim according to the

¹ De. xii. 13, 14.² John i. 29.³ Da. xii. 2.⁴ Mt. xxiv. 31.

folly of the Samaritans, or to Jerusalem according to the opinion of the Jews, said, "Woman, believe me, an hour cometh when neither in this mountain nor at Jerusalem shall they worship the Father"; and again after a little more; "But an hour cometh, yea now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father also seeketh such worshippers. God is spirit; and they that worship him must worship in spirit and in truth."¹ Following these things the wise Paul also in writing to Timothy said, "I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands without wrath or cogitations."² *Not the end.*

VIII. Eighth section.³ About men who cut off their genital members, and about men who have them cut off through necessity, and about men who killed themselves in time of martyrdom: and that it is the custom in many churches for the glories and praises of the saints to be read.

I. *Of the same to Stephen the reader. (From those during episcopacy, from the 7th book the 392nd letter.)*

I confess that I rejoiced greatly when I received the letter which your religiousness sent me by the

¹ John iv. 21, 23, 24.

² 1 Ti. ii. 8.

³ τίτλος.
26

magnificent Sergius, the governor of the second people of the Syrians,¹ for two reasons : both because it was yours, and because its contents were what they are. For we have now by experience found the man such as you described him in your words to be : and in this great thanks are due to your God-loving soul.

p. 441. By asking after you have received the discourse produced by us upon the saintly Simeon² that we should compose another also in the form of a historical narrative you seem to me to be doing the same as a covetous and strict lender, who, when he sees that his debtor is unfruitful, desires to receive the principal only, but, when he has received it and seen the gold in his hands, is induced to demand the interest also, which before receiving the principal he despised, determining in a friendly way that his own only should be repaid without increment. Know clearly however that it was our endeavour in that discourse, even while applying ourselves to the festal and laudatory style of composition, not to neglect the historical and narrational aspect also : in order that it might contain both at once, and the hearer might be more gratified at receiving a history adorned with flowers of praises, and at the same time as far as possible not failing in ecclesiastical gravity.

That the praises of the saints are read even in

¹ *I.e.* the province of Syria II.

² Wright C.B.M. 536, 791. The order of the homilies shows that it was delivered in spring 513.

churches is witnessed by the discourse of the wise Basil on the forty martyrs,¹ which is read to the people in the city of the men of Berytus, as well as by that of the holy Pamphilus, both there and in the city of the men of Cæsarea, which is the metropolis of First Palestine. The laudatory discourse also that was delivered upon Gregory the Wonder-worker² we ourselves have known to be read in many churches, and in the royal city itself: similarly also that upon the great Basil. We who are scrutinizers of the laws must do you an injury, and so stop your greedy ears. I think that the preface³ of the same discourse that we wrote on the same holy Simeon will cause you difficulty, seeing that it is unacceptable to the Byzantines. But it is easy for you to use three or four passages that stand at the beginning, and leave out the things that cause difficulty, and read the rest continuously. p. 442.

But the lawful freedom of speech of your love of God, or rather to say what is more true your confession on behalf of piety, we have heard from others. And you are blessed both in the distinction enjoyed here, and in the expected reward, which is promised to those who have fought well. *The end.*

¹ P. G. xxxi. 568.

² *Id.* xlv. 893.

³ προοίμιον.

- 513-8. 2. *Of the same to Cassian bishop of Bostra. (From those during episcopacy, from the 7th book the 372nd letter.)*

In this one letter I make answer to all those written at different times by your sanctity.

And after other things. As to the case of the man whose genital members have been cut off, you are not right in saying that the fact that his name is not mentioned in the transactions against the impious Julian¹ is enough to secure acquittal in our eyes. In fact, if a time of inquiry come, we shall certainly insist upon saying why such a count² was drawn up. But this principle must be observed, that according to the provisions of the canon this shall be a great defence for him, that he in truth suffered this at the hands of physicians, by reason of some infirmity that had arisen in him, and he was not himself his own destroyer:³ for this is what falls under accusation and the canonical punishment. If therefore this appear to be so, out of benevolence place him among the clergy: you will not be in any way whatever relaxing the ordinances of the church. Julian of the hateful name was deprived for other reasons greater than these: and this count³ was added to those by way of addition: and, even if it is not true, it cannot benefit him in any way. Since you

¹ Bp. of Bostra (Zach. vit. Sev. p. 30; Evagr. iii. 33).

² κεφάλαιον.

³ Mansi ii. 668.

have written to us about the gentle Dorotheus, it seems you have forgotten the points on which he caused us just vexation, which I made known to your love of God in another letter: and for your perfect knowledge I have thought good to insert a copy¹ of that in this letter.
The end.

3. *Of the same to Aurelius the scholastic. (From those 513-8. during episcopacy, from the 7th book the 376th, 378th letter.)*

The fact that your wisdom has been pleased to show a kind disposition² towards those who are distressed by any vexation is good and of great profit. But for those who like my meanness are entrusted with the government of rational souls it is not a safe thing to walk contrary to the laws of the Spirit, and by granting indulgence do violence to what those approve. By doing such things we shall without our own knowledge be giving those that are under a superior liberty to sin, so that we shall henceforth be unable to cut off others also who neglect church discipline, by reason of the fact that we ourselves have already undermined this. Therefore with regard to the devout Thomas, if on account of some infirmity

P. 444.

¹ ἱστον.

² Or, with an easy emendation, "The fact that your wisdom is benevolently disposed."

his genital members have been removed by the skill of physicians, whether cut by the knife or burnt by drugs, he has under the canons liberty to minister, and there is no difficulty as to his performing priestly functions, and standing before God's altar "with open face"¹ as the Apostle says. But, if he presumptuously mutilated himself, we will not put force upon the determination of the canons concerning him, and give occasion for blame against us to those who are eagerly and malignantly observing what we do. It may in fact happen that we cannot do all that we wish, unless it be by setting at naught the offence caused to many, and wounding "the weak conscience" of our brethren, as it is written.² If it were not so know well that I too inasmuch as I am clad in bodily weakness

p. 445. am much inclined to benevolence. However, since I am "bought with a price,"³ with the blood I mean of the great God and our Saviour Christ, I coerce my will according to His laws and check the unrestrained impulse. These things I have written to the saintly Cassian also the bishop of your resplendent metropolis :⁴ for I think I heard from his love of God that it was rather on account of an infirmity and under the skill of physicians that the aforesaid man was mutilated. *The end.*

¹ 2 Co. iii. 18.

³ *Id.* vi. 20.

² 1 Co. viii. 12.

⁴ viii. 2.

4. *Of the same to John the scholastic of Bostra. (From 519-38. those after banishment, from the 5th book the 39th letter.)*

I praise the man who addressed an epistle to your Christ-loving erudition, and is earnestly desirous of learning the intention of the commandments of the Spirit, and rightly shrinks from the crime of transgressing the commandment of the divine laws, which leads to manifest death. For the God-inspired writings somewhere say, "The commandment of the Lord is a fountain of life: and it makes one turn aside from the snare of death."¹ Wherefore I also of necessity answer with what comes to my knowledge, since it is not a safe thing for me to keep silence and neglect the question. If men who have been admitted to act as priests to God do not make manifest to those that are in need the path of what ought to be done, it is equivalent to committing murder. For He that speaks in Hosea the prophet says, "Priests have hidden the Lord's way: they have slain Shechem: because they have wrought iniquity in the house of Israel."² For the sharp sword that provides the devil with an instrument for the slaughter of our souls is an iniquity. Wherefore we will set the question of him who asks before our answer, as he requested. It is word for word as follows.

¹ Pr. xiv. 27.

² Ho. vi. 9, 10.

p. 447.

Question one. "The loud-voiced Isaiah admonishes those that thirst to go to the water.¹ Having therefore for a long time disputed about the points² to be mentioned without being able to find anyone here to explain these clearly to us, and yearning greatly in thirst, we have now had recourse to your wisdom as to fountains of salvation, you who are able from your own resources and by the help of the God-taught men there to explain to us what the right opinion is concerning the propositions³ submitted by us. But let the story be taken as relating to imaginary persons. There were with a certain man two deacons who had received the habit from him, and were admitted to the diaconate by his hands: not both at one time: but each of them separately. These concerted a partnership in wickedness: and having corrupted one another left their archimandrite, having perhaps even before their departure made an agreement to trample under foot the anathema that would be launched against them. Therefore, after they had withdrawn themselves, these men's archimandrite, wishing to check the evil, immediately through a certain brother placed them under an anathema, the exact terms of which were that they were not to be together nor talk with one another, nor taste wine for some short stated time.⁴ For it was thought that what had been done was chiefly due to the indulgence of the belly. But these men treated the anathema with contempt, and on the very day

p. 448.

¹ Is. lv. 1.² κεφάλαια.³ προτάσεις.⁴ προθεσμία.

were together and in company, and did not refrain from the drinking of wine even for the space of one day only.

“That if they had observed the pronouncement they would not have been under the anathema, and that after the anathema had been removed also it would have been easy for them to be together is, I think, obvious to everyone: but, since they were infected with contemptuousness and did not take account of the anathema, in what light must we hold these men? and is it possible for him who placed them under anathema to give them forgiveness when the ban has once been broken contrary to his pleasure? Or, even if he who pronounced the anathema shall forgive them, will the Lord also with him forgive their contempt of the anathema and their neglect of the pronouncement? What I ask is whether even if the author of the ban himself wishes to grant release it is difficult for him to do so, or if it is in fact upon him that the whole matter depends so that he may even change his mind and give way, or if it depends upon a certain definite penance and strict observance of the things that were forbidden them before, and whether this is to be observed for ever, or is to be applied to them for a space of time as a discipline. p. 449.

“To speak generally, if a man is under an anathema, and on his own authority deliberately transgresses against it, what does he deserve? And is the act of release after the transgression free from danger for the author of the ban? and does God grant forgiveness with him, and judge the man who has sinned inno- p. 450.

cent? I ask further also whether pronouncement and anathema and separation differ from one another in meaning, or if, the meaning being one, it is only the articulation of the syllables¹ that is different."

Answer. Since Moses who was named a faithful servant in all God's house² says to those who are to judge, "Ye shall not recognise a person in judgment; judge according to the small and according to the great; thou shalt not be afraid of the person of a man, since the judgment is God's,"³ and Koheleth too gives us wise instruction, speaking plainly thus, "There is a time for everything under the sun,"⁴ we the mean one also must, as far as is possible for us, so make answer to the question as if the judgment were divine and
 p. 451. not human, and produce a solution of the doubt in accordance with the distinctive character of the time.

If therefore the head of the monastery reproved the brothers who have now left while they were within and living under his power, and found fault with them for disorderliness of conduct, and forbade them the corrupting intercourse, he would have reason for laying an ordinance upon them after they left also, and ratifying this by an admonitory anathema. But, if he is shown to have been silent the whole of the time during which they were under his authority, and not to have found any such fault with them at all, he is now giving ground for suspicion that he is rather inflicting a man's vengeance upon them for his own

¹ συλλάβια.² He. iii. 5.³ De. i. 17.⁴ Ec. iii. 1.

injury, not applying a correction out of concern for their salvation. Everyone who wishes is allowed to leave a cloister freely without any blame following him. A man who leaves a monastic community does not, as in the case of the holy churches and of those who are included in the honourable clergy, need a dimissory letter or similar permission : for this is not laid down p. 452. in any of the holy canons. In conformance with this distinction therefore we say that the pronouncement that has been laid upon the brethren shall hold or not hold. If they received a warning while within the cloister, it is manifest that they have sinned, inasmuch as they have trampled upon the pronouncement. But, if they left without having had any fault found with them, they are not subject to the pronouncement that was laid upon them after their departure : but for their disorderly character they shall give account to the righteous Judge, when they shall themselves bear the burden of their own sin : “for everyone,” as the Apostle says, “shall bear his own burden”¹. But, if they fall under the ordinance, it is manifest that penitence will help them. Every sin, even one that is very grievous, is cured by the method of sincere penitence, and those who show penitence worthy the name have nothing incurable about them ; and the man himself also who laid the ordinance upon them can remove the interdict : not introducing thereby human favour, but serving the divine will. But, if he shall be wrathfully and p. 453.

¹ Ga. vi. 5.

hostilely disposed, and be unwilling to release those who sincerely repent, it rests with another authority higher than his, viz., that of the bishops, upon learning the truth, to remove that which out of human bitterness and malice is maintained even after sincere penitence. But it rests with him who has authority to remove the interdict to approve the measure and character of sincere penitence, where nothing is explicitly stated by the church canons, as in the case of certain sins.

Such pronouncements the divine scripture is able to term both "ordinances" and "pronouncement"¹. For it is written in Numbers as follows: "This is the word² which the Lord commanded. Any man who shall vow a vow unto the Lord, or swear oaths, or lay down an ordinance concerning himself, shall not make his pronouncement void. All that proceedeth out of his mouth he shall perform."³ Also, when Samuel the prophet had commanded Saul, and had ordered him to arm himself against Amalek, and deliver to death everything soever that he captured of men and of cattle, and he was victorious and gained mighty success in war, and he transgressed the ordinance and kept the goats and oxen alive, and he angered God, the divine scripture introduces the prophet himself saying thus: "Because thou hast rejected the pronouncement of the Lord, the Lord shall reject thee from being king over Israel." And Saul said to Samuel: "I have sinned in that I have transgressed

¹ Marg. "word."² Marg. "pronouncement."³ Nu. xxx. 2, 3.

against the word of the Lord.”¹ You see Samuel called the divine commandment and ordinance “the pronouncement of the Lord”, and Saul “the word of the Lord.” Jeremiah the prophet also applied the term “commandment” to the ordinance that the righteous Jonadab established for his sons and his sons’ sons, commanding them not to taste wine at all, nor possess a house or field, but to live in tents. Jeremiah was commanded by God over all to take a jar of wine and a cup, and urge his sons’ sons to drink, contrary to what was commanded them by their fathers’ father : and they made answer saying, “We have hearkened to the voice of Jonadab our father, that we should not drink wine all the days of our life, we and our wives and our sons and our daughters, besides not building houses to live in them. And we have had no vineyard or field or seed : and we have dwelt in tents : and we have done all the things that Jonadab our father commanded us.” And thereupon He that commanded the prophet to do these things, in order to convict the disobedient people of Israel, speaks thus : “The sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab have maintained the commandment of their father : but this people hath not hearkened unto me.”² This ordinance the Spirit-inspired writings are also in the habit of calling “covenant.”³ For instance, when the chiefs of the Jews had with the knowledge of King Zedekiah agreed after the space of six years to let the Hebrew

p. 455.

¹ 1 R. xv. 23, 24.² Jer. xlii. 8-10, 16.³ διαθήκη.

handmaid and slave go free according to what is written in the law,¹ and they had transgressed the ordinance that was enacted by them, the same prophet Jeremiah speaks thus: "The word that came from the Lord unto Jeremiah, after King Zedekiah had completed a covenant with the people in Jerusalem to proclaim a release, and to let every man his Hebrew slave and his Hebrew bondmaid go free, that no man might be in bondage from Jerusalem; and all the great men and all the people who entered into the covenant turned aside from dismissing every man his bondman and his bondwoman, and releasing their bondmen and their bondwomen."² Also, when those

p. 456.

who had returned from Babylon joined themselves to foreign women, of the peoples of the countries that were near them, from among whom God had forbidden them to make marriages, and Ezra was roused to wrath on account of the sin, those who had offended agreed and ordained to send away from them the women that were united to them: and one of them is described in the second book of those that were written by him as speaking in this manner: "We for our part have been false to our God, and have taken strange women of the peoples of the land: and now there is hope for Israel concerning this. And let us now make a covenant to our God, to put away all the women and such as are born of them. As thou willest, arise, and frighten them by the commandments of our

¹ Ex. xxi. 2.² Jer. xli. 8-11.

God : and let it be done according to the law. Arise, because the word is upon thee and we are with thee. Be strengthened, and act.”¹ You see here also he called that which was resolved and ordained both “word” and “covenant”²: so that in the God-inspired writings the same thing was named “word” and “ordinance” (or “prescription”) and “pronouncement” and “commandment” and “covenant.”

An anathema fills the place of punishment for him P. 457. who transgresses what has been ordained. But you must know that there are two kinds of anathema. For the expression “anathema” is also applied to that which is devoted and consecrated to God, gold it may be and silver, and garments and slaves, and cattle and fields : in some cases for the honour and adornment of a prayer-house building, in others for the service or support of those who are in need, or “those who constantly attend upon the altar” as Paul says.³ Such things it is in no way lawful to transfer to private use after they have been consecrated, and to remove from the use whereby they are appropriated to God. This principle is stated as follows in Leviticus : “Every anathema that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, from man unto head of cattle, and from the plot of his inheritance, he shall not sell it, nor redeem it. It shall be a holy thing unto the Lord.”⁴ Thus it is written that Judith acted. “And

¹ 2 E. x. 2-4.

³ 1 Co. ix. 13.

² διαθήκη.

⁴ Le. xxvii. 28.

Judith set apart all the goods of Holophernes that the people gave her, and the net that she took for herself from his chamber, and gave it as an anathema to the Lord.”¹ But the other kind of anathema is when persons are by the sentence and judgment of God set apart for death, as Joshua the son of Nun ordained in the case of Jericho according to the determination of the Lord, saying, “This city and all that is therein shall be anathema to the Mighty Lord; however Rahab the harlot and all whom she hath in the house save alive.”² After the same fashion the divine Samuel also said to Saul about Amalek: “And thou shalt destroy and make anathema him and all that he hath, and shalt not spare him: and thou shalt slay from man unto woman: from babe unto suckling: and from ox unto sheep: and from camel unto ass.”³ Wherefore also Moses to the words cited shortly before from Leviticus adds these expressions which distinguish this other kind of anathema as we said: “And every anathema which shall be set apart by men shall not be redeemed, but shall surely die.”⁴ The anathema therefore that is laid upon those who transgress against the divine ordinances, or commandments or commands, is of the second kind, the anathema which ordains death to the man who transgresses or sins. But death is separation from God. For God is life. Accordingly it follows

¹ Judith xvi. 19.² Josh. vi. 17.³ 1 R. xv. 3.⁴ Le. xxvii. 29.

that death also is deprivation of life, and it consists in our being separated and removed from God. Into this kind of anathema Paul also cast those who preach to us contrary to what we ourselves have received : and he said in the epistle to the Galatians, " But, even if we or an angel from heaven preach unto you contrary to what we preached unto you, let him be anathema. As we have said before, I say now also again : if any man preach to you contrary to what ye received, let him be anathema." ¹ In the first epistle to the Corinthians also he wrote in a similar fashion : " If any man loveth not our Lord, let him be anathema." ² However he that tramples upon an anathema decrees against him double and manifold death, and he is alien to the blessed calling and name of Christians : whence by transgressing against the pronouncements of the laws that hold the church of God together he becomes disobedient to the church : and the man who becomes disobedient to the church our Saviour and Lord and God Jesus Christ in the Gospels consigned to the lot of the nations, saying, " But, if he also hear not the church, let him be unto thee as a Gentile and as a tax-gatherer." ³ In general therefore an anathema is a separation. For it separates the man who is guilty and is removed from God's people, as is said by Isaiah, " Let not a foreigner that is nigh unto the Lord say, ' The Lord shall then separate me from His people.' " ⁴

p. 460.

¹ Ga. i. 8, 9.² 1 Co. xvi. 22.³ Mt. xviii. 17.⁴ Is. lvi. 3.

But the word "separation" is also used when a man is separated for a time from ministering, or from communicating in the sacrifice that is offered.

Question two. "Men who cut off their own members are rejected by the great synod: with the qualification that it grants remission to those who have suffered this at the hands of masters or of barbarians, or by reason of disease, or some other imperative cause.¹ This is manifest to those who look at the canon: but for the sake of a searching investigation let a case in point² such as this be presupposed. A certain man among those with us, who had worn the monastic habit from his childhood, as soon as he began to reach physical puberty, fearing the enticements of nature, and thinking that he was doing a great thing, did not consider the consequences beforehand: but, being deceived by ignorance or by enthusiasm, cut off his own members without his superiors having knowledge of it. At the time he underwent many punishments for his presumption: but, when he attained to manhood, he adopted a very devout mode of life, giving himself up to fasts and to the singing of psalms accompanied by many tears, and shunning women and bringing his body into subjection by abstinence; though it is for the sake of these things that those who cut off their own members generally fall into this audacity, since they then associate with women without suspicion, and expect thenceforward to minister to their belly without dis-

¹ Mansi ii. 668.

² ὑπόθεσις.

crimination. But the man whose case we are considering is not of this kind. He is temperate in all things : his hand is unsparing in deeds of mercy : and his whole life he is, if one may so say, mourning for the presumptuous deed that he committed against himself : and so much so that he is often brought even to despair. But some bid him despair of grace, and say that the sum of his many labours is useless to him. Wherefore, even though after his audacious act he was admitted first to the diaconate then to the presbyterate, he is in distress because he has learned that this is forbidden by the canons. Therefore let your God-inspired wisdom explain to us what ought to be thought about men who so conduct themselves, or what is the penitence proper for these, and what is the benefit derived from that penitence, and whether the hopes of these men are vain, and they have no expectation of salvation, and in this matter only the power of penitence is weak, seeing that, not even when he is penitent for what he has done, and weeps constantly and wears himself out with supplication, is he to expect forgiveness for the sins committed : or if his upright life and sincere penitence are enough to blot out the presumption of the deed ; and if he should continue to hold his *axia* or function, or must inevitably be stripped of this, being expelled by the canons ? ”

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p. 463.

Answer. The decision and answer upon this question is manifest. If a man who has cut off his own genital members and destroyed them was to have forgiveness, be it on the ground of ignorance or immature age, or

fear, or a devout life after the presumptuous deed and evil act, the exactitude of the canons, pronounced as they were through the inspiration of the divine Spirit, by the holy apostles and by the saintly shepherds who were after them, would have foreseen it. The twenty-first canon of the Constitutions¹ published to the nations by the apostles through Clement speaks thus: "Let not a man who has mutilated himself become a clergyman. For he is a self-slayer, and an enemy of God's creation." And the twenty-second canon also speaks thus: "If a man being a clergyman shall mutilate himself, let his deprivation be effected. For he is a slayer of himself." Next follows the twenty-third canon also, which says these words: "Let a layman who has mutilated himself be separated for three years. For he is an offender against his own life."² The first canon also of the great synod of the three hundred and eighteen holy men, of which the question also made mention, proclaimed principles consonant with the declarations of these apostolic constitutions,¹ placing those who have cut off their own members outside the whole clergy, even those who have already been admitted to any kind of ordination. For it spoke thus: "But, if any man being sound in health has cut off his own members, this man even if enrolled in the clergy must be set aside. And henceforth no such man ought to be presented."³ But the practice of penitence prepares those who have com-

¹ διατάξεις.² Mansi i. 33.³ *Id.* ii. 668.

mitted this presumption for forgiveness in respect of the sins committed, in order that they may not fail to attain the expected life and the kingdom of heaven.

But, if any man thinks penitence profitless, and fancies that this is feeble, because it does not contrary to the intention of the holy canons introduce into the clergy a man who has cut off his own members, and restore him to the sacred ministry, he misses the right conception. No one is blamed on that dreadful day of judgment because he was not a clergyman, but because he did not produce fruits worthy of penitence. A man who is sincerely penitent and conscious of his own position, even if he is a man free from every canonical impediment that might prevent him from officiating as a priest and ministering, shuns such an honour. In fact a man does not take "honour unto himself, but by being called of God, as also was Aaron"¹, as said the apostle Paul in the epistle to the Hebrews. The ninth canon also makes these general provisions about those who have fallen under canonical impediments and been presented to the priesthood: p. 466.
"If any have been presented as presbyters without examination, and when examined have confessed the sins committed by them, and after they have confessed any men being moved in a direction contrary to the canon have laid a hand upon them, such men the canon does not accept. For the catholic church

¹ He. v. 4.

requires blamelessness"¹. To the same object the tenth canon also is directed.

These things I for my part have considered and written down in answer to the questions sent me by your believing wisdom; not as one who has high thoughts (far be it!), and who exalts himself above those who sin; but I have poured forth a flood of sympathetic tears over the sinners, and I also am clad in weakness of flesh, as the Apostle somewhere says;² and of necessity as well as in consequence my speech has borrowed the exactitude of the canons, and has uttered their words; to listen to which and delight oneself even for a short time in this transitory life that flits away sooner than a dream is a cause of great and unending joy, and of the exaltation of the angels and the festival of the spirits above, and of ineffable bliss.

p. 467.

May the holy Unity in Trinity, for that is our God, keep your believing wisdom: while you increase in zeal for the orthodox faith, and bear troubles for its sake with firmness, and walk blamelessly in the evangelic commandments; and may It admit you to the future endless life in the kingdom of heaven, through the prayers of all the saints, Amen! *The end.*

¹ Mansi ii. 672.

² Ga. iv. 13.

5. *Of the same to Andrew the reader and notary.* 537.
*(From those after banishment, from the 9th book
 the 61st, 51st letter.)*

The letter of your devoutness which has now been brought, I received on the last day of the month of July, on which was the commemoration of the saintly Timothy, who was archbishop of the city of the Alexandrines, who completed a long residence in exile after the manner of a martyr, and of King Theodosius the younger, piously deceased, who in zeal and in the maturity of his intellect surpassed all who reigned before him : to whose prayers I also ascribed the receipt of the letter, since I had been expecting it for many days, and I was disturbed by various anxieties, and I was anxious lest it too had been overlooked and lost. p. 468.

And after other things. As to John the scribe who threw himself into a river and departed from this life, I am in doubt, and I have no sure decision to give. Know that since the times of Christ's coming in the flesh we find in church histories that this is allowed to women, to remove themselves I mean from this life, and throw themselves on to rocks or into water : on account of the weakness of their nature, and the fact that they are exposed to double danger, that of the pollution of the body I mean, and that of denial of the faith : but in the case of men we have nowhere known this principle to have been accepted or

sanctioned. But it is written about one of the holy Maccabean martyrs that the torturers thought he was drawing back, and that he was showing signs of change: and upon their releasing him for a short time he leaped upon the implements of torment glowing from the fire and the instruments¹ of torture, and separated his soul from his body and flew to heaven.²

Therefore, what has thus happened must certainly be judged according to the disposition³ of his heart and the character of the words that John said.

But may the God of mercy, who desires our salvation rather than our destruction, grant him the portion of those that are saved! Indeed the holy John the bishop not only treats such a death as a subject of praise in the case of the holy Pelagia the martyr, but also pronounces a festal discourse over three other women, I mean Domnina and Prosdocia and Berenice, who by reason of the urgent dangers to which they were exposed threw themselves into the waves of the Euphrates.⁴ Eusebius also in his Church History recorded acts like these on the part of females.⁵

And after other things. But you did well in sending *isa* or copies of the synodical letter and of the other letter to those in the East, for their comfort and establishment in the faith.

And again after other things. But the fact that

¹ ὄργανα.

⁴ P. G. xlix. 579, 629.

² 4 M. xii. 20.

⁵ H. E. viii. 12.

³ διάθεσις.

you have continued to reside at Alexandria we also regard as the effect of great prayer, although I am in no small degree weary, since I write letters to everyone with my own hands, and fill the place of a notary, and I am moreover annoyed at the confusion of the letters, since my handwriting is ill-regulated, although the recipients of them are good believers. If you are obliged to come to us, seek the lord James the man of the count's retinue (?),¹ and he will appear before you more quickly than words can express, and with God's help you will be free from care in other things.

And again after other things. But as for those who, after knowing of the death of the wicked Gaian, hold assemblies in which a dead service is performed in his name, and commit impieties like those of the heathen, who celebrate symbolic services in honour of dead men as of gods, it is quite clear that some divine wrath of no gentle kind will come upon them in common, as may be inferred from the divine scriptures. But may God grant them to be roused from their error, and to be converted from their recklessness while there is time!

p. 470

As to the passage in the letter addressed to father John the son of Aphthonia which you say was a difficulty to you, it is a perfectly recognised construction, and it ought not after such long consideration to have baffled you. After the conjunction "indeed" the conjunction "but" is used, either immediately, or after other things

¹ This perhaps represents *κομυτιανός*; or we might render "of Beth Kumis".

that have been said in a parenthesis : as is also to be seen clearly apparent in the place that was a difficulty to you. It stands thus : "And let these things indeed be both conceived and understood in this way : and let them keep us away indeed from things that are evil, but let them lead us to the hope of things that are excellent." If we inquire into things that are so well recognised, it will even give rise to an accusation of foolish speaking among those who are versed in outside learning. Such constructions may be found plentifully used, both in every one of the ancients, and in the holy fathers. For such a construction is a piece of fine and artistic composition. For instance, an expression of the holy Basil, taken from the letter to Amphilochius about the Holy Spirit, follows so to speak in the very track and confirms what

p. 471. I say. "Therefore the names indeed are of exalted nature and great like these, and names that have not indeed any excess of glory. But of what kind are the operations? Ineffable indeed on account of their greatness, but innumerable on account of their abundance."¹ You notice, I think, how the doctor after saying "Therefore the names indeed are like these," again employed another conjunction "indeed", saying "names that have not indeed any excess of glory." But this clause is a parenthesis, and the sentence composed by him fits together as if it had never been inserted at all : as if he had said, "There-

¹ De Sp. S. 48, 49 (P. G. xxxii. 156).

fore the names indeed are of exalted nature and great like these. But of what kind are the operations? Ineffable indeed on account of their greatness, but innumerable on account of their abundance." Since this book was found lying at hand by me, I have quoted this to you from it. If it had not been so, as I said before, one may find similar constructions like showers of rain in every book. *Not the end.*

IX. Ninth section.¹ About baptisms performed in p. 472.
513-8.
time of necessity by deacons or by laymen;
and about men as to whom there is doubt
whether they have been baptized or not.

1. *Of the same to the fathers. (From those during episcopacy, from the 6th book the 4th letter.)*

Æneas and Zacharias the devout deacons, and Elijah the devout monk, who have obtained a testimonial from you, of which I also was not unaware, have been admitted by the Holy Spirit, the two former to the honour and second seat of the presbyterate, the last to the rank of the deacons, and to the status of the diaconate. I would that all were like these, men who are advanced to this position with a good

¹ τίτλος.

and sound testimonial, and because they are called by reason of being needed, and do not put themselves voluntarily forward out of unseemly ambition and self-will. *And after other things.* But those who received the name of clergymen from Gregory¹ the follower of Theodotus the Re-anointer² must in all points and by all means be reckoned among laymen. However, in the case of those who have been admitted to baptism by them, let no one say that they must be enrolled among the unbaptized. In fact we hear that many when beset by a storm at sea, or by other pressing circumstances of a similar kind, in order not to miss the invocation, have conferred baptism upon themselves, either with their own hands or with the assistance of others who however were laymen, the rite being made complete for them by the invocation, and the anointing with the holy chrism³ being added afterwards : although it is a matter of presumption for us to say anything decisive in such cases, and not to speak by way of investigation and consideration.

As to the follower of Isaiah the Armenian,⁴ let him not even be named, a man who like Dathan and Abiram rose not against Moses but against the high-priestly chrism, and wished not so much to be as to be called that which he also coveted. About him one might find many things to say, a man who, besides his illegal pretence in contravention of the canons,

¹ Cf. p. 208 ff.

³ *μῦρον*.

² Cf. p. 185.

⁴ Cf. p. 208 ff. and P. G. lxxxvi. 45.

has also committed the very serious sin of oath-breaking, not once but twice also and thrice and many times, and instead of the character of oath-keeping has gained that of oath-breaking. And no wonder. In fact in the times of the holy Timothy also they say that Cyrus the simple thus arose suddenly and out of self-will and fatuously pretended to hold the high-priesthood, and perished together with this drunken supposition.

And again after other things. You write also about the bishop of the city of the men of Berytus, finding fault with the indiscriminating character of his clergymen; and you are unaware that he has in fact fallen into the nets of Eutyches and of Valentine, and of those who have contracted the disease of the phantasy¹ and deny the true Incarnation. He has had the infirmity latent in him all this long time, and I do not know how it is that he has now brought it to light. For this reason also I have sent the religious presbyter and steward² Eusebius and the God-loving presbyter and entertainer of strangers Victor to the said city of the men of Berytus, in order to convert the man who has erred if he accepts correction, or if he is contentious expose him by refutation, and subject him to the canons. This same man also admitted the man who was prelate of Scythopolis to honour after his decease, a man who was scarcely even a Christian as you yourselves also know, thus committing a deed full of all folly and without discrimination.

¹ φαντασία.

² οἰκονόμος.

Wherefore also I meet with daily deaths, since I fight and strive with greater severity with those who are thought to be catholics than with those outside. For everyone who sins and receives any kind of admonition arms himself for strife and battle. *And again after other things.* But I beg that the letter be also read as usual to the saintly presbyter Zoninus and Irenæus and Zenobius and Eubulus and the rest. Through the persons mentioned, who appropriate the superscription, this epistle was addressed to their love of God also; and through you I greet all the God-loving fathers and brothers who are with you, and I ask to have your God-beseeming prayers, given with great earnestness. *The end.*

513-8. 2. *Of the same to Theodore bishop of Olbe. (From those during episcopacy, from the 9th book the 8th letter.)*

The questions asked by your love of God no one will be able to decide, from the written laws of divine scripture, or from the spiritual constitutions¹ of those who at one time and another instructed the holy churches. To some extent it seems to be a dangerous thing for us to say anything at all on such matters. But again, on account of the importance of the question and its bearing on salvation, I considered it an im-

¹ διατάξεις.

pious thing to hide in silence what has come to my knowledge without written source, and not make it clear to your sanctity. You say in fact that one of the barbarian slaves bought with money, after communicating in the communion of the divine mysteries as a baptized man, after this said that he did not know at all whether he had been admitted to the laver of regeneration. p. 476.

Know that I heard some old Alexandrine monks, whose mind has been trained by long asceticism, tell the following story. In the great city on the day called that of the recipients (thus in accordance with the custom of the country they name what we call "first baptisms"), a great multitude having as usual thronged together, especially of little babies at the breast, and being admitted to the divine grace, it so happened that two women were in doubt about their infants, whether that of the one or that of the other had been baptized; for there had in fact been an interchange, and the two babes had been received, and it was already manifest that one had been admitted to the laver of forgiveness, while the other had not passed through the rite; only it was not known which of them it was. This came to the ears of the holy Cyril the teacher of exact orthodoxy who at that time adorned the high-priestly seat; and, taking the two infants, by the inspiration of the wisdom from above, he dipped them in the life-giving water, speaking over them as follows: "He that has not been baptized is baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and p. 477.

of the Holy Spirit"; and so he settled the point that was in doubt. I remember that in the holy monastery of father Romanus of saintly memory also, which is situated in Palestine, that a certain monk, who by race was an Ethiopian, after he had for a long time communicated in the sacred mysteries, since he was also counted in the order of those who had taken upon them the solitary life, upon seeing certain persons baptized there, thinking that he had seen a strange sight, secretly confessed to one of the brothers that he had not been admitted to the divine laver. And the man who was at that time archimandrite of the said monastery (this was Eupraxius the holy old man), fearing lest perhaps, if he were baptized, some might fasten the stigma of men who re-baptize upon them, informed the prelate of the city of the men of Beth Gabrin of what had then happened: and he concluded and judged that the brother who was unbaptized ought to be admitted to holy baptism. This action was very right, and not outside the scope of the divine laws of the Holy Spirit. For, since our Lord plainly decreed and said to Nicodemus, "Verily verily I say unto thee; unless a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,"¹ it is absolutely necessary to follow the safe course, and to use the holy Cyril's expression and say, "So-and-so is baptized if he has not been baptized, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."

¹ John iii. 5.

For in fact by ineffable graciousness the immanent power of the Holy Spirit baptizes at the word of the baptizer and accompanies it. For the wise Paul also says that we are cleansed "by the laver of water by the word," and so put off every spot and wrinkle of sin.¹ This power He who became poor for our sake gave p. 479. to those that perform priestly functions, in order that we "through his poverty might be rich";² and He said also to the holy apostles, and to those who succeeded these afterwards, "Verily I say unto you, all things that ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and all things that ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." This same power He also named "the keys of the kingdom of heaven."³ Therefore with the knowledge of these things direct your steps to that which it is right to do, and follow the safe course as I said before, not as by stealth and with fear, but "with open face":⁴ because "we are not of fear that leadeth unto perdition, but of faith that gaineth the soul,"⁵ as the same wise Paul again somewhere says. *The end.*

3. *Of the same to Thecla the countess. (From those 519-38. after banishment, from the 3rd book the 53rd letter.)*

The letter of reminder that was given by your magnificence to the learned and believing grammarian Stephen

¹ Eph. v. 26, 27.

² 2 Co. viii. 9.

³ Mt. xviii. 18, 19.

⁴ 2 Co. i. ii. 18.

⁵ He. x. 39.

p. 480. showed me by the reading of it that still even now you remain that Thecla whom Theotecnus the presbyter, who is in all things steadfast and religious, would depict to me in words of piety, tracing the likeness as in colours : who so much attracted me by his words that I was then the first to begin to write a letter to you. Wherefore also I confess myself indebted to God our Saviour that neither has his testimony which he bore on your behalf been falsified, nor my faith in your God-loving modesty which I then gained. The devoutness of your character is shown by the fact that your own judgment was not enough for you, and you had not confidence enough to presume to things to which it is not proper to presume before being confirmed by a lawful utterance of high-priests. And now you are blessed on account of your praiseworthy fear, by the text of the sacred writings that says, "Blessed is he that feareth everything through devoutness."¹ Further praise I assign to you from the divine law also which ordered a man in disputed causes, and that while the service consisting in shadowy things and types yet prevailed, to repair to the place where the Levites and priests dwelt, and the judge who had the headship over all things at that time, and from them obtain a solution of the doubt. It is good and very beneficial to quote in the letter the words of the law itself, which are as follows : "But, if any matter be too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, and between judgment and

¹ Pr. xxviii. 14.

judgment, and between stroke and stroke, and between reviling and reviling, words of judgment in your cities, thou shalt arise and go up to the place which the Lord God shall choose for His name to be called there : and thou shalt go in unto the priests the Levites and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and they shall inquire and show thee thy judgment : and thou shalt do according to the commandment which they shall pronounce to thee that are from the place which the Lord thy God shall choose for His name to be called there : and thou shalt observe well to do according to all things that shall be ordained for thee. According to the law and according to the judgment which they shall pronounce to thee do : thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall pronounce to thee, neither to the right hand, nor to the left.”¹ The intention of these expressions of the law you have fulfilled in actual deed, both by feeling intelligent doubt, and by referring the question as to the doubt to the pronouncement of the high-priests, in that you have stated that a certain baby, having been seized with severe illness, and having already reached the very gates of death, was sent to a prayer house building to receive the laver of regeneration, and the communion of the divine light ; and, it so happening that the presbyter of that place was not there, you say that the deacon by reason of the urgency of the case dipped the boy in the water of life, and performed the legal ceremony ; and after the action

p. 481.

¹ De. xvii. 8-11.

the presbyter came and complained of what had been done as unlawful, and sought to subject the deacon to punishment. For it was doubted among you whether the boy who was baptized received the perfect grace.

p. 482. You must know that in matters that are doubtful and rarely occur one cannot find broad statutes: since those who made the statutes took care to avoid giving occasion through absence of restraint for the rules of strictness to be corrupted. Therefore concerning this problem¹ also and concerning its rareness it is written in the Constitutions² or in the Commands of the Apostles, which they named the Testament³ of the Lord, that a deacon also may administer the laver of regeneration when a presbyter is not present, by reason of the imminence of the necessary end of death: this same rare observance being proclaimed in these words: "In case of necessity, if a presbyter is not present, let a deacon baptize".⁴ Therefore the presbyter did well in paying attention to what was done by the deacon out of necessity, and performing the ceremonies that follow baptism, and laying upon the boy who had been baptized the anointing with the holy chrism,⁵ and the seal of the perfection that results from this.

p. 483. As to the other question about the other strange and unknown boy who could not repeat any mystic symbol, by which you might have been able to learn whether he is a believer or an unbeliever, as not having received

¹ πρότασις.² διατάξεις.³ διαθήκη.⁴ Test. Dom. ii. 10.⁵ μῦρον.

the laver of regeneration, a letter has been written by me to the God-loving bishop Theodore of a certain city in Isauria named Olbe,¹ and I have determined to quote the same to you at the end of this letter, as being sufficient to provide you with a solution of the doubt.

May you be preserved to us, noble God-loving woman, who show your strict practice regarding faith in God even by the questions which you ask in doubt! That strictness continue to keep till your last breath: for "without faith it is impossible to please"² says the Apostle. *The end.*

X. Tenth section.³ About a man who has a wife and children and wishes to become a monk: and the same also about women, and about the marriage of these.

I. *Of the same to Alypius. (From those before episcopacy, from the 3rd book the 257th letter.)* 490-512.

In many instances, when it was necessary for some sanction to be given to an action, I have known your illustriousness to set great store by the judgments of my erring and uncertain mind, as I persuade myself that it is. p. 484.

And after other things. You certainly, I think,

¹ ix. 2.

² He. xi. 6.

³ τίτλος.

remember that I engaged in a discussion with you about your consort, whom, having been struck by some unexpected suspicion, you drove from your house, and acted like men whose marriage has been dissolved, not even giving her the necessary sustenance ; and how I quoted to you the laws of the Lord and God and Saviour of all, that men are not permitted to put away those that cohabit with them under any other conditions except for one reason, I mean that of fornication ; and fornication we judge to be that which is manifestly detected, and demonstrated by witnesses or manifest proofs, so that, if any suspicion otherwise occur, we do not define this as fornication : but rather we turn the supposition into a gentler channel. For "in matters that are in doubt we must incline to clemency," as the Theologian Gregory says.¹ I have indeed gained sure knowledge that the woman is not liable to charges of fornication so much as to going out freely. But such a thing as this invites you to forgiveness, and does not give you cause for separation. But, if you are strict in requiring modest conduct, know clearly that you are com-

p. 485. manded to practise the same observance towards your wife as you wish her to practise towards yourself. Christ our lawgiver speaking through Paul said, "The wife hath not power over her body : but the husband : and in the same fashion the husband also hath not power over his body : but the wife."² Re-

¹ Or. xxi. 15.

² 1 Co. vii. 4.

flect therefore whether you also have never been discovered to have been seduced by the pleasures of the body. But why do I say "pleasures"? Whether you have not in curiosity gratified your eye with greedy gazing, making yourself in no lovely fashion a spectator of another's loveliness; the eye which the divine word condemns to be plucked out, in order that it may not bring eternal torture upon the whole body:¹ whether you have not relaxed under the influence of the touch: whether you have not indulged the sense of smell: whether your ears have never taken delight in dissolute songs: whether you have kept all your senses untainted. He that is a strict examiner of the doings of others shall have the same judgment exacted from him in the case of his own sins also. If "the head of the wife is the husband,"² how is he to find fault with the rest of his body as being diseased, when he himself is not in sound health?

And again after other things. And many think in the case of a man that when he sins with his body he deserves forgiveness, but a woman deserves to be afflicted with grievous punishments. But this is not so: but exactly the contrary. For scripture says that a woman shall be admitted to forgiveness, inasmuch as she is the "weaker vessel":³ but a man, inasmuch as he holds the place of head, must be an example to the other members of the same body. Therefore be

p. 486.

¹ Mt. v. 29.² 1 Co. xi. 3.³ 1 Pe. iii. 7.

not merciless or hard to your member, if you obey Christ's laws; and do not apply amputation and cut it off from you: but claim it as part of your body, in order that Christ, the Word of God, who out of graciousness became head to the body of the church that was infirm, may claim you also as part of Him. If He raised human nature, which had committed fornication, to heaven by showing Himself as man upon earth, what terrible thing shall we think ourselves to be doing, if we show ourselves gentle to our own members, or rather if we are not found to be harsh to them beyond what is right, and that when they are not committing unpardonable sins? In fact Christ plainly proclaims to us that we ought not casually and lightly to cut off her who has been united to us in one flesh through trusting vain suspicions: and He says that separation was introduced into the polity¹ or social life by Moses on account of our own hardness of heart: but "from the beginning it was not so," He proclaims to the discerning.²

p. 487. How therefore, tell me, shall we ourselves have forgiveness, when we do not conduct ourselves, I do not say according to the gospel laws, but not even according to the figurative laws used by Israel who conducted himself according to the flesh and was a child? For such statutes were given to them in the Book of Numbers by Moses, or rather by God who gave the statute to Moses. He says that, if a man say that his

¹ πολιτεία.

² Mt. xix. 5-9.

wife has committed adultery, and do not find her doing this evidently, or be able to prove the act by witnesses, but is excited by the rage of jealousy, that he shall commit such judgment to God: and that he shall approach the priests of his time, not entering a suit of jealousy, but offering "a sacrifice of jealousy." And look, I pray, at the principle that is carried out in the sacrifice, how even before the actual methods of conviction are used it defends the woman. Whereas it was the custom for fine wheaten flour to be offered in sacrifice, he commanded barley meal to be offered on her behalf, signifying by the barley the falseness and futility of jealous suspicion: but neither shall oil (he says) be poured over the sacrifice, on account of the asperity and unkindness of the occasion: and, when the sacrifice has been performed in this way, and the rest of the sacred rite has been duly accomplished, then the woman shall drink the water of conviction, the priest having first prayed over the same water, and shall either repel the evil suspicion from her by suffering no evil in her body, or shall be found to be guilty of the charges, and fall into God's hands by her belly being rent and the penalty for the deeds that have been done paid by her on the spot.¹ Wherefore have I repeated this to you? That you may learn that we also ought not to entrust the judgment upon this matter to ourselves, but to refer everything to our sacrifice which is Christ. He is no liar who said that

p. 488.

¹ Nu. v. 12-31.

unless our "righteousness exceed that of the scribes and of the Pharisees" we shall not "enter into the kingdom of heaven".¹ Therefore both according to the old law and according to the gospel polity,² where the suspicion is not clear, let us not take ourselves but God as the judge of these things. And we must obey Paul who gives wiser advice than we do. He says, "Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come and make light the hidden things of darkness, and reveal the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise from God."³

p. 489. That you have just cause for making the charge we are clearly persuaded: but that the woman has not offended beyond forgiveness I think you have already been persuaded by what has been written. But, if this does not persuade, we say this. She has sinned, she has done all that is evil as you have said, she has recognized her sin, she confesses that she is guilty, she weeps and groans, she takes refuge in your mercy, she begs your clemency; seize the opportunity. Commit yourself to God: prepare pity for yourself by showing pity. You also being a man are certainly in need of mercy. Look at common nature. Consider the instability of human things. We are certainly not walking upon ground that is firm and not to be shaken. Let us expect ourselves also to fall, and let us set upright those that have fallen. The saying

¹ Mt. v. 20.² πολιτεία.³ 1 Co. iv. 5.

is not mine: "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall,"¹ says divine scripture. *Not the end.*

2. *Of the same in the person of Abba on behalf of brother Maximus, to a certain woman. (From those before episcopacy, from the 1st book the 272nd letter.)* 489-508.

I have asked our holy father Abba about that question as requested in your modesty's epistle, and I have received a complete answer from him. He said that those who have once been united in marriage, seeing that marriage "is honourable and the bed unsullied,"² ought not to desire to separate from one another by reason of religion except where there is consent. For the divine Apostle says, "Deprive not one another, except it be by consent for a time, in order that ye may give yourselves up to prayer, and again come together." For the same said above that it is the husband who has power over the wife's body, and, *vice versa*, that it is the wife who has power over the husband's body: saying, "The wife hath not power over the body but the husband: and in the same fashion the husband also hath not power over his body, but the wife."³ It is therefore manifest that, unless the husband consents, the wife who separates has no forgiveness, and she makes herself a cause of

p 490.

¹ *Id.* x. 12.

² He. xiii. 4.

³ 1 Co. vii. 4, 5.

his turning aside to fornication. If then your husband consents, you are permitted to place yourself under the yoke of piety : there is no one who will find fault with so praiseworthy and admirable a choice. But, if the husband cannot restrain his body, and therefore will not permit you to do this, put up with the marriage-state : such intercourse that saves the husband is better than an abstinence from pleasures that is unknown to the canons. The aim of divine scripture not in this only but in everything else too regards not the person of him who has obtained mercy, but that of him who is infirm : and it especially wishes that those who are strong shall condescend to those who lie on the earth. It does not accept the man who regards his own interest only, but the man who rather treats his neighbour's interest as if it were his own profit. So therefore in this present case also it is pleasing to God that both of you should attain and win the goal of purity consisting in continence : but, if the inclinations of your husband's will do not accord with your own readiness, the laws of holy scripture judge the marriage-state to be better, in order that they may gain you both. This we say on the assumption that the husband wishes to live chastely, and restricts the pleasures that cannot be restrained to intercourse with his wife only. But, if he goes beyond what is right, and does not keep the marriage unsullied, but associates with other women also after the manner of a beast, then the wife incurs no danger by neglecting such a man, and giving the preference to the excellent state,

and taking no account of the marriage, but soaring on piety's wing, and turning her eyes to the solitary life, and keeping her holiness of mind and of body always unsullied.

This also our said holy father further laid down, saying that, although the husband be living chastely, being content to have intercourse with you only, but you have already chosen for yourself to live among virgins, and have included yourself in their order, although the thing was not right in its beginning, for you ought not in fact to have left your husband while he was living chastely, yet still it is not seemly for you now to separate from the virgins, and give them also occasion for stumbling. It is to be feared lest, if you return to your husband, they also may imitate such a practice, and may defile God's bridechamber after having been once united to Christ the heavenly Bridegroom. It is impiety of a high degree that after having been set apart to God they should prefer the corruptible intercourse rather than the immortal and heavenly connexion. But, if you have not yet lived with virgins, but only withdrawn from intercourse, according to the principle stated by us above act in common with the husband, and, if he does not consent, you ought to follow his inclination, and prefer the marriage-state to purity, because this is pleasing to God.

p. 492.

But, if the husband does not desire intercourse with you, but wishes you to live within the house with the children who have been born to you from the common

marriage even if they be males, this too is also acceptable to God.

These things have been said as in a letter: but we think that in what we have written we have in no point failed to answer the question of your religiousness. This epistle has been addressed to you by our holy father himself in his own very words; for he was able to make his own spiritual mind clear without the greatness of his divine thoughts being befouled by the squalor of my words. *The end.*

- 508-11. 3. *Of the same to Theodore the tribune and notary.*
(From those before episcopacy, from the 4th book the 89th letter.)

I think that I still see the torch¹ of the divine light shining in you, under the influence of which you would have almost gone so far as to betake yourself to the philosophic life, had it not been that you restrained that tyrannical desire like some fiery steed by the bits of God's laws. What are the bits? "Art thou bound to a wife? seek not release." And again "Let every man in the calling wherein he was called therein abide." And again, "Deprive not one another, except it be by consent for a time, in order that ye may give yourselves up to prayer, and again come together."² If then you have by devout and God-loving conduct attached your spouse to the same zeal and yearning for

¹ λαμπάδα.

² 1 Co. vii. 27, 29, 5.

the good life, fly, and withdraw to philosophy. But, if she has not attained to this excellence, and cleaves to the life here, and is unable to restrain the impulse of the flesh, seek not your own good but your fellow's.¹ The whole force of Christianity as well as the commandment supporting the law and the prophets that says, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,"² points to this: the commandment which the Lord above all fulfilled when He graciously showed Himself to us by His coming in the flesh, and He said "A new commandment I give unto you that ye love one another as I have loved you, that ye also may love one another; and by this shall every man know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another."³ How then shall we not offend against the laws of love, if we suffer the wife who has been reckoned to be one and the same flesh with us to perish? for, just as no man of sense prays that his head may be sound, while his other members are afflicted with paralysis, or are filled with disease, (for the head also will certainly share in the malady), so it is not in accordance with sound understanding for us to concern ourselves about our own salvation, while we neglect our wife's, when we shall on her account be brought to hell. Although in the Gospels with leaving father or mother or children there is also included without division the leaving of a wife,⁴ yet this must necessarily be subject to the later apostolic distinction. In fact in

p. 494-

¹ *Id.* x. 24.² Mt. xxii. 39, 40.³ John xiii. 34, 35.⁴ Mt. xix. 29.

external laws also, and in fine in every statute and conception general loose statements assuredly follow later distinctions. That the wise Paul understands the meaning of the Lord's laws better than we do we shall admit even against our will. But let us not think it the wife's consent if the wife permit the husband to go merely in order that he may betake himself to a life of continence, while she turns aside to the pleasure of worldly passions and a dissolute life; but only if she choose the same continence and philosophy as the husband, or, if not this, at least chastity and purity. Indeed, when Paul permitted separation from society by consent, he used the plural, saying, "in order that ye may give yourselves up to prayer," and not "in order that the husband alone may give himself up," or contrariwise "the wife."

This epistle I have written to you in proportion to my poverty. If you obey this, you will obtain the reward for the choice of philosophy, and that for the education of your children, training them "in the training and teaching of the Lord".¹

p. 495. I forbear to say that you can also in all characters practise philosophy, seeing that you have a soul-possessing pillar of excellence in that sharer of your name and your belief and man of God: whom also I beg you greet.

Who could voluntarily forget you, good couple that you are, the modesty of your character, the gentleness

¹ Eph. vi. 4.

of your thoughts, your sadness, your cheerfulness? For, while you are sad for piety's sake, you yet also by God's grace avoid wildbeast-like harshness, and you show the mercy of pity towards the needy and poor. Through you your father Asclepius of learned and illustrious memory also reaps a blessing, inasmuch as it was to form the material of your beneficence that he amassed the profits derived from law-courts. For alone, if I may so say, with few others he failed to conform to the passage of Koheleth that says, "There is a sickness which I have seen under the sun, riches kept for him that springs from them to his hurt."¹ Wherefore also you seem in your sleep to see him feasting when you are justified. Accordingly as one that is wise in the Lord take the same Koheleth as a good counsellor and "all that thy hand findeth to do do according to thy might";² and reverse the order, and feed your children by good works, and leave them to God as a patron. *The end.*

4. *Of the same to Conon the silentiary. (From those before episcopacy, from the 3rd book the 227th letter.)* p. 496.
508-11.

John, the soldier of Christ, being ardent in everything, and fervent through abundance of faith, has thought fit to address an epistle to me containing a

¹ Ec. v. 12.

² *Id.* ix. 10.

question that is overbold and passes beyond canonical limits about your modest daughter, and about those who are eager to take her in marriage. He gave in fact the names of those who are wooing her, and also in the name of your magnificence asked that the question might be brought before the holy old men, and before some of the women who have practised an ascetic life, in order that they may say to whom it is most fitting for the girl to be joined in marriage. But I, knowing that fathers who have the spirit of discretion turn deaf ears to such questions, in order that they may not seem to be bringing upon themselves the reputation of soothsayers and charlatans, did not dare to write anything of the kind to them, lest perhaps I might even expose myself to sentence as an uninstructed person, for being clad in the philosophic and solitary garb and yet propounding to them questions suited for those that live in the world, which those attempt only out of compliance with the pleasure of those that ask, men who pass all their time in Byzantium, and often turn their attention even involuntarily to such voluntary service,¹ to use a scriptural expression. But we know a few of the fathers who return answer, being stirred by God, and not by the questions or the propositions,² but by abundant Spirit: of whom the sacred text says, "Speech in the heart of a man is as deep water, and a flowing river and a

¹ *Sebyanayuth dehltha* = ἐθελοθησκεία (Col. ii. 23). The text needs a slight emendation.

² *προτάσεις*.

fountain of life.”¹ The wealth of grace is so to speak plentiful, and of its own accord it makes those that surround it outside share in any gift. If your greatness had gone to some such men in order to visit them, you would perhaps at any rate have derived, not as the result of the question or of the proposition,² but as the product of such plentiful store, something that would have been of service for the solution of the question and the understanding of the present matter.

As to those who have received such grace from God let this suffice. But, since the utterance of our Saviour says in the Gospels, “To every one that asketh thee give,”³ whether it be a gift pertaining to the intellect, or one pertaining to the senses, it is necessary for me also who see few things, and, far from being able to foresee or preconceive the future, do not even know what lies at hand, to say what my advice is. It is that you should give the girl who has been brought up by you in faith and in the love of God to that one among all her wooers who has the most correct and orthodox disposition as regards faith in Christ, and sets himself most earnestly to lead a devout and modest life: for this all other things also follow as in the second line. In fact He is no liar who said, “Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you”:⁴ since to speak the truth it is indeed an abominable

p. 498.

¹ Pr. xviii. 4.² *πρότασις*.³ Lu. vi. 30.⁴ Mt. vi. 33.

thing, and one that does not greatly gratify God, or perhaps even excites His wrath, for us to pass over manifest judgments as to what it is right to do, and facts from which God's pleasure is especially to be seen, from whom everything whatsoever that is good comes down,¹ and give directions by unknown things or by predispositions, and commit everything to revelations; for some have even applied this meaning to the words, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God."² If you will turn your eyes towards the said object, and choose what it is right to do, you will not stray from the right course, seeing that you will obtain God as a surety for the future and for a good result. The Apostle also admonishes us saying, "Whatsoever ye do whether in word or in deed, do all in the name of our Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father through Him."³ *The end.*

p. 499.

513-8.

5. *Of the same to Theodore the Byzantine monk, brother-in-law of prefects.*⁴ (*From those during episcopacy, from the 4th book the 18th letter.*)

It was perfectly obvious that your devoutness would fall into "a later mind" as is written⁵ after thus inconsiderately beginning the solitary life; and this after many arguments had often been discussed between you and

¹ Ja. i. 17.² Mt. iv. 7.³ Col. iii. 17.⁴ ἑπαρχοι.⁵ Pr. xxiv. 71.

me, and scriptural principles and patristic admonitions, which the God-clad doctors of the holy church left to us, directing every man in every order and kind of life known to the gospel to the royal road, and handing down the advice that we should beware of turning aside to the right or to the left, as the divine scripture says.¹

However, as you have in fervour betaken yourself to such a garb and mode of life, you need another exposition. Before attaching yourself to Jesus and taking up the cross you were yourself free to consider what mode of life was best for you to choose. But, as you have gone up to the hill of philosophy, do not any more return to the land of Sodom, lest you be fixed as a pillar of salt. To bury a father also was right, and in full accord with reasons of nature : but even this was thought a secondary matter after following Jesus. You should at the beginning have listened to Koheleth who says, " Let not thine heart be hasty to utter thy speech before God's face ; since a dream cometh p. 500. through a multitude of trials." ² However, since as I said we have come to this, we will now quote the admonition of the same Koheleth which says, " Better is it for thee that thou shouldst not vow than vow and not pay." ³ This too is worthy of consideration : that, when Moses the great was prescribing the array of physical war (which however signified the nature of the spiritual array), he ordered the rulers of the sons

¹ *Id.* iv. 27.² *Ec.* v. 1, 2.³ *Id.* v. 4.

of Israel in time of battle to cry to those that were going out to combat and say, "Who is the man that hath built a new house and hath not dedicated it? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in the war and another man dedicate it. And who is the man that hath planted a vineyard? And who is the man that hath betrothed a wife?",¹ and things like these. If a man then, when the law gave him liberty to stay at home for one of these reasons, had in ready ardour taken up arms and hastened to join battle with the foemen, and accordingly stood even at the very pinnacle of danger: and afterwards had come to remember the passibility of the flesh, and had gone back again, would anyone be right in saying that he had not left the line of battle and been enrolled with deserters and traitors, because before going out to the combat he had permission from the law to remain within the house? Certainly not. Accordingly you also, who have joined battle with invisible enemies, and stripped yourself not against blood and flesh, but against principalities and powers and spirits of wickedness,² must not trade upon laws which you rendered superfluous by taking arms: but keep the same excellent mind in which you made light of children and of wife, and perform true service to the "Father of the orphans and Judge of the widows,"³ and He will be more truly a husband to the wife, and a father to the children. We must also examine the character of

p. 501.

¹ De. xx. 5-7.² Eph. vi. 12.³ Ps. lxxvii. 6

times and of persons, and so apply the divine commandments to deeds to be done, and choose those that are good instead of those that are bad. For this reason among animals also some are clean and allowed to be eaten and hallowed for sacrifice, those whose hoof is parted, and those that besides this chew their food also and masticate it, and chew the cud as it is written.¹ Often, when a thing a short time before appeared to be lawful and a matter of duty, the interposition of some small circumstance has at once and immediately rendered it unlawful. For instance, after the twelve men whom Moses sent had explored the land of promise, together with Caleb and Joshua the son of Nun he urged the whole congregation to go up to that land; but, when they showed fear and hung back and turned to contention and abuse, and after the transgression against God's commandment and the wrath threatened against them prayed the next day that they might go up, he who the day before had been urging them to go up prevented them from doing so, saying, "Ye shall not prosper. Go not up, for the Lord is not with you;"² and nevertheless they went up, and they roused God to double exasperation. p. 502.

You too therefore, who put on the angelic garb of the monastic life without restraining the fervour that led you to this by the strict letter of the canons, have other men also as an example, who were fired with a fire or fervour like yours. Imitate them, and distin-

¹ Le. xi. 3.² Nu. xiv. 41, 42.

guish yourself in the struggles of the solitary existence, lest, while wishing to correct a small fault, and that at an improper time, you forget yourself and fall into a pit of evils, and dishonour the sacred garb by involving yourself in worldly cares. As it is an unhallowed and profane thing for us to apply to human use a revered vessel that has once been set apart for the service of God, so also is it foul and abominable for a man who has given himself to God, and hallowed in some sort his own life, to turn back to the claims and judgments of the flesh.

Say farewell therefore to the thoughts that call you to live in the world, and keep to the road that lies before you, until you reach, as it is written, "the goal of victory of the upward calling of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."¹

p. 503. There is only one thing which I would have wished added to the beginning that you have made; that you had joined yourself in everything, both in community of opinion concerning the faith and in community of habitation, to the holy fathers of the house of the saintly presbyter Theodore; which also you were in the beginning impelled to do and for which you were very eager; and I do not know how the hater of what is good hindered you. But it is easy for us not to be cheated by Satan to use the language of the divine Apostle.²

These things we have written while much harassed

¹ Ph. iii. 14.

² 2 Co. ii. 11.

with many affairs and not able even to breathe, because we are inflamed with love towards you, and know that we owe even more to your excellent person. Never at any time shall we be forgetful of the good deeds that you have shown towards us. *The end.*

6. *Of the same to the inmates of the monastery of the blessed Bassus. (From those during episcopacy, from the 7th book the 354th letter.)* 513-8.

Some respectable men have come to us, asking me to write to your love of God, in order that you may dismiss the man who has renounced the world, who is from the village and has in unapproved fashion put on the garb of monasticism among you, so that he may continue to till the soil and not dishonour the holy profession of monks, since it was not in quest of virtue for its own sake that he came to this. I hear that he has left his wife contrary to the apostolic law and without consent, while they have, I learn, children also, born of their common cohabitation. But this will certainly seem a crime to you also, and a thing contrary to the divine laws. Either therefore explain what the truth of the matter is, or, if the case is as we have been informed, send the man to live in the world. We must provide "things honest," as it is written, "not only before God, but also before men."¹ *The end.* p. 504.

¹ *Id.* viii. 21.

- 519-35. 7. *Of the same to Cæsaria the patrician.*¹ (*From those after banishment, from the 3rd book the 46th letter.*)

It seemed to me perfectly credible that, as stated by your glorious modesty, you gained so much profit from reading my mean letter with understanding. The good soil that is like your God-loving soul knows, it knows indeed, how, even when receiving barren seed, to give forth fruitful produce in plenty, inso-much as to reach to the perfect measure of a hundred.²

And after other things. As to the short treatise that is being circulated and carried about by certain persons, which you say is inscribed with my name and bears such an ascription, a treatise that I shrink from even taking upon my lips, seeing that it is full of ignorance and stupidity, know that it is not the work of our meanness at all: but a forgery either of certain
p. 505. foolish men who are called orthodox, or of heretics who wish to hide their shame and make it appear to those who come across it that it is we who keep men away from communion with them by fraudulent words, not they who separate from them by reason of their sound faith, and recognise and abhor their manifest impiety and Jewish opinions.

Let not this too be unknown to your God-loving

¹ Cf. p. 244 note 3. If the inference there drawn is correct, this letter cannot be placed later than 521.

² Mt. xiii. 8.

highness: that a certain devout presbyter also came from the East, and showed us other letters also purporting to be mine, that are in part forged and falsified; the forgery and garbling having been done by certain persons whose business it is to forge such things to their own destruction as the Apostle says.¹ And we brought him the documents themselves: and after comparing the genuine documents he reprobated and condemned the falsehood, and cursed the wicked men who commit such wanton wickedness against the truth. And no wonder if the devil through his own instruments wrought such things against us the sinner and weakling, considering that in the same way he contrived similar things or even more serious against the apostolic doctors of the church also. The great Basil in the letter addressed to the ascetics and solitaries under him, at Orobiane and at Chalane, asserts that certain persons were circulating forged and spurious letters against him: as to whom he also p. 506. says; "Many letters are being circulated against me, which contain abuse and derision and speak evil of us in respect of the actions: for which we have a defence ready before the court of truth": and again; "My words shall judge me: but for the offences of others no man shall condemn us." Moreover in another letter also, writing to those at Neocæsarea, he showed that certain persons were also inventing dreams against him, thinking by this also to cast aspersions upon his

¹ 2 Pe. iii. 16.

faith: about whom even while laughing at their absurdity he says, "Men who acted so shamelessly against us as even to invent certain dreams against us, bringing charges against our teachings as hurtful."¹ But, since I do not read negligently anything that is written to me by your believing excellency, but do so with much consideration and diligently, I think it to be necessary for us to give you some short answer on another matter also. You besought me to pray on behalf of your modesty that the Lord would release you from the bonds of this world, and would bring you to the calm haven of penitence, seeing that you are buried as you say in the evils of this world. Do not forget therefore, you whom I revere above everyone, that the apostle Paul in his epistle to Titus lays down a law for women that are yoked in marriage in these terms; "Let the young women be lovers of their husbands, lovers of their children, chaste, pure, good housekeepers, subject to their husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed."² It is therefore manifest that, if anyone depart from the canon of this statute, and be carried though but a little to the right side or the left, he will be judged as a transgressor against the law. A woman who fears God and obeys Christ's commands must practise love of her husband as readily as the love of God itself. If the husband is the head of the wife in the same fashion as the Lord is the head of the church, a woman who loves her husband chastely

p. 507.

¹ Ep. 207. 1.² Tit. ii. 4, 5.

through the medium of her husband loves Christ the Head of all heads. On the same principle also a woman who keeps her house, and keeps the things within the house with strenuousness and watchfulness, imitates a man who presides over a church and wisely administers the sacred things on the care of those that are in need. That every believer's house also is a church the same Paul further bears witness when in greeting certain believers in his epistles he says, "Greet also the church that is in your house."¹ One may fitly admire the way in which the Apostle, after saying that women who love God ought to be such as keep their houses, immediately added "good housekeepers." For there are women who from their great carefulness in housekeeping are induced to make profit out of the goods, and are hence incited to covetousness, the mother of evil deeds. Wherefore, to cut away such a vice, he said that such women ought to be good, in order that by the justification and consolation of those that are in need the house also may be increased; seeing that the blessings that are from heaven will be measured to them in return, and they will through beneficence lay down beforehand a good foundation for themselves in the future life. At the same time by naming them good he also inculcates kindness to menservants and bondmaids, and all that are bound under the yoke of slavery. Of the love of a husband also and of chastity this is the criterion, not that a wife

p. 508.

¹ 1 Co. xvi. 19.

look at her personal chastity only, but how far she regards her husband's preservation also with watchful eyes, and makes every effort that he too may be content with intercourse with her only, not that he may turn himself to another connexion. If she herself be chaste, but do not concern herself about her husband falling into fornication, she has, unknown to herself, become chaste in half her body and in half of it defiled, in that she is transgressing against the divine laws. If in fact they are not two, according to our Saviour's saying,¹ but the two are reckoned as making one flesh, what profit is there in the chastity of one portion, when the conjoined portion is led away to lasciviousness? Marriage is then "honourable and the bed unsullied,"² when the whole of it is hallowed in the whole body. But the whole body is husband and wife, having the same mind, and treating the marriage as a mystery of God, and hence making the procreation of children to be blessed, and from all sides bringing praise and glory, not reviling, upon the word of God. If you walk by these laws and know your place, and do not desire other things beyond the measure that is commanded, you will be an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, and with the wives of those patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all that are such, you will receive the promises of immortal life: who also lived with men that were owners of sheepfolds (?) and lords of cattle and of much wealth and armed

¹ Mt. xix. 16.² He. xiii. 4.

themselves for war when the time summoned to this also, and with them fulfilled God's commandments perfectly.

These things I have written because I gave my attention to the words contained in the letter of your believing soul, and I considered the fire of the Spirit that is in you, and I feared lest out of great fervour you might incautiously form some plan that is at variance with the laws of piety; for you know such pleas, which by the use of considerations that are rather upon the right side are apt to deceive the pious.

The words of divine scripture that have been cited p. 510. would even by themselves have been enough to confirm your love of God in acquiescence with the admonition of our meanness: but I have thought it good to corroborate what I have said from the teaching of the fathers also, and to plant the loyal disposition more firmly in you. The wise John, who was bishop of Constantinople, towards the end of the commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, in the exposition the beginning of which is "But Jesus stood before the governor" wrote in these terms about the cunning of the devil, by which he has cheated specially fervent souls: "He has also a third evil trap: as for example: when he thows an appearance of devoutness over a sin. 'And how has the devil succeeded so far as to cheat even in these things?' Hear, and beware of his counsels. Christ commanded through Paul that wife should not separate from husband, and they should not defraud one another, except perhaps by

consent. But some women, having on the ground of a desire for continence separated themselves from their husbands as if they were doing some devout action, have thrust them down into adultery. Reflect therefore what an evil thing it is that, while undergoing so much toil, they should be charged with having done the greatest wrong and pay the utmost penalty, and thrust their spouses down into a pit of destruction. Other persons again by abstaining from foods under the law of fasting have gradually come to reject these: a thing which itself also brings heavy punishment. And this happens when they assign greater validity to their own thoughts than to the determinations of the scriptures."¹ Therefore I beg your glorious modesty to turn the glances of your understanding on all sides, and hear the divine laws, and listen to Paul who says, "Let every man wherein he was called therein abide."² Since God called you under the yoke of marriage, in it also maintain a loyal contest, and show prowess: and be one that loves her husband and loves her children and is a good housekeeper, in order that through these things you may at the same time be also one that loves God. Never on account of these things term yourself one buried in the mire of evils, and flee from the bonds of the world: but flee from the bonds of evil. For in these we are all in the same fashion bound. The divine text somewhere says,

¹ P. G. lviii. 768.

² 1 Co. vii. 14.

“Who will boast that he hath a pure heart? Or who will be confident of being pure from sins?”¹ But we who have believed the gospel try, as far as is possible for men, to purify our soul through commandments: in order that God, looking upon the readiness of our heart as is sung in the Psalms,² not upon the weakness of our nature, may admit us to mercy and graciousness in the day of judgment, and make us sharers in the kingdom of heaven, because the heavenly One became man and consorted with those that are on the earth, having become a man in truth and without difference and not in semblance. *The end.*

8. *Of the same to Georgia daughter of Anastasia the hypatissa. (From those after banishment, from the 5th book the 22nd letter.)* p. 512.
519-38.

Since for my part I never regard your glorious modesty's affairs with indifference, but with great earnestness concern myself for your salvation, as for that of a beloved daughter, and I look into God's deep judgments, by the evidence of actual facts I perceive that you are supported by great help from above, and conduct your life with very watchful care. For that you should have reached the flower of your age and not yet been yoked in marriage to your glorious parents perhaps and to the others who love a worldly manner seems a reason for anger as well as a matter of sorrow. But I regard it as a thing of

¹ Pr. xx. 9.

² Ps. ix. 38.

great profit and pronounce it to be so. This, I think, is the meaning to which the statement made by the wise Paul to the Corinthians also points; "If any man thinketh that he is put to shame in his virgin if she hath passed the flower of her age, so also ought it to be."¹ What he says is in fact something like this; "What is thought by some to be a cause of shame, I mean that a virgin should reach an advanced time of life, this I have thought to be both advantageous and beneficial." Just as the fruit of a tree, when taken before the time, causes no pleasure by its taste, because it is without the sweetness that gives the pleasure, but actually hurts the teeth, by reason of its sharpness or acidity, in the same way also a virgin who has not yet ripened in her season so to speak, but has the disposition of the flesh undeveloped and too tender, hurts and does not profit the man who marries her: because her character is not fixed, and inasmuch as her time has not yet come is unstable and not constant, but rather easily excited and driven to childish wrath, and disturbed perhaps by melancholy and irrational gloominess. How is it anything but shameful that, while a wrestler does not go down into the violence of the arena [unless he has been thoroughly trained in wrestling, or a soldier]² into the battle array, unless he has been thoroughly trained

p. 513.

¹ 1 Co. vii. 36.

² This is clearly the sense required, but more than this is needed to fill the gap.

in military matters, a virgin should be introduced into the society of marriage, and should pass to the headship and government of her husband's house without having been perfectly trained in her parents' house, or learned how she should govern a house, and in what way she ought to behave to each of those that are under her authority? It has often happened that bad men, when they have obtained women who are undeveloped and of unfixed character, have perverted them to their own bad model, and stamped the lines of their own wickedness upon their tender disposition as upon wax. Whence, when they have been sated and not been able

your modest mother in your father's glorious house, P. 514.
and through advanced age has been instructed in administrative science, and has been perfectly exercised in such useful exercises, and you have at the same time also increased the wisdom of your character, you will go to your husband's house like some image and statue that is perfect in beauty and not lacking in anything, and you will be to him "a helper like unto him"; since woman was in fact created by Him who said in the beginning, "It is not good that the man should be alone; let us make him a helper like unto him."¹ A woman who is trained and skilled in governing a house, and intelligent and a real helper in the world's difficulties, is in truth a

¹ Ge. ii. 18.

haven for a man. For in fact, when a man has gone out to

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in a law-court, either because he is doing or because he is suffering wrong, or again he is often inflamed to anger, and wantonly insults or on the contrary is insulted in his turn, the anger of another blowing against him like some storm. But, when the time calls and he returns to his house for food, agitated and disturbed by anxieties, he encounters his wife's intelligence : he finds her temper both placid and calm : he tells what has happened to him in the street. Then she like a trained physician gently looks into the hidden sources of trouble : she touches his heart with intelligent words, and learns the causes. And, when she has found that he has been excited without good reason, she appeases the fury of his mind by offering peaceful

p. 515.

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that¹ I have written these things also. And I beg you, lady, not to tell anyone whatever that you have received this letter from me, even if he be an angel from heaven. You will in fact both bring danger upon me by telling it and vex God ; and you will make many angry with me, because I did not write to them too just as I have done to you. But we believe that Christ, the God of orthodoxy, who every day carries out the words that say, " Other sheep also

¹ Possibly from another letter.

I have which are not of this fold; and I must bring them also and they shall hear my voice, and they shall be one flock and one Shepherd,"¹ will make your glorious and exalted father also His own. *Not the end.*

XI. Eleventh section.² That a man who can help or p. 516.
assist the right confession while engaged in
state affairs must not become a monk.

*Of the same to Misael the chamberlain.*³ (*From those* 513-8.
during episcopacy, from the 4th book the 100th
letter.)

How can I express my admiration of the labours of your magnificence which you display towards my meanness in the way that they deserve, seeing that I have one mouth and one tongue? Still however, since you do not care about praises upon earth, but make it your one and only endeavour that through good works your name may be written in the book of life, I pray as a sinner that this grace may be abundantly bestowed upon you by God the bestower of gifts that are so great. For by your faithful care you have delivered our church that was in a pitiful condition through the hostile contrivances of the illustrious Ægilas from a heavy burden.

¹ John x. 16.

² τίτλος.

³ Cf. Land, Anec. Syr. ii. 275. 12, 22, iii. 356. 11.

But it wounds me deeply that, because your soul has been smitten with divine love, it should conceive the idea of adopting the philosophic and solitary life, though it is living in a philosophic manner and has within that which it seeks as if it were at a distance. By God's grace, while you conduct yourself in so
p. 517. chaste and ascetic a fashion, you have this privilege also that has been bestowed from above, I mean not only to believe on Christ, but also to suffer for His sake,¹ and endure distress with Israel when in turmoil ; whence also the illustrious crown of martyrdom is being woven for you. By desiring retreat or solitariness at a time so unsuited for it you are doing the same as if one of those three boys, of one of whom you are namesake, when the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar the fighter against God was set forth, and he was required to stand up and confute the error, had fled and withdrawn, thinking to win safety for himself, and not bow his head to the abominable and unlawful object of worship. In that case they would not have obtained such glory with God as that which they gained by undergoing the trial of the furnace, and quenching the fire by their virtue, and gaining God as a witness to their modest and humble mind by saying, " Our God is in heaven whom we serve, one that is able to deliver us from the burning furnace of fire ; and if not be it known unto thee, O king, that we do not serve thy gods, and the golden image

¹ Ph. i. 29.

which thou hast set up we do not worship";¹ in order that these words might be an instruction and a pattern in piety to all in later times too who should love God.

How then can you, when the king is pious, flee from the fight with the heretics, instigated as you are by a God-loving thought, and refusing to endure their blasphemies, and looking at this only, and reckoning our nakedness as nothing? If this is carried into effect, you will now double for me personally the grief that I felt by reason of the departure of Peter the presbyter² who is among the saints, and will throw me "fall after fall," as the great Job somewhere says:³ and then I shall know clearly from facts themselves that God has utterly abandoned us, and has turned away His face from those that praise Him in the right way: and we will say as is written "to the mountains, 'Fall upon us,' and to the hills, 'Cover us.'"⁴ I forbear to say that neither will you obtain that desire, seeing it will not be in accordance with God's judgment that you will be abandoning the life in the world.

Further also a story like this has been conveyed to us by those who have grown old in asceticism. In the times of the Arians, two men who lived in the philosophic manner remained in the desert, and in the unsocial life. And, when the word of truth was being attacked, and was being obscured by heretical craftiness of speech, and they were called to give help (for they had in fact qualifications for fighting on behalf of piety), they were

¹ Da. iii. 17, 18.

² Cf. p. v, and Wright C.B.M. 335.

³ Job xvi. 14.

⁴ Ho. x. 8.

p. 519. disinclined to do so, because they clung to philosophy, and action seemed to them irksome. And the one put constraint upon himself, and showed more respect to the commandment than to the peace that he loved, and hastily set off to take part in the contests, and obeyed those who called him. But the other remained according to his pleasure in the desert, and the spirits of evil came and assailed him with greater vehemence, and he became possessed of the feeling that he had been stripped of God's grace and help, and was in danger of being devoured by fiends as it were by lions ; and he was awakened and reflected upon his thoughtlessness, and he changed his mind and immediately followed his brother's good resolution, and took a hand with him in the contests on behalf of the faith.

I say nothing of Obadiah who served under Ahab the grievous tyrant, and secretly fed a hundred prophets in a cave, contrary to the pleasure of the holder of power. I also pass over the selling of Joseph, and the bondage to the Egyptian woman and her false charge, and the other stories : since not only have you heard the sacred writings, but you are in fact well-versed in them. Wherefore these things too we have written as a mere admonition only so to speak, by which we urge you, inasmuch as you live not to yourself but to God, immediately to say what has been written and has been handed down by our Lord as a teacher, " Nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt." ¹

¹ Mk. xiv. 36.

It is in truth a great sin for us to desert Christ when He needs help. Such a man acts in the same way as a man who is rich and quickly passes by one who is hungry, and one who is naked or sick, or shut up in prison; for the need of all these Christ makes His own. Wherefore also He bitterly inveighs against the crime and holds it up to reprobation before the theatre ¹ p. 520. of the world or rather before all rational nature, saying, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these little ones, neither did ye it to me."² May we all escape having experience of these words! *The end.*

The end of the sixth book of the select³ or chosen letters taken from the letters of the holy Severus, patriarch of Antioch in Syria.

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit in whose power we began and by whose help we have ended for ever and ever Amen!

For the glory and honour of the holy Trinity the saintly lord Elisha, metropolitan of the Christ-loving city of Nisibis, exerted himself and acquired this spiritual treasure; for his own profit and that of all who love God. But, if any man borrows this book to read it or to copy from it, and detains it, or makes erasures or excisions, or shall do it any kind of injury,

¹ θέατρον.

² Mt. xxv. 45.

³ ἐκλογαί.

let him know that he is transgressing against the awful word of God.

p. 521. Translated from Greek into Syriac by the religious presbyter Athanasius of Nisibis and written at his dictation by the devout presbyter Severus, at the instance of the saintly bishops, Matthew of the city of Berrhœa and Daniel of the city of Edessa, in the year nine hundred and eighty of the Greeks. But for our Lord's sake let every reader pray for them!

But this book was written by
 who is diligent in his business and foolish
 reads what is written, and breaks what
 is commanded; loves what is near, and despises what
 is counselled; a trumpet for words, and a flute for
 sounds, that has been in no way benefited by anything
 that passes through them; a foolish sailor who has not
 gained proper skill in steering his ship rightly: and
 how to call his name unless it
 be "hateful" and if you who hate
 if you wish

"Whoever loves not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema."¹

¹ 1 Co. xvi. 22.

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¹ Vit. Sev. p. 28.² Theoph. A. M. 6004, Cod. Just. IV. xxix. 21.

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¹ Zach. Rh. vii. 10.

² Theoph. A. M. 5999.

³ Michael Chron. ed. Chabot, p. 267.

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¹ Elijah of Dara, vit. Jo. Tell. ed. Kleyn p. 40; cf. Zach. Rh. vii. 6, viii. 5.

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¹ The life by Eusebius is perhaps meant.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

P. vi. note 7. There can be no doubt that Epiphanius of Magydum was the ordainer of Severus.

P. vii. l. 13, 14. This sentence is open to misunderstanding. Severus never openly opposed the Henotikon, but by explaining it as a condemnation of the Synod he made it useless as a compromise.

P. x. l. 6. *For* 'ἐκλογαί' *read* 'ἐκλογαί'. So at p. 1, note 2, and p. 3, note 1.

P. xiii. l. 14. *For* 'Cosmos' *read* 'Cosmas'.

P. 9, l. 16. *For* 'who longed for him' *read* 'for whom he longed'. (Ryssel in Theol. Literaturz. 1904, No. 5, p. 148.)

P. 19, note 2. *For* 'ἡγμών' *read* 'ἡγεμόν'.

P. 60, marg. If the general is Hypatius, the date should probably be 515-8.

P. 66, note 2. *For* 'B' *read* 'MSS.'

P. 87, marg. If the synod is that of Tyre, the date should be 514-5.

P. 88. *For* 'him' *read* 'it'. There is a play on the word τόμος.

P. 96, marg. *For* '315' *read* '513'.

P. 107, l. 7. *For* 'Koholeth' *read* 'Kohemoth'.

P. 114, l. 20. *For* 'Syrian' *read* 'Serenus'.

P. 125, marg. The date should probably be 515-8: see on p. 60.

P. 148, marg. *For* '25' *read* '21'. It is clear that the banishment of the bishops and monks was in progress or had only just been completed: see p. 34, note. (John's date is to be preferred to that of 'Zacharias'.)

P. 164, marg. *For* '525' *read* '521'.

P. 167, marg. This seems to date from the time of the expulsion of the bishops (519-21).

P. 171, marg. *For* '25' *read* '21'. A Monophysite could hardly have been in possession of an Eastern see after 521. So on p. 176.

P. 171, note 1. The incursion may also have been that of the Huns (Land Anec. Syr. ii. 13. 7, 41. 19, and note to v. Douwen and Land's translation).

P. 179, marg. As the bishops and monks appear not to have been in exile, the date should probably be 519-21.

P. 185, l. 25. This treatise is no doubt our v. 6.

P. 185, note 2. *For 'i.' read 'ii.'*

P. 185, note 3. *For '5' read '4'.*

P. 216, l. 14, 15. *For 'feet? did he . . . Pamphylia' read 'feet (but he did . . . Pamphylia)' (Ryssel, l.c.).*

P. 231, l. 9. *For 'gracious' read 'glorious'.*

P. 233, marg. *For '519' read '521'.* A comparison of p. 236, l. 15 ff., and p. 237, l. 22 ff., seems to show that Ammian and Epagathus were in Constantinople, but Z'ura (p. 234, l. 16) could hardly have been there before 521 (Land Anec. Syr. ii. 13. 22 ff.).

P. 244, marg. *For '521' read '523'.* This follows from the last correction.

P. 244, note 3. This chronology is very hard to reconcile with the fact that John of Ephesus saw Cæsaria apparently before she entered the convent.

P. 278, l. 13. *For 'circumcize' read 'circumcise'.* 50

P. 294, marg. A comparison with p. 185 makes it probable that this letter should be placed in 513.

P. 297, l. 22, 'But' . . . p. 298, l. 16, 'Africa'. This passage is quoted in some answers addressed by certain 'holy fathers' to some questions from the East in Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12,155 f. 244 r., where it is headed merely 'Of the Holy Severus.' As we should expect, this version differs both from that in 14,601 and from that in 12,155 at f. 220 r. and other MSS.

P. 298, l. 9-11. *For 'although . . . Photinus' read 'and that though the miserable heresy of Paul of Samosata and that of Photinus are pregnant with the same folly'.*

P. 307, l. 13. *For 'professional' read 'technical'.*

P. 320, note 2. *For '3' read '4'.*

P. 342, marg. This letter, having been written before i. 56, must be dated 519-21: see on p. 167.

P. 342. Transpose notes 2 and 3.

P. 375, note. *For 'xxxix.' read 'xxxiv.'*

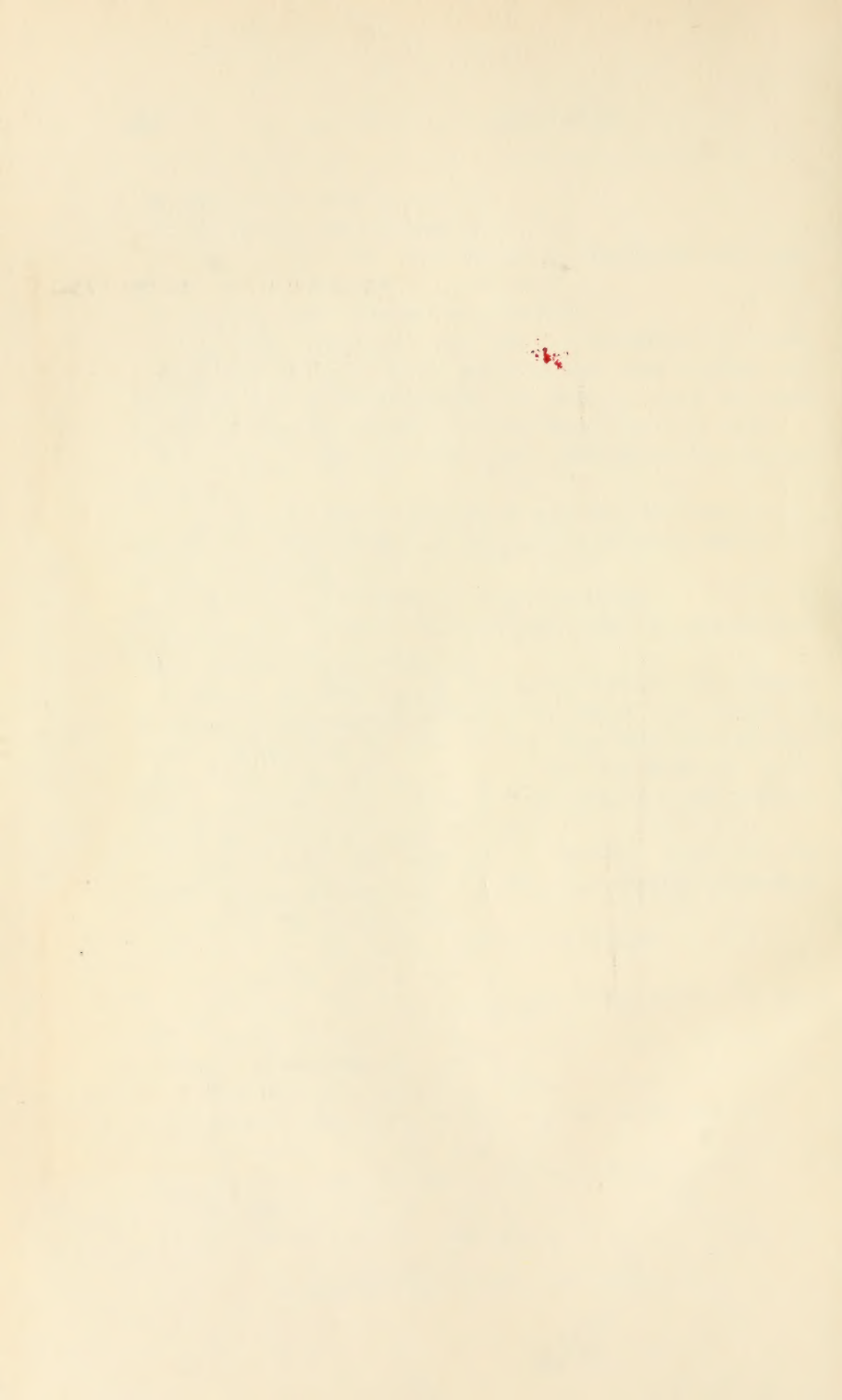
P. 393, l. 4. Emend the text and *read 'on' for the first 'of'.*

P. 393, note 1. *For '568' read '508'.*

P. 415, note. *For 'κομυτιανός' read 'κομητιανός'.*

P. 436, note 2. *For '29' read '20'.*

P. 454, note 2. *For '14' read '20'.*



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