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PETRI CALLINICENSIS
PATRIARCHAE
ANTIOCHENI

CONTRA DAMIANVM

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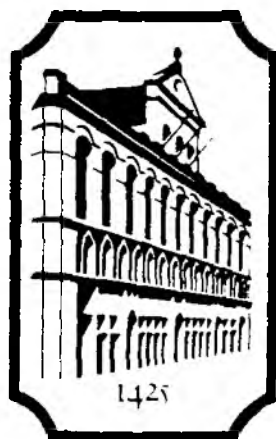
PETRI CALLINICENSIS
PATRIARCHAE ANTIOCHENI
TRACTATUS CONTRA
DAMIANVM

IV
LIBRI TERTII CAPITA XXXV-L
ET ADDENDVM LIBRO SECVNDO

EDIDERVNT ET ANGLICE REDDIDERVNT

RIFAAT Y. EBIED,
ALBERT VAN ROEY †,
LIONEL R. WICKHAM

auxiliante JACQUES NORET



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EDITORES

J. DECLERCK
W. EVENEPOEL
B. FLUSIN
C. LAGA
J. NORET
C. STEEL
P. VAN DEUN



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INTRODUCTION

The textual tradition of Book III, chaps. 35-50

1. We preface our introduction to this final volume of Peter of Callinicus' long refutation of Damian by recording with deep regret the death at the age of 84 on January 19th 2000 of our beloved colleague Albert Van Roey. Patristic studies owe him a great debt of gratitude for the distinctive contribution he made to interpreting the history and the teachings of Syriac-speaking Christianity. So far as this edition is concerned it was he who undertook it in the first instance at the prompting of Marcel Richard and without his constant diligence, patiently exercised during many years over all aspects of the work, it would not have seen the light of day. It is peculiarly to be regretted that he did not live to see the completion of the enterprise. Before he died he had done much to help set in order the Syriac text and its English translation we publish here. If we note with sadness his death we can confidently affirm that he would have rejoiced with us to see the name of Jacques Noret join his own on the title page of this volume. It is the best acknowledgement that Albert and we can offer of the vital role Professor Noret has played in this publication. Alas! Albert did not live to see it. To his memory we dedicate the volume. *Requiescat in pace.*

2. *The textual tradition of Book III, chaps. 35-50*

(i) *The direct Tradition of the Syriac Text*

Here, in this fourth volume of the edition of Peter of Callinicus' *Contra Damianum*, we present the Syriac text, with English translation, of chapters 35-50 of Book III. The preservation of the Syriac text is owed to three manuscripts: British Library Add. MS 7191 fols. 132ra-173rb (A) and Vaticanus Syriacus 108, fols. 97ra-218va (D), each of which contains the whole text; Sachau 201, fols. 144ra-162vb (E¹), which contains chap. 40 (beginning line 61 of the printed text) to chap. 42, line 35 of the printed text; and British Library Add. MS 7192, fols. 1ra-50vb (E²), which contains the rest of chap. 42 to the middle of chap. 48 where it ends abruptly (line 163 of the printed text). For a description of MSS A and D, see vol. I, pp. XXIX–XXXIV and vol. II, pp. VII–IX and XVI–XXI of this edition.

E^2 begins where E^1 ends. They were originally the same manuscript which has been divided and now exists in different collections. It is not known how the manuscript suffered this fate. E^2 was, like *A*, part of Rich's collection. As for E^1 , Sachau, according to the information kindly supplied by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, acquired it personally 'during his trip to Syria in 1879/80 at Tell Kfer (North Mesopotamia)'. He did not recognise the relationship of this fragment to E^2 and did not attempt a collation of the text with that of *A*. The catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in Berlin records Sachau 201, under Estrangelo Biblical manuscripts, as consisting of three distinct parts, of which these folios 144-162 constitute the second. A seventh century date is suggested.

The contents of Add. MS 7192 are, as follows:

- (1) Peter of Callinicus *Contra Damianum*, Book III chap. 42-48 fol. 1ra *incipit*: ܠܡܠܟ ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ [= *A*, fol. 150vb, p. 211, line 36] to fol. 50vb, *explicit*: ܠܝܫܘܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܢܐ [= *A*, fol. 167ra, p. 397, line 163].

- (2) *The Story of Julian the Apostate*, fols. 51ra-57va, which ends as follows:

ܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ...
ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ

- (3) A cosmological tract by pseudo-Dionysius the Aeropagite, fols. 57vb-63rb, entitled:

ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ

[edited with translation and a brief description of the MS by G. Furlani in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1917, pp. 245-272].

- (4) Another tract by the same author, fols. 63va-65vb, entitled:

ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ
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❖ ܕܡܫܫܝܚܐ

We also publish here as an Addendum what is found on ff. 170f. of *A*. These are stray leaves bearing a text which probably

has a place in Book two but certainly not in Book three where the text is evidently complete.

(ii) *The indirect Tradition*

1. *The Florilegium Trinitarium (Flor. I)*

We were unable to make use of this. The text exists in four manuscripts (see the Introductions to the preceding volumes especially volume one, pp. XXXIVf.). Albert Van Roey's notes and collations of this florilegium had not reached so far as the final 16 chapters edited here, and the photo-copies of the texts of the florilegium were not readily accessible to us. We are satisfied that readers will not be deprived of anything significant by this unavoidable omission.

2. *The florilegium of texts by Peter in Add. MS 14533, ff. 147va-161ra (Flor. II)*

This florilegium gives 10 extracts from the presently edited chapters. They are found in the present volume as follows:

XXXV, 226-243 (205-219): ff. 159vb-160ra

263-269 (236-242): f. 160ra

290-304 (260-274): f. 160ra-rb

313-336 (281-304): f. 160rb

XXXVI, 19-24 (17-21): f. 160rb-va

79-85 (71-77): f. 160va

104-114 (96-106): f. 160va

XXXIX, 142-149 (128-133): f. 160va

XLIII, 171-190 (157-176): f. 160va-vb

XLIV, 355-372 (320-337): ff. 160vb-161ra

Acknowledgements

This is our last opportunity to record our thanks to the general editors of the series and to the press for their cooperation and support over the many years that this work, now finally and belatedly delivered, has been in the process of gestation. Professor Ebied acknowledges the generous financial support he has received from the Australian Research Council which enabled him to travel to

Berlin, London and Rome in order to examine manuscripts preserved in library collections. He also wishes to express gratitude to the Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, University of Cambridge, for granting him a Visiting Fellowship in 1993/94 during which these volumes were completed. Dr Wickham records with affection and gratitude the support given to him by the Faculty of Divinity at Cambridge. And with that we say goodbye to them and to our readers.

R.Y. Ebied, J. Noret, L.R. Wickham

ANALYSIS OF BOOK III, CHAPTERS 35-50
AND ADDENDUM TO BOOK II

Chapter XXXV

Peter recalls what he says is Damian's principal claim: that the hypostases of the Trinity are the characteristic properties, ingeneracy, generacy (or birth) and procession. Damian has, he says, based his claim on the contention that these properties are God in a derivative sense, by participation (14-31). Damian had written of Severus in *Against the Tritheists* chapter nine: 'For here indeed he instructed us not to call hypostasis "substance", even though he often taught the contrary. But now he says this, because he is distinguishing the full signification of each' (sc. term). 'For it is one thing for something to be and be called in accordance with its signification, and another thing for it to preserve its own signification but at the same time, by participation in something, for it both to be and to participate in the appellation of that in which it participates'. Again in chapter 17 he wrote: 'So if, because one substance is posited for the three hypostases, they call each prosopon, since it participates fully in the community, "substance, nature and God" and everything that is indicative of commonness (because, though one is separated from another by properties, it is joined in the substance) and have understood the consubstantiality accordingly, they shall be worthy of all praise and we shall embrace them as men of like mind with ourselves'. Similar thoughts from the *Many-lined Letter* are quoted. 'But until I learn something wiser, I shall understand the fathers' saying that the properties are separate from the substance and also that they are not natures but belong with the nature, in the way I do now: because each of them, by participating in the community and being joined to it and endowed with the fullness of Godhead, is fully and without defect perfect and true God . . . This was added after it had been shown what "property" (called "hypostasis" when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance – I mean, "God, substance and nature".' Plainly, according to Peter, Damian teaches that the properties are God, only in an improper and derivative sense (32-58).

Insults to God such as these can only be rejected with hot indignation by all with a care for true religion; anything else savours of complicity with blasphemy, as Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril testify. Indeed, Damian's blasphemy is worse than the Arians': he withholds from the Father the deity they at least granted (59-110). Peter repeats the statements of Damian which expressly affirm participation in name and being (111-148). Moreover Damian, according to Peter, thinks that there are degrees of participation: a characteristic property is primarily a property, then an hypostasis and then by participating in the substance is Godhead, substance and nature. Damian, says Peter, stands in direct contradiction to the fathers whose teaching is that each divine hypostasis is God not by adoption or participation but by nature: it is creatures deified by grace who participate. Athanasius, Theophilus and Cyril are quoted in proof (149-224). If Damian pleads a distinction between 'natural' and 'relational' participation, he will be told that the distinction is irrelevant if the hypostases are God in the full sense. From another point of view, the characteristic properties, being outside the substance, as Basil teaches in *Against Eunomius II*, would, if they are the divine substance, require deity *ab extra*. If he pleads that participation in a substance only means consubstantiality, he will be answered that nobody has suggested that the characteristic properties participate; on the contrary Basil teaches that they distinguish (225-310). If he appeals to the fathers' language of participation, he is to recognise that their use is different from his. Just as biblical language needs to be interpreted (as Basil teaches in *Against Eunomius*), so does the fathers' (311-357). Damian knows this truth but does not practise it. The title of chapter nine of *Against the Tritheists* runs: 'Concerning the fact that no one ought to make easy prey of little phrases and wrest them maliciously to suit his whim, but should take the words of the common profession according to the intention of true religion and investigate what those who spoke them meant, distinguishing the times, the various subjects and the style of the spokesmen'. In chapter ten he wrote: 'This is why I ask the friend of truth, not to be too readily overwhelmed and disturbed by this sort of quotation, but to be guided by the distinction in teaching I mentioned and investigate the holy fathers' thought'. Again in chapter 13 he wrote: 'So, that concise summary has not somehow created a doubt for the right-minded but for those whose opinion is pre-

empted and who adapt everything to it. Otherwise, were we to take such passages in a facile, literal way, we too should be obliged to profess three Gods . . . We ought, then, to investigate the truly religious thoughts of the fathers, and thus willingly harmonize the words with them, and not, by as it were making them prisoners of war and mutilating them in combat, enslave them to our will'. The fathers, Peter asserts again, certainly did not intend to say that each hypostasis is God, substance and nature, by participation in the substance and Godhead *ab extra* (358-393).

Chapter XXXVI

Damian's aim, according to Peter, is to prove that the hypostases are not God, because, according to Peter, that is what he implies by saying they are not God 'according to their own concept' and 'in the full sense of the word' (κυρίως). Three quotations from the *Many-lined Letter* reveal Damian's view. (1) 'But someone, moved by the preceding words, may perhaps argue: if the common meaning is named "substance" in the full sense, obviously hypostasis has been called "substance" in a metaphorical sense, but in this way the Father will not be God in the full sense, nor will the Son or Holy Ghost. We merely make the impromptu rejoinder that it is pointless to say whether what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate: for, according to Basil, in the case of "Father" and "Son" the names do not indicate substances but are indicative of properties; but because the Godhead (in the full sense) and the substance (in the full sense) of the Godhead belong to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, each of them is in the full sense both God and substance, as being truly substantial. For what does not exist in the substance of Godhead is called "God" in a metaphorical sense: not truly or by nature but by participation in grace like us. Which is why when we say that the hypostasis participates in the substance we do not understand this in the same sense (far from it!) as when it is said about us that we are "participants in" the divine nature but according to the concept befitting a substantial hypostasis'. (2) 'Thus, then, we should in patristic fashion profess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for tritheism, because there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who enumerate *qua* God

and call each of them "God Himself" (αὐτοθεός), and do not recognize the prosopon in its own concept as one thing and God as another, cannot escape the charge of being tritheists'. (3) 'I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them (by its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not the Godhead itself, and likewise, by its participating in the nature and the substance, being nature and substance) added to this (because there is no enumeration of the Holy Trinity *qua* God), the statement you quoted, and said as I did' (14-48). This is worse blasphemy than Eunomius', according to Peter: Eunomius at least left the Father with his Godhead! (49-63). Damian's answer to the objection that he implies that 'God' is used metaphorically of a divine hypostasis (1), is belied by evidence from chapter 12 of his *Against the Tritheists*: 'So, preserve the different meanings of the words and distinguish the senses, for in this way you will think correctly and not stray from what is fitting, recognizing what "substance and nature" in the full sense is, and what, because it naturally is, has been called "nature" in a metaphorical sense' (64-87). He ought, says Peter, to have said 'substance and nature', but the point is immaterial. If an hypostasis, in contrast with the common substance, is only metaphorically nature (substance and Godhead), then it will only be God metaphorically and be on a par with creatures deified by grace (88-106). Damian has answered (1) that non-metaphorical Godhead belongs to the hypostases. But he has also said that since 'Father' and 'Son' name properties it is pointless to ask whether they are literally or metaphorically substance. Therefore, though like heretics everywhere (as Cyril showed) he takes refuge in murky phrases, what he means is that the hypostases are not God, for the phrases 'be indicative of' and 'in their own concept' simply mean 'be' and 'really' (107-167), as four quotations show: (1) from the *Many-lined Letter* (first given in chapter XXXV *supra* ll. 48-53); (2) from chapter four of *Against the Tritheists*: 'But let us observe that he said "the concept of the hypostases"', meaning to indicate the hypostases themselves. I say this, because of those who misinterpret the fathers' words when they say that the Holy Trinity is one in the concept of the substance. For they then suppose that a posterior concept is entering theology'; (3) from chapter eight: 'But their' (i.e. the holy

fathers') 'saying "in the concept of the nature", is the same as their saying "in nature". For by "concept", as has been said, they are characterizing the nature, as Gregory of Nyssa has shown by saying "for the concept of 'man' characterizes a man and that of 'horse' a horse". Likewise Basil too, in the *Letter to Terentius*, said that the concept of the substance is Godhead, as follows: "There too the concept of the substance is common, like goodness, Godhead or whatever else is conceived of". And over and over again you will find Saint Severus calling the substance itself the "concept of the substance". But also when they say "the concept of the hypostases" they are speaking of the hypostases themselves. But why should you quote many instances? John the Grammarian, who became the leader of this heresy, is to be seen indicating this by saying: "For what has the concept of 'man' is nothing else but a man, and what has the concept of 'horse' is likewise a horse, and likewise of everything"; (4) from chapter 13: 'For he' (i.e. Basil) 'did not here teach a mere concept, but said, as we showed earlier, that the concept of substance is the substance itself' (167-218). Damian's profession that all the hypostases are literally God is empty, since the Arians said exactly the same sort of thing, as a passage from Gregory Nazianzen shows (219-249). No, Damian, Peter says, means that the hypostases are only metaphorically God (250-260).

Chapter XXXVII

Damian has said that it is polytheistic to profess each prosopon of the Trinity 'God Himself' (αὐτοθεός); therefore, as the passage cited at the beginning of chapter XXXVI proves, he does not acknowledge each to be truly 'God' (10-23). The claim to oppose tritheism is a mask for atheism and is in contradiction with the fathers who name each prosopon severally 'God Himself' (24-56), as proof-texts from Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Cyril and Severus demonstrate (57-279). Will Damian follow the fathers and repudiate his opinion that each divine hypostasis is only God 'by participation'? (280-285).

Chapter XXXVIII

Under criticism from Peter, Damian, as Peter has noted earlier (see IV, 14-37; V, 191-346; VI, 7-22; XV, 137-147), without

acknowledgement altered certain passages in the published versions of his *Against the Tritheists* and *Many-lined Letter*. These Peter will now examine (8-32). Damian is, according to Peter, a 'Sabellian', making God a single hypostasis which he calls 'the common substance' with the divine properties as 'hypostases', and thereafter trying to prove that this 'common substance' is distinct from the hypostases because they are God only in a metaphorical sense (33-46). Peter illustrates the 'Sabellianism' and its attempted concealment from chapter 12 of *Against the Tritheists*: 'Eunomius when uttering such insanities (indeed, rather, blasphemies according to what Saint Cyril too says in the *Exposition of John's Gospel*), does not speak of distinction between substance and hypostasis but says that God the Word himself, both substance and hypostasis, is nought but the Father's word. However, had wise Cyril been asked about the difference between the Word's hypostasis and his substance, he would have answered that they are mutually different and not the same. He would have given the present questioner a very similar answer to the one he gave Hermias, who asked "For is substance one thing and hypostasis another?", i.e. "yes", for he was very aware of the difference between substance and hypostasis. Eunomius, on the contrary, would have highly prized an admission from Cyril that the Word, and the Father likewise, is the substance itself, for he often sought it without obtaining it. For from Cyril's willingness to understand the Word as the substance itself he could have inferred an absurdity for Christians, by saying "if the natural Word immanent in God the Father is the Son, and is consubstantial with his begetter, what is to prevent the Father's being and being called 'Word'?" For the impious fellow's argument will be established, if we understand hypostasis as the substance itself in the way that current proponents of such devices desire' (47-68). From chapter 15 he quotes: ' "For unless", they say, "we call the ingenerate and the generate (i.e. Father and Son), 'substances' and 'natures' (for we cannot apply any other meaningful terms to God), we shall be found to be honouring God not by what he is but by what he is not, fashioning him by mere words into what does not exist; therefore 'Father' is the substance itself and likewise 'Son' is the substance itself and they are not certain realities seen as belonging with the substance". But if it is possible for them to be realities without being substances, in vain do they execrate the fathers when they accuse them of professing

the faith in mere words' (68-77). Four passages from the *Many-lined Letter* are adduced: (1) 'We do not, then, agree with those who dissent from the teaching set down earlier, and who, in return, venture to persuade us of the opposite: that a hypostasis does not participate in the substance but is the substance itself, in accordance with the blatherings of the Eunomians' (78-82). (2) 'And thus, indeed, having learned that prosopon is one thing, and nature another, we profess one nature seen in three prosopa and acknowledge three prosopa in one nature, naming each prosopon "nature", not because it is the nature itself (for in this way there would be no "one thing" and "another") but because they belong to one nature, and clearly, fully participate in it' (82-87). (3) 'Thus, then, we should in patristic fashion profess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for tritheism, because there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who enumerate *qua* God and call each of them "God Himself", and do not recognize the prosopon in its own concept as one thing and God as another, cannot escape the charge of being tritheists' (88-93 – repeated from chapter XXXVII). (4) 'I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them (by its participating fully in the substance being God and not the Godhead itself, and likewise, by its participating in the nature and the substance, being nature and substance), added to this (because there is no enumeration of the Holy Trinity *qua* God) the statement you [sc. Peter] quoted, and said as I did' (93-100 – repeated from chapter XXXVI). In his revised version of (2) Damian has added to the phrase 'not because it is the nature itself' the superfluous epexegetis *in the common signification*: superfluous because the point at issue is Damian's claim that the hypostases participate in, or are only metaphorically, divine. Similar, in (4), is the addition *whole* to the phrase 'Godhead itself': it is superfluous because the distinction between hypostasis and substance is not in dispute (101-183). Severus is quoted by Peter in proof that he distinguished substance and hypostasis without ever using the language favoured by Damian, the purpose of which is to establish that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are only God in a derivative sense (184-286). Damian, according to Peter, is caught out by an unrevised sentence of the *Many-lined Letter*, 'For I ought first to learn, the issues being left

till later . . . whether hypostasis too is called and is substance, nature and Godhead, not as if it were the substance itself (which is the particular mark of the generic signification), but as participating in the community'. So Damian avows that it is only through participation that each hypostasis is called divine (287-300).

Chapter XXXIX

Damian may say that he is not following the tritheists, which is why he will qualify talk of the hypostases as 'God, substance and nature'. But this qualification, according to Peter, makes Damian an Eunomian (15-28). In chapter four of *Against the Tritheists* he wrote: 'The Theologian, then, wrote in the oration *On the arrival of the Bishops* throughout demonstrating his aim, that the properties are not natures but belong with the nature. Which is why each of them, seen on its own, is also named "nature" because it participates fully in it, just as Paul and each (proper) individual participates fully in manhood'. In chapter nine he wrote: 'Having then proved in the subsequent words that names in the full sense are not indicative of substances but of the properties seen in one and the same nature and participating in it by equality of honour, and this is why each of them is nature, as Saint Severus said . . . Again, for we do not call a property separated from the substance "hypostasis", but one truly subsisting in the substance, and, according to Basil, joined to the common; and this is why it is called and is whatever is common, whether you call it "God" or "nature" or "life" or "goodness", without losing the properness of an hypostasis in separation'. A passage (parts of which have been quoted before in chapter XXXV) from the *Many-lined Letter* underlines the point: 'But because the hypostases are not indicative of substances, according to the holy fathers (as has been proved), I should like to learn what we ought to think of hypostases. But until I learn something wiser, I shall understand the fathers' saying that the properties are separate from the substance and that they are not natures but belong with the nature, in the way I do now: because each of them, by participating in the community and being joined to it and endowed with the fulness of Godhead, is fully and without defect perfect and true God . . . Then, having sought to prove that it is not from the properties conceived of according to

their own concept separately from the substance (if anyone philosophizes about them and asks what they are in nature), that a composition in Christ has been effected, but from those subsisting in the substance and participating fully in it and therefore called “hypostases”, so that each of them will fully be named “substance” because it is substantial, I discoursed on them in that way . . . This was added after it had been shown what “property” (called “hypostasis” when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance – I mean, “God, substance, and nature” (29-64). Damian, according to Peter, plainly says here both that the hypostases participate in the substance (which is Sabellianism) and that the characteristic properties are God in the strict sense (which is the tritheism for which Eunomius was condemned (65-102). Passages from Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril confirm the point (103-370).

Chapter XL

Damian’s teaching, Peter repeats, is simultaneously Sabellian and Arian: he makes the characteristic properties into hypostases but separates them from the divine substance (13-30). Passages from Damian are now quoted to prove the latter point. In chapter five of *Against the Tritheists* he wrote: ‘It will, indeed, have become clear from the text set down that, according to the theology of our present opponents, the prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature, are not indicative of the Godhead or divine nature. For were that so, the argument would of course have obliged us, unwillingly indeed, on speaking of three prosopa, to profess three Gods’. Secondly, in chapter eight he wrote: ‘And if he truly is what he is called in the full sense (κυρίως), and every teacher of truth professes that the “one”, said in the full sense (κυρίως) of the Holy Trinity, is more fully one than any others and is, as it were, more unique, clearly, the “one” is to be apprehended not only merely in name but in reality too. Hence, then, if we proceed in an order from the “one” to those in it and thence descend to creatures, the more we descend the more manifold becomes the impress on our minds until, attaining to ultimate division, we halt

at plurality; and if we thence ascend again, we find nothing unique, even though in the upward course plurality is contracted gradually until in our returning we again reach the truly "one" from whom all that are have their existence'. Thirdly, in the *Many-lined Letter* he wrote: 'For Eustathius, who was the holy pastor of the Antiochenes, having first proved in his discourse *Against Photinus or Maurinus* that "prosopon is one thing" in its concept "and nature another", taught that the nature is "seen in three prosopa". The consequence (according to your previous examination) will be that he leaves the nature as a mere appellation, because he said it was seen in others. And it will be fitting to introduce the father's own words, which are as follows: "For prosopon is one thing and nature another. If, then, 'God' belonged to prosopon, by saying 'three prosopa', we should certainly be saying 'three Gods'. But because 'God' belongs to nature, when we say 'one nature of the prosopa' we necessarily say that there is only one God". Thus did the sainted pastor prove by argument that by calling them "three prosopa", we do not profess three Gods or three natures, because "prosopon is one thing and nature another". But he who taught this, added after other matters: "But the nature, whose name is 'God', we understand as ever seen in three prosopa, neither diminished by loss of prosopon nor increased by addition of prosopon" . . . We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as has been said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of "properties"), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties; so I should like to know whether it was by way of slander on patristic teaching that the text forbore to say that the characteristic properties "being seen in another" (i.e. in the substance according to its own concept) are three perfect prosopa and three hypostases, because they want them to be substances themselves and not substantial, and I request that the passage be given a clearer meaning' (31-77). If 'the properties are not indicative of the divine nature', then, according to Peter, on Damian's premises, they are not divine (78-94). In the *Many-lined Letter* Damian used part of the chresis from 'Eustathius' to prove the distinction of prosopa from nature. In chapter five of *Against the Tritheists* Damian had used a longer version of the chresis to prove

that the prosopa are not indicative of (meaning on Damian's understanding 'are not') the Godhead: 'Maurinus or Photinus, with his associates, will criticize us, then, on the ground that we are calling Father, Son and Holy Ghost "three Gods", and he and they will be very foolish. For if we were simply saying "God and God and God", they would have been justified in censuring us for saying "three Gods"; but seeing that it is true and consistent for us to call the Father "God", the Son "God" and the Holy Ghost "God", nevertheless it is not because we call God "three" by way of division (even though each hypostatic prosopon is professed as God, because they belong to one and the same divine nature) but because we recognize the Father's, Son's and Holy Ghost's natural kinship, property and mutual unity. If the name "God", then, were significant of prosopon, by saying "three prosopa" we should certainly also have been saying "three Gods"; but because it is significant of nature, being apprehended from some property which is in the nature (as laughter in man, and barking in a dog) and the properties said to belong to natures indicate natures, we do not say "three Gods" because we do not say "three natures". But if we call each of the prosopa of the divine nature "God", because it belongs to the nature, it will be recognized as having the name "God" said in the full sense (κυρίως), not because "God" is significant of prosopon, but because it is significant of the one nature. The prosopon too is capable of being called by this appellation, because it belongs also to the nature. For prosopon is one thing and nature another. If, then, "God" belonged to prosopon, by saying "three prosopa" we should certainly also have been saying "three Gods", but because we say "one nature of the prosopa", we necessarily say that there is only one God. But if the nature is one, and "God" belongs to the nature, it follows that if we say "one nature" we also say there is one God' (95-140). Damian's proof has, Peter claims, failed here: 'Eustathius' nowhere says that the prosopa do not signify the divine nature, nor does he make the hypostases entities separate from the Godhead (141-183). A quotation from John Chrysostom clinches the point (184-203).

Chapter XLI

Peter examines critically his second quotation from Damian in the previous chapter: from chapter eight of *Against the Tritheists*.

'The "one" in the full sense' of which Damian speaks is the common substance understood by him as an hypostasis distinct from the three whose real being is thereby negated (12-32). Any defence that he is contrasting the Oneness of God with that of creatures ignores their incomparability. Damian's 'in the full sense' implies as its opposite 'metaphorically' or 'by participation'. His words, quoted before in chapters XXXVf. and now repeated, prove as much. In chapter nine of *Against the Tritheists* he wrote: 'For here indeed he [= Severus] instructed us not to call hypostasis "substance", even though he often taught the contrary. But now he says this, because he is distinguishing the full signification of each. For it is one thing for something to be and be called in accordance with its signification, and another thing for it to preserve its own signification but at the same time, by participation in something, for it both to be and to participate in the appellation of that in which it participates. I say this in reference to substance and hypostasis which are ever mutually innate and separate in no other way but by mental invention alone when it seeks a definition of what each is in its own concept; hence we speak in the full sense of "one substance" with respect to all the consubstantials, whereas we do not pluralize the hypostases by a compound number, as "substances": because each of them is named, and is, substance not by their own signification but because they participate in the common nature'. In chapter 12 he wrote: 'So preserve the different meanings of the words and distinguish the senses, for in this way you will think correct thoughts and not stray from what is fitting, knowing, as you will, what "substance and nature" in the full sense is, and what has been called "nature" in a metaphorical sense because it naturally is'. In the *Many-lined Letter* he wrote (as given in chapter XXXVI *supra*): 'But someone, moved by the preceding words etc.' (33-88). 'Being in accordance with its own signification' means for Damian 'being in the full sense' as contrasted with 'by participation' and 'metaphorically'. Self-contradictorily and to deceive, Damian has said that the hypostases are divine in the full sense and also that since 'hypostasis' does not mean 'substance' they are not divine in the full sense (89-159). Peter quotes passages from Gregory of Nyssa and 'Dionysius' which clearly teach the full and literal Godhead of the hypostases (160-320). As for Damian's words about descending in thought from the unity of God to the plurality of creatures this is

nothing but Apollinarius' ladder of divine being ridiculed by Gregory Nazianzen (321-379). It is true that the two Gregories do speak of the Father as the 'beginning of Godhead' and as 'ultimate Cause' but that does not justify Damian's doctrine of the Godhead as beginning and ultimate Cause of the hypostases (380-461). Either the 'truly "one"' is the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost (in which case they cannot be characteristic properties and Damian's argument is groundless), or it is a superior Creator (462-480).

Chapter XLII

It was proved, according to Peter, that Damian reckons the divine substance and the hypostases as different things. In corroboration Peter examines again the passage from Damian's *Many-lined Letter* which invokes 'Eustathius' and has been cited in chapter XL above (12-56). Damian has referred here to Peter's *Memorandum* where he had written: 'I interpret this in accordance with your aim: which is that you want to call the properties seen in the common substance "hypostases", and for them to be three realities; and I understand them not as mere appellations, not subsisting on their own and only seen in another, because the holy, august and consubstantial Trinity is three perfect, characteristic and individually subsisting hypostases and three prosopa, and not simply three properties viewed as belonging with the substance'. Peter's interpretation of Damian is explained as a gentle corrective modelled on Severus' initial approach to Julian. Severus is quoted as inspiring this passage of the *Memorandum*. Damian had responded angrily in the *Many-lined Letter* that 'mere appellations' were meaningless words amongst which Peter is falsely including participants in something and epiphenomena: 'But I should like to be told what the phrase "not as mere appellations not subsisting on their own" means. For we have never before heard that mere appellations, whether subsisting on their own or appearing in another, have any signification. For either they have a signification and support their hearers' minds on what they signify (whether it subsists on its own or is seen in another), and are not mere appellations or meaningless words vainly emitted into the air; or if they really are mere appellations it will be obvious that whether subsisting on their own or seen in another, they have no signification . . . This phrase, then, would suggest that what is not divorced

from participation by another in it and from mental inspection in it, is a mere sound that does not reach any signification at all' (57-159). Peter answers that Damian has talked of meaningless words before in the *Letter through Zachariah*: 'For if the fatherhood existing in the Godhead is a mere appellation, the name of the hypostasis derived from the fatherhood, I mean "Father", will become a meaningless word like the pagan fables, even though, when we join the property to the common, by connection of the two we call the fatherhood existing in the Godhead "God the Father"'. 'Mere appellations'. Peter replies, is a phrase found in Gregory Nazianzen where it does not imply 'meaningless words' (160-193). Peter had certainly not said in the *Memorandum* that anything 'seen in another' was a 'mere appellation': Damian has falsely argued from 'some' to 'all', as can be seen from the lines immediately preceding the quotation from the *Many-lined Letter*: 'The added words, then, are similar and indicate that the assertion [by Damian] that the properties seen in the common substance are hypostases and realities, is untrue; for these words [of Peter] have taught us that what are seen in another are mere appellations; from which it will be deduced that the fathers (who sometimes rule that one Godhead and nature is seen in three hypostases, but sometimes teach that three hypostases are seen in one substance) leave the Godhead and the holy hypostases in which it subsists as a mere appellation'. Damian agrees that accidents 'exist in another'; by parity of argument he should say that all existents 'in another' are accidents. Damian has a choice: he can either say that accidents do not 'exist in another' (which is absurd!), or recognize that he has turned the hypostases into 'accidents' by making the Godhead one thing and the hypostases another (194-275).

Chapter XLIII

Peter continues his discussion of the passage in the *Many-lined Letter* dealing with the text of 'Eustathius'. Peter, Damian says, implies that 'Eustathius' has made the divine nature, because 'seen in others', a 'mere appellation'. Peter answers that 'Eustathius' said 'the nature' was 'seen in three prosopa' not 'seen in others'. Damian, according to Peter, has entirely misrepresented the meaning of the chresis which distinguishes prosopon and nature but clearly implies that the divine nature *is* the three prosopa (15-61).

Damian's false claim is repeated: 'Therefore because nature is one thing and prosopon another, yet we see the nature ever seen in the prosopa (according to the teaching of this sainted father ['Eustathius']), the nature's name, according to this [statement of Peter's], would be a mere appellation, if what is seen in another is only a mere appellation' (62-83). The *Many-lined Letter* then adduced a text by Severus: 'But let us attend to the magisterial voice of Saint Severus, which teaches us the same things and says in the 18th chapter of the first book *Against the Grammarian from Caesarea*, as we have previously recorded: "So that, because of the equality of the community in everything which is seen and recognized in each hypostasis, the others also will participate in the same substance; for it is to this that the words of the Lord himself. *He who has seen me has seen the Father*. will lead us on". We could set down many such testimonies of the doctors whereby the God-clad fathers recognized the hypostasis in its own concept as one thing and the substance as another thing, and gave the ruling that the community of substance is seen and known in the hypostases, without their fearing accusation of mere appellation' (84-98). Damian, Peter says, has falsely used 'Eustathius' to prove the prosopa other than the divine nature; he now tries to use Severus to prove that the common substance is seen in the hypostases and hence the substance as one thing and the hypostases another. But Damian's version of the chresis is absurdly mangled. Severus spoke of the mutual equality and implication of the hypostases, as a passage from *Cathedral Homily 123* shows. It speaks of 'one God seen in one substance and Godhead and in three unconfused hypostases'. Another passage from *Contra Grammaticum II.1* likewise speaks of the hypostases as 'seen in the Father, and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost'. 'Being seen in' clearly does not imply 'being things other than' (99-228).

Chapter XLIV

If 'prosopon is one thing and nature another' implies 'the divine substance is not the three hypostases', then, Peter says, the orthodox professions 'one hypostasis is not the whole divine substance (= the Holy Trinity)' and the 'one God (= the substance of the Godhead) is the three hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost' will be false (15-24). Basil and Severus are quoted as professing

both; they never say 'an hypostasis is the whole Godhead', or 'the substance of the Godhead is one thing and the hypostases of the Holy Trinity another' (25-172). A passage, previously quoted in chapter XL, from the *Many-lined Letter* is now repeated: 'We should understand, then etc'. Peter professes anger and astonishment. He repeats Damian's words (173-226). Damian's words respond to those in Peter's *Memorandum* quoted above in chapter XLII and now reproduced: 'I interpret this etc'. Damian is alleging that unless the hypostases are characteristic properties individually subsistent and inherent in ('seen in') the substance, they must be substances. This is mere shadow boxing, Peter replies quoting Gregory of Nyssa's reproof of Eunomius for the same fault (227-268). Damian, Peter says, plays with two mutually contradictory ideas: substance is one thing and prosopa another thing; and substance's 'inherence in' ('being seen in') prosopa implies being something other than they. The phrase 'being seen in' can be used of different things, but does not entail difference (269-337). A passage from Theodosius speaks of God's being 'in one substance and nature, but in three hypostases or prosopa', showing thereby that 'being in' means that the hypostases *are* the substance (338-351). Moreover Basil uses 'existing in' to indicate identity. If the characteristic properties can be 'seen in' the hypostases, Damian's claim that the phrase implies difference negates his basic claim of their identity (352-371).

Chapter XLV

Damian has said that the fathers 'recognize the substance as one thing and the hypostases as another thing'. Where? (10-27). Damian offers an example by the next lines in the *Many-lined Letter*: 'For Gregory of Nyssa, as has been said, clearly testified that the property, or prosopon, is one thing in its own concept, and the substance another thing, in the *Discourses against Eunomius*, when he said: "Clearly the teaching of true religion will be confirmed by the opponents' claim, because they do not think ingeneracy is the same as substance but that it is viewed on the substrate, whereas the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than they". But were somebody to think that ingeneracy does not characterize the Father's prosopon, such an one should know that we have just now quoted Saint Eustathius, bishop of

Antioch, as adopting such a distinction between *prosopon* and Godhead, in his *Against Photinus or Maurinus* and saying: "For *prosopon* is one thing and nature another. If, then, 'God' belonged to *prosopon*, by saying 'three *prosopa*', we should certainly be saying 'three Gods'. But because 'God' belongs to nature, when we say 'one nature of the *prosopa*' we necessarily say that there is only one God". And thus, indeed, having learned that *prosopon* is one thing and nature another thing, we profess that there is one nature in three hypostases and we acknowledge three *prosopa* in one nature' (28-49). This is, according to Peter, the sort of drunken babbling Gregory of Nyssa ridicules in *Eunomius* (50-63). At this point in the argument Damian, according to Peter, ought to have produced texts from the fathers proving the substance 'one thing' and the properties 'another thing'. That 'Eustathius' distinguishes '*prosopon*' and 'nature' is irrelevant, since Basil and Severus recognize that distinction to affirm that the divine substance is not other than the hypostases. The passage from Gregory adduced by Damian is quoted in its context (64-214). Damian explains the point at issue here: Gregory is developing his brother Basil's critique of a phrase of *Eunomius* which implies the distinction (here self-contradictorily asserted by *Eunomius*) between ingeneracy and substance. The words of Gregory Damian has quoted prove that ingeneracy is not the Father's substance; they do not prove that the substance is one thing and the hypostases another thing (215-337).

Chapter XLVI

Damian has misquoted Gregory, Peter says, to assimilate the chresis to his argument (7-23). Damian says that ingeneracy characterizes the Father's *prosopon* and that *prosopon* and Godhead are distinct. That means, according to Peter, when the language is unravelled, that ingeneracy *is* the Father's *prosopon* and distinct from the Godhead he participates in; Damian believes the hypostases are not God, substance and nature. When Gregory said that 'the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than' the properties of ingeneracy and generacy, he did not separate properties from substance. A passage from Basil explains and illustrates this conceptual but not actual separation. No, ingeneracy, generacy and procession are not God, substance and nature; the hypostases severally and together are God, substance and nature (24-105).

Chapter XLVII

This chapter presents and comments individually on a series of quotations from Gregory of Nyssa, 'Dionysius', 'Gregory the Thaumaturge', Cyril, Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Epiphanius and Theodosius. The fathers unite in teaching the truth affirmed at the end of the last chapter.

Chapter XLVIII

We must, Peter says, respect the tradition and adhere to the fathers' teaching, as Theodosius, the two Gregories, Cyril and Severus bid us (13-111). We must take the middle road not going from one extreme to the other: not professing three Gods on the one hand, or making the Godhead a mental construct on the other. The divine unity in trinity is a mystery and a paradox. A series of quotations from Basil, the two Gregories and Severus underline the point (112-286).

Chapter XLIX

The theme of the previous chapter is continued, with further quotations from Basil, the two Gregories and Cyril: no fully comprehensible account can be given of the Trinity in Unity.

Chapter L

Peter is reaching the end of his book. Surprisingly, he had been asked by 'members of a contrary persuasion' (Chalcedonians?) for a rebuttal of Damian but the motives of those who asked him to write were various (14-33). Peter's opponents have cut themselves off from the truth and the fellowship of the Catholic Church and are declared excommunicate; they must eschew their false teachings before communion is possible (33-56). The orthodox faithful are to fight for the true faith; failure to do so is apostasy, as Severus testifies (57-87). The so far uncommitted are to weigh the issues and, as Cyril the bishop 'of this great city'[of Alexandria] urges, are to repudiate Church leaders who teach untruths (88-149). Therein lies the path to salvation (150-157).

Addendum

This fragment connects with the likewise fragmentary Book Two, chapter five, where it appears to have followed the quotation of a text from Gregory Nazianzen's *Or.* 42,15 referred to in line 103 ('as has been examined above'), see the Analysis *ad loc.* Damian, in discussing it has said: 'The Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With The Beginning (that is, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost) are not expressions indicative of substances, but of properties belonging with the one substance'. Damian has omitted, Gregory's vital 'one God': 'The Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With The Beginning, *one God*'. God, then, for Damian, is one thing and Father, Son and Holy Ghost another (1-26). Gregory, says Peter, clearly names here properly subsisting prosopa, for he added that the characteristic properties (unbeginningness etc) are 'not the nature' (27-44). As Severus shows, 'nature' can be used both of the single subject and the common species. But it is never used of a characteristic property (45-56). Damian asserts the identity of hypostasis and characteristic property; he claims that in this passage Gregory does too. No, says Peter, Gregory names the Father by reference to his characteristic property as The Unbeginning (57-108). Gregory's intention was to refute the Arian notion of ingeneracy as the Father's substance and generacy as the Son's (109-141). Damian may challenge this interpretation by saying that if the hypostases are natures they must be different in nature and so different in Godhead. But this is to reject the important distinction insisted upon by the fathers, between 'nature' in the proper (particular) and the general senses. A quotation from Athanasius illustrates the point: the Son's Godhead is the Father's. But when we particularise one hypostasis as a 'nature' we do not mean that there are different 'natures' of the hypostases. The fathers never speak that way. That is 'Arian' talk. We neither constrict God to a single hypostasis nor hold to a plurality of Gods and substances. The passage ends abruptly (142-200).

SIGLA

- A London, British Library, Add. 7191
D Vatican Library, Syriac Manuscript 108
E¹ Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 201
E² London, British Library, Add. 7192

Flor. II* (florilegium of texts of Peter):

London, British Library, Add. 14533, fols. 147va-161ra

- [] As a general rule the text presented here follows the readings of A, except where they are clearly false. We print in square brackets words and portions of words illegible in A which can be restored from other witnesses. This does not apply to the Addendum pp. 444ff.

* We have been unable in this volume to take into consideration the readings of Flor. I (see above in the Introduction p. VII).

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Concerning the fact that it was with a view to proving that each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity is a characteristic property and is named God, * substance and nature not in the full sense
5 and truly but because it participates in the substance and in the Godhead, that the author said that 'God the Father is participant and participated' (i.e. is hypostasis and substance comprehending the hypostases); and that to be called 'God' by adoption and participation is the property of rational creatures, but to be God in
10 the full sense and truly belongs to each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity; a point which, as if he were refuting impiety, he forces, to wrest the words of true religion and draw them towards his perverse doctrine.

Now these things have been very maliciously (or, to put it more
15 truly, quite insanely) argued by you, with a view to proving that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are ingeneracy, generacy and procession: thereby you would then easily prove that each of them is, or is called, God, substance and nature not in the full sense and truly, but because it participates in the substance and in the nature
20 of the Godhead. For had you also thought aright of God the Father, (and likewise God the Son, and, again, God the Holy Ghost) in accordance with the God-clad fathers' correct and irreproachable teaching, as only a hypostasis and not as both participant and participated (which is the same as saying, 'both a hypostasis and
25 the substance comprehending the hypostases'), you would not have endeavoured to define each hypostasis of the Holy Trinity as

both a characteristic property of a hypostasis and as God, substance and nature not in the full sense but by participation. That this is the aim of your whole absurd treatise we shall clearly prove,
 30 by setting down here too some of your various pestilential utterances.

For you wrote in the ninth chapter of your book, speaking about our God-clad father Severus, as follows: For here indeed he instructed us not to call hypostasis 'substance', even though he often taught
 35 the contrary. But now he says this, because he is distinguishing the full signification of each. For it is one thing for something to be and be called in accordance with its signification, and another thing for it to preserve its own signification but at the same time, by participation in something, for it both to be and to participate in the appellation of that in which it par-
 40 ticipates. And again, you said in the 17th chapter * of the same book: So if, because one substance is posited for the three hypostases, they call each prosopon, since it participates fully in the community, 'substance, nature and God' and everything that is indicative of commonness (because, though one is separated from another by properties, it is joined in
 45 the substance) and have understood the consubstantiality accordingly, they shall be worthy of all praise and we shall embrace them as men of like mind with ourselves. You wrote similar things too in your *Many-lined Letter*: But until I learn something wiser, I shall understand the fathers' saying that the properties are separate from the substance and
 50 also that they are not natures but belong with the nature, in the way I do now: because each of them, by participating in the community and being joined to it and endowed with the fullness of Godhead, is fully and

33/40 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 22)
 (n° 43) 48/53 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixu*

41/47 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 17

: ומצאנו : ולו מה שיש לו : ועל כן : ומצאנו : וכן :
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f. 132v

AD

Line 28: וכן, D om.
 Line 40: ,מל, cf. infra, line 130 (,מ).
 Line 47: לאלל, D: לאלל.
 Line 51: חסד, D: חסד.

without defect perfect and true God. Not content with these and the like, you went on, again, to say, a few lines later: This was added after
 55 it had been shown what 'property' (called 'hypostasis' when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance - I mean, 'God, substance and nature'.

What man, who has not entirely expelled from his conscience
 60 all fear of God, will not rightly tremble on hearing this and oppose the utterers of such blasphemies as indignantly as he can? Will not one say that to be tacitly philosophical at this amid insults to God, and to prefer quiet and a really misnamed humility, is very reprehensible idleness? For we have learned by reading the fathers' di-
 65 vinely inspired words, that to do so is a dangerous matter. For wise GREGORY OF NYSSA wrote in the second book *Against Eunomius* the profane (its beginning is: But it is time that the explanation of the offspring's nature): But let us leave this aside and, so far as possible, let care for the prior issues mollify our hearts which leap up
 70 with faith's zeal against * these great blasphemers. For how can we not be moved to hot indignation, when our God, our Lord, our Life-giver and our Saviour, is insulted by these little men? For had he been abusing my fleshly father or been at enmity with a benefactor of mine, could I have calmly borne his rage against my loved-ones? But if the Lord of my soul
 75 who caused it to subsist when it did not exist, and redeemed it when it was in bondage, who caused it to taste the present, and prepared for it a

54/58 Dam. Alex., *Ep. proluxa* 68/87 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 2 (PG 45, 676BC; Jaeger II, pp. 104,7 - 105,4)

future, life; who invites us into the kingdom, and counsels how we may flee the condemnation of Hell (to speak thus far of small things and not of things befitting the glory of our common Lord); who is worshipped by all
 80 the Creation of heavenly, earthly and sub-terrestrial beings; before whom stand numberless myriads of ministers in Heaven, and before whom bows whatever is governed by understanding and has a yearning for good; if he is exposed to abuse by men for whom it is not enough to make the lot of the Rebel only their own but who account it loss not to cast others too
 85 into the same pit with themselves through their writing, so that their descendants may not lack guides to destruction: will anyone censure anger at that?

But wise CYRIL, too, who devoted his whole life to God in the eradication of heresy's strongholds, is seen, like one arousing
 90 those who slumber amid nonsense directed against God, to write the following in his *Defence against Andreas of the tenth Anathematism*: Who, then, on hearing these absurdities, will not choose to suffer anything rather than cherish a silence odious to God? Christ died for us, despising the shame; he bore the Cross and fleshly death. And what?
 95 Are we not to repay our benefactor even with a verbal love, but sit in silence listening to such absurd blasphemies, or, perhaps, even share in and accept the complaints garrulity makes against him?

This has clearly proved that those who tolerate such things without indignation share in blasphemy with those who arm their
 100 tongues against God. Now let us, then, investigate the author's

79/80 cf. Phil. 2:10 80/81 cf. Dan. 7:10 92/97 Cyr. Alex., *Apol. XII cap. contra Orientales* (PG 76, 365B; ACO I, t. 7, p. 55, 29-34)

< אמת : אמלך אהבתי ילתי : מן האלהים בלתי אהבתי :
 < ואלהי אבותינו הם אלהינו : ואלהינו אלהינו :
 85 < אהבתי : ואלהינו אלהינו : ואלהינו אלהינו :
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AD

Line 88: אהבתי, D: אהבתי.

Line 105: אהבתי, D: אהבתי.

words and enquire whether one, who has disgorged these things,
 * has not (to put it mildly) rendered the insanity of the Arians tame
 in audacity. For those miscreants ventured to despoil the Son and
 the Holy Ghost of Godhead and to leave the Father free from the
 105 insult: but he, renewing their evil opinion, and increasing its evil,
 did not shudder to touch the Father too and expell him, by his
 fraudulent books, along with Son and Holy Ghost, from the God-
 head, fulfilling, as he does, by his more complete denial, so to say,
 and failure to affirm, the Saviour's words, who says in the sacred
 110 Gospels: *He who denies me denies the Father.*

For he makes the characteristic properties (viz. ingeneracy,
 generacy and procession), hypostases and recognizes none of them
 as either substance or nature or Godhead, pretending, as his mis-
 leading defence, to grant each of them the loan of the appellation
 115 'God' by participation in Godhead. Hence, he accordingly says:
 For it is one thing for something to be and be called in accordance with
 its signification, and another thing for it to preserve its own signification
 but at the same time, by participation in something, for it both to be and
 to participate in the appellation of that in which it participates. He said
 120 this, wishing to prove that an hypostasis, which he also recognizes
 as a characteristic property, is called 'substance' not because it is
 truly substance (for this is what he means by in accordance with its
 signification) but because, as he said, it participates in the appellation
 of the substance in which it participates. Similarly also, he names
 125 each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity 'God', since in the case
 of the Holy Trinity to say 'substance' is the same as saying 'God-
 head'.

He shows this, indeed, by saying again: So if, because one substance is posited for the three hypostases, they call each prosopon, since it
 130 participates fully in the community, 'substance, nature and God' and everything that is indicative of commonness. You will notice that he agrees to call the hypostasis 'God', not because he thinks the hypostasis truly is God, but on account of its participating in the community i.e. the substance and Godhead. Has he not proclaimed
 135 this even more clearly by the subsequent words, in speaking * of the characteristic properties as follows: But until I learn something wiser, I shall understand the fathers' saying that the properties are separate from the substance and also that they are not natures but belong with the natures, in the way I do now: because each of them, by participating
 140 in the community and being joined to it and endowed with the fullness of Godhead, is fully and without defect perfect and true God? How can people with any sort of concern for orthodoxy fail to require the author of these words to prove from whatever inspired master of mysteries he likes (and especially when he has promised to present
 145 everything from patristic teachings) that a characteristic property is said to participate in the community (not to mention, indeed, be endowed with the fullness of Godhead being fully and without defect perfect and true God)?

But it would be as well to look at the degrees (or to put it more
 150 appropriately, perhaps 'the progressive stages') of his to which the hypostases of the Godhead have attained, according to his argument, by participation. For he said, as previously set down, expanding more effusively in profane blasphemies: This was added after it had been shown what 'property' (called 'hypostasis' when subsist-
 155 ing) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but

140 — חנינא דגא למדא : סבא, דהוה סבא : סבא דגא
 — דגא סבא סבא סבא סבא : ליל דגא סבא
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 — סבא : סבא סבא : סבא סבא : סבא סבא
 145 : סבא סבא סבא סבא : סבא סבא, סבא סבא :
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 — סבא סבא סבא סבא סבא סבא : סבא סבא, סבא סבא
 — סבא סבא סבא סבא : סבא סבא : סבא סבא, סבא סבא
 150 — סבא סבא סבא סבא : סבא סבא סבא סבא : סבא סבא
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f. 133rb

סבא סבא, סבא סבא, סבא סבא : סבא סבא, סבא סבא
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 165 סבא סבא : סבא סבא סבא סבא סבא סבא סבא : סבא סבא
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Line 164: סבא, D: סבא.

because it participates in the substance - I mean, 'God, substance and nature'.

Will not everybody, not befuddled in this drunken stupor, justly
 160 marvel at the fact that though all Ariomania has been ejected en-
 tirely, as it were, from our midst, doctrines, more monstrous than
 theirs, are openly preached in Christian churches, by men, en-
 trusted, somehow or other, with the people of God? For let us ob-
 serve that, according to what he says, a characteristic property can
 165 be primarily a property, then a hypostasis and thirdly (by its par-
 ticipating in the substance) Godhead, substance and nature. So if
 the Father (according to his argument) can be called and be God, not
 primarily but because he participates in the substance and is endowed
 with the fullness of Godhead, * and likewise the Son and Holy Ghost,
 170 must not the crazy old doctrines have come to life again? Indeed,
 rather, the now recently renewed doctrines will surpass, by their
 additional blasphemy, the ancient and notoriously wicked insanity
 whose upholders were Arius and Eunomius; for what they ven-
 tured to say about the Son and Holy Ghost this inventor of truly
 175 fresh doctrines has not foreborne to say of the three hypostases of
 the Godhead? Which is why what the pillars of the Church said by
 divine inspiration in reply to them will very rightly suit him; for
 their words will show: that whereas in the case of created beings
 anyone deified by grace is called 'God' not by nature and in the
 180 full sense but rather by adoption and participation; with the Holy
 Trinity, on the other hand, because nothing can enter *ab extra*,

each hypostasis is and is called 'God' not by adoption and participation, but by nature and in the full sense.

Let us see how apostolic ATHANASIUS instructs us on the point
 185 in his *Encyclical Letter* or first book *Against the Arians*. For John
 says, *In the beginning was the Word*; but these say 'he did not exist before
 he was begotten'. Again the same John wrote, *And we are in his true
 Son, Jesus Christ. He is true God and eternal Life*. But these make the
 opposite claim and say, 'Christ is not true God, but is himself also called
 190 God by participation like everybody else'. Saint Theophilus and wise
 CYRIL, who were even closer to one another in orthodoxy than in
 family relationship, set down for us similar things. For the former,
 THEOPHILUS, says in his first *Festal Letter* (whose beginning is: A
 holy and heavenly feast): *But he is before all*, and not as a creature but as
 195 true God, not having the appellation by participation like rational creatures
 but by being born of God without passion or division. And later:
*But if we live by the Spirit he is not a recipient, * but the bestower of Life*,
 not having his holiness by participation but hallowing those who participate
 in him. For rational creatures have their holiness by acquisition but
 200 the Holy Ghost, being unchangeable in hypostasis, does not have his being
 as an accident. For the Holy Spirit is Spirit of holiness, not recipient
 of holiness, all being hallowed in him who openly believe in the Lord Jesus.
For no one can say 'Jesus is Lord', save in the Holy Ghost'. And

185/190 Athan. Alex., *Ep. ad episc. Aegypti et Libyae* 13 (PG 25, 568AB; Metzler – Savvidis, p. 53, 11-15) 186 Ioh. 1:1 187/188 I Ioh. 5:20 193/194, 194/196 et 197/203 Theoph. Alex., *Ep. fest. prima*, fragm. hucusque incognita 194 Col. 1:17 197 Gal. 5:25 203 I Cor. 12:3

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f. 133vb

AD

Line 202: At the top of fol. 101v D reads as follows: , ...
Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.

Line 208: ..., D: ...

Line 212: ..., D: ...

truth's athlete, appears as saying the following in the tenth chapter
 205 of the *Thesaurus*: If the Father is God by nature and not by participa-
 tion, but the Son, too, is God by nature (if he is more exalted than those
 by participation), he will belong, then, to the same nature as the Father
 and not the same nature as those by participation. *Another proof*: If the
 Son is God by participation and not by nature, and there are many 'Gods'
 210 by participation, he will not be in any respect better than the many by su-
 periority of substance. But if he is not God by participation because he is
 the creator of those Gods-by-participation, he will belong, then, to the
 same nature as the Father and not the same nature as those by participa-
 tion. He wrote as follows again in the 32nd chapter of the same
 215 treatise: '*Master, what good shall I do to inherit eternal life?*' And he
 said to him, '*Why do you ask me about good? There is none good except
 one, God*'. The good in the full sense is not good by participation in an-
 other, but has excellence by his own nature, streaming, as it were, from
 him; indeed, rather, he is by nature the very thing we say goodness is.
 220 How could he have taught more boldly or frankly that being
 named 'God' by participation and acquisition from another does
 not belong to the hypostases of the Holy Trinity (each of whom
 viewed individually is in the full sense by nature God), but to any
 created being deified by grace?

225 But the cunning writer will always say that the Arians and
 Eunomians, in calling Son and Holy Ghost 'created beings', do
 not speak of a natural participation * but, rather, of a relational
 one, and that is why by such words the fathers aptly refuted them

205/214 Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. X (PG 75, 137BC) 215/219 Cyr.
 Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. XXXII (PG 75, 528C) 215/217 Matth. 19:16-17; Marc.
 10:17-18; Luc. 18:18-19

230 < 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253.

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f. 134ra

AD flor. II from l. 226 to l. 243

Line 226: 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253.

for granting that the Son is deified and the Holy Ghost hallowed,
 230 *ab extra*. 'But no one can at all justly say such things to me who
 recognize the Father (and likewise Son and Holy Ghost) as God by
 natural participation'. In reply to which we shall (and very rightly,
 I think) say, 'My excellent fellow, your idea is completely full of
 235 impious novelty, for did anybody venture to fabricate a "natural
 deification" except you who preen yourself on arguments so
 empty and absurd? For how should one who is, by nature and in
 the full sense, God, need to become God by participation?' And,
 to put another argument, how could each of the three hypostases,
 if they are the characteristic properties of the prosopa (even were
 240 we to concede the point!), not acquire its being God as given and
 adventitious, when the divinely inspired fathers clearly define the
 characteristic properties as outside the divine substance? Look at
 what BASIL THE GREAT says in his second book *Against Eunomius*:
 But he here transfers the antithesis between the properties to the sub-
 245 stance and thus deduces the ground for his blasphemy, scaring us, as if
 we were children, with his sophisms that if the light is something else
 beside the ingeneracy, God will necessarily be proved composite. What
 do I say? That unless the light is something else beside the ingeneracy, it
 cannot be used to refer to the Son any more than ingeneracy can. And
 250 later: And, so it looks, if we are going to save the idea of simplicity and
 being without parts, we shall either say nothing about God except

244/249 Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 28-29 (PG 29, 637C-640A; *SChr.*, vol. 305,
 pp. 120-122); cf. *supra*, ch. 17, 228-234; b. II, ch. 10, 49-55 250/259 Bas.
 Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 29 (PG 29, 640B-641A; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 124); cf. *supra*,
 ch. 8, 469-477; b. II, ch. 9, 247-256

ingeneracy and shall refuse to call him 'invisible', 'incorruptible', 'immutable', 'creator', 'judge' and all the names we use now for his glory; or, if we accept these names, what are we going to make of them? Are we to
 255 take them and apply them all to the substance? In that case, we shall prove him not only composite but also compounded from dissimilar parts in virtue * of the diversity of meaning of each of the names. But shall we take them as outside the substance? Whatever principle they hit on over each of these, they must apply to the title 'ingenerate'.

260 So, here too (though we have only set down some few of the many texts), we have proved, by patristic testimony, that the properties are other than, and outside, the divine substance. Therefore, if each of them is God, by participating in the substance and Godhead (as you absurdly please to suppose), indisputably each will
 265 have its 'being God' *ab extra* and derivedly. And if so, how can each of them not have its 'being God' as something acquired and adventitious?

But perhaps you may say, 'I mean by "participation" nothing else but that the hypostases are of the same substance in which
 270 they are said to participate'. Admirable fellow, did you hear of anyone who ever said that the characteristic properties participate at all in the substance of the Godhead (to weigh you down with the same arguments!) or that, like the hypostases, they too are of the same one substance of the Godhead? How, indeed, can you forget
 275 what the doctor also taught on this point in the second book

< דָּוִד וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל : לֵךְ חַסְדֶּךָ : לֵךְ
 < חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : בְּרִיָּה : דִּינָה : נֶחֱמָה מִלֵּךְ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל
 < לְעֵשֶׂת בְּשֶׁפְעֶיךָ : אֵם יָד וּמִשְׁפָּחָה לְעֵשֶׂת מִלֵּךְ :
 < וְכֵן הַיְהוּדִים וְכֵן כָּתוּב חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : וְכֵן לֵךְ
 285 < פֶּלֶא וְהַיְהוּדִים : אֵלֶּיךָ הָיְהוּדִים וְלֵךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְהַיְהוּדִים
 < f. 134b < נֶחֱמָה * וְהַיְהוּדִים וְהַיְהוּדִים : אֵלֶּיךָ הָיְהוּדִים מִלֵּךְ
 < עֵשֶׂת וְהַיְהוּדִים . אֵלֶּיךָ לֵךְ וְנֶחֱמָה מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה :
 < חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה , וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ
 < וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה :

290 מִלֵּךְ אֵלֶּיךָ וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל : מִלֵּךְ אֵלֶּיךָ
 מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה
 מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה . וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה
 וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה
 מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : וְכֵן
 295 < חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה לֵךְ חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ
 מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה . אֵלֶּיךָ הָיְהוּדִים : אֵלֶּיךָ הָיְהוּדִים וְכֵן
 מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה לֵךְ חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה , וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה .

אֵלֶּיךָ חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה לֵךְ חֶסֶד
 וְנֶחֱמָה : אֵלֶּיךָ חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה , וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן
 300 חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן
 חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה . אֵלֶּיךָ חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה . אֵלֶּיךָ חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה
 וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה
 וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה . אֵלֶּיךָ חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה .
 וְכֵן חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן
 305 חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה וְכֵן
 חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה : מִלֵּךְ וְנֶחֱמָה .

AD flor. II from l. 290 to l. 304

Line 281: דָּוִד², cf. supra, ch. 8, line 515 (דָּוִד).
 Line 286: חֶסֶד, D: חֶסֶד.
 Line 287: נֶחֱמָה, D: נֶחֱמָה.
 Line 289: חֶסֶד, D: חֶסֶד.
 Line 291: חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה, flor. II: חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה.
 Line 293: חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה, flor. II: חֶסֶד וְנֶחֱמָה.

Against Eunomius, when he wrote: So that when we hear 'unbegotten light' we understand the Father, but on hearing 'begotten light' we apprehend the thought of the Son, *qua* 'light' and 'light' no contrariety obtaining between them but *qua* 'unbegotten' and 'begotten' an antithesis being
 280 seen in them. For it is the nature of properties to disclose otherness in an identity of substance? You will perceive, my clever fellow, that it is the nature of properties to disclose otherness in an identity of substance. What do you say, then? Proffer some of your wisdom to us who beg for it! If the properties are, as you see fit to think, the hypo-
 285 stases, and the nature of the hypostases is the one substance of Godhead, how can the Godhead and substance not disclose otherness in an identity of substance? In what, then, will the hypostases of the Holy Trinity be mutually connected? Where, indeed, will there be * identity of substance and Godhead, so long as the
 290 Godhead and substance itself creates 'otherness'? So you will be reduced, my clever fellow, when you blather like this against orthodox teachings, either to speaking of 'one substance of the hypostases' (or, in your words, 'of the properties') and saying that the same thing produces both their unity and their separation
 295 (which is clearly a totally witless impossibility), or to professing, more outlandishly than all men who ever were, two natures, substances and Godheads of the same three hypostases, one of which substances and Godheads discloses the hypostases' unity whereas

276/281 Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 28 (PG 29, 637BC; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 120) 281/282 cf. *supra*, 280-281 286/287 cf. *supra*, 282

< סמך חבב : סמך חבב וסמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב : סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב : סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 310 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 315 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 320 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 325 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב
 330 < סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב סמך חבב

f. 134va

AD flor. II from l. 313 on

- Line 307: סמך חבב, D: סמך חבב.
- Line 308: סמך חבב סמך חבב, D: סמך חבב סמך חבב.
- Line 310: סמך חבב, D: סמך חבב.
- Line 311: סמך חבב, D: סמך חבב.
- Line 318: סמך חבב, flor. II: סמך חבב (sic).
- Line 319: סמך חבב, flor. II: סמך חבב.
- Line 321: סמך חבב, flor. II: סמך חבב.
- Line 324: סמך חבב, flor. II: סמך חבב.
- Line 330: סמך חבב, flor. II: סמך חבב (trsp.).

the other displays their division. Or if you have enough prudence
 300 not to think any of these things (for we have been taught by 'the
 substance of the Godhead' not the difference between, but the
 identity of, the hypostases), your 'properties' too must be different
 from the hypostases, and all your tricks of argument will be totally
 destroyed.

305 You will see, my intelligent fellow, how, by aiding falsehood,
 you become giddy, as it were, with all your arguments and are
 compelled, like a staggering drunkard, to wave to and fro like a
 reed, and this with good cause. For when you laid the foundations
 of your building not upon true rock but upon sand, how can all
 310 your castles fail to shake and be most miserably overthrown?

But perhaps, confused by your want of argument, you may say
 again: 'The fathers did indeed say that the hypostases participate
 in the substance'. But when you go back to the same arguments,
 we will answer you, that we too cherish the term 'participation' in
 315 the sense in which the doctors received it, and will not allow you
 to falsify it and reshape it to suit your view, even if, from the ap-
 parent connexion of words (to grant this by way of concession) it
 may seem that you have room to do so. For we have heard the di-
 vinely inspired Basil saying in the second book *Against Eunomius*
 320 the unlamented (whom you diligently seek to emulate in the same
 teachings), a book which checked the wicked fellow's blasphem-
 ing tongue and that of his ilk, the following: For we will not here

308/310 cf. Matth. 7:24-27 317 cf. *infra*, 326 322/335 Bas. Caes.,
Adv. Eun. II, 7 (PG 29, 584D-586B; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 30); cf. *supra*, b. II,
 ch. 22, 99-113

allow him, to reshape and remodel the expression 'he begat' (said of the Father) * and call the Son of God an 'offspring'. It is wrong, indeed, for
 325 one trained in true religion to make a facile leap to the apparent consequence of a connexion of words; no, he should cherish and abide by the names laid down in the Bible, so that with their help he may fulfil a doxology fit for God. For if those who originally translated the Hebrew language into Greek did not venture to interpret the names but set down the
 330 Hebrew word itself (as for example 'Sabaoth', 'Adonai', 'Eloim' and suchlike), and not only in the case of the divine names but also in many others displayed this respect, how much reverence ought we not to have regarding our Lord's names? And when did they ever consent to create any names by themselves, they who did not venture upon translation lest
 335 they should destroy clarity of understanding by contrariety of meanings?

You have learned, I think, admirable fellow, that even if the connexion of words seems to aid someone's opinion, it is incautious for men trained in true religion to make a facile leap to an apparent consequence, take theologians' words captive and wrest them to
 340 their opinion; no, you have learned that they should cherish and abide by the names laid down in the Bible and with their help fulfil a doxology fit for God. For words necessarily do not mean in the case of the transcendent nature what they mean in our case, and there is a fear lest those who use names without discrimination may be led
 345 by their homonymity into an absurd opinion.

337 cf. supra, 326
 328

338/339 cf. supra, 325-326

340/342 cf. supra, 326-

בלוח גרסי ומפניו נראה שהמחבר : ונראה שהמחבר
 מסביר ומתקן ומחזיר לכל דבר הלכה והיה ויעירנה
 מהלכה : לא הוה נהנה ומינה : למען וכנסלה
 375 : נראה וזוהי : ובלילה בעתה כל הוה ומחבריה :
 הלכה והמחבר לקחה פקד ומתקן לתורה ובעת
 מהנה ומחבריה : כל הוה ובעת ובהנה ומחבריה
 והנה ומחבריה : כל הוה ומחבריה : ומחבריה
 ומחבריה : כל הוה ומחבריה : ומחבריה :
 380 : כל הוה ומחבריה : ומחבריה :
 ומחבריה : כל הוה ומחבריה : ומחבריה :

AD

Line 357: ו. ו. ו. D: ו. ו. ו.
 Line 362: ו. ו. ו. D: ו. ו. ו.
 Line 372: ה. ה. D: ה. ה.
 Lines 379-380: א. א. ... א. א. D: ו. ו. ו. ו. ו. ו. א.
 א.

1541b

- < * מלך ויבא וכל ארצו היתה מושלם כדמחבר :
- < מסתעף מה חתום : יבא נפיר לפיר ויר למר. לכ לתי
- < ויהי להם וכו' מלך ארצו : וכל ה', ומה שכתבתי כי
- < נפסדהו ויחלף פעמיהו בעיה : ר' לך וינסת וכו' מן חתום
- < בעתהו ומהיכי חתום : כדו מלך ארצי ופיר
- < לר למר ועלך המעשהו. ר' לתי ארמל ותי בעיה
- < מחלקו בחינה לעניו עניו ארצהו : לכ ארצהו חל
- < עתהו כפעמה : ר' לך לתי לפי חתום מהו :
- < ארצי תה ויכחיהו ארצוהו מאלתוהו מרמלך וירצי
- < סנהו : לה כלשו' חל עתהו ארצהו : ר' לך אר חל
- < ארצהו מהיך ארצו סו'ר נפסדהו סנהו : מלך ויהי ל
- < ומחל עתהו ותי ואלוהו ארצוהו ל'. מן חתום, מן חתום
- < מלך כי נפסדהו מן חתום מהו לחבר מן כי
- < עתהו : מלך ויחלף חל פעמה ארצהו : ארצהו וכל
- < ללשונהו ומהחל כדו מהחלמהו ועתהו נפיה *

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See how GREGORY, brother to the God-clad father Basil expounds this when he says the following in the 39th chapter of his *Refutation of Eunomius* (its beginning is: To want to help everybody was not apparently): But we ourselves shall in charity correct the error of
 350 his opinion by saying what we know of the matter. Names mean various things with us. Eunomius, and yield a different meaning in application to the transcendent power. For in all else, too, divine, is parted from human, nature by a large interval and * experience discloses no such thing here as great as that which is thought on in similitudes and suppositions. Like-
 355 wise also, even if there be a homonymity of things human with the eternal in what is signified by the names, nevertheless what are meant by the names are parted in proportion to the remoteness of the natures.

Did you not yourself write things similar to this, my good man, when correcting the polytheists? (Would it had been yourself you
 360 were correcting, since for the most part people are not so wont to test the fittingness of their own words as they are those of others!). I will record first the title of the ninth chapter of your book, which you appear to have written for the subversion of many, where you expressly said, in prefatory outline of what was to come after, the
 365 following: Concerning the fact that no one ought to make easy prey of little phrases and wrest them maliciously to suit his whim, but should take

349/357 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (PG 45, 441C; Jaeger I, pp. 204,27 – 205,9) 365/369 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 13)

the words of the common profession according to the intention of true religion and investigate what those who spoke them meant, distinguishing the times, the various subjects and the style of the spokesmen. Later on,
 370 too, you said, in the tenth chapter, the following: This is why I ask the friend of truth, not to be too readily overwhelmed and disturbed by this sort of quotation, but to be guided by the distinction in teaching I mentioned and investigate the holy fathers' thought. In the 13th chapter, too, you appear as saying the following: So, that concise summary
 375 has not somehow created a doubt for the right-minded but for those whose opinion is pre-empted and who adapt everything to it. Otherwise, were we to take such passages in a facile, literal way, we too should be obliged to profess three Gods. And a few lines later: We ought, then, to investigate the truly religious thoughts of the fathers, and thus will-
 380 ingly harmonize the words with them, and not, by as it were making them prisoners of war and mutilating them in combat, enslave them to our will.

Will not one say with justice that this writer's words are vain, when one sees them completely bereft of realities and clearly opposed to his actions? In any case, should anyone but assent to the
 385 * patristic ideas in the texts quoted by him, he will then see clearly whether the pedantry of his whole lying book does not completely

370/373 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 10 (n° 26); cf. supra, ch. 29, 251-254 374/378 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 13 (n° 33) 378/381 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 13 (n° 31); cf. supra, ch. 25, 297-300 383 cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 29, 5 (PG 36, 80B; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 184); cf. supra, ch. 31, 207

vanish when it is stripped of hypocrisy, so that not even the very
inexpert will be enticed by the veneer of piety. For how, if we pre-
serve the patristic meaning of 'participation', for example, can we
390) then in any way be in error and blasphemously say that it is by
participating in the substance and Godhead (a participation which
he himself says is *ab extra*) that each of the three hypostases
viewed on its own, is God, substance and nature?

435 אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא : אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא
 אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא : אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא :
 אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא : אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא :
 אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא : אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא :
 אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא : אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא :
 אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא : אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא :
 אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא : אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא :

AD

Line 435: אֲנִי אֶמְרָא דְּמַלְאָכָא. D: אֲנִי אֶמְרָא.

Chapter 36

Concerning the fact that not only by his sophism about participation but also by calling the hypostasis 'substance', 'nature' and, clearly also 'God' in a metaphorical sense, he is scheming covertly to prove that each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity is not God. Hence he alleged that each hypostasis is not God by its own concept with a view to concealing the impiety of his words, a proposition which is not at all evident to the majority of people but which for him signifies nothing other than that each hypostasis is not God at all, though, to deceive again, he calls each *prosopon* God in the full sense, in this also resembling the Arians who painstakingly alienate God the Word from the Godhead but hypocritically call him God in the full sense.

For it is this he endeavours to establish not only by 'participation' but also by his other impious and witless attacks, and we shall prove it by bringing forward his exact words.

He said, then, in his *Many-lined Letter*: But someone, moved by the preceding words, may perhaps argue: if the common meaning is named 'substance' in the full sense, obviously hypostasis has been called 'substance' in a metaphorical sense, but in this way the Father will not be God in the full sense, nor will the Son or Holy Ghost. We merely make

מסכת תענית

לפי זה נראה שהיא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
5 וכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
10 וכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :

15 והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :

— והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
20 — והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
— והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
— והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
— והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :
— והוא שכל המעשה הזה הוא כוונתו של ר' יוחנן :

AD flor. II from l. 19 to l. 24
Line 3: כוונתו, D: כוונתו
Line 11: לאל, D: לאל.
Line 21: וכוונתו, flor. II: וכוונתו

the impromptu rejoinder that it is pointless to say whether * what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate; for, according to Basil, 25 in the case of 'Father' and 'Son' the names do not indicate substances but are indicative of properties; but because the Godhead (in the full sense) and the substance (in the full sense) of the Godhead belong to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, each of them is in the full sense both God and substance, as being truly substantial. For what does not exist in the substance of 30 Godhead is called 'God' in a metaphorical sense: not truly or by nature but by participation in grace like us. Which is why when we say that the hypostasis participates in the substance we do not understand this in the same sense (far from it!) as when it is said about us that we are 'participants in' the divine nature but according to the concept befitting a substantial hypostasis. And later on: Thus, then, we should in patristic fashion 35 profess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for tritheism, because there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who enumerate *qua* God and call each of them 'God Himself', and do not recognize the *prosopon* in its own concept as one thing and God as another, cannot escape the charge of being tritheists. 40 And again, later on: I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them (by its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not the 45 Godhead itself, and likewise, by its participating in the nature and the substance, being nature and substance), added to this (because there is no

24/26 cf. Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 28 (PG 29, 637B; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 118)
 35/40 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* 41/48 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*

A. f. 135va

25 : ,מאבא לל ונא : מלל ונא ונא : מלל ונא ונא —
 ונא * ,מאבא ונא : ונא ,מ ונא ונא —
 ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
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 ,מ ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
 30 ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
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 ונא ,מאבא ונא ,מאבא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
 ונא : ,מאבא לל ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
 ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
 35 ,מאבא : ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
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 40 ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
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 ונא ,מאבא ,מאבא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
 : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —
 ונא ,מאבא ונא : ונא ונא ונא : ונא ונא ונא —

AD

Line 31: ונא, cf. infra, line 244 (ונא).
 Line 36: ונא, D: ונא.
 Line 49: ונא, cf. infra, ch. 37, line 23 (ונא + Irsp.) ונא. cf. ibid., line 24 (ונא).

enumeration of the Holy Trinity *qua* God), the statement you quoted, and said as I did.

To these utterly impudent and profane blasphemies shall be pro-
 50 claimed very seasonably and justly the words in which BASIL,
 truth's athlete, answered Eunomius', this redoubtable writer's
 master: Oh, the wicked and shameless blasphemy! Oh, the hidden guile
 and the manifold knavery! * He speaks precisely with the devil's own
 cunning, intending to prove the Only-begotten Son and God unlike God
 55 the Father. Observe how! For if Eunomius, by separating the Only-
 begotten Son and God from the Father's substance and Godhead,
 incurred such a just censure from the mouthpiece of the Holy
 Ghost, much more so has this writer. He has outstripped even dia-
 bological Eunomius the accursed, and outshone him in profane blas-
 60 phemies. He has done his best to deprive even the Father himself,
 besides the Son and the Holy Ghost, of Godhead, and drawn on
 himself from all God-fearing men, condemnations more numerous
 and more just.

But let us leave the condemnations to others aflame with divine
 65 zeal, and impassioned for the divine glory. For the present, let us
 understand how the excellent fellow intertwines these words with
 heretical cunning. But someone, moved by the preceding words, may
 perhaps argue: if the common meaning is named 'substance' in the full
 sense, obviously hypostasis has been called 'substance' in a metaphorical
 70 sense, and in this way the Father will not be God in the full sense, nor

52/55 Bas. *Caes., Adv. Eun.* 1, 16 (PG 29, 548D-549A; *SChr.*, vol. 299, pp. 228-230) 67/71 cf. *supra*, 17-21

will the Son or Holy Ghost. The objection has been duly stated, but he gives a very mischievous answer which we shall examine at once. For if the same thing is meant by 'Godhead', 'substance', and 'nature' in the case of the Holy Trinity (as even the writer
 75 himself testifies) and the hypostasis is called 'substance' and 'nature' in a metaphorical sense, then the hypostasis will be called 'God' too in a metaphorical sense. This is the sequence of thought in the objection.

But that he does name the hypostasis 'nature' in a metaphorical
 80 sense and, obviously too 'substance' (though he puts forward 'in the full sense' for deception and as bait, misinterpreting 'in the full sense', as will be proved), will be evident by quotation of his very words in the 12th chapter of his book. They are as follows: So, preserve the different meanings of the words and distinguish the senses, for
 85 in this way you will think correctly and not stray from what is fitting, recognizing what 'substance and nature' in the full sense is, and what, because it naturally is, has been called 'nature' in a metaphorical sense.

Let us observe closely * the sophistical theft: recognizing, he says, what 'substance and nature' in the full sense is, and what, because
 90 it naturally is, has been called 'nature' in a metaphorical sense. For he ought to have been consistent with himself and said 'what has been called s u b s t a n c e a n d nature in a metaphorical sense because it naturally is'. However he did not say this, but having cutting out 'substance', as more clearly blasphemous, he said only
 95 that hypostasis is called 'nature' in a metaphorical sense. This did not assist him in any way. For if the substance and common Godhead

73/75 cf. supra, ch. 35, 58 83/87 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 12 (n^o 28) 88/90 cf. supra, 85-87 95 cf. supra, 90

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AD flor. II from l. 79 to l. 85 and from l. 104 on

Line 81: ...
 Line 87: ...
 Line 89: ...
 Line 91: ...

comprehending the hypostases is in the full sense substance and nature, whereas a hypostasis is only called 'nature', according to his argument, in a metaphorical sense because it naturally is, it will be
 100 quite obvious that hypostasis is named both 'substance' and 'God' in a metaphorical sense, seeing that we make no difference in the Holy Trinity between 'Godhead', 'substance' and 'nature'. So how will the writer's atheism not be patent? For in what respect is Father or, again, Son or Holy Ghost to be distinguished from those
 105 deified by grace, if each of them is called God in a metaphorical sense?

However, he has just acknowledged each of the hypostases as God and substance in the full sense. For he said: We merely make the impromptu rejoinder that it is pointless to say whether what is not at
 110 all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate; for, according to Basil, in the case of 'Father' and 'Son' the names do not indicate substances but are indicative of properties; but because the Godhead (in the full sense) and the substance (in the full sense) of the Godhead belong to Father, Son
 115 and Holy Ghost, each of them is in the full sense both God and substance. Clearly by the very apology and answer this verbal innovator has been proved not only to be thinking of each of the three hypostases as not God in the full sense, but as not even 'God' in a metaphorical sense. So that he will surpass even the Arians' blasphemous insanity. For he says: it is pointless to say whether what is not at
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all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not * indicate.

The audacity of the madness is truly huge, but greater still the impudence of the audacity! For is there anybody, not totally bereft
 125 of right thinking, who will not be astonished to hear only just the sound of these words, even though the excellent fellow covers and conceals his denial, so far as he can, in a fog of murky words and thoughts? And that fittingly! For it is the usual way with such people (as has been proved before already, but we shall now
 130 learn), that whenever they want to utter any harsh blasphemies they use dark words and ideas, so that these may procure their going unnoticed. For CYRIL, that master of all plainly-expressed and manifold accuracy, said in the ninth book of the *Exposition of John's Gospel* as follows: These are that man's nonsensical words.
 135 But since we too must say, in opposition to what was said, something which can rebut this interpretation as fallacious, I will say this: that I do not quite understand what saying 'the Son, then, is contained substantially by the Father' is or means (for we must, I think, speak the truth), it has so much obscurity. For the thought is ashamed, as it were, and lacking frankness, shrinks back to avoid being understood. For just as *a malefactor hates light and will not approach light lest his deeds be rebutted*
 140 (according to our Saviour's words), so every utterance which discloses evil things loves to approach through murky notions and *will not approach the light of clarity lest its feeble contemptibility be rebutted*. This

134/144 Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, IX, 1 (PG 74, 217CD; Pusey, II, p. 434) 140/141 Ioh. 3:20 143/144 cf. supra, 141

145 is what the clever writer appears as having done here too. For perceiving that no one, as it were, could accept the naked absurdities of his sordid doctrines, he is ashamed and shrinks back, lacking the frankness to say clearly his abominable folly as he thinks it, and *will not approach the light of clarity lest the feeble contemptibility* * of his
 150 opinion *be rebutted*. Which is why, having set down the objection aptly retorted to him by others, and said: But someone, moved by the preceding words, may perhaps argue: if the common meaning is named 'substance' in the full sense, obviously hypostasis has been called 'substance' in a metaphorical sense, and in this way the Father will not be
 155 God in the full sense, nor will the Son or Holy Ghost, he was then unable to disclose his raving clearly. For he should have said, 'It is pointless to say whether a hypostasis who is not God or substance is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate'. Because it clearly opposes most people's view he
 160 now forebore to say it, but wrote, in a very covert way, as follows: it is pointless to say whether what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate. Thus he concealed clear evidence of the blasphemy: by inserting into his answer the phrase in its own concept
 165 and again, indicative, he injected a huge murkiness into what he said; because most people will not easily grasp his opinion from these words. For this reason too we must demonstrate from his writings what he meant by these words: so that everybody may know that by saying that the Father's hypostasis, e.g., or the Son's

147/150 cf. supra, 139-140 et 143-144 151/155 cf. supra, 67-71
 161/163 cf. supra, 120-122 164/165 cf. supra, 161-162

170 or Holy Ghost's is not in its own concept indicative of Godhead, he means nothing else but that each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity is not God at all. And so let us wisely recollect these words of his amongst those previously set down. For he said there: This was added after it had been shown what 'property' (called 'hypostasis'

175 when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance - I mean, 'God, substance and nature'. So he meant the same thing by 'is' and 'indicates', for having said This was added after it had been shown what

180 * 'property' (called 'hypostasis when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, he added so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance: God, substance and nature.

It has thus been shown that a property in its own concept or a hypostasis, in its own concept and primarily, is neither God nor substance nor nature. But because he has thrown in the phrase in its own concept to deceive and to shroud his unsound and abominable opinion, it will be appropriate to show again by his words what he means by in its own concept. He said, then, in the fourth chapter of

190 his book: But let us observe that he said 'the concept of the hypostases', meaning to indicate the hypostases themselves. I say this, because of those who misinterpret the fathers' words when they say that the Holy Trinity is one in the concept of the substance. For they then suppose that a posterior concept is entering theology. Again in the eighth chapter

195 he wrote the following about the holy fathers: But their saying 'in

170 cf. supra, 164-165 173/178 cf. supra, ch. 35, 153-158 179/181 et
 181/183 cf. supra, 173-178 184/187 et 189 cf. supra, 180-181 190/194
 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 4 (n° 5) 195/209 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 8
 (n° 10)

the concept of the nature', is the same as their saying 'in nature'. For by 'concept', as has been said, they are characterizing the nature, as Gregory of Nyssa has shown by saying 'for the concept of "man" characterizes a man and that of "horse" a horse'. Likewise Basil too, in the *Letter to*
 200 *Terentius*, said that the concept of the substance is Godhead, as follows: 'There too the concept of the substance is common, like goodness, Godhead or whatever else is conceived of'. And over and over again you will find Saint Severus calling the substance itself the 'concept of the substance'. But also when they say 'the concept of the hypostases' they are
 205 speaking of the hypostases themselves. But why should you quote many instances? John the Grammarian, who became the leader of this heresy, is to be seen indicating this by saying: 'For what has the concept of "man" is nothing else but a man, and what has the concept of "horse" is likewise a horse, and likewise of everything'.

210 He said similar things in the 13th chapter about Basil the Great, alleging the following; For he did not here teach a mere concept, but said, as we showed earlier, that the concept of substance is * the substance itself. So, with a similar meaning this good fellow said: It is
 215 pointless to say whether what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate i.e. it is pointless to say whether a hypostasis which is not God, substance or nature, is either in a full sense or in a metaphorical sense what it is not.

198/199 cf. Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 5 (PG 45, 749A et 749C; Jaeger II, pp. 169, 16-18 et 170, 16-18) 201/202 Bas. Caes., *Ep. 214*, 4 (PG 32, 789B; Courtonne, II, p. 205) 203/204 Sev. Ant., loco non reperto 207/209 Ioh. Gramm. (= Philopon.), loco non reperto 211/213 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 13 (n° 34); Basilii locum non invenimus 213/216 cf. supra, 161-163

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 f. 137ra

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AD

Line 217: D:
 Line 219: At the top of fol. 111v D reads as follows:
 Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.
 Line 226: D:
 Line 235: cf. supra, line 118 (. . . .).

But let us investigate the deceit and hypocrisy of the argument.
220 For he says: But because the Godhead (in the full sense) and the substance (in the full sense) of the Godhead belong to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, each of them is also in the full sense both God and substance, as being truly substantial. So what he is saying is as follows: what each of the hypostases of the Godhead is, is not God or substance, but
225 because the Godhead in the full sense is the Father's, the Son's and the Holy Ghost's, each of them is in the full sense God and substance; or, if we are to say it more clearly, what is not God by nature, is God in the full sense because of him who is God in the full sense and truly. What could be more absurd or more godless
230 than this extraordinary utterance? However, we should not wonder so much, when this author's masters, the Arians I mean, for their part, while clearly depriving the Only-begotten of Godhead, did not forbear to name him 'God' in the full sense to deceive the multitude. Listen to GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN, who aims at them in
235 the *First Oration on the Son*. He said the following: But they, as if fearful of not stirring up everything against the Truth, profess that the Son is God (whenever they are compelled to do so by word and testimonies) but by homonymity and only by participation in an appellation. But when we retort to them 'What, then? Is the Son not God in the full sense,
240 in the way that a picture is not the living thing? How then is he God, if he is not God in the full sense?' They say, 'Yes, what is to prevent these

220/223 cf. supra, 26-29 235/244 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 29, 13-14 (PG 36, 92AB; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 204)

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AD

Line 241: אֲחֵיכֶם, D: אֲחֵיכֶם.
 Line 244: אֶל, cf. supra, line 31 (אֶל).
 Line 256: אֲחֵיכֶם, D: אֲחֵיכֶם.
 Line 257: אֶל, D: אֶל.
 Line 267: אֲחֵיכֶם, D: אֲחֵיכֶם.

being homonyms * as well as both of them being said in the full sense?'
 And they will offer us dog (dry-land and marine) which are homonyms
 and said in the full sense. And a few lines later: So that the man de-
 245 picted and the living man come closer to your 'Godhead' than the dogs of
 your illustration. Or allow to both an equality of the natures in honour
 just as you allow a participation in appellation, even if you are introduc-
 ing the natures as different, and you have destroyed those 'dogs' of yours
 which you discovered in your encounter with inequality.

250 The wise listener will observe that naming the Son 'God in the
 full sense' is of no avail to those who do not profess that he is God
 in reality and in truth; indeed, rather, the argument convicts them
 of calling him 'God' in the same way as they are wont to call a
 picture 'a man'. Therefore it would be fitting for the clever author
 255 too, who supposes we ought to think that each of the hypostases of
 the Godhead is not primarily (which is the same as saying 'not
 truly') God, not to call each hypostasis 'God in the full sense and
 truly' but, rather, metaphorically or by participation, from grace,
 just like certain created beings, if he deigns even to bestow this
 260 much on him.

244/249 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 29, 14 (*PG* 36, 92D-93A; *SChr.*, vol. 250,
 p. 206) 256 cf. *supra*, 176-177

Chapter 37

Concerning the fact that insatiable in his blasphemy against God he says that it is polytheistic to profess each prosopon of the Holy Trinity as God Himself, indicating thereby also that he does
5 not think of each hypostasis of the Holy Trinity as in the full sense and truly God but rather in a metaphorical sense; and he is clearly refuted since the divinely inspired masters of mysteries expressly proclaim the Son and the Holy Ghost as God himself in their various writings.

10 That it is, rather, according to this reasoning that he recognizes the Father, and again the Son, and likewise the Holy Ghost as God, and not in the full sense and truly, is accurately indicated by his subsequent words. For he says: Thus, then, we should in patristic fashion profess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for
15 tritheism, because there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who enumerate *qua* God * and call each of them 'God Himself', and do not recognize the prosopon in its own concept as one thing and God as another, cannot escape the charge of being tritheists; and again: I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think
20 the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them, by

13/19 cf. supra, ch. 36, 35-40

19/23 cf. supra, ch. 36, 41-45

מגלת אהרן

וכל העולה עליו ידוע כן : וכן ידוע כי כל
 אדם אשר יעלה : ויבשרו , ויבשרו : וכל
 עליו ידוע כן : ויבשרו [אח] : ויבשרו [אח] :
 5 אדם ידוע כן : ויבשרו [אח] : ויבשרו [אח] :
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A. f. 137va

AD

Line 7: ויבשרו, D om.
 Line 16: ויבשרו, D: ויבשרו.
 Line 21: ויבשרו, D: , ויבשרו.
 Line 23: ויבשרו, cf. supra, ch. 36, line 49 (trsp. + o).
 Line 24: ויבשרו, cf. ibid. (כ).

its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not the Godhead itself.

Oh what heretical cunning and how much there is of it! For one
25 must truly marvel at how this sophist schemes in various ways,
seemingly fighting falsehood but really ranging his whole army in
most violent opposition to truth. For having whetted his impudent,
God-fighting tongue with profane blasphemies and let fly with it
ruthlessly against the pillars of the Church, he hid himself in a
30 mask of hypocrisy, and, in order to make atheism acceptable by a
veneer of fiction, pretended that he was engaged in a war with the
tritheists. For he says: Thus, then, we should in patristic fashion pro-
fess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for tritheism, be-
cause there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost.
35 But those who enumerate *qua* God and call each of them 'God Himself',
and do not recognize the *prosopon* in its own concept as one thing and
God as another, cannot escape the charge of being tritheists.

You will note how, by maliciously combining the blighted doc-
trines of polytheistic error with true religion, he has done his best
40 completely to expell truth, and, like a bare-faced miscreant, has ut-
tered the blasphemy that each of the hypostases of the Trinity is
not God in the full sense. What, you presumptuous fellow! You
are saying that those who make each of the three *prosopa*, viewed

on its own, 'God Himself', and enumerate *qua* God cannot escape the
 45 charge of polytheism. Have you no sense of what you utter against
 the Most High, * and what accusations you load upon the very men
 you even falsely name 'fathers', who, since they too are opposing
 your godless opinions and those of your ilk, taught us to profess
 now the Holy Ghost as 'Lord Himself' and 'God Himself', now
 50 the Son and Word and indisputably the Father too as 'God Him-
 self', yet do not divide or enumerate *qua* God or *qua* Lord, nor yet
 again, as your new-fangled insanity desires, suppose that the Fa-
 ther is 'God' or 'Lord', (and likewise the Son, 'God' or 'Lord',
 and similarly indeed the Holy Ghost 'God' or 'Lord') by participa-
 55 tion by grace, but who, rather, believe and preach each of those
 enumerated as in the full sense, and, substantially, God and Lord?

Listen to GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN who says in the *Oration on
 the Holy Ghost*: He is called 'Spirit of God', 'Spirit of Christ', 'Mind of
 Christ', 'Spirit of the Lord', 'Lord Himself', 'Spirit of adoption, of truth, of
 60 liberty'. And SAINT EPIPHANIUS too in the confession at the end of
 the seventh volume of the third book *Against the Heresies* (whose
 beginning is: The crooked counsels' multi-faceted, manifold and much-
 riven) appears as saying: The passible, impassible; and the impassible
 ever remains. The divine, with body and soul and complete 'inmaning',
 65 is God Himself. Having ascended into heaven he sat down in glory at the

44/45 cf. supra, 35 et 37 58/60 Greg. Naz., *Or. 31*, 29 (PG 36, 165BC;
SChr., vol. 250, p. 334) 58 cf. I Cor. 2:11; Rom. 8:9 58/59 cf. I Cor.
 2:16 59 cf. Sap. 1:7; Is. 61:1 cf. II Cor. 3:17 cf. Rom. 8:15 cf.
 Ioh. 14:17, 15:26 59/60 cf. II Cor. 3:17 63/67 Epiph. Const., *Panar.*, De
 fide (PG 42, 817AB; Holl, III, p. 518, 23-26) 65/66 cf. Marc. 16:19; *Symb.*
Constantinop., 11 (ed. Dossetti, p. 248)

Father's right hand, without discarding the sacred body but having united it to the spiritual in the fulness of the one Godhead. What will the fathers' advocate say? Will you set these, too, down as polytheists, as if they had said 'three Lords and three Gods', because the former called the Holy Ghost, the latter the Only-begotten, 'God Himself'? Or will you forbear to say that clearly because it would be unacceptable to the majority of people, yet still reject the statements because, as you say, these are isolated ones? In that case, listen to the guidance wise CYRIL, the precise weigher of doctrines, gives on the point, so that you may plot some other way perhaps to nullify his divinely inspired teaching. * He wrote, then, in the eighth book of the *Exposition of John's Gospel* as follows: For believers have the honour of fellowship with God through Christ, and divine Paul will champion us by his writing as follows, *God was, in Christ, reconciling the world to himself*. For an uneducated hearer of divinely-inspired Scripture is not to confuse the reading, by supposing that God is in Christ, or think the Spirit-clad Paul is saying this (the language, in fact, is not very precise), for Christ is God Himself by nature and not a God-clad man like one of the prophets, and through him we have been reconciled to God the Father by his *abolishing* the old *enmity* (I mean the enmity through sin and through our *worshipping creature instead of creator*); but the mode of reconciliation, the faith which justifies when the Son receives it as applied to himself, he always refers to God the Father too, for the Godhead in both is one. Again he teaches the same things in the 11th book of the same treatise, as follows: For though he asked, as it were, of God the Father that a preservation (meaning that of

78/89 Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, VIII, fragm. graece non servatum, syriace autem partim editum a Pusey, II, pp. 332-333 79/80 II Cor. 5:19 85 cf. Eph. 2:14-16 86/87 cf. Rom. 1:25 90/104 Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, XI, 9 (PG 74, 519-520C; Pusey, II, pp. 700-701) 90/92 cf. Ioh. 17:11-12

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Line 82: ...
 Line 83: ...
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 Line 106: ...

the holy disciples) be effected, he says that he has himself already brought about this very thing: revealing himself as equal in power and equal in agency to his begetter, indeed, rather, that he is himself the hypostatic power of his begetter. For how can he who appears as able to do the same as he who is and is professed by nature God, not be thought of as having in him, in everything and in all respects, both equality in power and identity in nature? And how can he who preserves as God, who has been crowned fitly and divinely both with the name of God and with the glory deriving from achievements which befit the appellation, appear a foreigner by race or different in nature but not, rather, the reality Itself, whatsoever God is by nature? For no entity can perform works which belong peculiarly to God unless it is substantially the thing we suppose God is. In the first book *Against Diodore and Theodore* also (its beginning is: Nothing has prior place to truth) he instructs us, by saying the following: * My redoubtable fellow, you have correctly cast out the sacrileges of the confounders or confusers of substances by making of the one who created the prophets (for he says *I have multiplied visions*), a prophet who excels the rest in quantity of grace, of the bestower of the Holy Ghost one who is energized by the Holy Ghost, of him *in whom are*

105/123 Cyr. Alex., *Contra Diodor. et Theodor.*, lib. I, initium et hucusque incognitum fragm. 108 Osee 12:10 110/111 Col. 2:3

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- Line 108:, D:
- Line 111:, D om., D:
- Line 113:, D:
- Line 115:, D:
- Line 116:, D: (.).
- Line 118:, D:
- Line 119:, D:
- Line 121:, D:
- Line 124:, D:
- Line 126:, D:
- Line 128:, D:

all the treasures of wisdom and the hidden things of knowledge, one who needs someone else's wisdom; for the man who means to think correctly when anyone names him who is of David's stock, will immediately understand the Word who sprang from God the Father, who was incarnate and
 115 *made in our likeness. But as for you, you say that he was made the Word's habitation but is higher than the holy prophets and exists in more exalted condition, not that he is 'God from God' even though he became flesh, higher than things human by incomparable distinctions. But also you say that when he was formed the Word was nigh him, crowning him*
 120 *with special grace and establishing in him his own wisdom and glory; and so the Only-begotten Word of God will become a participant in God and will not be thought of as the reality Itself, God, because he willed to assume our likeness and be made of divine David's stock.*

This is the teaching the doctor gave us about the Only-begotten.
 125 But let us, please, see what the herald of truth thought about the Holy Ghost. He wrote, then, in the 34th chapter of the *Thesaurus*, as follows: Discoursing about Christ our Saviour he said, *In whom we too, having heard the word of truth, the gospel of our salvation, by believing in which you have been sealed in the Holy Spirit of promise who*
 130 *is the pledge of our heritage. If, by being sealed in the Holy Ghost, we are formed anew in relation to God, how can the one whereby the image of the divine substance is marked in us and the indications of the uncreated nature abide in us, be a creature? For not like a painter does the*

113 cf. Rom. 1:3 117 *Symb. Nic.*, 4 (ed. Dossetti, p. 228) 117/118 cf. Ioh. 1:14 127/141 Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. XXXIV (PG 75, 609C-612A) 127/130 Eph. 1:13-14

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Line 129: וְהִי וְהִי, D: וְהִי וְהִי.
 Line 139: וְהִי וְהִי, D om.
 Line 140: וְהִי וְהִי, D: וְהִי וְהִי.
 Line 142: וְהִי וְהִי, D: וְהִי וְהִי.
 Line 144: וְהִי וְהִי, D: וְהִי וְהִי.
 Line 147: וְהִי וְהִי, A: וְהִי וְהִי.

135 Spirit delineate in us the Godhead's substance, being himself something
 other than it, nor does he bring us to the likeness of God in this way; but
 being God Himself and proceeding from God, he is invisibly imprinted
 like a stamp, as it were on the wax tablet of his recipients' hearts, * delin-
 eating the nature afresh into the archetypal beauty through participation
 and likeness to him and again disclosing man in the image of God. So
 140 how can he, by whom nature is fashioned anew in relation to God by its
 being made a partaker of God, be a creature?

You will understand, my good fellow, that though wicked her-
 etics and enemies venture, by various vicious reasonings, to ex-
 clude the Son and Holy Ghost from the Father's Godhead, the
 145 wondrous pillar of the Church rebuked such impiety and con-
 firmed that the Son is God Himself (and likewise the Holy Ghost
 is too), proving that each of the three hypostases is and is said to
 be 'God', not as you suppose by participation or by grace, but,
 rather, by nature and in the full sense. For, he says, an uneducated
 150 hearer of divinely-inspired Scripture is not to confuse the reading, by sup-
 posing that God is in Christ, or think the Spirit-clad Paul is saying this
 (the language, in fact, is not very precise) for Christ is God Himself by
 nature and not a God-clad man like one of the prophets.

Let us observe that the master of mysteries contradicted those
 155 who make Christ not truly God but a God-clad man, and that he
 called Christ God Himself. It is obvious then that our author
 is putting forward 'participation' for denial of each of the three

hypostases' being 'God' in the full sense and truly, and is making the blasphemous statement that neither Father, Son, nor Holy Ghost
 160 is God Himself. For he says: This was added after it had been shown what 'property' (called 'hypostasis' when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance - I mean, 'God, substance and nature'. And again: Thus, then,
 165 we should in patristic fashion profess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for tritheism, because there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who enumerate *qua* God * and call each of them 'God Himself', and do not recognize the prosopon in its own concept as one thing and God as another, cannot escape the charge
 170 of being tritheists. In addition to this he said again: I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them, by its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not the Godhead itself.

175 Is it not clear that the pleasant fellow is at war with the fathers' thoughts when he makes tritheism a pretext for falsely naming each of the three hypostases 'God' by participation, and not God 'Himself' i.e. in the full sense and truly? Hear what the sacred herald says: For how can he who appears as able to do the same as he
 180 who is and is professed by nature God, not be thought of as having in him, in everything and in all respects, both equality in power and identity in nature? And how can he who preserves as God, who has been crowned fitly and divinely both with the name of God and with the glory deriving from achievements which befit the appellation, appear a foreigner by race

180 רחוקה, מ: רחוקה רחוקה מן המלך
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Line 186: רחוקה רחוקה, cf. infra, ch. 39, line 71 (רחוקה רחוקה).
 Line 206: רחוקה, D om. רחוקה, D: רחוקה.

185 or different in nature but not, rather, the reality Itself, whatsoever God is
 by nature? And again: But as for you, you say that he was made the
 Word's habitation but is higher than the holy prophets and exists in more
 exalted condition, not that he is 'God from God' even though *he became*
flesh, higher than things human by incomparable distinctions. But also
 190 you say that when he was formed the Word was nigh him, crowning him
 with special grace and establishing in him his own wisdom and glory;
 and so the Only-begotten Word of God will become a participant in God
 and will not be thought of as the reality Itself, God.

So, the doctor said that 'being God Himself' befits him who is
 195 God by nature whereas 'by grace' befits him who is God by par-
 ticipation. How, then, will not this presumptuous writer, by pro-
 fessing each of the three hypostases as God by participation and
 not as 'God Himself', be entirely convicted * of rejecting 'by na-
 ture' and asserting 'by grace'? In that case, it may aptly be said to
 200 him too, 'My redoubtable fellow, you have correctly cast out the poly-
 theists' sacrileges, and eradicated (as you suppose) heathen crazy-
 ness, not by profession of orthodox doctrines but by total atheism'.

But let us listen to the rest of the doctor's words too. For he
 said, as previously set down, of the Holy Ghost: For not like a
 205 painter does the Spirit delineate in us the Godhead's substance, being

186/193 cf. *supra*, 115-122
 186/193 cf. *supra*, 115-122

200/201 cf. *supra*, 106-107

204/212 cf. *su-*

pra, 133-141

210 < פארא דאמאל דאמאל : דאמאל דאמאל, דאמאל
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 215 < דאמאל דאמאל, דאמאל דאמאל דאמאל דאמאל : דאמאל דאמאל
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f. 139ra

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Line 210: דאמאל, דאמאל, D: דאמאל.
 Line 211: דאמאל, D: דאמאל.
 Line 212: דאמאל, cf. supra, line 116 (דאמאל).
 Line 219: דאמאל. D om.
 Line 220: דאמאל, D: דאמאל.
 Line 221: דאמאל, D: דאמאל.

himself something other than it, nor does he bring us to the likeness of God in this way: but being God Himself and proceeding from God, he is invisibly imprinted like a stamp, as it were on the wax tablet of his recipients' hearts, delineating the nature afresh into the archetypal beauty through participation and likeness to him and again disclosing man in the image of God. So how can he, by whom nature is fashioned anew in relation to God by its being made a partaker of God, be a creature? So if the Holy Ghost, as being not other than the divine substance but being God Himself and proceeding from God, delineates the nature afresh into the archetypal beauty through participation and likeness to him and discloses man in the image of God, how, if he be other than the divine substance and not God Himself (in accordance with the new blasphemers) will he not necessarily be too weak to bring about such a thing at all? It is not the pagan intoxication of the polytheists to profess each of the three hypostases seen on its own as God Himself (i.e. 'in the full sense and truly') and, again, to think of one Godhead, substance and nature when the three are considered along with one another: this is the Church's patristic and precise view. But it is peculiar to this author's nonsense to think of the Father or the Son or again the Holy Ghost, seen on his own, not as God Himself (which is the same as saying 'in the full sense and truly') but to name them somehow or other 'God', through their participating in what he calls 'the Godhead Itself in the full sense'.

In addition to this, we ought * to observe how, on the point proposed, sound Cyril's peer, SEVERUS, follows him, and teaches us the same things. He said, then, in the 67th *Cathedral Sermon*, 'On

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AD
 Line 235: , מוהר , A: , מוהר ,.
 Line 244: רשעו רשעו , D: רשעו רשעו .
 Line 262: רשעו רשעו , D: רשעו רשעו .

the Mother of God': But earlier, where the spirit of slavery was, there was a smoking mountain which only received the appearance of the Lord's glory as a burning fire, and Moses was the ministering servant; 235 whereas here, where the grace of adopted sonship is, there is the Virgin, a spiritual mountain, which blazes with purity and the indwelling of the Spirit: not the appearance of God's glory but God Himself, the *Son, Word, Stamp and Image of the Father's hypostasis*. He does not tread merely on the top of the mountain but, without change he is incarnate and 240 born of it; for *the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us*. He wrote similar things too in his *Defence of the 226th chapter of his Philalethes*: Therefore he was thought by his beholders to grow and be deified, though being God Himself and Wisdom Itself by nature, whereas it is we who are truly deified and grow in him. But also in the *Letter to* 245 *Victor the presbyter* (whose beginning is: It was with much pleasure that I received your God-loving wisdom's letter) he wrote as follows: And these things will be apparent on a first and, one may say, superficial interpretation, for I did not even propose to aim at grasping the profound meaning of the passage. But now the previous words of Job's discourse 250 seem to me to be leading to the higher meaning under discussion and to be proving more clearly that we ought to understand the statement as about the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father and is Life Itself and God, who exists eternally with Father and Son.

Will you include this God-clad father too, my good fellow, in 255 the polytheists? We are very glad to know you even put him in the

232/240 Sev. Ant., *Hom. cath.* 67 (PO 8, p. 353, 1-8 [1-10]) 233/234 cf. Ex. 19:16 - 20:21 237 cf. Marc. 1:1; Ioh. 1:18; etc. 238 cf. Ioh. 1:1 et 14 cf. Hebr. 1:3 cf. II Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15 240 Ioh. 1:14 242/244 Sev. Ant., *Apol. Philal.*, apol. cap. 226, fragm. hucusque incognitum 245/246 et 247/253 Sev. Ant., *Ep. ad Victorem* hucusque incognita, initium et fragm.

fathers' company, despite your charges and ludicrous cavils. He too said in plain terms, as we have learned, that the Son and Word, and the Holy Ghost, is 'God Himself'. For he wrote: Whereas here, where the grace of adopted sonship is, there is the Virgin, a spiritual
 260 mountain, which blazes with purity and the indwelling of the Spirit; not the appearance of God's glory but God Himself, the *Son, Word, Stamp* and *Image of the Father's hypostasis*. And again: * Therefore he was thought by his beholders to grow and be deified, though being God Himself and Wisdom Itself by nature, whereas it is we who are truly deified
 265 and grow in him.

Let us observe how this wise doctor too, recognizing that the Son is, in the full sense and truly, God, and, contrasting the fact with those who are deified by grace, said that he is God Himself. Do not suppose, then, cunning fellow, that you can deceive by
 270 your rejection of the thought of each of the three hypostases' being 'God Himself', and importation of participation by grace (if you count the hypostases you put forward worthy even of this participation!), although you deceptively appease true religion by repeating 'natural participation'! But now, the doctor says again, the
 275 previous words of Job's discourse seem to me to be leading to the higher meaning under discussion and to be proving more clearly that we ought to understand the statement as about the Spirit of truth who proceeds from the Father and is Life Itself and God, who exists eternally with Father and Son.

280 What, then, will the admirable fellow do? Will he be persuaded
to treat his absurd blather with contempt and to recognize and
think that each of the three hypostases is not God by participation
but God Himself i.e. by nature and truly? Or will he spurn the
truth of patristic teachings with his usual boldness and arrogance
285 and impudently attempt to champion his nonsense again?

320 *Handwritten text in a non-Latin script, likely Indic, arranged in approximately 10 lines. The text is partially obscured by a faint horizontal line.*

Refutation of other falsifications by this agent of sacrilege whereby are clearly shown the impudence of his audacity and the great evil of his absurd teachings, which fact, because of its
5 *unacceptability to the majority, he seeks to conceal and enters upon unlawful ventures, the examination of some of which will clearly prove the falsifications on the part of this profane man.*

None the less, I know that here again, too, readers will meet with a terrible shock when they observe this utterly audacious au-
10 thor's corruptions * and presumptuous desecrations of things divine. For even at the outset, ignoring the outcome of his actions, indeed disregarding all who are Christians (to speak more truly perhaps, the whole human race), he wrote whatever his insane impiety counselled him. But after sending us his book and his *Many-lined*
15 *Apology* too; after failing in his endeavour and clearly recognizing that the profane blasphemies which he had produced were thoroughly rebutted; and after the God-clad fathers' words, which made him see more clearly his opposition to the doctors in the matters now under discussion, had been made more public, he did
20 not think it necessary to quit his wicked ways, choose the knowledge of truth with a humble mind instead of error, and bow his neck beneath the fathers' yoke. No, preferring the Devil's ancient pride, he employed the ways of tyranny; and, endeavouring, by

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A. f. 139vb

AD

Line 15: הוה , D: הוה .
Line 18: הוה , D: הוה .
Line 23: הוה , D: הוה .
Lines 24-25: הוה ואלההוה ואלההוה, D: הוה ואלההוה ואלההוה.

wily deception to procure himself partners in perdition, he corrupted with audacious and falsifying hand almost all those writings of his which he thought he would be unable to misinterpret presumptuously and accommodate to the fathers' words. In this way, he thought he had avoided clear opposition to the fathers.

We have indeed already clearly demonstrated in the foregoing, his various despoliations; but now, again, in the passages under examination we shall try to reveal his thefts and falsifications as briefly as we can.

We are to know, then, that embracing the Libyan's Jewish opinions and really thinking of one and only one hypostasis of the Godhead, to which hypostasis he even attributes the names and properties of the hypostases, he names it, for the deception of his hearers, 'the common substance', and makes the names and properties 'hypostases'. Hence he says he is a great man for attempting to prove not only the one substance of the Godhead other than the three hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but also that each of the hypostases is not in the full sense and truly God, substance and nature * (otherwise, he says, there will be three Gods, three substances and three natures) but in a metaphorical sense, rather; and he says that because each is seen in the substance in its full sense, and participates somehow or other in it, it can be called 'God, substance and nature'.

With this in mind, the inventor of a new-fangled and spurious belief (rather, indeed *unbelief*) wrote in the 12th chapter of his

30 וְכִי תִפְתָּח אֶת-עֵינַיִךָ וְרָאִיתָ אֶת-אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-פִּיךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-לִבְּךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אָזְנוֹךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-יָדְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-רַגְלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ

35 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ

40 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 45 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ

f. 140ra

50 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ
 וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ

AD

Line 29: וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶת-אֶתְמוֹלְךָ, D: וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶתְמוֹלְךָ.
 Line 36: וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶתְמוֹלְךָ, D: וְלֹא תִפְתָּח אֶתְמוֹלְךָ.

book: Eunomius when uttering such insanities (indeed, rather, blasphemies according to what Saint Cyril too says in the *Exposition of John's Gospel*), does not speak of distinction between substance and hypostasis but says that God the Word himself, both substance and hypostasis, is nought but the Father's word. However, had wise Cyril been asked about the difference between the Word's hypostasis and his substance, he would have answered that they are mutually different and not the same. He would have given the present questioner a very similar answer to the one he gave Hermias, who asked 'For is substance one thing and hypostasis another?', i.e. 'yes', for he was very aware of the difference between substance and hypostasis. Eunomius, on the contrary, would have highly prized an admission from Cyril that the Word, and the Father likewise, is the substance itself, for he often sought it without obtaining it. For from Cyril's willingness to understand the Word as the substance itself he could have inferred an absurdity for Christians, by saying 'if the natural Word immanent in God the Father is the Son, and is consubstantial with his begetter, what is to prevent the Father's being and being called "Word"?' For the impious fellow's argument will be established, if we understand hypostasis as the substance itself in the way that current proponents of such devices desire. And in the 15th chapter he wrote: 'For unless', they say, 'we call the ingenerate and the generate (i.e. Father and Son), "substances" and "natures" (for we cannot apply any other meaningful terms to God), we shall be found to be honouring God not by what he is but by what he is not, fashioning him by mere words into what

49/68 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 12 (n° 29) 57/58 Cyr. Alex., *De SS. Trin. Dial. I* (PG 75, 700A; *SChr.*, vol. 231, p. 196) 63/66 Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, I, 4 (PG 73, 56D; Pusey, I, p. 47) 69/77 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 15 (n° 39)

— חַי וְחַיִּים וְחַיִּים חַיִּים : בַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה יִשְׁמַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 — מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 55 — לֵב חַיִּים וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — חַיִּים וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 60 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — חַיִּים וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 65 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — חַיִּים וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 70 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — חַיִּים וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 75 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — חַיִּים וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי
 — מִן הַיָּם וְיִשְׁמַח מִן הַבְּרִיאָה : אֲנִי

AD

Line 52: חַיִּים, D: חַיִּים.

Line 71: וְיִשְׁמַח, D: וְיִשְׁמַח.

Line 75: חַיִּים, D: חַיִּים. חַיִּים, D: חַיִּים.

Line 76: חַיִּים, D: חַיִּים.

* does not exist; therefore "Father" is the substance itself and likewise "Son" is the substance itself and they are not certain realities seen as belonging with the substance'. But if it is possible for them to be realities without being substances, in vain do they execrate the fathers when they accuse them of professing the faith in mere words. But in his *Many-lined Letter* he said the following, too: We do not, then, agree with those who dissent from the teaching set down earlier, and who, in return, venture to persuade us of the opposite: that a hypostasis does not participate in the substance but is the substance itself, in accordance with the blatherings of the Eunomians. Again, much later: And thus, indeed, having learned that *prosopon* is one thing, and nature another, we profess one nature seen in three *prosopa* and acknowledge three *prosopa* in one nature, naming each *prosopon* 'nature', not because it is the nature itself (for in this way there would be no 'one thing' and 'another') but because they belong to one nature, and clearly, fully participate in it. And again: Thus, then, we should in patristic fashion profess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for tritheism, because there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who enumerate *qua* God and call each of them 'God Himself', and do not recognize the *prosopon* in its own concept as one thing and God as another, cannot

78/82 et 82/87 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*
supra, ch. 37, 13-19

88/93 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*; cf.

80 — f. 140rb
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 85 —
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AD

Line 81: At the top of fol. 121v D reads as follows: *ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܢܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܪܝܢܘܢ*. *Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.*

Line 86: *ܐܠܐ*, A: *ܐܠܐ* (a added in red by a different hand). *ܡܪܝܢܘܢ*

D: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢ*.

Line 90: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*, D: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*.

Line 91: *ܐܠܐ*, D: *ܐܠܐ*.

Line 92: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*, D: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*.

Line 93: *ܐܠܐ*, D: *ܐܠܐ*, cf. etiam infra, line 132 (*ܐܠܐ*).

Line 96: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*, D: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*.

Line 97: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*, D: *ܡܪܝܢܘܢܐܘܢܐ*.

escape the charge of being tritheists. And again: I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has
95 been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them (by its participating fully in the substance being God and not the Godhead itself, and likewise, by its participating in the nature and the substance being nature and substance), added to this (because there is no enumeration of the Holy Trinity *qua* God) the statement
100 you quoted, and said as I did.

He wrote this before his blasphemy had been refuted: the blasphemy (as we have already said) of not professing each of the three hypostases of the Godhead as * in the full sense and truly 'God, substance and nature' (for this is, as we have learned, the
105 meaning for the fathers of 'God Himself'), but only the hypostasis which he understands as 'substance'. But these proud words (rather, indeed, mad words) having become known, the absurd doctrines publicized everywhere, and the patristic statements (which, in plain terms and expressly, proclaim the Only-begotten,
110 and, again, the Holy Ghost, 'God Himself'), more lucidly exposed, the wretch falsified everything in the first version which does not

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 110 — — — — —
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 120 — — — — —
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f. 140va

AD

- Line 107: $\text{R} \text{S} \text{S} \text{R} \text{S}$, cf. supra, ch. 37, line 25 ($\text{R} \text{S} \text{S} \text{R} \text{S}$), as infra. line 143.
- Line 109: $\text{R} \text{S} \text{S} \text{R} \text{S} \text{R} \text{S}$, D: $\text{R} \text{S} \text{S} \text{R} \text{S} \text{R}$.
- Line 113: S^2 , D om.
- Line 116: At the top of fol. 140v A reads as follows: $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$ *Of the patriarch St. Peter against Damian.*
- Line 117: $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$, D: $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$.
- Line 118: $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$, D: $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$.
- Line 122: $\text{R} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$, D: $\text{R} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$.
- Line 124: $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$, D: $\text{S} \text{S} \text{S} \text{S}$.

admit of his sophisms and misinterpretations but clearly and nakedly rebuts his opposition to the fathers, on account of his fear of scandal and reproach by the majority, supposing, as he did, that by such wicked attempts, fit only for the servile, he would prevail over the truth. For having (as previously set down) first said: And thus, indeed, having learned that prosopon is one thing, and nature another, we profess one nature seen in three prosopa and acknowledge three prosopa in one nature, naming each prosopon 'nature', not because it is the nature itself (for in this way there would be no 'one thing' and 'another') but because they belong to one nature, and clearly, fully participate in it, he later feared everybody's condemnation and annexed to what he had said the words which conceal his opinion: Naming each prosopon 'nature', not because it is the nature itself in the common signification (for in this way there would be no 'one thing' and 'another'). And again, having, to begin with, written: I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them, by its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not the Godhead itself, he inserted into the previous passage another addition: But that we use the common name with each of them, by its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not the whole Godhead itself.

However, no intelligent observer of the sacrilegious man's words can fail to notice the tainted mark of his sacrilege. For what

116/122 cf. supra, 82-87 123/126 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. secunda)
 126/130 cf. supra, 93-97 131/133 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. secunda)

125 חֲתָם : אֵלַי בְּיָמֶיךָ וְלֹא בְּיָמֶיךָ חֲתָם : אֲמַרְתָּ
וְלֹא אֶלְמַט אֲחִירָתָךְ פֶּלְעוּ. בִּי חֲתָמִי וְעוֹר : וְעוֹר
חֲתָמִי, חֲתָמִי וְאֵלַי מִן הַיָּמִים שֶׁלֹּא אֶלְמַט
וְחֲתָמִי חֲתָם : חֲתָמִי אֵלַי בִּי אֲחִירָתָךְ
אֲחִירָתָךְ וְעוֹרְךָ חֲתָמִי * אֲמַרְתָּ בִּי אֲחִירָתָךְ חֲתָמִי,
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130 פִּתְּוֹתָ אֲחִירָתָךְ אֲחִירָתָךְ חֲתָמִי : עוֹר חֲתָמִי וְחֲתָמִי
פִּתְּוֹתָ אֲחִירָתָךְ חֲתָמִי : חֲתָמִי פִּתְּוֹתָ חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי : בִּי לְחַט פִּתְּוֹתָ חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי : לֵב חֲתָמִי, וְחֲתָמִי
חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי, : לֵב חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
אֲחִירָתָךְ חֲתָמִי : אֵלַי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
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135 וְחֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
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חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
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140 חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
אֵלַי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
אֵלַי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
אֵלַי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
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145 חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
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150 אֵלַי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
וְחֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי
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f. 140vb

AD

Line 127: אֵלַי, D: אֵלַי.
Line 132: חֲתָמִי, cf. supra, line 93 (חֲתָמִי).
Line 134: חֲתָמִי, D: חֲתָמִי.
Line 143: חֲתָמִי חֲתָמִי, cf. supra, line 107 (חֲתָמִי).

is the sense * of saying naming each prosopon 'nature', not because it is the nature itself in the common signification? For we can understand nothing else from the Father's, or, it may be, the Son's or Holy Ghost's, being 'God Himself' or 'Life Itself' or 'Light Itself', but what the Church's pastors and doctors wisely taught us: 140 i.e. that not by misnomer or metaphorically, nor, again, by grace, or participation, but in the full sense and truly the Father or the Son or the Holy Ghost is God, Life and Light. Which is why the writer had second thoughts, falsified the passage and said: Naming 145 each prosopon 'nature', not because it is the nature itself in the common signification (for in this way there would be no 'one thing' and 'another') but because they belong to one nature, and clearly, fully participate in it, wanting to prove that as we ought not to think of an hypostasis as nature in the common signification, we ought likewise not to confess it as truly nature: i.e. as substance nor as God, 150 because the word 'nature' can only be applied to the substance comprehending the hypostases. The noble author's falsification is thus proved superfluous and inane, indicating to the listeners nothing else but what the earlier version did. And likewise, too, by 155 having said: I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and uninformed) but that we use the common name with each of them, by its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not the whole Godhead itself, he stated clearly that each of the hypostases of the 160 Holy Trinity is not the Godhead itself (i.e. God in the full sense and truly), because neither is it the whole Godhead.

136/137 cf. supra, 123-125 144/148 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. secunda); cf. supra, 123-126 155/159 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. secunda); cf. supra, 131-133

But if someone happens to say: 'By saying but we use the com-
 mon name with each of them, by its participating fully in the Godhead
 being God and not the whole Godhead itself, he has given us to under-
 stand that each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity is God Him-
 165 self but not the whole Godhead in the common signification', * such
 an one will hear from us that we have already amply proved that
 he later added in the common signification and whole. Still,
 if he had not wanted to prove each hypostasis' not being God
 170 Himself (i.e. God in the full sense and truly), in addition to its not
 being the Godhead in the generic signification, why did he have to
 say that an hypostasis is not the Godhead itself? For in proof that an
 hypostasis is not the substance and Godhead comprehending the
 hypostases it would have sufficed to say 'hypostasis is not the
 175 whole Godhead and substance in the common signification'. For
 what God-clad father, when proving that an hypostasis is not the
 whole Godhead, ever made use of these petty expressions? For (as
 we have said) it suffices anybody who wants to prove the point,
 simply to say that each prosopon, because it participates in the
 180 substance and the Godhead in the common signification, is 'not
 necessarily' the common substance comprehending the hypo-
 stases; and he has no need at all to say that it is not the Godhead
 itself in the common signification.

See what famous SEVERUS says when he gave a very fine expla-
 185 nation of these matters. For he wrote in the 17th chapter of the
 second book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian*, as follows: It

162/164 cf. supra, 157-159 168 cf. supra, 124-125 et 133 172 cf. supra,
 130 182/183 cf. supra, 172 et 168 186/190 Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II,
 17 (*CSCO* 111, p. 163, 1-5; 112, p. 127, 14-18)

will be obvious then, that the same Christ, being perfect God and perfect man, is one of the hypostases comprehended in the substance of the Godhead and not the whole Godhead and substance which comprehends the three hypostases. Again, a few lines later: But a hypostasis participates fully in the substance, just as does too each of the hypostases of the same genus, and each hypostasis will not, because it participates fully in the substance, be called the whole substance which collectively comprises all the hypostases. And in the 25th chapter of the same book, he states the following: But the one prosopon out of the Trinity, God the Word, is a hypostasis and not a substance in the common sense, as you said; and the Word's hypostasis itself, which possesses, according to you, the Godhead's substance, is one * of the three hypostases subsisting in the Godhead's substance which participate in the substance and in equality without diminution and fully. And a hypostasis is not the substance, because it participates in the substance.

Which will you choose, my admirable fellow? Do you think that this God-clad father has provenly demonstrated that hypostasis is not the substance and common Godhead comprehending the hypostases? Or do you think that he did not demonstrate it at all because he could not say like you, I, then, having sought to prove that we do not think the hypostases unsubstantial (for this, as has been proved, is very witless and unformed) but that we use the common name with each of them, by its participating fully in the Godhead being God and not

190/194 Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 17 (CSCO 111, pp. 164,28 – 165,2; 112, pp. 128,33 – 129,2) 195/201 Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 25 (CSCO 111, p. 203, 12-19; 112, pp. 158,31 – 159,3); cf. supra, ch. 34, 117-123 206/210 cf. supra, 155-159

210 < 208: 208, D: 208.
 < 209: 209, cf. infra, line 236 (209).
 < 210: 210, D: 210.
 < 211: 211, D: 211.
 < 212: 212, D: 212.
 < 213: 213, D: 213.
 < 214: 214, D: 214.
 < 215: 215, D: 215.
 < 216: 216, D: 216.
 < 217: 217, D: 217.
 < 218: 218, D: 218.
 < 219: 219, D: 219.
 < 220: 220, D: 220.

f. 1-

225 < 225: 225, D: 225.
 < 226: 226, D: 226.
 < 227: 227, D: 227.
 < 228: 228, D: 228.
 < 229: 229, D: 229.
 < 230: 230, D: 230.

AD

Line 208: 208, D: 208.
 Line 210: 210, cf. infra, line 236 (209).
 Line 212: 212, D: 212.
 Line 222: 222, D: 222.
 Line 223: 223, cf. supra, ch. 34, line 138 (add. o).
 Line 228: 228, D: 228.

210 the whole Godhead itself, but wrote rather differently: It will be obvious then, that the same Christ, being perfect God and perfect man, is one of the hypostases comprehended in the substance of the Godhead and not the whole Godhead; and again: But a hypostasis participates fully in the substance, just as does too each of the hypostases of the same genus, and
 215 each hypostasis will not, because it participates fully in the substance, be called the whole substance which collectively comprises all the hypostases? And besides this he rebuts his opponent by saying: But the one prosopon out of the Trinity, God the Word, is a hypostasis and not a substance in the common sense, as you said; and the Word's hypostasis
 220 itself, which possesses, according to you, the Godhead's substance, is one of the three hypostases subsisting in the Godhead's substance which participate in the substance and in equality without diminution and fully. And a hypostasis is not the substance, because it participates in the substance. Thus in all this he is seen to be differentiating between substance
 225 comprehending hypostases and hypostasis, and nowhere to have said that an hypostasis is not the substance itself and the Godhead itself in the common signification. Otherwise, prove, my very learned fellow, that he ever said that an hypostasis is not the substance itself or Godhead itself in the common signification
 230 (as you later rephrased it) * and then we shall know that your very emendation even (rather, indeed, your sacrilegious falsification) is not entirely outside the fathers' definitions. Alternatively, you are to recognize that you are clearly convicted of preferring to

210/213 cf. supra, 186-189 213/217 cf. supra, 190-194 217/224 cf. supra, 195-201 228/230 cf. supra, 182-183

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f. 141va

AD

Line 233: חַלְלָה, D: חַלְלָה.

Line 234: רָבִי, D: רָבִי.

Line 236: אֶרֶץ, cf. supra, line 210 (אֶרֶץ).

Line 239: חַלְלָה, D: חַלְלָה.

Line 240: חַלְלָה, D: חַלְלָה.

Line 248: רָבִי, D: רָבִי.

235 teach that an hypostasis is not in the full sense and truly, God, sub-
 stance and nature, when you said that it is not God Himself, God-
 head, substance and nature, and that you were not simply making a
 distinction between substance in the common signification and hy-
 postasis. Otherwise, you would have said, as the master of mys-
 240 teries taught too: that a hypostasis will not, because it participates fully
 in the substance, be called the whole substance which collectively com-
 prises all the hypostases. So it is in accordance with this false view
 of yours that you wrote the rest of the foregoing words, saying at
 one point: Eunomius, on the contrary, would have highly prized an ad-
 mission from Cyril that the Word, and likewise the Father, is the sub-
 245 stance itself, for he often sought it without obtaining it. For from Cyril's
 willingness to understand the Word as the substance itself he could have
 inferred an absurdity for Christians, by saying 'if the natural Word imma-
 nent in God the Father is the Son, and is consubstantial with his begetter,
 what is to prevent the Father's being and being called "Word"?' For the
 250 impious fellow's argument will be established, if we understand hyposta-
 sis as the substance itself in the way that current proponents of such de-
 vices desire. At another point: 'For unless', they say, 'we call the
 ingenerate and the generate (i.e. Father and Son), "substances" and "na-
 tures" (for we cannot apply any other meaningful terms to God), we shall
 255 be found to be honouring God not by what he is but by what he is not,
 fashioning him by mere words into what does not exist; therefore "Fa-
 ther" is the substance itself and likewise "Son" is the substance itself and
 they are not certain realities seen as belonging with the substance'. But if
 it is possible for them to be realities without being substances, in vain
 260 do they execrate the fathers when they accuse them of professing the faith

239/241 cf. supra, 215-217 243/252 cf. supra, 59-68 252/261 cf. su-
 pra, 69-77

260 וְהַי כְּשֶׁבִי בְּכַתְּבֵי הַבַּיִת שֶׁכְּסִיבָה וְאֵלֶּיךָ אֶפְתָּח
סְבִיבָה : אֲרַבְיָה וְאֵל שֶׁיִּהְיֶה אֵלֶיךָ אֶלְמַלְכוּתֶיךָ אֶלְמִשְׁכְּתֶיךָ
סְבִיבָה אֶתְמַסְּרָה : אֵלֶּי פִּעְלִיבָהּ בִּי בִּצְרִי אֶבֶר פִּתְיוֹן
וְאֶלְמִשְׁכְּתֶיךָ וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן אֶתְמַסְּרָה וְאֶתְמַסְּרָה
סְבִיבָה אֶתְּמַסְּרָה : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה וְאֵל פִּתְיוֹן וְאֵל וְאֵל :
וְאֶתְמַסְּרָה לֵאמֹר אֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה אֶתְּמַסְּרָה :
סְבִיבָה אֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן :
 265 וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
 270 וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
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 275 וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
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 280 וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
 285 וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה
 וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן וְאֶתְּמַסְּרָה לְאֵילָן : אֶתְּמַסְּרָה

AD

Line 264: אֵל וְאֵל, D: אֵל וְאֵל.
 Line 275: וְאֵל וְאֵל, D: וְאֵל וְאֵל.
 Line 276: אֵל, D: אֵל וְאֵל.
 Line 278: אֵל, D: אֵל וְאֵל.
 Line 279: אֵל וְאֵל, D: אֵל וְאֵל.

in mere words. And again: We do not, then, agree with those who dissent from the teaching set down earlier, and who, * in return, venture to persuade us of the opposite: that a hypostasis does not participate in the substance but is the substance itself, in accordance with the blatherings of
 265 the Eunomians. And again in addition to this: Thus, then, we should in patristic fashion profess each as God and we shall not be censured justly for tritheism, because there is no division *qua* God but *qua* Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But those who enumerate *qua* God and call each of them 'God Himself', and do not recognize the prosopon in its own con-
 270 cept as one thing and God as another, cannot escape the charge of being tritheists.

Let us observe closely with what a deal of cunning and heretical knavery he rejected each of the three hypostases of the Godhead's being and being spoken of in the full sense and truly as 'God Him-
 275 self and substance', supposing, as he did, that by having interpolated the view of the polytheists into the text of the earlier version, he could easily outwit truth. So then, as we have said, those passages, along with others which were also left bare of this mischievous interpolation, did not undergo the torment of his false and
 280 profane hand. For on being censured for them, and (as has been examined before) rebutted by the fathers' teachings, he says, with characteristic fraudulence: 'I did not write this to negate each hypostasis' being in the full sense and truly God, substance and nature, but to prove that I do not think (as the Eunomians and their

285 modern parasites please to do) that an hypostasis is God Himself, substance and nature’.

But besides all this which has been already investigated, he will be quite clearly rebutted by one little phrase of his *Many-lined Letter* which, for some reason or other, escaped his falsification. For
 290 clearly in that phrase, he claims that each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity, when seen on its own, is not God Himself (i.e. in the full sense and truly), and he expressly calls ‘being the substance itself’ a particular mark of the generic signification, whereas the particular mark of hypostasis is its being, and being called substance, na-
 295 ture and Godhead, * by participating in the community. So he wrote: For I ought first to learn, the issues being left till later (and after a few lines) whether hypostasis too is called and is substance, nature and Godhead, not as if it were the substance itself (which is the particular mark of the generic signification), but as participating in the community. You
 300 will see this cunning author’s knavery in divine doctrines.

293 cf. infra, 298-299 294/295 cf. infra, 297-299 296/299 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*

315 : *ܘܡܝܢ ܕܘܨܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*
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320 *ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*
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325 *ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*
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325 *ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ* f. 142ra
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330 *ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*
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Line 315: *ܘܡܝܢ ܕܘܨܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*, D: *ܘܡܝܢ ܕܘܨܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*. At the top of fol. 126v D reads as follows: *ܘܡܝܢ ܕܘܨܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*. *Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.*

Line 323: *ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*, D: *ܕܡܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ*. *ܡܪܝܢܐ*, D: *ܡܪܝܢܐ*.

Line 329: *ܡܪܝܢܐ*, D: *ܡܪܝܢܐ*.

Concerning the fact that by supposing ingeneracy, generacy and procession to be the hypostases of the Holy Trinity he is convicted of grossly absurd assaults upon divine doctrines. For either
5 he embraces the Arian or Manichean madness by professing each of the hypostases, or, rather, each of the properties, as God Himself, substance and nature and expressly opposes the God-clad fathers, who often affirm that ingeneracy or generacy is not substance; or by refusing to say that each hypostasis is truly God
10 himself, substance and nature, he slips the opposite way into atheism and plainly opposes the same doctors. Indeed, he has already proved to be their adversary in both ways: embracing the Jewish doctrines of the Libyan and the polytheistic and pagan error of Eunomius.

15 Nevertheless, these things having thus been proved, let him grant, if he chooses, that he forbears to profess each of the hypostases of the Godhead as God himself, substance and nature 'like the polytheists'. So it is in the way he calls each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity 'God Himself, substance and nature' that he is
20 then most certainly convicted (by making the three holy hypostases ingeneracy, generacy and procession) of offering very strong reinforcement to exactly the abominations of Eunomius; as has already been examined at some length and will now, indeed, (with Christ our true God establishing truth against falsehood) be again
25 more clearly proved, when his words are again investigated for the

plain enlightenment of readers. They will show him * thinking of, and expressly defining, ingeneracy, and likewise generacy, as 'substance and nature'.

He wrote, then, in the fourth chapter of his deceitful book as follows: The Theologian, then, wrote in the oration *On the arrival of the Bishops* throughout demonstrating his aim, that the properties are not natures but belong with the nature. Which is why each of them, seen on its own, is also named 'nature' because it participates fully in it, just as Paul and each individual participates fully in manhood. And again also in the ninth chapter of the same book he says: Having then proved in the subsequent words that names in the full sense are not indicative of substances but of the properties seen in one and the same nature and participating in it by equality of honour, and this is why each of them is nature, as Saint Severus said. A few lines later, he went on again: Again, for we do not call a property separated from the substance 'hypostasis', but one truly subsisting in the substance, and, according to Basil, joined to the common; and this is why it is called and is whatever is common, whether you call it 'God' or 'nature' or 'life' or 'goodness', without losing the properness of an hypostasis in separation. We see him writing similar things to this in the *Many-lined Apology*, as follows: But because the hypostases are not indicative of substances, according to the holy fathers (as has been proved), I should like to learn what we ought to

30/34 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 4 (n° 6) 30/32 cf. Greg. Naz., *Or.* 42, 15 (PG 36, 476A; *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 82) 35/39 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 23); cf. Sev. Ant., an *C. Imp. Gramm.*, III, 11 (CSCO 93, pp. 212,3 – 213,3; 94, p. 148, 5-30)? 39/44 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 24) 41/42 Bas. Caes., *Ep.* 236, 6 (PG 32, 884B; Courtonne, III, p. 53); cf. *supra*, ch. 32, 145 et 147-148 45/53 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (cf. *supra*, ch. 35, 48-53)

ויקרא : אהב תלמי, מחצית, וכוונתו למי : ולל
למלאכה וכוונתו : כוונתו * כוונתו וכוונתו
כוונתו וכוונתו וכוונתו.

A. f. 142rb

30 מכלל המעלות והעבודות והעבודות והעבודות
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 והעבודות והעבודות והעבודות והעבודות :
 והעבודות והעבודות והעבודות והעבודות :

AD

Line 28: אהבתי, D: אהבתי.
 Line 32: וכוונתו, D: וכוונתו.
 Line 41: כוונתו, D: כוונתו.
 Line 43: The word וכוונתו is added here in a different hand between the two columns of fol. 127v in D.

think of hypostases. But until I learn something wiser, I shall understand the fathers' saying that the properties are separate from the substance and
 50 that they are not natures but belong with the nature, in the way I do now: because each of them, by participating in the community and being joined to it and endowed with the fulness of Godhead, is fully and without defect perfect and true God. And after other matters: Then, having sought to prove that it is not from the properties conceived of according
 55 to their own concept separately from the substance (if anyone philosophizes about them and asks what they are in nature), that a composition in Christ has been effected, but from those subsisting in the substance * and participating fully in it and therefore called 'hypostases', so that each of them will fully be named 'substance' because it is substantial, I dis-
 60 coursed on them in that way. But later: This was added after it had been shown what 'property' (called 'hypostasis' when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance - I mean, 'God, substance, and nature'.

65 Who will note the magnitude of care and solicitude shown towards us? For even from the impious words of this writer one can clearly see that the God of truth, in pity towards the human race lest anyone should be swept away into perdition somehow unintentionally or involuntarily, unsettles the minds of all those who
 70 capriciously spurn the divine glory: they fall down totally into so

53/60 Dam. Alex., *Ep. proluxa* 60/64 Dam. Alex., *Ep. proluxa*; cf. supra, ch. 37, 160-164

— וְשֶׁהָיָה לְמִשְׁפָּחָהּ. וְהָיָה אֵלַי וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי
 — כִּי : וְהָיָה אֵלַי, וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי : וְהָיָה
 55 — : וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי לְכַתְּבָהּ :
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 — וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי : וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי
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 — וְהָיָה אֵלַי

f. 142va

וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי
 וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי
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 וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי : וְהָיָה אֵלַי שֶׁהָיָה אֵלַי

AD

Line 55: וְהָיָה אֵלַי, D: וְהָיָה אֵלַי.
 Line 61: וְהָיָה אֵלַי, D: וְהָיָה אֵלַי.
 Line 63: וְהָיָה אֵלַי, D: וְהָיָה אֵלַי.
 Line 64: וְהָיָה אֵלַי, D: וְהָיָה אֵלַי.
 Line 71: וְהָיָה אֵלַי, cf. supra, ch. 37, line 186 (וְהָיָה אֵלַי).

desperate a chasm that, despite their frequent attempts to escape notice, with never a shred of decency they reveal their folly and babble blasphemies so obvious. For how could this truly novel and absurd author's lunacy be revealed in any other way than by his
75 becoming a true and plain advocate of the clean contrary, and mutually opposed, heresies of Sabellius the Libyan and Arius; and by his clearly and expressly arming himself against the Church's divinely inspired masters of mysteries? Is that surprising seeing that even Eunomius himself, his teacher, was found to suffer a like fate
80 by embracing simultaneously the fatal errors of both Judaism and paganism? For since that blasphemer is to be numbered with the hordes of polytheists for making ingeneracy and generacy, substances, and, on the other hand, with the Libyan's Jewish clan for alienating the Only-begotten Son, the Word of God, and likewise
85 the Holy Ghost, from Godhead and for supposing only the Father to be God in the full sense; much more will his disciple, this presumptuous author, * be tarred with the same conflicting heresies. Because (as has been proved) he defines ingeneracy, and likewise generacy, as 'God, substance and nature', and thereby makes them
90 not only substances and Godheads but mutually hostile substances and Godheads as well, as we shall presently learn; and again because he professes Father, Son and Holy Ghost not as true hypostases properly subsisting on their own, but thinks of them as properties and names (according to his argument) of entirely
95 non-existent hypostases; he therefore necessarily falls into an

80 AD
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AD

Line 80:, D:
 Line 85:, D:
 Line 88:, D:
 Line 94:, D:
 Line 103:, D:

extremity of Jewish godlessness. We shall instantly prove from the words of the divinely inspired fathers that Eunomius, by calling ingeneracy, 'substance', and generacy, 'substance', was arguing for non-consubstantial substances and thereby lapsed into heathen polytheism, whereas the God-clad pillars of the Church were uprooting from its very foundations any thought of ingeneracy or generacy as substance.

BASIL THE GREAT wrote, then, in the first book *Against Eunomius* the miscreant, as follows: But let us first remind ourselves of this: that this is the man, who, in the previous words, very arrogantly promised us that he would clearly state the naked truth to us. Where then, is it written here: 'we believe that ingeneracy is the substance of the God of all', or 'we believe that the Only-begotten is unlike the Father in substance'? And again: But that fellow, taking a path from the argument he had forcibly seized, proceeded from there to the claim that ingeneracy is the substance of the God of all, so that when this is proved he will have the dissimilarity in substance between the Only-begotten and the Father as an undisputed point. Again, a little later: He denies that ingeneracy

104/109 Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* 1, 4 (PG 29, 512AB; *SChr.*, vol. 299, pp. 164-166) 109/113 Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* 1, 5 (PG 29, 520B; *SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 180); cf. *supra*, ch. 26, 222-226 113/117 *Ibid.* (PG 29, 520C-521A; *SChr.*, vol. 299, pp. 180-182); cf. *supra*, ch. 26, 226-230

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 125 קחמלמל קחמלמל קחמלמל קחמלמל קחמלמל קחמלמל

AD

Line 107: קחמל, D: קחמל.
 Line 108: קחמלמל, D: קחמלמל.
 Line 113: קחמלמל, D: קחמלמל.
 Line 115: קחמלמל, A: קחמלמל.
 Line 120: קחמלמל, D: קחמלמל. קחמל, cf. supra, ch. 26, line 234 (קחמל).
 Line 121: קחמלמל, cf. ibid. (קחמלמל). קחמל, cf. ibid. (קחמל).
 Lines 121-122: קחמלמל ... קחמלמל, cf. ibid. (קחמלמל קחמלמל).
 Line 123: קחמלמל, cf. ibid., line 236 (קחמלמל). קחמלמל, cf. ibid., line 237 (קחמלמל).
 Line 124: קחמלמל, D: קחמלמל.
 Line 125: קחמלמל, D om.

is seen in God by way of inventive thought, supposing that thereby it will
115 be easy for him to attempt to prove that ingeneracy is the substance and
thereby demonstrate indubitably that the Only-begotten is dissimilar in
substance from the Father. He strongly reinforced and clarified these
words when he wrote in the sermon *Against Sabellians and Arians*
as follows: And though you do not attack me, * all those of you who
120 have either imperfectly followed what was said or who stand around us to
vilify us, unwilling, as you are, to receive anything worthwhile from us
but watching to catch hold of something we speak, will say, 'he preaches
two gods, he announces polytheism. Not two gods, because not two Fa-
thers! One who introduces two Beginnings preaches two gods. Such is
125 Marcion and anybody like him in impiety!' And again, anyone who calls
the begotten different in substance from the begetter, he too says 'two
Gods', introducing, as he does, polytheism because of the dissimilarity of
substance. For if there is one ingenerate Godhead and one generate, it
will be you who are preaching polytheism, calling ingeneracy opposite to
130 generacy and, clearly, making the substances opposite, if the Father's
substance is ingeneracy but the Son's substance generacy; in which case
you will be speaking not only of two Gods, but of two mutually antago-

nistic Gods. And, what is worse, you are assigning the conflict not to the will but to a division of nature which can never reach a peaceful concord.

135 And in the address *To those who say the Son is unlike the Father* he says, as follows: 'But if', they say, 'he begat, he gave some of his ingeneracy.' And how did he give any of his unbegottenness to the one whom he brought into being through his begetting of him, for ingeneracy is the negation of God's being begotten? But you are reckoning a nega-

140 tion as the substance. The Father is not begotten. This is the meaning of ingeneracy. So how can not having been begotten be a substance? How, indeed, could the one who was begotten receive any of it? But what is the aim of his sophism which calls ingeneracy the Father's substance, and generacy the Only-begotten's? It is to prove that the substances are dif-

145 ferent in the same way that ingeneracy is unlike generacy. Away with your tricks! Desist, henceforth, from calling ingeneracy a 'substance', according to a fabrication of your heart, and from claiming, by the sophism, an unlikeness of Son to Father!

Wise GREGORY too, Basil's brother, taught us similar (indeed, to

150 speak more truly, the very * same) things in his first book *Against Eunomius* (whose beginning is: There is a limit to the labours of those who *strive lawfully* in contests) writing as follows: So now let the critical hearer of these words remember this: by using 'begotten substance'

136/148 Ps. Bas. Caes., *De eis qui dicunt Filium esse dissimilem Patri*, Van Roey, pp. 189-190 (pp. 185-186, lines 58-72); cf. supra, ch. 26, 231-241 152 cf. II Tim. 2:5 152/159 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (PG 45, 589BC; Jaeger II, pp. 27,27 – 28,6); cf. supra, ch. 27, 239-246

of the Only-begotten he grants, by logical sequence, that we should use
 155 'unbegotten substance' of the Father, so that, therefore, neither ingeneracy
 nor generacy will be understood as substance; but substance, on the
 one hand, and the fact that it was begotten or not begotten, on the other
 hand, are to be considered individually by means of the properties viewed
 in the substance. And later: For one who says the substance has been
 160 begotten clearly defines generacy as being something other than sub-
 stance, so as not to permit the meaning of generacy to be adapted to the
 concept of substance. For he has not done in this part the very thing he
 designed in many passages so that he could say that generacy is the sub-
 stance itself; but here he acknowledges that the substance has been be-
 165 gotten so that the hearers have a distinct idea of each word. For different
 ideas are created for the hearer of 'has been begotten' and by the term
 'substance'. And again: If, then, the meaning of 'substance' is one thing
 and the term 'generation' is established to mean something else, their so-
 phistical tricks have collapsed all of a sudden, like earthenware pots
 170 thrown together and shattering one another. For it will no longer be open
 to them to carry over the ingenerate-generate distinction to the substance
 of Son and Father and simultaneously transfer the mutual conflict of the
 names to the realities.

Similarly also in the second book (whose beginning is: But it
 175 is time that the explanation of the offspring's nature) he rebuts the
 miscreant out of his own words, proving that generacy is not a

159/167 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (PG 45, 589CD; Jaeger II, p. 28, 16-25); cf. supra, ch. 26, 179-187 167/173 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (PG 45, 592AB; Jaeger II, p. 29, 12-19); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 11, 208-214

substance and saying as follows: What does he mean when he says these things? For having distinguished the two terms from each other and made a corresponding verbal division in what they signify, he sets down
 180 each of them on its own and properly: one term, 'generation'; the other term, 'substance'. 'The substance,' he says, 'clearly being something other than generation, * admits of generation'. For if generation were a substance (which is what he always rules so that the two terms may be mutually equivalent in meaning), he would not have said, 'the substance
 185 admits of generation'; for that would have been the same as saying, 'the substance admits of substance' or 'the generation admits of generation', if substance were generation. Therefore, he understands generation as one thing and the substance admitting of generation as another; for what is received is not the same as the recipient.

190 Let us investigate again also his very wise words on this point in the 35th chapter of his *Refutation of the same Eunomius* (whose beginning is: To want to help everybody was not, apparently), where he explains the issue more clearly and says, as follows: For let us grant that it is allowable, according to the argument of our opponents,
 195 that ingeneracy is a substance and, again, likewise, admissible that generacy is a substance. In that case if anyone adheres to the meaning of

177/189 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 2 (PG 45, 672CD; Jaeger II, p. 101, 10-24) 192/233 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (PG 45, 408B-409B; Jaeger I, pp. 173,23 – 175,13)

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f. 143va

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AD

Line 197: ארעא, D: ארעא.
 Line 198: ארעא, D: ארעא.
 Line 201: ארעא, D: ארעא.
 Line 202: ארעא, D: ארעא.
 Line 207: ארעא, D: ארעא.
 Line 208: At the top of fol. 131v D reads as follows: ארעא, ארעא, ארעא.
 Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.
 Line 213: ארעא, D: ארעא.
 Line 215: ארעא, cf. infra, line 360 (ארעא). ארעא. D:
 ארעא.
 Line 217: ארעא, D: ארעא.

the words, precisely the Manichean doctrine will be constructed by this path, because it pleased the Manichees to teach, by an opposition of natures, an opposition between evil and good, light and darkness and all such things. And, I think, anyone who has not traversed the exposition in a superficial way will readily agree that what I am saying is true. But let us examine the point as follows. In each of the subjects are seen fitting indications whereby the property of the underlying nature is recognized, whether you are studying the differences between animals or anything else; for a tree and an animal are not characterized by the same things, nor are man's signifying marks common to animals as against irrational nature; nor again, indeed, do the same things indicate life and death, but, as has been said, in all, generally, there is a pure and simple separation of subjects, unconfused, as it is, by any sharing of the indications appearing on them. * This is the arrangement, by reference to which the argument of our opponents will be examined. They call ingeneracy a substance and likewise make generacy a substance. Now just as the indications of man and stone are different and not the same (for you would not give the same definition when defining what each of them is), so they will necessarily concede that the ingenerate God is recognized by certain marks whereas the generate God by different ones. In which case let us observe all the properties of ingenerate God which we have learned from divine Scripture to say about him and understand devoutly. What, then, are they? No Christian man, I think, is unaware that God is good, kindly, holy, just,

220 pure, invisible, immortal, incapable of corruption change and alteration,
powerful, wise, benefactor, Lord and judge, and all such things. Why, in-
deed, should we prolong discussion by dwelling on these undisputed mat-
ters? If, then, we perceive these things in the ingenerate nature, but 'be-
ing generate' is opposite in conception to 'not being generate', those who
225 define ingeneracy and generacy as being 'substance' must, of necessity,
assert that, according to the contrariety obtaining between 'ingeneracy'
and 'generacy', the indicative marks of the begotten substance will also
be contrary to those seen in the ingenerate nature. For if they say they are
the same owing to the sameness in what appear on them, the otherness of
230 the nature of the subjects will no longer be preserved; for we must neces-
sarily suppose that the indications of things which are different are also
different, whereas things which are alike in concept of substance are, it is
clear, characterized by the same marks.

CYRIL also, the wise and accurate in teaching, vanquished those
235 who make ingeneracy 'substance', in the same spiritual way, by
writing in the second book of the treatise *To Hermias*, as follows:
For it was the view, I * think, and very rightly too, of those renowned men
who had been made the thoughtful and proven guardians of our Saviour's
mysteries, that ingeneracy is by no means the Father's substance but is
240 only a word signifying to hearers his not having been begotten, a fact

which we say pertains to the concept concerning God the Father, and is not the substance itself of God. And after other matters: Do you not, then, now perceive that the particular properties of the Godhead will not fit the concept and mode of ingeneracy (not to mention that they belong
245 to others which exist and are seen to subsist apart from generation), but will, rather, harmonize more with God the Father? For in this way, the sameness in substance will, I think, extend thereafter to the Son, from him by law of nature. Ingeneracy, then, is by no means God's substance, but is indicative, as I have said, only of the fact that the Father has not
250 been begotten; it does not subsist on its own.

It has been proved by many clear testimonies of the God-clad doctors that they had such a long battle with impious Eunomius for no other reason but that they would not concede to the miscreant that ingeneracy is a substance and generacy a substance. For it
255 was this admission, as we have learned, that he wanted to obtain and thus easily prepare the way by many arguments for the whole absurd error of his heathen doctrines. So how can this new-fangled author, insatiable in his blasphemies against God, champion of Eunomius but opponent of the pillars of the Church, not be charging himself with the error of polytheism in addition to the Libyan's godlessness, when he defines ingeneracy as 'substance'; so
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< 275 < 280 <

285 < 290 <

AD

- Line 271: *... , D: ...*
- Line 274: *... , D: ...*
- Line 275: *... , D: ...*
- Line 277: *... , D: ...*
- Line 282: *... , D: ...*
- Line 284: *... , D: ...*
- Line 287: *... , D: ...*
- Line 288: *... , D: ...*

that he is befuddled by the murk of his ideas and therefore is unable to travel the royal middle road, and, like men giddy with drink, falls into opposite traps of perdition? Hence, seeming to
 265 avoid heathen madness, he clearly lapses into Judaism, * making Father, Son and Holy Ghost names or characteristic properties (ingeneracy, generacy and procession, I mean); whereas only pretending to eschew Sabellius' godlessness, he clearly paganizes, professing ingeneracy and generacy as 'substance'. Hence he is
 270 obliged also to fabricate substances and Gods.

Do not his own and the theologians' foregoing words prove that he thinks these things? For we have clearly heard Basil the Great contend with Eunomius who was attempting to prove ingeneracy a substance and generacy a substance, and with his ilk, and say as
 275 follows: Where then, is it written here: 'we believe that ingeneracy is the substance of the God of all', or 'we believe that the Only-begotten is unlike the Father in substance'? And again: But that fellow, taking a path from the argument he had forcibly seized, went on from these to the claim that ingeneracy is the substance of the God of all, so that when this
 280 is proved he will have the dissimilarity in substance between the Only-begotten and the Father as an undisputed point. But again, in addition

295 חלש : אבך וכו' בערך ובעתה, נשאל : ומה
 מן א ל בעד וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' :
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 305 וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' : וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' .

וכן אל וכו' וכו' : וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' וכו' :
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Line 301: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 304: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 306: וכו', D om.
 Line 307: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 309: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 311: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 313: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 316: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 318: וכו', D: וכו'.

to this he says: He denies that ingeneracy is seen in God by way of inventive thought, supposing that thereby it will be easy for him to attempt to prove that ingeneracy is the substance and thereby demonstrate indubitably that the Only-begotten is dissimilar in substance from the Father. 285 But again in the passage afterwards: For if there is one ingenerate Godhead and one generate, it will be you who are preaching polytheism, calling ingeneracy opposite to generacy and, clearly, making the substances opposite, if the Father's substance is ingeneracy but the Son's 290 substance generacy; in which case you will be speaking not only of two Gods, but of two mutually antagonistic Gods. And, what is worse, you are assigning the conflict not to the will but to a division of nature which can never reach a peaceful concord.

You will see how fairly the doctor's darts hit this author too. 295 For with the old and the new authors' agreeing with each other * in professing ingeneracy a substance, the divinely inspired words against their common false doctrines must necessarily vanquish both equally.

And let the wise listener observe whether truth's champion did
 300 not speak against this upholder of impious nonsense also, when he
 wrote: For ingeneracy is the negation of God's being begotten. But you
 are reckoning a negation as the substance. The Father is not begotten.
 This is the meaning of ingeneracy. So how can not having been begotten
 be a substance? And again: But what is the aim of his sophism which
 305 calls ingeneracy the Father's substance, and generacy the Only-begotten's? It is to prove that the substances are different in the same way that
 ingeneracy is unlike generacy.

And wise Gregory, his brother, strikes Eunomius with many
 blows (as we have set down a little earlier), clearly proving that
 310 we ought not to suppose ingeneracy a substance or generacy a substance
 at all, ruling that to define ingeneracy as 'substance' is
 more Manichean than Christian. And (not to repeat too many of
 his precise words, because they have been set down once already)
 we shall record only those which reveal the enormity of the absurd
 315 error. For he said, as previously set down: For let us grant that it is
 allowable, according to the argument of our opponents, that ingeneracy is
 a substance and, again, likewise, admissible that generacy is a substance.
 In that case if anyone adheres to the meaning of the words, precisely the
 Manichean doctrine will be constructed by this path. And again: This is

301/304 cf. *supra*, 138-141 **304/307** cf. *supra*, 142-145 **315/319** cf.
supra, 193-198 **319/326** cf. *supra*, 210-216

320 the arrangement, by reference to which the argument of our opponents
will be examined. They call ingeneracy a substance and likewise make
generacy a substance. Now just as the indications of man and stone are
different and not the same (for you would not give the same definition
when defining what each of them is), so they will necessarily concede
325 that the ingenerate God * is recognized by certain marks whereas the gen-
erate God by different ones. And again: Those who define ingeneracy
and generacy as being 'substance' must, of necessity, assert that, accord-
ing to the contrariety obtaining between 'ingeneracy' and 'generacy', the
indicative marks of the begotten substance will also be contrary to those
330 seen in the ingenerate nature.

The teacher of truth, wise Cyril, taught us similar things, when
he said: It was the view of renowned fathers that ingeneracy is by no
means the Father's substance but is only a word signifying to hearers his
not having been begotten. And in the later passage on this matter he
335 again said: Ingeneracy, then, is by no means God's substance, but is in-
dicative, as I have said, only of the fact that the Father has not been be-
gotten; it does not subsist on its own.

326/330 cf. *supra*, 224-228 332/334 cf. *supra*, 237-240 335/337 cf.
supra, 248-250

So much for the correct and irreproachable teachings of the Church! Now let us observe what impious absurdities the new-fangled and marvellous advocate of Eunomius equips to oppose them. For he wrote, as previously set down, speaking about the characteristic properties (I mean ingeneracy, generacy and procession) as follows: Which is why each of them, seen on its own, is named 'nature' because it participates fully in it. And again: Because each of them, by participating in the community and being joined to it, and endowed with the fulness of Godhead, is fully and without defect perfect and true God. And later: So that each of them will be named 'substance' because it is fully substantial. And besides this he blasphemously ventures against the Christians' whole mystery and arrogantly says: This was added after it had been shown what 'property (called 'hypostasis' when subsisting) primarily indicates in its own concept, so that there should be shown also what it is capable of being called and being, not primarily but because it participates in the substance - I mean, 'God, substance and nature'.

Do we need any examination of these words to prove their opposition to, and clear conflict, with the Church's pastors, or again, their complete unanimity with * truth's enemy? For when the guides to correct doctrines struck at Eunomius in all their rebuttals (because he shamelessly professed ingeneracy a substance and generacy a substance) and proved by indubitable demonstrations that anyone who thinks ingeneracy a substance and generacy a substance is obliged to introduce contrary substances and hostile Gods, and to affirm Manicheism, this new-fangled writer,

343/344 cf. supra, 32-33 344/347 cf. supra, 51-53 347/348 cf. supra, 58-59 350/354 cf. supra, 60-64

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f. 145ra

AD

Line 389:, D:
 Line 397:, D:
 Line 407:, D:
 Line 408:, D:, D:

resembling his master and a comrade in arms of the miscreant,
365 ventures against the truth, and exclaims that ingeneracy is sub-
stance and generacy is substance. Ought not such a man to be os-
tracised, indeed expelled from the Church's folds, and, along with
others be made subject to the decrees against polytheists, because
he too is sick with Manichean and polytheistic teaching and has
370 ruthlessly whetted his tongue against God and God's ministers?

415 *וידעו* : *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם*
לעולם *לעולם* *לעולם* : *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם*
לעולם *לעולם* *לעולם* : *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם*
לעולם *לעולם* *לעולם* : *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם*
לעולם *לעולם* *לעולם* : *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם*
 420 *לעולם* *לעולם* *לעולם* .

AD

Line 412: *לעולם*, D: *לעולם*.

Concerning the fact that though often at war both with himself
and with the truth by teaching Sabellianism and Eunomianism,
nevertheless he is quite in accord with himself in saying that the
5 hypostases (which he understands as characteristic properties)
and the divine substance are different things. For how can he con-
sider the hypostases to be divine substance and nature, in accord-
ance with the teaching of the fathers, when he thinks ingeneracy,
generacy and procession are the hypostases? Consequently when
10 he writes: 'The prosopa of the Godhead are not indicative of the
Godhead', he means nothing but that the prosopa of the Holy
Trinity are not the Godhead.

We have examined these things with a view to proving that the
good fellow not only champions the Libyan's Jewish doctrines but
15 also the heathen fabrications of Arius and Eunomius (conse-
quently, indeed, too, those of the abominable Manichees), when he
makes the Father, Son and Holy Ghost 'ingeneracy, generacy and
procession'. Hence it is that he also thinks the substance of the
Godhead one thing and what he calls 'hypostases' another. For
20 though the Church's masters of mysteries are clearly at war with
Eunomius (as has been proved) * for impiously thinking ingeneracy
a substance and, again, generacy a substance, and despite their
demonstrating that substance is not the same thing as ingeneracy

or generacy, this intelligent fellow, having deemed it thoroughly
25 fit to define the hypostases as ‘ingeneracy, generacy and proces-
sion’, is obliged to reveal his mind and openly profess the hypo-
stases one thing and the substance of the Godhead another thing.
So, lest anyone should suppose that we were condemning him
without due consideration, it will be advantageous to examine his
30 impious nonsense on the point.

For he says in the fifth chapter of his book: It will, indeed, have
become clear from the text set down that, according to the theology of
our present opponents, the prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature, are
not indicative of the Godhead or divine nature. For were that so, the argu-
35 ment would of course have obliged us, unwillingly indeed, on speaking
of three prosopa, to profess three Gods. And again in the eighth chap-
ter our guide to truly unspeakable doctrines, alien to all men, ap-
proaches us, and says: And if he truly is what he is called in the full
sense, and every teacher of truth professes that the ‘one’, said in the full
40 sense of the Holy Trinity, is more fully one than any others and is, as it
were, more unique, clearly, the ‘one’ is to be apprehended not only
merely in name but in reality too. Hence, then, if we proceed in an order

from the 'one' to those in it and thence descend to creatures, the more we descend the more manifold becomes the impress on our minds until, at-
 45 taining to ultimate division, we halt at plurality; and if we thence ascend again, we find nothing unique, even though in the upward course plural-ity is contracted gradually until in our returning we again reach the truly 'one' from whom all that are have their existence.

But he also appears as writing in his *Many-lined Letter*, the fol-
 50 lowing: For Eustathius, who was the holy pastor of the Antiochenes, having first proved in his discourse *Against Photinus or Maurinus* that 'prosopon is one thing' in its concept 'and nature another', * taught that the nature is 'seen in three prosopa'. The consequence (according to your
 55 previous examination) will be that he leaves the nature as a mere appella-tion, because he said it was seen in others. And it will be fitting to intro-duce the father's own words, which are as follows: 'For prosopon is one
 60 thing and nature another. If, then, "God" belonged to prosopon, by say-
 ing "three prosopa", we should certainly be saying "three Gods". But because "God" belongs to nature, when we say "one nature of the
 prosopa" we necessarily say that there is only one God'. Thus did the
 60 sainted pastor prove by argument that by calling them 'three prosopa', we do not profess three Gods or three natures, because 'prosopon is one

50/66 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* 52 cf. infra, 56-57 53 cf. infra,
 65 56/60 Ps. Eust. Ant., *Adv. Photin.*, fragm. a solis Damiano et Petro
 Callinicensi servatum (cf. Declerck, fragm. 142); cf. etiam infra, 135-
 138 61 et 62/63 cf. supra, 58 et 56-57

thing and nature another'. But he who taught this, added this after other matters: 'But the nature, whose name is "God", we understand as ever
 65 seen in three prosopa, neither diminished by loss of prosopon nor increased by addition of prosopon'. And after other matters: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as has been said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in
 70 the substance (thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties: so I should like to know whether it was by way of slander on patristic teaching that the text forbore to say that the characteristic properties 'being seen in another' (i.e. in the substance according to its own
 75 concept) are three perfect prosopa and three hypostases, because they want them to be substances themselves and not substantial, and I request that the passage be given a clearer meaning.

These words quoted, let us investigate the writer's intention here by looking at each part in turn, and let us reveal, so far as we
 80 can, his design against truth. He says then: It will, indeed, have become clear from the text set down * that the prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature, are not indicative of the Godhead or divine nature.

64/66 Ps. Eust. Ant., *Adv. Photin.*, fragm. a solis Damiano et Petro Callinicensi servatum (cf. Declerck, fragm. 143) 66/77 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* 80/82 cf. supra, 31-34

Let us observe first how, in disgorging some gross absurdities, he both cunningly and slanderously attaches them to the thought
 85 of the fathers, trying, as he is, to win over the minds of listeners to his impious innovations on the basis of the fathers' credentials. For he says: It will, indeed, have become clear from the text (we are to learn later that he speaks of a passage from Eustathius, who occupied the archiepiscopal throne of the Antiochenes with fidelity to
 90 truth) that the prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature are not indicative of the Godhead or divine nature, meaning nothing else but that the prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature are not the Godhead or divine nature, for (as has been demonstrated above at length) he entirely identifies indicators and indicated.

95 But this will be clearly proved again, because in his *Many-lined Letter*, by this very statement of Saint Eustathius he attempts to prove that the prosopa in the divine nature are one thing and the divine nature itself another. For he says there as follows: For Eustathius, who was the holy pastor of the Antiochenes, having first
 100 proved in his discourse *Against Photinus or Maurinus* that 'prosopon is one thing' in its concept 'and nature another', taught that the nature is 'seen in three prosopa'. The consequence (according to your previous examination) will be that he leaves the nature as a mere appellation, because he said it was seen in others. And it will be fitting to introduce the
 105 father's own words, which are as follows: 'For prosopon is one thing and

nature another. If, then, "God" belonged to prosopon, by saying "three prosopa", we should certainly be saying "three Gods". But because "God" belongs to nature, when we say "one nature of the prosopa" we necessarily say that there is only one God'.

110 This * being thus proved, we ought to set down unaltered also
the words by Saint Eustathius he quoted in the fifth chapter of his
book, with a view to proving that the prosopa perceived in the
blessed nature are not indicative of the Godhead. Let us observe
what the master wants to prove by it. Maurinus, he says, or Photinus,
115 with his associates, will criticize us, then, on the ground that we are call-
ing Father, Son and Holy Ghost 'three Gods', and he and they will be
very foolish. For if we were simply saying 'God and God and God', they
would have been justified in censuring us for saying 'three Gods'; but
seeing that it is true and consistent for us to call the Father 'God', the Son
120 'God' and the Holy Ghost 'God', nevertheless it is not because we call
God 'three' by way of division (even though each hypostatic prosopon is
professed as God, because they belong to one and the same divine nature)
but because we recognize the Father's, Son's and Holy Ghost's natural
kinship, property and mutual unity. If the name 'God', then, were signifi-
125 cant of prosopon, by saying 'three prosopa' we should certainly also have
been saying 'three Gods'; but because it is significant of nature, being
apprehended from some property which is in the nature (as laughter in

114/140 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 5 (n^o 8); Ps. Eust. Ant., fragm. a solis
Damiano et Petro Callinicensi servatum

man, and barking in a dog) and the properties said to belong to natures indicate natures, we do not say 'three Gods' because we do not say 'three
 130 natures'. But if we call each of the prosopa of the divine nature 'God', because it belongs to the nature, it will be recognized as having the name 'God' said in the full sense, not because 'God' is significant of prosopon, but because it is significant of the one nature. The prosopon too is capable of being called by this appellation, because it belongs also to the
 135 nature. For prosopon is one thing and nature another. If, then, 'God' belonged to prosopon, by saying 'three prosopa' we should certainly also have been saying 'three Gods', but because we say 'one nature * of the prosopa', we necessarily say that there is only one God. But if the nature is one, and 'God' belongs to the nature, it follows that if we say 'one na-
 140 ture' we also say there is one God.

You will see that here (where the writer's aim was to prove that the prosopa of the Godhead are not indicative of Godhead) he even set down the same text, by which, as has been proved, he shamelessly wanted in the former passage to claim the divine na-
 145 ture as one thing and the prosopa of the Holy Trinity another. What? Is not the misrepresentation plain? For where did the doctor say in the text that the prosopa do not signify (which, according to the new-fangled theology, is the same as saying 'are not') Godhead or divine nature, which is what this excellent fellow re-
 150 peatedly endeavours to prove? If the name 'God' then, the doctor says, were significant of prosopon, by saying 'three prosopa' we should

< כוונתו שם יסודותיו : על כלל דבר נבדקתו : ונתנה
 < דבר ונתנה כדמיון חכמתו וקצתו לתנה : ונתנה
 < רמזה לך רמזה : חלקו ואלו חלקי קנה רמזה. <
 < דבר על שם פתיחותו וקנה רמזה רמזה רמזה : <
 150 < כוונתו ונתנה וקנה רמזה : ונתנה וקנה רמזה : <
 < ונתנה וקנה רמזה : אל דבר רמזה וקנה רמזה : <
 < וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : <
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 155 < וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : <
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 160 < וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : וקנה רמזה : <

f. 146rb

נבדקתו ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : <
 ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : <
 ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : <
 165 < ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : <
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 170 < ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : ונתנה : <
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ADE!

Line 146: כוונתו, E¹: כוונתו.
 Line 149: רמזה, E¹: רמזה.
 Line 151: וקנה, E¹: וקנה. וקנה, this word is added verti-
 cally between the two columns in the same hand in D.

certainly also have been saying 'three Gods'; but because it is significant of nature, being apprehended from some property which is in the nature (as laughter in man, and barking in a dog) and the properties said to belong to natures indicate natures, we do not say 'three Gods' because we do not say 'three natures'. And again: For prosopon is one thing and nature another. If, then, 'God' belonged to prosopon, by saying 'three prosopa' we should certainly also have been saying 'three Gods', but because we say 'one nature of the prosopa' we necessarily say that there is only one God.

How can the intention of these words not be plain to those minded to interpret the fathers' words without distortion and genuinely? For if they mutually unite the hypostases of the Holy Trinity by 'what' they are and separate them again mutually by 'how' each of them is, and, in accordance with patristic teaching, very consistently understand one nature, or substance * and Godhead, and believe in three individually subsisting prosopa, how will it not be obvious that the common names of the three are one set of things and the proper names another: the common being 'God', 'Lord', 'Good' and the like, and the proper, 'Father', 'Son' and the

appellation 'Holy Ghost'? Therefore none of the proper names is common to, or indicative of the three hypostases; otherwise, Father, Son and Holy Ghost would be the same and the hypostases would necessarily be confused. Nor, again, is the name 'God' properly indicative of one prosopon; otherwise, either that prosopon and that alone would be God or there would have to be three Gods, the title being applied differently to each prosopon, and division too *qua* 'God' would appear. This is what the father teaches. He does not (as the enemy and opponent of the fathers falsely alleges) define the Godhead as one thing and the hypostases of the Godhead another, and he justly and very correctly says that the name 'God' is not indicative of prosopon (i.e. one and one only prosopon) by way of division.

The ecumenical doctor, JOHN, too, who occupied the archiepiscopal throne of the Imperial City, indicates this more plainly, writing, as he did, in the fifth sermon *On the Incomprehensible*, as follows: For it is clear from the addition that the Son is God. For if the name 'God' belonged to the Father alone and could not signify any other hypostasis, but only the first and unbegotten, as if it were significant of him and him alone, the addition of '*Father*' would be superfluous; for it would suffice to say *one God* and we should understand who the one spoken of was. But because the name 'God' is common to Father and Son, by saying *one God* Paul would not have indicated whom he was speaking

183 cf. supra, 121 187/203 Ioh. Chrys., *De Incompr.*, hom. 5 (PG 48, 737-738; *SChr.*, vol. 28^{bis}, pp. 278-280) 190/191, 193/194 cf. I Cor. 8:6

of. Which is why he needed the appellation '*Father*' to show that he was
195 speaking about the primal and unbegotten hypostasis, because the appellation '*God*' does not suffice to indicate him, since it is common to him *
and to the Son. For some of the names are common, some proper: the
common to show the invariableness of the substance, the proper to characterize the properties of the hypostases. '*Father*' and '*Son*', then, are
200 proper to each hypostasis, whereas '*God*' and '*Lord*' are common. Since, then, he put the common name *one God*, he needed also the proper name
in order to indicate whom he was speaking of, lest we should fall into Sabellius' madness.

225 < ר' יצחק. חתמוהו אשכנזי על ארבעה ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 < ארבעה ור' יצחק על ארבעה ור' יצחק. ור' יצחק ארבעה ור' יצחק
 < ור' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 < " ר' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 < ור' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 230 < ור' יצחק. ור' יצחק ור' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 < ארבעה. ור' יצחק ור' יצחק ור' יצחק. ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 < ור' יצחק ור' יצחק ור' יצחק : ור' יצחק ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 < ור' יצחק. ור' יצחק ור' יצחק ור' יצחק. ור' יצחק ור' יצחק
 < ור' יצחק ור' יצחק.

165b

ADE¹

Line 224: חתמוהו, DE¹: ר' יצחק.

Line 227: At the top of fol. 141v D reads as follows: ר' יצחק, ר' יצחק, ר' יצחק

ר' יצחק. Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.

Line 229: ר' יצחק, D: ר' יצחק.

Line 234: חתמוהו, E¹: ר' יצחק.

Examination of that 'one' said by him in the full sense from whom, as he blasphemously says, we come to those in it when descending in an order to creation. For it will be shown that also
5 *when he speaks of the Holy Trinity he professes the common substance (which according to his argument is different from the hypostases) as, in the true sense, God, substance and nature; but that he only calls each of the three hypostases God, substance and nature in a metaphorical sense and by participation; which is why*
10 *here too he places the 'one' in the full sense somewhere above but abases the hypostases to another humbler rank.*

In addition to this let us also examine the rest of the author's words which introduce the same impious insanity. For, as previously set down, he says: And if he truly is what he is called in the full
15 sense, and every teacher of truth professes that the 'one', said in the full sense of the Holy Trinity, is more fully one than any others and is, as it were, more unique, clearly, the 'one' is to be apprehended not only merely in name but in reality too. Hence, then, if we proceed in an order

ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
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 5 ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
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 10 ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
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ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
 ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
 15 ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
 ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
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 ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה
 20 ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה ומה שהיה בזה

ADE¹

Line 4: ומה שהיה בזה, D: ומה שהיה בזה.
 Line 5: ומה שהיה בזה, DE¹: ומה שהיה בזה.
 Line 9: ומה שהיה בזה, DE¹: ומה שהיה בזה.
 Line 12: ומה שהיה בזה, DE¹: ומה שהיה בזה.
 Line 15: ומה שהיה בזה, cf. supra, ch. 40, line 40 (ומה שהיה בזה). E¹:
 ומה שהיה בזה.
 Line 16: ומה שהיה בזה, cf. supra, ch. 40, line 42 (ומה שהיה בזה).
 Line 20: ומה שהיה בזה, E¹: ומה שהיה בזה, cf. etiam infra, ch. 47, line 000 (ומה שהיה בזה).

from the 'one' to those in it and thence descend to creatures, the more we
20 descend the more manifold becomes the impress on our minds.

Oh, words pregnant with a huge folly inviting heavy censure and
bringing upon us severe condemnation from God unless we be moved by
righteous zeal! For we should do well to answer in the words our
God-clad father SEVERUS answered Julian, who was not so rich in
25 impiety as this presumptuous expositor, * for he has surpassed, as
it were, all who have blasphemed against God, as we can learn
abundantly, not least, indeed even, from the previous quotation.

So, let the wise listener observe closely how he throughout
grants 'in the full sense' only to the hypostasis understood by him
30 as the substance and as different from the hypostases, for no other
reason than because he is craftily attempting to reject and totally
negate the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

However, we know that he will certainly say: 'Here I did not
call that "one" of the Trinity more fully one and more unique than
35 the three hypostases but more than the so-called "ones" amongst
creatures; for example more than the one manhood and the like'.
And he will be told very relevantly: 'This too is worthy of your
book, my admirable fellow, that you should compare incompar-

ables and should think creaturely, mentally invented so-called
 40 "ones", one in the full sense, yet name that "one" of the Godhead
 one in a fuller sense than them'. However, you are to see too that
 when you examine the hypostases of the Holy Trinity and blather
 'one substance and Godhead', you are delivering your creed in a
 manner even almost more inexpressibly contemptible: by your
 45 bringing before us not 'in the full sense' and 'in a fuller sense' but
 'in the full sense' and 'metaphorically'. Sometimes, indeed, you
 do not deign to say 'metaphorically', but sometimes, you do;
 when you are grandly merciful you confer 'by participation' in or-
 der that 'in the full sense' may belong to the substance but 'by
 50 metaphor' or 'by participation' (if you will even allow them that!)
 to each of the hypostases.

It will be useful and very easy, I think, to prove this point again,
 as a reminder to readers and for their assurance, from your exact
 words. For you wrote in the ninth chapter of your book, misrep-
 55 resenting our wise father Severus, as follows: For here indeed he in-
 structed us not to call hypostasis 'substance', even though he often taught
 the contrary. But now he says this, because he is distinguishing the full
 signification of each. For it is one thing for something to be and be called
 in accordance with its signification, and another thing for it * to preserve
 60 its own signification but at the same time, by participation in something,
 for it both to be and to participate in the appellation of that in which it
 participates. I say this in reference to substance and hypostasis which are

חֲפִינִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי
 45 וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 50 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 55 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי

וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 60 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 65 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי
 : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי מִלֵּךְ וְגַם כִּי אֲנִי : וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי

f. 147rb

ADE¹

- Line 44: חֲפִינִי, E¹: חֲפִינִי.
- Line 45: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי, E¹: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי.
- Line 51: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי, E¹: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי.
- Line 55: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי, E¹: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי.
- Line 63: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי, DE¹: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי.
- Line 65: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי, DE¹: וְהִנֵּה אֲנִי.

ever mutually innate and separate in no other way but by mental invention alone when it seeks a definition of what each is in its own concept; 65 hence we speak in the full sense of 'one substance' with respect to all the consubstantials, whereas we do not pluralize the hypostases by a compound number, as 'substances': because each of them is named, and is, substance not by their own signification but because they participate in the common nature. And again in the 12th chapter you stated your 70 execrable lunacy more plainly, as follows: So preserve the different meanings of the words and distinguish the senses, for in this way you will think correct thoughts and not stray from what is fitting, knowing, as you will, what 'substance and nature' in the full sense is, and what has been called 'nature' in a metaphorical sense because it naturally is. You disgorged words more impious than these (because you ever progress 75 in godlessness), by writing in your *Many-Lined Letter*: But someone, moved by the preceding words, may perhaps argue: if the common meaning is named 'substance' in the full sense, obviously hypostasis has been called 'substance' in a metaphorical sense, but in this way the Fa- 80 ther will not be God in the full sense, nor will the Son or Holy Ghost. We merely make the impromptu rejoinder that it is pointless to say whether what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate; for, according to Basil, in the case of 'Father' and 'Son' the names do not indicate 85 substances but are indicative of properties; but because the Godhead (in the full sense) and the substance (in the full sense) of the Godhead belong

70/74 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 12 (n° 30) 76/88 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*;
cf. *supra*, ch. 36, 17-29

to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, each of them is in the full sense both God and substance, as being truly substantial.

How could he more clearly not so much, I should say, differentiate the hypostases from the divine substance as completely divide them from it, than by * consciously thinking of the divine substance as in the full sense God, substance and nature, and each of the hypostases as not so in the full sense and truly but, rather, in a metaphorical sense, or, to put it more accurately, by professing them as entirely not God or substance or nature? Look and see! For here indeed, you said, he instructed us not to call hypostasis 'substance', even though he often taught the contrary. But now he says this, because he is distinguishing the full signification of each. For it is one thing for something to be and be called in accordance with its signification, and another thing for it to preserve its own signification but at the same time, by participation in something, for it both to be and to participate in the appellation of that in which it participates.

Is it not clear that you profess as 'substance in the full sense' (i.e. as also 'God and nature') the common which you called substance in accordance with its signification i.e. you profess it both God and substance, whereas you decreed that hypostasis is not substance in the full sense, but that it is substance by participation in another and participates in the appellation of that in which it participates? If this is unclear, then hear its meaning more plainly. For you explained your view in the subsequent passage, when you wrote: Hence we speak in the full sense of 'one substance' with respect

96/102 cf. supra, 55-62 105 cf. supra, 99-100 107/109 cf. supra, 60-62
 111/115 cf. supra, 65-69

— בידי ה' וכו' : ומתכונתו : —
 — * : בידי ה' —

100 בידי ה' וכו' : ומתכונתו : —
 — * : בידי ה' : —
 — בידי ה' : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — * : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — * : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —

115 בידי ה' : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —
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 — : ומתכונתו : —
 — : ומתכונתו : —

ADE¹

Line 96: בידי ה', E¹: בידי ה'.
 Line 106: וכו', E¹: וכו'.
 Line 107: בידי ה', E¹: בידי ה'.
 Line 113: וכו', D: וכו'.
 Line 116: וכו', scripsimus (cf. line 111), ADE¹: וכו'.

to all the consubstantials, whereas we do not pluralize the hypostases by a compound number, as 'substances': because each of them is named, and is substance not by their own signification but because they participate in
 115 the common nature. And again: So preserve the different meanings of the words and distinguish the senses, for in this way you will think correct thoughts and not stray from what is fitting, knowing, as you will, what 'substance and nature' in the full sense is, and what has been called 'nature' in a metaphorical sense because it naturally is. The former has,
 120 I think, been made clear by the latter. For we have now learned from this excellent fellow that something's being in accordance with its signification is its being in the full sense, whereas something's being and being called not in accordance with its own signification but by its participation in another, is spoken of metaphorically. So,
 125 we will take up the rest in accordance with this understanding. For he said: But someone, moved by the preceding words, may perhaps argue: * if the common meaning is named 'substance' in the full sense, obviously hypostasis has been called 'substance' in a metaphorical sense, but in this way the Father will not be God in the full sense, nor will the
 130 Son or Holy Ghost. We merely make the impromptu rejoinder that it is pointless to say whether what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate. That is to say: nobody can rightly, in the full sense or metaphorically, call 'God' what is not God, for 'what indicates something' and 'what it is' are, for him, the same thing, as has
 135 been seen.

115/119 cf. supra, 70-74 121/122 cf. supra, 99-100 124 cf. supra,
 101 126/133 cf. supra, 76-83

This is what the author means. But we ought to observe too his deception and hypocrisy. But because, he says, the Godhead (in the full sense) and the substance (in the full sense) of the Godhead belong to
 140 Father, Son and Holy Ghost, each of them is in the full sense both God and substance. The impiety is stripped of its disguise. For he says that the very thing which each of the three hypostases is, is not God, but since each participates in the substance and Godhead in the full sense, each is in the full sense both God and substance.
 145 And how, one may rightly ask, do these things fit together: his saying, it is pointless to say whether what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate and his again adding, but because the Godhead (in the full sense) and the substance (in the full sense) of the God-
 150 head belong to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, each of them is in the full sense both God and substance? For if it is accurate to say that it is pointless to call each of the hypostases in the full sense 'God', because it does not (as he says) indicate it, how shall we not rightly suppose that each of them is in the full sense both God and substance
 155 has been thrown in to deceive? It has been proved, then, that the former is the author's meaning and the latter hypocritical knavery. For it is impossible for the same thing to be * something both in the full sense and, again, not in the full sense, or (as he himself says) not at all.

138/141 cf. supra, 85-88 146/148 cf. supra, 130-133 148/151 cf. supra, 138-141 151/152 cf. supra, 146 154 cf. supra, 150-151 159 cf. supra, 146

: מלך נח וְיִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׂרָאֵל. נִחְבְּדָה אֵלָיו : 146
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב וְיִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל : 147
 — , וְיִשְׂרָאֵל : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 148
 — : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 149
 50 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 150
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 151
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 152
 155 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 153
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 154
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 155
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 156
 160 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 157
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 158
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 159
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 160
 165 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 161
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 162
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 163
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 164
 — וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְיַעֲקֹב : 165

f. 148ra

ADE¹

- Line 146: מלך, DE¹: מלך.
- Line 148: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, E¹: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.
- Line 153: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, D: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.
- Line 155: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, DE¹: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.
- Line 159: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל², E¹: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.
- Line 163: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, E¹: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.
- Line 164: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, DE¹: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.
- Line 165: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, E¹: וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.

160 Therefore, one who utters such blasphemies, will have to say
 willy-nilly that the Father (and clearly the Son and the Holy Ghost
 too) is not in the full sense even 'good' or 'creator' or 'judge' or
 (to put it concisely) any of the things befitting the divine nature.
 For he who is not God in the full sense is also not what God is in
 165 the full sense, whether 'good' or 'creator' or 'judge'. And if he is
 God not in the full sense but by his participation in the Godhead
 (in the full sense of 'Godhead'), clearly both his existence and his
 being good, creator and judge must be not in the full sense but by
 his participation in what is in the full sense these things. In which
 170 case wise GREGORY OF NYSSA who believed the Father to be true
 Being strayed from the truth when he said the following in the
Refutation of Eunomius' Confession (its beginning is: The faith of
 Christians): For to learn that he is true Being, with whom appears the
 grandeur of the Son by the relationship, is the full teaching of true reli-
 175 gion: the Son, as has been said, making known the Spirit of life and truth
 conjointly with him, because he himself is Life and Truth.

How again, according to this abominable insanity, will Father,
 Son and Holy Ghost be praised (as renowned DIONYSIUS says) from
 his first gift and not each of them be utterly stripped entirely of this

173/176 Greg. Nyss., *Refut. Conf. Eunomii* (PG 45, 473C; Jaeger II, p. 319,
 10-15) 177/179 cf. *infra*, 188-189

180 glory, when blasphemers assert that he does not have Being in the
 full sense but participates in Him who is Being in the full sense: a
 participation which belongs not to uncreated but to created nature?
 So it will be an excellent thing to listen also to Dionysius' exalted
 theology. For he wrote in the fifth chapter of his address to Timo-
 185 thy *On the divine Names*, as follows: And simply, everything of any
 sort which exists, is in the pre-existent, and is conceived of and safe-
 guarded; and before its other participations he expresses its being. And
 again: * Rightly, then, before all the other things, will he be praised from
 his first gift in his being God. For because he is transcendent and exalted
 190 by his being prior to Being and more than Being, he pre-established all
 that is, I mean Being Itself; and by his Being he established everything of
 any sort which exists. And again: So, Goodness Itself, having expressed
 the first gift of Being is praised in the first of the participations.

But perhaps the author may say: 'Yes certainly, the God-clad
 195 saint, when speaking of the substance of the Godhead, has just
 said God will be praised from the first gift in his being'. And very
 rightly, we say, he said it, recognizing as he did, that Godhead is
 not (as it wrongly pleases impiety to think) one thing, and Father,
 Son and Holy Ghost another, but that the three hypostases are the
 200 God who is to be praised. For he also said in the first chapter of

185/187 Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nom.*, V, 5 (PG 3, 820A; Suchla,
 p. 183) 188/192 Ibid. (PG 3, 820B; Suchla, p. 184) 192/193 Ps. Dion.
 Areop., *De div. nom.*, V, 6 (PG 3, 820C; Suchla, p. 184) 196 cf. supra, 188-
 189

195 : ...
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 200 : ...
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 205 : ...
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f. 148rb

210 : ...
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 215 : ...
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ADE¹
 Line 198: ...
 Line 201: ...
 Line 209: ...
 Line 210: At the top of fol. 146v D reads as follows: ...
 ...

the same book *On the divine names*: But what we said when we were setting down *The Divine Foreshadowings*: the One, the Mysterious, the Super-substantial, who is Goodness Itself, I mean the trinal Oneness equal in Godhead, equal in goodness, it is impossible to say or conceive of.
 205 And how could he have explained what he imagined in any other way, and have clearly identified unity and trinity, save by speaking of a trinal Oneness equal in Godhead, equal in goodness? The sacred herald is not then to be convicted (as the blasphemer of the God-clad saints thinks) of the same absurdities, as one who sup-
 210 poses Him who is Being in the full sense, one thing, and defining Father, Son and Holy Ghost as existing by participation in him. For it is to claim this (indeed, rather, to claim the utter non-existence of the Holy Trinity) that the cunning knave professes the Godhead one thing and the hypostases of the Godhead another,
 215 and reckons the Godhead as Being and being God, life, goodness and the like in the full sense, whereas he impiously makes the hypostases be and be called these things by participation.

* For execrable Eunomius too, the writer's master, by separately awarding the Father, and not attributing at all to Son and Holy
 220 Ghost, superiority and substance in the full sense, was contriving to make the Son and the Holy Ghost seem to exist only in name and thereby was covertly endeavouring to negate their hypostases. It is this that wise GREGORY OF NYSSA teaches us when he subtly exposed Eunomius' hidden, satanic and blasphemous abuse in the

201/204 Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nom.*, I, 5 (PG 3, 593B; Suchla, p. 116) 207 cf. *supra*, 203-204

< אַרְבַּע עָשָׂר יָמִים : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 220 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 225 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 230 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 235 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ

* אֵל אֱלֹהֵינוּ שֶׁאֵינוֹ מְבַרְכֵנוּ בְּיָמֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 240 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 < מַלְאָכָיו לְרַחֵם אֶת אֲבוֹתֵינוּ : כִּי יִשְׁלַח אֱלֹהֵינוּ

ADE¹

Line 218: אַרְבַּע, AB¹: אַרְבַּע.
 Line 221: אֱלֹהֵינוּ, E¹: אֱלֹהֵינוּ.
 Line 222: אֱלֹהֵינוּ, E¹: אֱלֹהֵינוּ.
 Line 224: אֱלֹהֵינוּ, DE¹: אֱלֹהֵינוּ.
 Line 243: אֱלֹהֵינוּ, E¹: אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

225 15th chapter of his *Refutation* of the impious fellow (its beginning
 is: To want to help everybody was not, apparently), as follows: But it
 will not perhaps be inopportune to investigate each of these by argument,
 to see what he means when he attributes to the Father's substance alone
 the 'highest and fullest sense', not permitting the substance of Son or
 230 Holy Ghost to be high or in the full sense. For I think this is a device for
 totally denying the Only-begotten's and the Spirit's substance, by cov-
 ertly contriving this verbal trick to make them seem to exist only in name,
 and the true acknowledgement of their subsistence to be negated by such
 a contrivance. And one can without difficulty discern that this is so, if
 235 one spends a little more time on the argument. It is not the part of one
 who thinks that the Only-begotten and the Holy Ghost truly exist in their
 own hypostases, to be over-particular about the acknowledgement of the
 names whereby he thinks he should honour the God over all; otherwise,
 it would be most insane, having assented to the reality, to be over-particu-
 240 lar about the words. But as it is, by having attributed to the Father's sub-
 stance alone the 'highest and fullest sense', he has conceded, by silence
 over the others, that he thinks they do not subsist in the full sense. For
 how could he say that anything to which 'being in the full sense', is not
 attributed, truly exists? For in the case of what do not have 'in the full
 245 sense' attributed to them, we must necessarily assent to their contraries;
 for what does not 'exist' in the full sense, * is entirely non-existent, in
 which case the claim of 'not being in the full sense' is proof of total non-
 existence. And after other things: But there is no doubt of this argu-

226/248 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (PG 45, 300C-301A; Jaeger I, pp. 75,17 –
 76,13) 248/263 Ibid. (PG 45, 304D-305B; Jaeger I, p. 79, 9-27)

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f. 148vb

ADE¹

Line 249: אב , E¹: אב .
Line 251: אבירא , E¹: אבירא .
Line 259: אב , D: אב .
Line 266: אבירא , E¹: אבירא .
Line 270: אבירא , DE¹: אבירא .
Line 271: אב , D: אב .

ment's being advocacy of Jewish teaching professed by those who make
250 only the Father's substance subsist. It alone they affirm exists in the full
sense, whereas they reckon that of Son and Spirit amongst the non-exist-
ent. For anything which does not exist in the full sense is spoken of as
'existing' only by a linguistic custom, just as someone seen in a portrait is
named 'a man' whereas the one called 'a man' in the full sense is not the
255 likeness but the archetype of the likeness; and the picture is 'a man' only
in name, and therefore cannot be called in the full sense what it is called,
because it is not by nature that which is named. And hence, then, if only
the Father's substance is called 'substance' in the full sense, whereas that
of Son and Spirit is not called that at all, what else is this but a clear de-
260 nial of the saving message? Therefore, let them run from the Church to
the Jewish synagogues, because they will not grant that the Son exists in
the full sense and claim that he does not exist at all; for what is 'not in
the full sense' is equivalent to 'what does not exist'. And again: But if
he professes the Son as subsisting as a substantial force in some way or
265 other (for we will not still dispute over this), why does he again tear up
what he has conceded, by claiming that he who is acknowledged as exist-
ing does not exist in the full sense, which is equivalent (as we have said)
to his not existing at all? For just as someone to whom the name does not
fully apply cannot be a man, and in the absence of a man's properties the
270 whole concept of his substance is negated as well, so too in the case of
any reality, which does not have existence attributed to it completely and

in the full sense, a partial admission of its being is no proof of its subsistence. However, this claim about its 'not existing in the full sense' is a device for the total abolition of its basis.

275 When this is said by the doctor, what is a man to do, then who
 thinks the Godhead one thing and * the hypostases of the Godhead
 another, and who reverences the former, as in the full sense God,
 substance and nature, but deprives each of the latter of 'being' in
 the full sense, indeed, rather, of being God or substance or nature
 280 at all? Must he not (with more justice than Eunomius!) run from
 the Church to the Jewish synagogues? For if Eunomius (as the doctor
 says) when he attributes to the Father's substance alone the 'highest and
 fullest sense', but by covert silence on this in the case of Son and
 Holy Ghost, defined them as not existing in the full sense and hav-
 285 ing thereby condemned them to total non-existence was cast out of
 the Church, was banished, indeed, to the Jewish synagogues, how
 will not someone who clearly teaches, with so much audacity, the
 Godhead as one thing and Father, Son and Holy Ghost another,
 and who separately awards 'being God, substance and nature' in
 290 the full sense to the former, but bestows on each of the hypostases
 either its not being God, substance and nature at all or its being
 called this in a metaphorical sense: how can he fail not only to be
 banished to the Jewish synagogues by a judgement almost inexpress-
 ibly juster, but also, if it be possible, fail to wallow even more than
 295 those impious and godless men, like swine in their own foul mire?

280/281 cf. supra, 260-261 282/283 cf. supra, 240-241 286 et 293 cf.
 supra, 260-261

Do we need more words on this in proof of the apostasy, when (as previously set down) he spoke without any disguise, about Father, Son and Holy Ghost, saying that since each of them is not indicative of Godhead, each is pointlessly, indeed unjustly named
 300 'God' in the full sense rather than metaphorically? He said: It is pointless to say whether what is not at all, according to its own concept, indicative of anything, is in the full sense or metaphorically what it does not indicate.

It has, I think, been sufficiently proved that it is to eradicate, as
 305 best he can, the Godhead of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, that he defines the substance and Godhead understood by him 'in the full sense', as other than Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

But it follows that we should demonstrate * how, because Eunomius conceded the superiority of the Father's substance, for
 310 the eradication of Son and Holy Ghost, this exact imitator of Eunomius, having attacked the entire Godhead (which is the same as saying Father, Son and Holy Ghost), granted a Godhead he had fabricated apart from Father, Son and Holy Ghost. For he wrote, as set down above: Hence, then, if we proceed in an order from the
 315 'one' to those in it and thence descend to creatures, the more we descend the more manifold becomes the impress on our minds until, attaining to

ultimate division, we halt at plurality; and if we thence ascend again, we find nothing unique, even though in the upward course plurality is contracted gradually until in our returning we again reach the truly 'one'
 320 from whom all that are have their existence.

You will observe, then, that he says that it is from the substance (for this is what he means by saying hence, then from the 'one', as from a higher and superior first-principle), that we arrive at the hypostases which have attained to a secondary and, so to say, subordinate rank, and thence descend again to creatures. What could be more impious or more absurd than this disordered order, this ladder of novel and outlandish Godhead, as GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN says, not leading up to Heaven but taking one down from Heaven to the fires of Hell? For Apollinarius used wickedly to chatter about the Spirit's being great, the Son greater, and the Father, again, greatest,
 330 like radiance, beam, and Sun, and used to make the august Trinity unequal in honours and powers by a sort of ladder, whereas this new-fangled fabricator of nonsense almost surpasses, as it were, all the blasphemies against God which have ever been invented by the impious, not only by his reckoning the Holy Trinity as something different from the Godhead and introducing a cleavage of the Godhead, but also by his raising the substance of the Godhead he speaks of to exalted thrones and crowning it with God-befitting honours whereas Father, Son * and Holy Ghost he sets in a lesser
 340 rank and alienates from Godhead, indeed, rather, deprives each of

322 et 325 cf. supra, 314-315 326/328 cf. infra, 352-353 330/331 cf. infra, 350-351

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f. 149va

ADE'

Line 352: אהא, cf. infra, line 474 (add. אהא).

Line 356: At the top of fol. 157v E' reads as follows: אהא אהא אהא אהא אהא אהא אהא אהא. Of St. Peter against Damian.

Line 360: אהא, E': אהא.

Line 362: אהא, D: אהא.

Line 365: אהא, E': אהא.

Line 372: אהא, DE': אהא.

the three prosopa of any existence at all, contriving a complete denial, for his part, of Godhead.

Let us then, please, quote the words themselves, by the master of mysteries, against Apollinarius, and from them too, justly rebut
 345 the insanity directed against the Godhead. The doctor wrote, then, in the *Second Letter to Cledonius*, as follows: But because, proud of their discussion of the Trinity, they falsely accuse us of being unsound on the faith, and entice the majority, it must be known that Apollinarius, though giving the name of Godhead to the Holy Ghost did not keep the
 350 meaning of Godhead. For making the Trinity consist of a great Spirit, a greater Son and a greatest Father like radiance, beam, and Sun, (as is clearly written in his treatise) is a ladder of Godhead not leading up to Heaven but taking one down from Heaven. Whereas we recognize Father, Son and Holy Ghost as God, and these not as mere appellations which
 355 determine an inequality of honours and powers, but as there is one and the same name, so also there is one and the same nature of Godhead, substance and power.

I do not think that those who compare these words with our author's will not be showing him great favour. For what Apollinarius
 360 attempted to claim over the three connatural hypostases, by blathering about great, greater and greatest, is the very thing that this

346/357 Greg. Naz., *Ep. 101* (PG 37, 192AB; *SChr.*, vol. 208, pp. 64-66) 361 cf. *supra*, 350-351

admirable fellow too hoped to claim, by blaspheming against the substance of the Godhead and against the three hypostases of the Godhead: by honouring the former as true God by nature and
 365 agreeing that the latter (i.e. each of the hypostases) is, and is called a subordinate God by participation in the substance, he knows an unequal *mystery of Godliness*. Therefore if the Theologian rejected Apollinarius' inventions by nothing else but by here proclaiming Father, Son * and Holy Ghost not as something other than the God-
 370 head, nor again, as mere appellations which determine an inequality of honours and powers, but by thinking that as there is one and the same name so also there is one and the same nature of Godhead, let us reject the irreligious opinion of this presumptuous author also. For the hypostases being nothing else, in truth, but the substance and di-
 375 vine nature, yet conceived of as being the Godhead itself, there will no longer be any room for thinking or saying 'great and greater' or 'in the full sense and in a fuller sense' or (to put it more truly) 'not in the full sense and in the full sense', of the divine mystery.

380 But if also, because, as first cause, the Father is called the Beginning of Godhead and is said to come to creatures through Godhead (for the same guide to exact theology said in his *Second Oration on Peace*: Therefore, to the extent that God is more honourable than crea-
 385 tures, will it be more glorious for the first cause to be the Beginning of Godhead rather than of creatures, and through intervening Godhead come to creatures, rather than the opposite, that the Godhead should be made to subsist for their sake, which is what it pleases these very high-up investi-
 gators to suppose), this redoubtable fellow thinks he can find some

365/366 cf. supra, 99 et 101 367 cf. I Tim. 3:16 370/372 cf. supra, 354-356 380/381 cf. infra, 384-386 383/388 Greg. Naz., *Or. 23*, 6 (PG 35, 1157C; *SChr.*, vol. 270, p. 294)

sort of aid for his doctrine, by shamelessly positing another Begin-
 390 ning (when he says: Hence, then, if we proceed in an order from the
 'one' to those in it and thence descend to creatures) he is to learn that
 he entirely alienates the first cause from being first cause (i.e. the
 Father from being called 'Father' in the full sense), if the full
 sense of the appellation 'Father' is transferred to that clearly
 395 higher and pre-existing cause. As wise GREGORY, Basil the Great's
 brother, instructs us in the 37th Chapter of his *Refutation of*
Eunomius (its beginning is: To want to help everybody was not appar-
 ently) by saying: For having heard 'Father' * we at once understand the
 one who is the cause of everything's existence, who, had he owned an-
 400 other cause transcending himself, would not be called 'Father' in the full
 sense of the word, because the appellation 'Father' (in the full sense)
 would have been attributed to the cause found to be prior. But if he is the
 cause of all and *all is from him*, as the Apostle says, obviously nothing
 can be found to preexist his being. And again, in the 38th chapter:
 405 And, here then, if there is another Father, conceived of in thought as prior
 to the Lord's Father, those who pride themselves upon their inexpressible
 wisdom must demonstrate the point and then we shall agree that the idea

390/391 cf. *supra*, 314-315 398/404 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (PG 45, 420CD; Jaeger I, pp. 184,26 – 185,4); cf. *supra*, b. II, ch. 16, 40-46 403
 I Cor. 8:6 405/412 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (PG 45, 421D-424A; Jaeger I, pp. 186,30 – 187,9)

425 *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
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 430 *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
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 435 *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
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 < *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
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 440 *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
 < *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
 < *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
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 < *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
 445 *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
 < *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
 < *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*

ADE'

Line 425: *ܕܥܝܢܐ*, E': *ܕܥܝܢܐ*.

Line 428: *ܕܥܝܢܐ*, E': *ܕܥܝܢܐ*.

Line 431: *ܕܥܝܢܐ*, E': *ܕܥܝܢܐ*. *ܕܥܝܢܐ*, D: *ܕܥܝܢܐ*.

Line 433: At the top of fol. 151v D reads as follows: *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*
ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ. *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*.
 E': *ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ*.

Lines 436-443: *ܕܥܝܢܐ ... ܕܥܝܢܐ*, cf. Book II, ch. 16, lines 40-47 (a slightly
 different Syr. trans. with many small variants).

Line 438: *ܕܥܝܢܐ*, E': *ܕܥܝܢܐ*. *ܕܥܝܢܐ*, DE': *ܕܥܝܢܐ*.

Line 447: *ܕܥܝܢܐ*, DE': *ܕܥܝܢܐ*.

of the ingenerate cannot be understood from the title 'Father'. But if the
 primal Father has no prior cause underlying his subsistence, and the
 410 Only-begotten's hypostasis is always also understood immediately 'Fa-
 ther' is heard, why do they terrify us with these technical tangles of soph-
 isms?

If it had also seemed to this writer to be well said that the Father
 is cause of all and *all is from him*, and that in no way whatsoever can
 415 another cause prior to him be conceived of, otherwise (as we have
 also learned) he would not be called 'Father' in the full sense, he
 would not have spoken like a lookout on a hilltop, separating off
 his so-called 'Godhead' but allocating a lower level to Father, Son
 and Holy Ghost, and said: Hence, then, if we proceed in an order from
 420 the 'one' to those in it and thence descend to creatures. Clearly then (as
 has been said often), he claims throughout nothing else but that
 Father, Son and Holy Ghost should seem to exist in name, whereas
 he accredits only the Godhead which he has fabricated and which,
 as he supposes is other than the hypostases, with existence in the
 425 full sense: or, if he allows that Father, Son and Holy Ghost exist at
 all, he defines them as stemming from the Godhead and substance
 as from some sort of other * and higher cause. For he said, as pre-
 viously set down: Hence, then, if we proceed in an order from the 'one'

414 cf. supra, 402-403 416 cf. supra, 400-401 419/420 cf. supra,
 390-391 428/434 cf. supra, 314-320

< ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן

450 : ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 455 : ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
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 460 : ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 465 : ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
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 < ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן
 470 : ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן ואלו בלתי כן

f. 150rb

ADE¹

Line 448: ואלו בלתי כן, D: ואלו בלתי כן.
 Line 450: ואלו בלתי כן, DE¹: ואלו בלתי כן. ואלו בלתי כן, D: ואלו בלתי כן.
 Line 453: ואלו בלתי כן, E¹: ואלו בלתי כן.
 Line 455: ואלו בלתי כן, E¹: ואלו בלתי כן. ואלו בלתי כן, DE¹: ואלו בלתי כן.
 E¹: ואלו בלתי כן.
 Line 459: ואלו בלתי כן, D: ואלו בלתי כן.
 Line 460: ואלו בלתי כן, E¹: ואלו בלתי כן.
 Line 461: ואלו בלתי כן, D: ואלו בלתי כן.
 Line 462: ואלו בלתי כן, E¹: ואלו בלתי כן.

to those in it and thence descend to creatures. the more we descend the
 430 more manifold becomes the impress on our minds until, attaining to ultimate division, we halt at plurality; and if we thence ascend again, we find nothing unique, even though in the upward course plurality is contracted gradually until in our returning we again reach the truly 'one' from whom all that are have their existence.

435 You will see that the very thing which the doctor credits the Father with as first cause, this presumptuous fellow has granted to his fabricated Godhead as a prior cause, which, according to his argument, is other than the three holy hypostases. For the master of mysteries says: For having heard 'Father' we at once understand the
 440 one who is the cause of everything's existence, who, had he owned another cause transcending himself, would not be called 'Father' in the full sense of the word, because the appellation 'Father' (in the full sense) would have been attributed to the cause found to be prior; and again: But if the primal Father has no prior cause underlying his subsistence.
 445 Whereas this writer, opposes the laws and definitions of the fathers, and consciously making the truly 'one' and the three holy hypostases different things, said: And if we thence ascend again, we find nothing unique, even though in the upward course plurality is contracted gradually until in our returning we again reach the truly 'one'
 450 from whom all that are have their existence.

What then are we to say? Must not someone who defines as one thing the truly 'one' from whom all that are have their existence and from whom we proceed (as this self-given law says) in an order to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and again as another thing, the

439/443 cf. supra, 398-402 444 cf. supra, 408-409 447/450 cf. supra, 431-434 452 cf. supra, 449-450 et 433-434 453 cf. supra, 428

— שלמים : לא נחשבו נהגו למוטא : אף כפילא פילא
 — כספא דזינא דלילא כספא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 — דלילא דזינא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה דלילא
 — אמוטא אמוטא אמוטא : כספא דקדושה

475 שוה אמוטא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה דלילא
 : כספא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה

480 דלילא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה

485 דלילא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה

490 דלילא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה

כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה, דלילא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה
 : כספא דקדושה דלילא דקדושה : כספא דקדושה

ADE'

Line 474: אמוטא, cf. supra, line 352 (om.). שלמים, D: שלמים.
 Line 479: דקדושה, DE': דקדושה. דקדושה, DE': דקדושה.
 Line 480: דקדושה, DE': דקדושה. דקדושה, E': דקדושה.
 Line 483: דקדושה, E': דקדושה.
 Line 488: דקדושה, DE': דקדושה.

455 Father, the Son and Holy Ghost, necessarily call that 'one' as cause,
 something separate from, and superior to, all; from which cause
 even Father, Son and Holy Ghost have their existence. For if from
 the truly 'one', all that are have their existence and * this 'one' (accord-
 460 and Holy Ghost, how will it not be found to be the cause also of
 the Father and Son and Holy Ghost?

But perhaps someone may say that the author meant by the
 all that are which have their existence from this truly 'one', 'creatures'.
 In which case, according to this folly, another creator of the crea-
 465 tures has appeared, who is not Father, Son and Holy Ghost at all;
 since, according to the argument of this new-fangled theologian,
 the truly 'one' (i.e. the substance of the Godhead) is one thing and
 Father, Son and Holy Ghost another thing. One of two things,
 then, is necessary: either, this author must profess that the truly
 470 'one' from whom all that are have their existence (i.e. the substance of
 the Godhead) is no other than the Father and Son and Holy Ghost
 themselves, and all his devices against the truth will have been
 destroyed (for he can no longer understand the characteristic prop-
 475 of as being the Godhead's substance); or, by supposing the hypo-
 stases one thing and the truly 'one' from whom all that are have their
 existence, another, he must recognize as cause and creator of all not
 the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but the truly 'one' and, according
 to his argument, more exalted than they, if he is not to allocate us,
 480 impiously again, two creators in place of one.

456/458 cf. supra, 433-434 463, 467, 469/470 et 476/478 cf. supra, 457-458

500 f. 150va
 כח נחמ : אהבא כח נחמ מל לכא נחמ
 נחמ נחמ : נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ
 נחמ נחמ : נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ
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505
 נחמ נחמ : נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ
 נחמ נחמ : נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ
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 510 נחמ נחמ : נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ
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 515 נחמ נחמ : נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ
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 520 נחמ נחמ : נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ
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ADE¹

Line 502: At the top of fol. 150v A reads as follows: נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ נחמ. Of the patriarch St. Peter against Damian.
 Line 517: נחמ נחמ, DE¹: נחמ נחמ.
 Line 518: נחמ נחמ, D: נחמ נחמ.
 Line 523: נחמ נחמ, DE¹: נחמ נחמ.

Chapter 42

*Rebuttal of the author's blasphemy in making the hypostases of the Holy Trinity and the divine substance different things. And explanation of various points set down in our first Memorandum to him where, on his shamelessly accusing us of defining the substance of the Godhead or the hypostases of the Holy Trinity, he is clearly proved by these ignorant claims, to be saying that the divine substance, and also their characteristic * properties as mere appellations seen in the three hypostases, is an accident; and again, contrariwise, that the hypostases existing in the one substance of the Godhead, are accidents.*

This whole present examination has clearly proved that he does not recognize at all the truly 'one', i.e. the divine substance, as Father, Son and Holy Ghost; but the words too from the *Many-lined Letter* already set down a little earlier, will prove it more clearly. They will be examined forthwith, with Christ our God to assist our feeble self, by a close investigation. They are as follows: For Eustathius, who was the holy pastor of the Antiochenes, having first proved in his discourse *Against Photinus or Maurinus* that 'prosopon is one thing' in its concept 'and nature another', taught that the nature is 'seen in three prosopa'. The consequence (according to your previous examination) will be that he leaves the nature as a mere appellation,

13 cf. supra, ch. 41, 478

17/34 cf. supra, ch. 40, 50-66

מפואר וראיית חזונו

5 חכמתו ופוארו ופוארו : וראיית חזונו
 לפוארו וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו לפוארו
 וראיית חזונו וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו
 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
 10 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :

A. f. 150vb

15 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
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 20 וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו : וראיית חזונו :
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ADE¹

Line 7: וראיית חזונו, E¹: וראיית חזונו.
 Line 15: וראיית חזונו, DE¹: וראיית חזונו.
 Line 19: וראיית חזונו, DE¹: וראיית חזונו.
 Line 22: וראיית חזונו, DE¹: וראיית חזונו.

because he said it was seen in others. And it will be fitting to introduce the father's own words, which are as follows: 'For prosopon is one thing and
25 nature another. If, then, "God" belonged to prosopon, by saying "three prosopa", we should certainly be saying "three Gods". But because "God" belongs to nature, when we say "one nature of the prosopa" we necessarily say that there is only one God'. Thus did the sainted pastor prove by argument that when we say 'in three prosopa', we do not teach
30 three Gods or three natures, because 'prosopon is one thing and nature another'. But he who taught this, added after other matters: 'But the nature, whose name is "God", we understand as ever seen in three prosopa, neither diminished by loss of prosopon nor increased by addition of prosopon'.

35 The intelligent listener will of course remember that also in the passage examined slightly earlier, this cunning author had already endeavoured to conclude from this same proof-text by Saint * Eustathius that the prosopa, conceived of in the blessed nature, are not indicative of the divine nature; thereby attempting to prove the one
40 Godhead something other than Father, Son and Holy Ghost. For after quoting there other patristic words besides those previously set down, he wrote: It will, indeed, have become clear from the

previous text that the prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature, are not indicative of the Godhead or divine nature. Which is why we also said
 45 that by his saying: The prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature, are not indicative of the Godhead or divine nature, he meant nothing else but that the prosopa conceived of in the blessed nature are not the Godhead or divine nature; for he entirely identifies indicators and indicated, as was demonstrated extensively in the above, when we set
 50 down his previous very words, and proved what we said from them.

So since we only made a careful investigation there of the point then set down for our examination (I mean how he meant that the prosopa do not indicate the divine nature), we will now examine
 55 as well how (as it pleases him and him alone to think) the prosopa of the Holy Trinity are other than the divine nature.

He said, then: For Eustathius, who was the holy pastor of the Antiochenes, having first proved in his discourse *Against Photinus or Maurinus* that 'prosoyon is one thing' in its concept 'and nature another',
 60 taught that the nature is 'seen in three prosopa'. The consequence (according to your previous examination) will be that he leaves the nature as a mere appellation, because he said it was seen in others.

It is, perhaps, idle to abandon matters in hand and enter upon other questions. However, lest anyone should suppose that this excellent author said anything worthy of discussion when he wrote:
 65 The consequence (according to your previous examination) will be * that he leaves the nature as a mere appellation, because he said it was seen in others, it would be as well, I think, to show first, as shortly as possible, where he got the pretext from for casting this aspersion upon
 70 us, and after that investigate the point.

At the outset, then, after he had urged us (we should not be telling an untruth if we said 'compelled us') to examine his book, we composed with much humility, for the sake of the love and concern we had for him, a mere *Memorandum* about it, supposing (as
 75 we have already said at the beginning of this work) that he had come to write down these absurd and abominable doctrines not with malicious intent but out of a desire to oppose impiety more fiercely and to demolish fully the pagan insanity of the polytheists; and wanting only, as it were, to give him prior notice of the
 80 right direction, so that he might lift himself out of the abyss of perdition, we showed that we were excusing him by writing in the *Memorandum* I mentioned: I interpret this in accordance with your aim: which is that you want to call the properties seen in the common substance 'hypostases', and for them to be three realities; and I under-
 85 stand them not as mere appellations, not subsisting on their own and only seen in another, because the holy, august and consubstantial Trinity is

66/68 cf. *supra*, 60-62 82/89 Petr. Callinic., *Memorandum aliunde non cognitum*, fragm.

three perfect, characteristic and individually subsisting hypostases and three prosopa, and not simply three properties viewed as belonging with the substance. And famous SEVERUS, the standard of good order in
 90 all things, will testify that we did not exceed the fathers' and the Church's definitions and laws when, to set the wanderer right, lift him up after his fall and always keep God's Church untroubled and at peace, we showed that we excused the insane absurdities yet liberally condemned the impiety. He says in the book *Against*
 95 *mad Julian's Additions*, as follows: But how can he not appear self-contradictory when he says that man became sick with sin of his own will and, again, * on the contrary, says that the body was attached to us as a result of that corruption which is sin? And I first held back from a rebuttal of this madness, wanting him to understand his own words; which is
 100 why, having credited him with orthodoxy on the point, with a certain medicinal 'economy', so that I might draw him towards correction, I only mentioned that the terminology and mere wording were not good. And who, after listening with discernment to these wise words, will blame us justly for the indulgence and pity we endeavoured to
 105 show this author? For the doctor said: And I first held back from a rebuttal of this madness, wanting him to understand his own words; which is why, having credited him with orthodoxy on the point, with a certain medicinal 'economy', so that I might draw him towards correction, I only mentioned that the terminology and mere wording were not

95/102 Sev. Ant., *C. Add. Jul.*, 13-23 (CSCO 295, p. 33, 7-16; 296, p. 27, 19-29) 105/110 cf. *supra*, 98-102

110 good. Guided by these and similar words, I, my humble self, wrote
at the outset to this cunning writer: I interpret this in accordance with
your aim: which is that you want to call the properties seen in the com-
mon substance 'hypostases', and for them to be three realities; and I un-
derstand them not as mere appellations, not subsisting on their own and
115 only seen in another, endeavouring mainly to bring him to an aware-
ness of his blasphemies and to make him recognize that no right-
thinking man accepts his naming of the Father, Son and Holy
Ghost by mere appellations and empty words, yet his alienation of
them in reality and truth from being hypostases, by professing
120 them to be characteristic properties (I mean ingeneracy, generacy
and procession) or one of the things not subsisting on their own
but only seen in another. And, hence, recognizing that by thinking
of the Holy Trinity as consubstantial we must think both of the
'one' of the substance and at the same time of the separateness of the
125 hypostases, both * of unity and division (for our divinely inspired father
Severus says in the *Letter to Count Isidore* - whose beginning is:

125 < 126 < 127 < 128 < 129 < 130 < 131 < 132 < 133 < 134 < 135 < 136 < 137 < 138 < 139 < 140 < f. 151vb

ADE²

- Line 122: ܕܘܪ, D om. ܕܘܪܡܢܐ, E²: ܕܘܪܡܢܐ.
- Line 123: ܕܘܪܡܢܐ, E²: ܕܘܪܡܢܐܐܪܐ.
- Line 127: ܦܘܪܘܨܐ, D: ܦܘܪܘܨܐ, cf. infra, ch. 44, line 260 (ܦܘܪܘܨܐ).
- Line 128: ܡܚܘܨܐ, DE²: ܡܚܘܨܐ.
- Line 129: ܡܚܘܨܐ, D: ܡܚܘܨܐ.
- Line 131: ܡܚܘܨܐ, DE²: ܡܚܘܨܐ.
- Line 132: At the top of fol. 156v D reads as follows: ܡܚܘܨܐ ܡܚܘܨܐ, ܡܚܘܨܐ. *Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.*
- Line 136: ܡܚܘܨܐ, D: ܡܚܘܨܐ.
- Line 137: ܡܚܘܨܐ, E²: ܡܚܘܨܐ.
- Line 139: ܡܚܘܨܐ, D: ܡܚܘܨܐ.
- Line 142: ܡܚܘܨܐ, DE²: ܡܚܘܨܐ.

I rejoiced exceedingly when I received your Christ-loving Illustrious' letter - Concerning these matters, then, I think we should avoid this composite term and not call the Holy Trinity 'uni-substantial' or the Father
 130 'uni-substantial', both because it is not to be found in accurate teachers and because it gives pretexts to the evil propensities of heretics; whereas the doctors called the Trinity 'consubstantial', in order that by this word, so plainly and very well established, there might be expressed both the
 135 'one' of the substance and at the same time the separateness of the hypostases, and by this one word, both unity and division; for when the Son is called 'consubstantial with the Father and the Holy Ghost' it shows that he participates in the substance along with those numbered with him, but is separate in hypostasis, for nobody is consubstantial with himself, but one man is consubstantial with another), we added: Because the holy,
 140 august and consubstantial Trinity is three perfect, characteristic and individually subsisting hypostases and three prosopa, and not simply three properties viewed as belonging with the substance. Such, indeed, was the intention of our words, and in this way the obstinacy and troublesome mind of this excellent fellow were made public.

145 But it is worthy of note how darkness, as it were, fell upon this fellow, blinding his reason, and how he took what had been written to him in all charity and humility, with ill-temper. For he said, in the same *Many-lined Letter* of his, the following: But I should like to be told what the phrase 'not as mere appellations not subsisting on
 150 their own' means. For we have never before heard that mere appellations,

128/139 Sev. Ant., *Ep. ad Isid. com. cuius initium «Multum gavisus sum»*, fragm. aliunde non cognitum. *PO* 14, p. 3 139/142 cf. supra, 86-89 148/157 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* 149/150 Petr. Callinic., *Memorandum*; cf. supra, 114

whether subsisting on their own or appearing in another, have any signification. For either they have a signification and support their hearers' minds on what they signify (whether it subsists on its own or is seen in another), * and are not mere appellations or meaningless words vainly
 155 emitted into the air; or if they really are mere appellations it will be obvious that whether subsisting on their own or seen in another, they have no signification. And again: This phrase, then, would suggest that what is not divorced from participation by another in it and from mental inspection in it, is a mere sound that does not reach any signification at all.

160 There is no necessity to make a rejoinder to this idle chatter, but because he seems to reckon mere appellations as nothing but empty sound signifying nothing (for he wrote again in the *Letter through Zachariah*: For if the fatherhood existing in the Godhead is a mere appellation, the name of the hypostasis derived from the fatherhood,
 165 I mean 'Father', will become a meaningless word like the pagan fables, even though, when we join the property to the common, by connection of the two we call the fatherhood existing in the Godhead 'God the Father'), it will perhaps be useful to record for his instruction some of the many (indeed, rather hosts of) things GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN

157/159 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* 163/167 Dam. Alex., *Apologia secunda*; cf. supra, ch. 32, 136-140

170 taught us on the point. For he said the following (as we have in-
 deed already set it down previously) when he wrote in the *Second*
Letter to Cledonius: Whereas we recognize Father, Son and Holy
 Ghost as God, and these not as mere appellations which determine an in-
 equality of honours or powers, but as there is one name, so also there is
 175 one and the same nature of Godhead, substance and power. He also
 wrote in the *Second Oration on Theology* as follows: But if there is
 anyone of the multitude, unworthy of such height and contemplation, if,
 indeed, he is utterly impure, let him not draw nigh, for it will not be safe.
 But if he be purified awhile, let him remain below and only listen to the
 180 voice and the trumpet, the mere words of true religion.

‘It is time, admirable fellow’, someone may justly say to this
 presumptuous author, ‘that you withstood this God-clad father too
 * and said: “how do mere appellations determine an inequality of hon-
 ours and powers, when they are meaningless words and possess no
 185 signification?”’ For, indeed, he also said: Father, Son and Holy Ghost
 are not mere appellations which determine an inequality of honours or
 powers. But take note of the other passage: But if he be purified
 awhile, let him remain below and only listen to the voice and the trumpet,
 the mere words of true religion. What? Are the words of true religion
 190 without signification because the father called them mere? But
 we will leave these words aside, because they bring no little shame
 not only on those who said them but even on those dwelling on
 them anywhere too long.

172/175 cf. supra, ch. 41, 353-357 176/180 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 28, 2 (PG 36,
 28B; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 102) 183/184 cf. supra, 173-174 184/185 cf. su-
 pra, 154 et 156-157 185/187 cf. supra, 172-174 187/190 cf. supra, 179-
 180

< אֶת־יְהוָה מִלְּפָנָיו וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה
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205 אֶת־יְהוָה מִלְּפָנָיו וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה
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 210 אֶת־יְהוָה מִלְּפָנָיו וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה
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 215 אֶת־יְהוָה מִלְּפָנָיו וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה
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 אֶת־יְהוָה מִלְּפָנָיו וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה

ADE²

Line 193: אֶת־יְהוָה, D: אֶת־יְהוָה.
 Line 194: אֶת־יְהוָה, D: אֶת־יְהוָה.
 Line 195: אֶת־יְהוָה, cf. supra, ch. 41, line 390 (אֶת־יְהוָה).
 Line 196: אֶת־יְהוָה, D: אֶת־יְהוָה. אֶת־יְהוָה, cf. supra, ch. 41, line 391 (אֶת־יְהוָה).
 Line 207: אֶת־יְהוָה, D: אֶת־יְהוָה.

Let us investigate his cunning conclusion from them. For when
 195 we said at that time (in the sense and manner set down above) that
 we did not understand the properties he spoke of as mere appellations
 not subsisting on their own and merely seen in another, he retorted
 with the so very logical deduction, that according to our argument
 everything seen in another is a mere appellation. 'For if', he says,
 200 'mere appellations are seen in others, all things seen in another
 will necessarily be mere appellations'. Hence in self-deception
 and on a diet of ridiculous, abominable opinions, he wrote the pas-
 sage we are presently examining: For Eustathius, who was the holy
 pastor of the Antiochenes, having first proved in his discourse *Against*
 205 *Photinus or Maurinus* that 'prosopon is one thing' in its concept 'and na-
 ture another', taught that the nature is 'seen in three prosopa'. The conse-
 quence (according to your previous examination) will be that he leaves
 the nature as a mere appellation, because he said it was seen in others.
 And again, he says immediately before this: The added words, then,
 210 are similar and indicate that the assertion that the properties seen in the
 common substance are hypostases and realities, is untrue; for these words
 have taught us that what are seen in another are mere appellations; from
 which it will be deduced that the fathers (who sometimes * rule that one
 Godhead and nature is seen in three hypostases, but sometimes teach that
 215 three hypostases are seen in one substance) leave the Godhead and the
 holy hypostases in which it subsists as a mere appellation.

196/197 cf. supra, 83-86
 Alex., *Ep. prolixa*

203/208 cf. supra, 57-62

209/216 Dam.

220 בגד אב הלבנה מן ימיך אב מלך. בן אב מן
אבן : אב מן מן אבן אבן אבן : אב מן
לבנה אבן אבן אבן : אבן אבן אבן
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f. 152va

ADE²

Line 222: אבן אבן, E²: אבן אבן.
 Line 225: אבן אבן, D: אבן אבן.
 Line 230: אבן, cf. supra, line 66 (trsp.).
 Line 235: אבן, DE²: אבן.
 Line 236: אבן אבן, DE²: אבן אבן.

What untying can there be of these gordian knots, what way out of these labyrinths? For we have to think, according to what this cunning and invincible writer says, that anybody who says that
220 'mere appellations are seen in another' (let it be granted, indeed, that we expressly said so, and that it was without reference to a previously mentioned intention!), entirely and absolutely thinks of the hypostases of the Godhead and the Godhead itself as mere appellations, since the God-clad fathers said that the hypostases are
225 seen in the Godhead and contrariwise the Godhead in the hypostases, as (so he says) one thing in another. What is the logic of this retort and of these contemptible deductions? For had we said that all things seen in another are mere appellations, and had it been proved that the substance of the Godhead is seen in the hypostases
230 as 'in others' and again that the hypostases are seen in the substance of the Godhead as 'in another', somebody could very justly and correctly infer an absurdity to us, for reckoning both Godhead itself and hypostases as mere appellations along with all things seen in another. But since we simply said of mere appellations that
235 they are seen in another (for so be it said!) and since there are other things also which are seen in another, why must it be inferred that we called certain particular things seen in another mere appellations? For this is like answering somebody who says 'the Sun is in the sky and on the earth there is a man, and again, in the sea there
240 is that particular whale', with the inference 'you have said that the Sun is everything in the sky, the man is everything on the earth

and likewise that particular whale is everything in the sea' - which is lunacy from start to finish.

So even granted that, as we have often said, we did say mere
245 appellations are seen in another, it does not follow that we said that
certain particular things seen in another * (not to mention the God-
head itself or the hypostases of the Godhead) are mere appella-
tions, even, again, as it pleases this author and him alone to sup-
pose, were the Godhead and the hypostases of the Godhead among
250 the things seen in another. Consequently the cunning fellow's invin-
cible retorts and slanders upon truth have come to nothing. But, to
put it another way: if, as it pleases him to suppose, by our saying
that mere appellations are seen in another, we had made all the
things that are seen in another mere appellations, by what argu-
255 ment does he too, when he himself says that accidents exist in an-
other, not say that everything seen in another must be an accident?
But if so, he will have made both the Godhead and the three hy-
postases of the Godhead 'accidents', since he makes things seen in
one another like one thing seen in others. Either, then, let him pro-
260 fess that accidents are not things seen in another and he will be
condemned to ridicule for his being at odds with common sense
itself and with everybody's professed and agreed opinion, not to
mention the fathers' doctrines; or let him learn that he and he
alone has been convicted by his clever and redoubtable pro-
265 nouncements of thinking the divine substance or the hypostases of

the Godhead 'accidents', by his drawing such unconsidered conclusions and making the Godhead one thing and the hypostases another. Therefore, according to his own babblings and not at all according to our examination, as he says, the consequence for Saint
270 Eustathius (indeed, for the whole company of the fathers) will be that they leave the divine nature and the prosopa conceived of in the divine nature as accidents, since that is how he misrepresented Eustathius, condemning him for saying that the prosopa are seen in another i.e. in the divine nature, and again that the divine nature is
275 seen in others i.e. in the prosopa.

295 מלך ויבא אל המלך : ויבא אל המלך
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 ויבא אל המלך : ויבא אל המלך : ויבא אל המלך :

ADE²

Line 298: לחל, E²: לחל.
 Line 300: ח, D: ח.
 Line 301: ח, D: ח.

Concerning the fact that having promised to show that the
prosopa of the Godhead are one thing and the Godhead another,
he has mischievously passed on to showing that one prosopon and
5 the divine nature are different things. And again, wanting to claim
that the divine nature is something different from the three hypo-
stases because it is seen in them, * he is convicted of saying that
God is one thing and the single substance and Godhead another,
because the God-clad fathers say that God is seen in three hypo-
10 stases and one substance and Godhead. But besides this, he makes
the Father, Son and Holy Ghost something different from their
three hypostases, as a consequence of his laughable definitions,
the masters of mysteries having said that the three hypostases are
seen in Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

15 This passage, then, we will now, and very opportunely, exam-
ine, for it was the impetus for the discussion; and we will rebut the
author's cavil against the fathers when he godlessly made it by
writing (as previously set down) in his *Many-lined Letter*, as fol-
lows: For Eustathius, who was the holy pastor of the Antiochenes, hav-
20 ing first proved in his discourse *Against Photinus or Maurinus* that
'prosopon is one thing' in its concept 'and nature another', taught that the
nature is 'seen in three prosopa'. The consequence (according to your
previous examination) will be that he leaves the nature as a mere appella-
tion, because he said it was seen in others.

25 The slanderer has just said that the holy Eustathius said that the
 divine nature is seen in three prosopa as in others! For he wrote: The
 consequence (according to your previous examination) will be that he
 leaves the nature as a mere appellation, because he said it was seen in
 others. Why? Can we not rightly require him to give proofs of
 30 this? However, he says a proof is at hand, for he added: And it will
 be fitting to introduce the father's own words, which are as follows: 'For
 prosopon is one thing and nature another. If, then, "God" belonged to
 prosopon, by saying "three prosopa", we should certainly be saying
 "three Gods". But because "God" belongs to nature, when we say "one
 35 nature of the prosopa" we necessarily say that there is only one God'.
 And where in this is the 'otherness' of the prosopa and the divine
 substance? For it was this that our opponent had to prove, and not
 * that the whole substance and nature of Godhead is one thing and
 one of the three prosopa of the Godhead another; for he said, in
 40 speaking about Saint Eustathius: The consequence (according to your
 previous examination) will be that he leaves the nature as a mere appella-
 tion, because he said it was seen in others.

However, let us investigate the rest of the proof, to see if this
 admirable fellow fulfilled his promise there. For after setting down
 45 the proof-text he said: Thus did the sainted pastor prove by argument
 that when we say 'three prosopa', we do not think of them as three Gods
 or three natures, because 'prosopon is one thing and nature another'. But
 he who taught this, added after other matters (let us attend, please, to

25/29 cf. *supra*, 21-24 30/35 cf. *supra*, ch. 42, 23-28 40/42 cf. *supra*,
 26-29 45/51 cf. *supra*, ch. 42, 28-34

the additions!): 'But the nature, whose name is "God", we understand
 50 as ever seen in three prosopa, neither diminished by loss of prosopon nor
 increased by addition of prosopon'.

What benefit does the author get from this? For all Saint
 Eustathius' words are in front of us and we cannot see him saying
 that the divine nature 'is in' the three prosopa 'as in others'! In-
 55 deed, rather the contrary: he proved that the divine nature 'is' the
 three prosopa by writing as follows: But the nature, whose name is
 'God', we understand as ever seen in three prosopa, neither diminished
 by loss of prosopon nor increased by addition of prosopon. For how, if
 the divine nature is something other than the three prosopa in
 60 which it is, could it be diminished by loss, or increased by addition, of
 prosopon?

However, let us see what examination this new-fangled speaker
 will give after the patristic words, for there he will certainly claim
 whatever he thinks he can prove by what he has set down. He says
 65 then: Therefore because nature is one thing and prosopon another, yet
 we see the nature ever seen in the prosopa (according to the teaching of

56/58 cf. supra, 49-51 60/61 cf. supra, 57-58 65/68 Dam. Alex., *Ep. proluxa*

this sainted father), * the nature's name, according to this, would be a mere appellation, if what is seen in another is only a mere appellation.

You will see how the fathers' accuser, having been unable to
 70 prove his misrepresentation, showed himself a defaulter by pass-
 ing on to another argument. For having said that Saint Eustathius
 taught that the divine nature is in others (i.e. in the three prosopa),
 and promised that he would prove this by Eustathius' magisterial
 words and having been totally unable to do so, with wicked hy-
 75 pocrisy (as has been shown), he transferred discussion to some-
 thing else completely irrelevant to the point at issue: proving that
 nature is one thing and prosopon another. This way, he thought, he
 had secretly (indeed, rather, astutely) concealed the cavil against
 the father. Thereupon, as if he had already established the point in
 80 dispute on the basis of wise Eustathius' words, he impudently
 passed on to God-clad Severus, showing that it is clearly for the
 deception of simple folk that he falsely makes even Severus an
 advocate of his false opinion.

We ought, then, to investigate also the accurate doctor's words
 85 quoted by the accuser, and from them rebut again the absurd luna-
 cy's false charge against truth. What did the slanderer say? But let
 us attend to the magisterial voice of Saint Severus, which teaches us the
 same things and says in the 18th chapter of the first book *Against the
 Grammarian from Caesarea*, as we have previously recorded: 'So that,

77 cf. supra, 65 86/98 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* 89/93 cf. Sev. Ant.,
C. Imp. Gramm., II, 18 (CSCO 111, p. 169, 19-23; 112, p. 132, 18-22)

90 because of the equality of the community in everything which is seen and
 recognized in each hypostasis, the others also will participate in the same
 substance; for it is to this that the words of the Lord himself, *He who has*
seen me has seen the Father, will lead us on'. We could set down many
 such testimonies of the doctors whereby the God-clad fathers recognized
 95 the hypostasis in its own concept as one thing and the substance as an-
 other thing, and gave the ruling that the community of substance is seen
 and known in the hypostases, without their fearing accusation of mere
 appellation.

Who, on observing the feebleness and clear deception of this in-
 100 solent blathering, could fail to weep and wail bitterly and rightly
 for those swept away by error * as a result of their carelessness?
 For this clever writer shows himself as not only alleging words of
 no help to his promises, but also as entirely ignorant of the signifi-
 cance of the patristic words he quotes. With great audacity he al-
 105 ters them and wrests them in the direction he chooses. For having
 undertaken to prove from the words of Saint Eustathius that the
 prosopa of the Holy Trinity are other than the divine nature and
 being rightly dismayed at the proof, he ended up proving that
 prosopon is one thing and nature another thing. Again, wanting to
 110 prove from our father Severus' divinely inspired teaching, that the
 common substance is seen in the hypostases so that he might
 claim from it that the substance is one thing and the hypostases
 another, he quoted a passage which does not prove this at all but
 proves that because of the complete equality of the community the
 115 hypostases are seen in one another, without having understood the

father's intention or the syntax. For the father having said: So that, because of the equality of the community in everything and continued the others also who participate in the same substance will be seen and recognized in each hypostasis, he (just as he misinterpreted and falsified other words as well in an indiscriminate and wickedly heretical sense) set down the father's statement and blotted out the exact meaning of the patristic words not only, as he thought, by an alteration of the words but also by a confused reading of them. For having construed everything (So that, because of the equality of the community in everything) with seen and recognized in each hypostasis, he put in the others also will participate in the same substance, replacing the 'who' by 'which is', and substituting 'will participate' for 'participate', so that the sentence becomes: because of the equality of the community in everything which is seen and recognized in each hypostasis, the others also will participate in the same substance: a sentence which after his falsifications and alterations has no sort of idea or sense whatsoever.

These things we have investigated, not because we are in doubt that the God-clad father says that one God, one substance * and one nature is seen in the three hypostases, but because we want readers to know how this writer has been unable to prove what to any right-minded person is utterly indubitable. No, he has been convicted of clearly misinterpreting and falsifying the divinely inspired father's words out of ignorance and mischief.

116/119 Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 18 (CSCO 111, p. 169, 19-22; 112, p. 132, 18-21); cf. supra, ch. 13, 120-122 124/127 et 128/131 cf. supra, 89-92

לִּי לִבְיָהּ אֶמְצָא : הַלֵּל וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ וְיִשְׁמַח
 < אֶתְּחַלֵּץ בִּי לֵי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ * אֶתְּחַלֵּץ וְיִשְׁמַח אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 < וְיִשְׁמַח אֶתְּחַלֵּץ וְיִשְׁמַח : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 < חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ וְיִשְׁמַח בִּי חַטָּא
 130 < אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ * אֶתְּחַלֵּץ וְיִשְׁמַח אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ לִי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ וְיִשְׁמַח אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : בִּי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ בִּי לֵי
 135 < אֶתְּחַלֵּץ לִי * אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 < וְיִשְׁמַח בִּי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ :
 < אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ * אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ :
 < אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ * אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ :
 140 < אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : לִי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 לִי.

145 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא : לִי בִי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ לִי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ * אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ בִּי אֶתְּחַלֵּץ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ
 150 : אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ
 אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ אֶתְּחַלֵּץ חַטָּא וְיָהּ

ADE²

Line 128: אֶתְּחַלֵּץ, cf. supra, ch. 13, line 118 (אֶתְּחַלֵּץ). וְיָהּ
 וְיָהּ, DE²: אֶתְּחַלֵּץ.
 Line 140: וְיָהּ, D: אֶתְּחַלֵּץ.
 Line 141: חַטָּא, E²: חַטָּא.

140 Therefore, what he sought in advocacy, as he thought, of his
 absurd doctrines and could not produce, we will set down from the
 exact and irreproachable teaching of the master of mysteries; in
 order to learn what it provides in confirmation of his impious in-
 sanity. He wrote, then, in the 123rd *Cathedral Homily*, as follows:
 145 Co-eternal, then, is the holy and uncreated Trinity and consubstantial.
 And as the Father is God, so too is the Son God, and the Holy Ghost
 God; and as the Father is light, so too is the Son light, and the Holy
 Ghost light; and as the Father is maker, creator and omnipotent, so too
 are both Son and Holy Ghost. But there are not therefore three Begin-
 150 nings. For because the Son and the Holy Ghost have upward course to-
 wards the Father (the one is begotten of him, the other proceeds from
 him) there must be one Beginning and one God, seen in one substance
 and Godhead and in three unconfused hypostases, as good, just, visiting
 all in care and kindness. For *The Lord is kind to all and his compassion is*
 155 *upon all his works*; for being maker of all, he justly cares for all and
 spares all.

So the Treasury of orthodox doctrines has said that one God is
 seen in one substance and Godhead and in three unconfused hypostases!
 What will the author conclude from this? That because he is seen
 160 in three hypostases he must be something other than the three hy-
 postases in which he is seen? In which case also, by being seen in
 one substance and Godhead he must be something other than the
 substance and Godhead! Likewise also the three hypostases of

145/156 Sev. Ant., *Hom. cath. 123* (PO 29, p. 148, 12-22 [149, 14-
 26]) 154/155 Ps. 144:9 157/158 cf. supra, 152-153

Father, Son and Holy Ghost must be other than the Father, Son and
 165 Holy Ghost! For the same wise doctor is shown to have said of the
 three hypostases that they are seen in the Father, and in the Son and in
 the Holy Ghost, * when he wrote, in the first chapter of the second
 book *Against the Grammarian from Caesarea*, as follows: What,
 then, has been revealed let us love; what has not been revealed let us not
 170 inquire after; for it has not been revealed: not out of grudgingness (for
 grudgingness is far from God), but because it surpasses our comprehen-
 sion. It is a grand thing for us to know (and this when we are purified, or
 educated by those who have been purified and illuminated) that there is
 one common substance of Godhead of the blessed, uncreated and unmade
 175 Trinity and three hypostases particularly, definitely and unconfusedly
 seen in the Father, and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost.

The wise listener will observe that on the part of this new-
 fangled and outlandish lunacy, God too is seen as something other
 than the Godhead and substance and the three hypostases as some-
 180 thing other than Father, Son and Holy Ghost. For if it is the case
 that because one substance is seen in three hypostases it is some-
 thing other than the three hypostases; and if God is seen in one sub-
 stance and Godhead, and the hypostases again too are seen in the Fa-
 ther, and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost, how can God too not be
 185 'something other' than the one substance and Godhead, and, like-
 wise too, the hypostases 'something other' than Father, Son and
 Holy Ghost? Or if this is not the case, neither will the divine na-
 ture, because it is seen in three hypostases, be something other
 than the three prosopa, so long as this is not proved by some other
 190 demonstration.

166/167 cf. *infra*, 176 168/176 *Sev. Ant., C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO*
 111, p. 66, 9-18; 112, p. 52, 7-16) 182/183 cf. *supra*, 152-153 183/184 cf.
supra, 176

The boasts against God of a blasphemous tongue have therefore come to grief, for no longer can it estrange Father, Son and Holy Ghost and expell them from the Godhead.

But perhaps this admirable author will say that sainted
 195 Eustathius said nature is one thing and prosopon another, and that this
 means that the prosopa are other than the divine nature. For he
 wrote (as previously set down), in that *Many-lined Letter*: We
 could set down many such testimonies of the doctors whereby the God-
 clad fathers recognized the hypostasis in its own concept as one thing and
 200 the substance as another thing, and gave the ruling * that the community
 of substance is seen and known in the hypostases, without their fearing
 accusation of mere appellation. Therefore, with this redoubtable fel-
 low repeating the same round of varied fallacies, readers should
 remember how, in the passage we examined slightly earlier, he first
 205 vainly attempted to claim (by his assertion that we said that 'mere
 appellations are seen in another'), that we necessarily suppose
 everything seen in another, and thus also the divine substance it-
 self or the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity, to be a mere ap-
 pellation, (because he was clearly convicted of saying that 'the di-
 vine substance is seen in three prosopa as in others', and again that
 210 the 'three prosopa are seen in the divine nature in another' and
 because he impudently misrepresented Saint Eustathius as speak-
 ing of the divine nature's being seen 'in others'); but they will

205 עבד רחוק : לב חטא יצא מעד ונתיב נופס
 רחוקת : לבת רחוקת ונתפס כעבד.

210 רחוקת : רחוקת רחוקת רחוקת רחוקת : רחוקת רחוקת
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ADE²

Line 209: רחוקת, D: רחוקת.
 Line 212: רחוקת, E²: רחוקת.
 Line 221: רחוקת, E²: רחוקת.
 Line 224: רחוקת, E²: רחוקת.
 Line 228: רחוקת, E²: רחוקת.

f. 154va

remember too into what absurd and blasphemous conclusions
215 this other attempt of his also fell afterwards. For having taken it
for granted, that because the substance is seen in three hypostases
it must be something other than they (for he introduced the
proof-text by our divinely inspired father Severus, which he also
stealthily falsified, for no other reason but to prove from it that the
220 community of the substance is something other than the hypo-
stases), he was convicted both of making God himself, who is seen
in one substance and in three unconfused hypostases, other than the
substance and Godhead, and likewise other than the three hypo-
stases, and also of defining the three hypostases as other than Fa-
225 ther, Son and Holy Ghost: because the master of mysteries, just as
he said that God is seen in one substance and Godhead and in three hy-
postases, so also said that the three hypostases are seen in the Father,
and in the Son and in the Holy Ghost.

221/222 et 226/227 cf. supra, 152-153

227/228 cf. supra, 175-176

230 וְהַיְהוּדִים בְּתוֹכָם עָשִׂוּ אֶת־הַיְהוּדִים לְעַד מֵאָה
 וְהָיוּ שְׂמֵרָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל. בְּ יָמֵינוּ כָּפַר מְחַבְּבֵי הַיְהוּדִים :
 וְהָיוּ זְכוּרֵי מִשְׁכָּל הַיְהוּדִים אֲשֶׁר : מִיָּד אֲשֶׁר
 הָיוּ בְּתוֹכָם מִיָּד : אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִיָּד אֲשֶׁר :
 לְהַשְׁמִיטָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר :
 235 וְהָיוּ מִיָּד אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִיָּד :
 אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ : וְהָיוּ מִיָּד אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר :
 אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ : אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ מִיָּד אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ :
 אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר : אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר :
 240 אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר : אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר :
 אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר : אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר :
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 אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר : אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר :
 אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר : אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ אֲשֶׁר :

ADE²

Line 233: $\omega\alpha\iota\alpha\lambda$, E²: $\omega\alpha\iota\alpha$ λ .

* Chapter 44

Concerning the fact that in attempting to claim, from the fact that one hypostasis is not the same as the substance comprehending the hypostases, that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are one thing and the divine substance another thing, he is necessarily obliged to think that renowned Basil and proven Severus contradicted themselves, when they clearly taught that each of the three hypostases is not the same as the common substance of the Godhead and said in plain terms and expressly that the three hypostases are one substance and nature of the Godhead. Also that in calling the hypostases one thing and the substance something else from the fact that the hypostases exist in the common substance and the substance in the hypostases, he lapsed into many absurdities, as the same examination itself clearly reveals too.

15 But now let us also observe the result of this excellent fellow's clever device which attempts to claim, from 'prosopon is one thing and nature another', that we must not think that the divine substance is the three hypostases. For he will be obliged to suppose that the pillars of the Church gave two completely contradictory definitions: with true religion they taught that one hypostasis is not the whole divine substance (which is the same as saying the Holy Trinity); and, they professed and diligently instructed the devout that one God (i.e. the substance of the Godhead) is the three hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

25 Let the light of Basil the Great's accurate theology shine on us, then. For SEVERUS, preserver and exact expositor of patristic

teachings, trumpets Basil and confirms through him the orthodoxy of doctrines irrefragable, by writing in the 17th chapter of the second book of his treatise *Against the Grammarian*, as follows:

- 30 For the Son is one of the hypostases which are based in the substance and are included in the generic signification, whereas the substance and the generic signification (i.e. the Godhead) is inclusive of the three hypostases * of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, with each of the hypostases participating fully in the concept of the substance and being God. And again:
- 35 For this is how Saint Basil too, in the *Letter to Terentius*, explains the concept of the divine substance from our humanity, when he writes as follows: 'If we too must say briefly what appears to us to be the case, we will say this: that substance possesses with regard to hypostasis the same conceptual relationship as the common to the particular. For each of us
- 40 participates in being and is such and such a person, by both the common concept of substance and by the properties belonging with him. In this way, furthermore, the concept of the substance is common (for example, the goodness, Godhead, or whatever else is conceived of), but the hypostasis is seen in the property of fatherhood, sonship or hallowing power'.
- 45 So, in the same way that with us manhood is the whole substance embracing many hypostases (Peter's, Paul's, John's and each one's), whereas Peter, Paul and John are hypostases participating equally in the substance, for each of them participates fully and no less in the manhood

30/34 Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 17 (CSCO 111, p. 160, 12-18; 112, p. 125, 9-14) 35/63 Ibid. (CSCO 111, pp. 160,25 – 161,29; 112, pp. 125,20 – 126,18) 37/44 Bas. Caes., *Ep. 214*, 4 (PG 32, 789AB; Courtonne, II, p. 205)

and, being a man, is separated by his own designation and joined with the
50 consubstantial hypostases because of the complete resemblance and ab-
sence of variation belonging to the genus and the community, without
being the whole substance and manhood comprehending all the indi-
vidual hypostases; in this very way, in the case of the Holy Trinity too,
the substance is the whole Godhead comprehending the three hypostases
55 of Father, Son and Holy Ghost; but each of the hypostases participates
also in the substance by equality of honour, and is completely God, and
has no difference from its consubstantial hypostases, and is separated and
parted by its proper indication (ingeneracy, generacy or procession), the
property safeguarding the absence of confusion. Therefore the same Son
60 who was united to flesh endowed with reason and became man, is one of
the hypostases based in the same substance of Godhead, and is not the
whole substance comprehending the three * hypostases and signifying the
community.

The all-praiseworthy fathers have here clearly shown them-
65 selves to be saying that one hypostasis is not the same as the

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 < וְכֹה אֲנִי לְמַעַן אֲדַע , מִי : וְכֹה אֲנִי , וְכֹה אֲנִי : וְכֹה אֲנִי :
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f. 155rb

70 < וְכֹה אֲנִי : וְכֹה אֲנִי : וְכֹה אֲנִי : וְכֹה אֲנִי : וְכֹה אֲנִי :

ADE²

Line 53: וְכֹה, cf. ibid., line 341 (om. וְכֹה). D: וְכֹה וְכֹה.
 Line 54: וְכֹה אֲנִי, cf. Book II, ch. 11, lines 341-342 (וְכֹה אֲנִי).
 וְכֹה אֲנִי, D: וְכֹה אֲנִי.
 Lines 54-55: וְכֹה אֲנִי ... וְכֹה אֲנִי, cf. Book II, ch. 11, lines 342-343 (trsp.
 + וְכֹה אֲנִי).
 Lines 56-57: וְכֹה אֲנִי ... , מִי, cf. Book II, ch. 11, line 344 (וְכֹה אֲנִי , מִי).
 (וְכֹה אֲנִי מִי).
 Line 56: וְכֹה אֲנִי, E²: וְכֹה אֲנִי.
 Line 57: וְכֹה אֲנִי, cf. ibid., line 345 (וְכֹה אֲנִי).
 Lines 61-62: וְכֹה אֲנִי מִי, DE²: וְכֹה אֲנִי מִי.
 Line 63: וְכֹה אֲנִי, cf. Book II, ch. 11, line 350 (וְכֹה אֲנִי). DE²:
 וְכֹה אֲנִי.
 Line 64: וְכֹה אֲנִי, cf. Book II, ch. 11, line 352 (וְכֹה אֲנִי).
 Line 67: וְכֹה אֲנִי, DE²: וְכֹה אֲנִי. E²: וְכֹה אֲנִי.
 Line 69: וְכֹה אֲנִי, DE²: וְכֹה אֲנִי.

substance comprehending the hypostases; they must then, according to the impious blatherings of the author, be professing that Godhead does not belong to the three hypostases, but be recognizing the Godhead as one thing and the hypostases of the Godhead as another thing. For, from the fact that Saint Eustathius called the nature 'one thing' and the prosopa 'another', this truth-loving writer deduced the 'otherness' of the divine substance and the three hypostases. So we must search their divinely inspired books and diligently investigate what instruction they give us on the point.

In the sermon *On Faith*, then, where he took even more care (if I may so put it) to raise the listeners' minds to true divine knowledge, wise divine BASIL wrote as follows: Passing over everything in thought, gazing above the sky and transcending it, with the mind alone, survey the beauties there: the heavenly hosts, the choruses of angels, the principalities of the archangels, the glories of the dominions, the hierarchies of thrones, the powers, the rulerships, the authorities. Passing above all these things, elevated in your thoughts above all creation and uplifting your mind beyond them, think of the divine nature, stable, unchangeable, immutable, impassible, simple, incomposite, indivisible, light inaccessible, power unspeakable, grandeur unlimited, glory bright-shining, goodness desirable, beauty incomprehensible, deeply affecting the soul smit-

70/71 cf. supra, ch. 43, 31-32 78/90 Bas. Caes., *De fide*, 1-2 (PG 31, 465BC)

ten by it but incapable of being made known by speech as it deserves:
 there, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the uncreated nature, the dignity
 90 of lordship, the natural goodness!

But what famous SEVERUS also taught us in addition to this is
 equally notable. He wrote, then, in the 42nd *Cathedral Homily*:
Those who were eye-witnesses and stewards of the Word and those * who
 shepherded the apostolic Church everywhere in their footsteps, taught us
 95 to believe in Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in a new and primeval mystery.
 And a little later: But when I say Father, Son and Holy Ghost, under-
 stand me: one substance and Godhead in three hypostases.

Again, too, in the *Letter to Eupraxius the Chamberlain* (its be-
 ginning is: You, being smitten with divine love) he wrote as follows:
 100 For when we hear 'Son', we immediately understand that he is consub-
 stantial with the Father; for every father must beget a consubstantial son.
 In this way we derive notions about the Son, which are worthy of God,
 from every title: from 'Radiance' we infer his co-eternity with the Fa-
 ther; from 'Word', the impassibility of his generation; from 'Son', his

93/95 Sev. Ant., *Hom. cath. 42* (PO 36, p. 34, 25-28 [35, 27-30]) 93 Luc. 1:2
 96/97 Sev. Ant., *Hom. cath. 42* (PO 36, p. 36, 6-7 [37, 9-10]) 100/110 Sev.
 Ant., *Ep. ad Eupraxium* (PO 14, pp. 11-13); cf. *supra*, b. II, ch. 19, 239-249

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f. 155va

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ADE²

Line 100: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, DE²: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.
 Line 102: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, E²: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.
 Line 103: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, A bis.
 Line 104: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, E²: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.
 Line 105: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, DE²: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.
 Line 108: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, D: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.
 Lines 110-122: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ ... ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, cf. Book II. ch. 19, lines 259-272
 (ܘܢܘܩܪܐ ... ܘܢܘܩܪܐ): a slightly different Syr. trans. with many small variants.
 Line 110: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, E²: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.
 Line 112: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, DE²: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.
 Line 113: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ, DE²: ܘܢܘܩܪܐ.

105 consubstantiality. We cannot, indeed, define all that belongs to the divine nature by a single name or indication, seeing that he is incomparable and peerless. But taking from each term what is worthy of God, we reject all the rest and let it stay beneath. But when we speak of the divine nature, we speak of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Though we distinguish the hypostases we unite the Godhead. And again: The hypostases, then, or prosopa, being seen in their own marks (Father not changing into Son or Holy Ghost, nor Son transferring into Holy Ghost or Father, nor Holy Ghost altering into being Father or Son), the three are one, by identity of substance and Godhead; for the Father is God, the Son God, the Holy Ghost God. For the hypostases abiding unconfused, the Trinity is in all things unalterable. For one is its substance, glory, eternity, sovereignty, power, will, activity; therefore we hold that the three hypostases are one God.

He taught similar things to this also in the *Letter to Count Isidore* (its beginning is: From your devout and doctrine-loving Excellency's letter) by saying, as follows: For the Lord of the seed himself, who dawned, by fleshly advent, upon us and came to cast good seed on the earth, that one * of the Holy Trinity who is spoken of in terms divine and glorified along with Father and Holy Ghost (for in them we have the Godhead, indeed rather, they are the Godhead) will increase in you the

110/118 Sev. Ant., *Ep. ad Eupraxium* (PO 14, pp. 13-14) 121/127 Sev. Ant., *Ep. ad Isid. com. cuius initium «Ex epistula religiosae tuae»*, fragm. aliunde non cognitum. PO 12, p. 214

seed of piety many times over, the more because you are aglow with vigilance and are aflame with zeal against the seed of tares heretical.

What could be clearer than this rebuttal, since, according to the audacious talk of this writer, from 'nature is one thing and hypostasis another', there is proved 'otherness' of divine substance and the hypostases of the Holy Trinity? For certainly, when the God-clad masters of mysteries said in the passages now before us that an hypostasis is not the whole Godhead and substance, they meant there that Father, Son and Holy Ghost (the three holy hypostases) are the nature comprehending the hypostases (the substance and Godhead). For Basil the Great, herald of truth, said: There, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the uncreated nature. And likewise also Saint Severus: But when I say Father, Son and Holy Ghost, understand me: one substance and Godhead in three hypostases; and again: But when we speak of the divine nature we speak of Father, Son and Holy Ghost; and again too: Therefore we hold that the three hypostases are one God. And, in addition to all the foregoing, he defines, as it were, his correct view, by writing: For in them (meaning in Father, Son and Holy Ghost) we have the Godhead, indeed rather, they are the Godhead. How, then, can they not appear to be teaching contradictions if, as this writer says, professing each of the three hypostases as not the same as the substance and nature comprehending the

136/137 cf. supra, 89 138/139 cf. supra, 96-97 139/141 cf. supra, 108-109 141/142 cf. supra, 117-118 143/145 cf. supra, 124-125

hypostases introduces 'otherness' of the divine nature and the three hypostases, when they had said above that each hypostasis is not the whole substance of the Godhead, but here taught that the substance and Godhead comprehending the hypostases is Father, Son and Holy Ghost? For it will follow, in accordance with the new-fangled legislation: either that they should say that an hypostasis is not the whole substance * and Godhead, be consistent with themselves and call the divine substance one thing and the hypostases another thing; or, that they should say that the three hypostases are one substance of Godhead and make one hypostasis be also the whole substance of the Godhead. Yet those who were inspired from on high taught us none of these things. Far from it! No, recognizing that it is Judaism and Sabellius' godlessness to confine the Godhead to one and one only hypostasis, they said that one hypostasis is not the whole substance and Godhead; and again too, reckoning that it is more evil than Eunomius' heathen mythology to recognize and think of another Godhead which is not Father, Son and Holy Ghost at all (as this cunning author's verbal invention fabricates), with true religion they professed Father, Son and Holy Ghost as being the Godhead and substance itself, and proclaimed the fact to the whole world in clear preaching. Otherwise, let this very learned author demonstrate, from any of their divinely inspired writings whatsoever, their saying either that a hypostasis is the whole Godhead or that the substance of the Godhead is one thing and the hypostases of the Holy Trinity another.

170 f. 156ra
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ADE²

- Line 169: חלל, DE²: חלל.
- Line 173: חלל, D: חלל.
- Line 179: איר, D: איר.
- Line 180: אש, E²: אש.
- Line 184: אש, E²: אש.
- Line 191: אש, D: אש.

Now if he is entirely unable to prove this, why does he so shamelessly wrong the stewards of the Spirit in all his detestable writings? For he wrote again after other words, in the same *Many-lined* (or, rather, very blasphemous!) *Letter*, prior to those which have now been examined, the following too: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties; so I should like to know whether it was by way of slander on patristic teaching that the text forbore to say that the characteristic properties 'being seen in another' (i.e. in the substance according to its own concept) are three * perfect prosopa and three hypostases, because it wants them to be substances themselves and not substantial, and I request that the passage be given a clearer meaning, and that words productive of no little danger should not be thrown down casually, because a small defect is here no small matter.

Could not one justly respond to this abundance of blasphemy what sound CYRIL, who throughout his life championed true religion, wrote when he castigated Diodore's and Theodore's impiety? He said: *Be amazed, O Heaven, and tremble much, at this, says the Lord.* Oh, the unbearable madness! Oh, the tongue uttering

177/190 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*; cf. supra, ch. 40, 66-77 194/196 Cyr. Alex., *Contra Theodorum*, I, fragm. lat. et syr. servatum; cf. ACO IV, I, p. 76, 1-3; CSCO 101, p. 333, 17-20 (102, p. 246, 4-7) 194/195 Ier. 2:12

blasphemy against God! And again: Sodom is more justified than you. You have outstripped the abusive utterances of the heathen which they made against Christ. Reckoning *the Cross folly*, you have shown that the complaints of Jewish pride are nothing! For how can it not truly
 200 exceed all heathen abuse to suppose the hypostases of the Holy Trinity one thing and profess their substance something other than them? Or how does it not surpass all Jewish pride and godless insanity to deny Father, Son and Holy Ghost their Godhead and their truly being hypostases, and suppose them characteristic
 205 properties (I mean ingeneracy, generacy and procession) which do not subsist properly and on their own at all but by their very nature are seen in what subsist on their own?

Listen to what this author taught in the preceding words. He said: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said,
 210 frequently even) recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties.

215 The intelligent listener will see that here too again his endeavour is to soothe readers into acceptance of his inane words and blasphemies by slander of the fathers, and that he has attempted to use their reputation to procure * a denial of the Holy Trinity. For

196/199 Cyr. Alex., *Contra Theodorum*, II, fragm. latine etiam servatum; cf. ACO IV, I, p. 78, 23-25 196 cf. Matth. 11:24; Luc. 10:12 198 cf. I Cor. 1:18 209/214 cf. supra, 177-183

< למטל קלמל * * * * *
 < לבינהו אפכה ונפכה * * * * *
 < עפלהו נפכה למלכה * * * * *
 < תולת ונפלהו אפכה * * * * *
 225 למל * * * * *
 אפכה נפכה למלכה * * * * *
 נפכה למל * * * * *
 למל * * * * *
 230 קלמל * * * * *
 נפכה למל * * * * *
 נפכה למל * * * * *
 נפכה למל * * * * *
 נפכה למל * * * * *

235 מעבד * * * * *
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נפכה למל * * * * *
 נפכה למל * * * * *
 245 * * * * * f. 156va
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ADE²

Line 225: למל, E²: למל.
 Line 233: נפכה, D: נפכה.
 Line 235: נפכה, E²: נפכה, D: נפכה.
 Line 247: נפכה, E²: נפכה.

what is it but a denial of the Holy Trinity not to recognize Father,
220 Son and Holy Ghost as truly God'?

But observe the rest: So I should like to know whether it was by
way of slander on patristic teaching that the text forbore to say that the
characteristic properties 'being seen in another' (i.e. in the substance ac-
cording to its own concept) are three perfect prosopa and three hypo-
225 stases, because it wants them to be substances themselves and not sub-
stantial.

We will also attempt, as well as we can, to disclose the meaning
of these words. For on our having said, as previously mentioned,
in our *Memorandum* to this admirable fellow: I interpret this in ac-
230 cordance with your aim: which is that you want to call the properties
seen in the common substance 'hypostases', and for them to be three re-
alities; and I understand them not as mere appellations, not subsisting on
their own and only seen in another, he becomes bitterly disturbed, as
can be seen from his own text itself, and says that we (that is, our
235 words) slander patristic teaching. And he charges us with defining
his properties or hypostases (for I do not know which he intends to
say) as substances themselves, unless we suppose the perfect prosopa
and hypostases of the Holy Trinity to be characteristic properties
not subsisting on their own and seen in another i.e. in the substance
240 according to its own concept, to put it how he wants!). And what
could be more impious or foolish than this? For what divinely

221/226 cf. supra, 183-187
240 cf. supra, 223-225

229/233 cf. supra, ch. 42, 82-86

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ADE²

Line 254: At the top of fol. 171v D reads as follows: ...
Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.
Line 256: ... D: ...
Line 257: ... DE²: ...
Line 260: ... cf. supra, ch. 42, line 127 (...).
Line 261: ... D: ...
Line 264: ... D: ...

inspired father taught that the hypostases are seen in another in the
 substance according to its own concept? Or what sense does it make to
 suppose that those who refuse to profess as hypostases the charac-
 245 teristic properties which do not subsist on their own and are seen in
 another i.e. in the substance according to its own concept, will consider
 either the hypostases or the properties as substances themselves?
 Therefore on his having made these so wretched and irrational
 charges, he may be very justly and opportunely answered in the
 250 words wise GREGORY wrote in reply to Eunomius, our author's
 stay and mentor * (and like him a misrepresenter and accuser of
 the fathers) in the 34th chapter of his *Refutation* (whose beginning
 is: To want to help everybody): But what is the necessity thrusting his
 teaching into such suppositions? From what words of his has this been
 255 constructed so that the absurdity should be forced to crop up? For if he
 were alleging anything professed by us and then there were forthcoming,
 whether by sophistry or with some sort of force, a proof for such a cavil,
 he might perhaps have had occasion for alleging such a thing for the slan-
 dering of our doctrines. But if there are not and will not be in the Church
 260 any such words, and none is convicted of saying them, none is proved to
 have heard them, and no necessity constructing this absurdity by way of

242/243 et 245/246 cf. supra, 223-224 247 cf. supra, 225 253/268 Greg.
 Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (PG 45, 400D-401A; Jaeger I, p. 167, 8-25); cf. supra, ch.
 24, 86-96

275 f. 156vb
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ADE²

Line 272: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, DE²: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*.
 Line 275: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, D: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*.
 Line 279: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, E²: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*.
 Lines 284-295: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ ... ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, cf. supra, ch. 24, lines 97-108: a slightly different Syr. trans. with many small variants.
 Line 285: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, cf. ibid., line 97 (om. *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*).
 Line 286: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, DE²: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*.
 Line 287: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, D: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*.
 Line 288: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, cf. supra, ch. 24, line 101 (*ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*).
 Line 289: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*, E²: *ܘܢܩܘܠܘܢ*.

some consequence is to be found, I do not understand what purpose this shadow-battle of his has. It is as if a mentally-sick lunatic without a combatant were to fancy that someone was wrestling with him, and then, having made the effort to fling himself down, thinks that he has beaten his opponent. The clever writer has suffered some such fate, fabricating fancies unknown to us, and fighting the shadows he has formed with the imprint of his own notions.

Let us take up the argument in reply to the author's words and rebut his aspersion on the masters of true religion. We should understand, then, he says, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even) recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties. Let us note with care the sophist's cunning tricks. For having seen that the absurdities of his doctrines are totally unacceptable, he attempts to introduce his detestable novelties not openly, but rather in a covert and furtive way, and to amalgamate them with an orthodox profession. For in these little phrases he has uttered two mutually * contradictory false ideas: the first, because he calls the substance simply one thing and the prosopa another thing; the second, because he tries to argue that the substance, because seen in the hypostases, is something other than they. Note carefully what he says: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even) recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in the substance

(thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties. Is what he says not clear: that because the holy fathers recognize the substance as one thing and the hypostases as another thing they therefore sometimes say that the hypostases exist in the substance thus separated (which is the same as saying 'alienated') from the hypostases but sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the hypostases? For it is this very same thing he has claimed also by saying in the preceding passage, as we have already quoted it: We could set down many such testimonies of the doctors whereby the God-clad fathers recognized the hypostasis in its own concept as one thing and the substance as another thing, and gave the ruling that the community of substance is seen and known in the hypostases. And in the passage after the one set down for discussion, he wrote: And thus, indeed, having learned that 'prosopon' is one thing and 'nature' another thing, we profess one nature seen in three prosopa and acknowledge three prosopa in one nature. This is the author's meaning, stripped of its covering, even if for the deception and perversion of the simple (as has been proved before and will again be proved with Christ our God's power), he sets down in the passage, as bait for the hook, in its own concept and meaning of 'properties'. What just conclusion can be inferred, therefore, by this impious blatherer? Will it not be the one we spoke of a little earlier? I mean that it would be blasphemous for him * to blather about the substance as 'one thing' and the hypostases as 'another thing' (and likewise too about God as 'something other' than Godhead and

298/301 cf. *supra*, ch. 43, 197-201 303/305 Dam. Alex., *Ep. proluxa*; cf. *supra*, ch. 38, 82-85 309/310 cf. *supra*, 289

- ומתנה דהפיגה בחלה וילת תי עעו:תנה וזילתה:
- רתני ורתהטת וזילתה: כתיב ויב ת, ולמחלה:
- וכוזילתה דהטת עעמך * אר לך נ:תך ת, ת
- ומחלה:תני ומכל לר ומתנ דתיני נ:תני דכתיבתה
- מ:תני לרעמך דתיני מתנ למתני: מכלל מתנ
- כתיב תי כרעמך ת, ומתנה דהפיגה: ת, ויב כו: ת,
- לרתיני דהתיבה תי ממתני: רתני ורתהטת
- 330 ממתני: כתיב ויב ת, ולמחלה: רעמך כמתני: לת
- לתני לר לתי חלו סכו: ת, ומתלי תי ומתני דתיני:
- רעמך ומתנ תי כו: ת דהתי * מתינתה דהתינתה
- ורתני מתלי וזילתה דהטת ומעמ: ותינתה
- דכתיבתה לתיני לרתיני: כו: מתנ דתיני נ:תני מתנ
- למתנה כחלה וזילת: מתנ דתיני לרעמך וכמתני
- 335 מחלה: מחלה: רעמך דהתינתה כעמך דתיני *
 — כמתלי ויב וזתי ותיני לרעמך דהתינתה *
 — כו: מתנ דתיני דהתינתה, פיגה: בלתי: דתיני מתנ
- מתנ: נ: תי מתנ וזילתה פיגה: פיגה: מתנ
- 340 ומתנ מחלה: ומעמך תי דהפיגה: מתנ דהתינתה: דתיני
 — לרעמך דהתינתה פיגה: פיגה: ומתנה דהתינתה:
 — כתיבתה ומעמך דתיני רעמך דהתינתה: רעמך דהתינתה
 — כתיבתה ומעמך דתיני: רעמך דהתינתה ומתנה דהתינתה
- 345 מעמך: וזילתה: מתנ ויב מתנ דהתינתה כתיבתה:
 — לתנ וזיעמך: מתלי כעמך. רתיני לר, ומתנ מתנ מלל
 — דתיני: רתיני דתיני ת, וזיעמך: ורתני תי מתנ *
 — לרעמך דתיני מתנ למתני ועלה: כתיב ויב כו: מתנה
 — דתיני מתנ לרתיני תי דהתינתה רעמך: דהתינתה

ADE?

- Line 325: מ:תנה, DE?: רעמך
- Line 328: תי, E?: תי
- Line 331: ומתני, E?: ומתני
- Line 337: ותיני, E?: ומתני
- Line 338: ומתנ, DE?: ומתנ, ופיגה
- D: רעמך

315 substance) and again to chatter about the three hypostases as
 'something other' than Father, Son and Holy Ghost, if he agrees
 with God-clad Severus that God is seen in one substance and God-
 head and in three unconfused hypostases, and again that three hypo-
 stases are seen, properly and separately, in the Father, the Son and the
 320 Holy Ghost. For if the holy fathers, recognizing the substance as one
 thing and the hypostases as another thing, spoke of the hypostases in
 the substance and, on the contrary, the substance in the hypostases (as
 this accurate author wrote), one might perhaps say at first that
 whatever is other than something necessarily 'is in' what is other
 325 than it by that very 'being in'; and afterwards, rightly even, one
 might conclude that it is because the patristic theologians recog-
 nize God as something other than the one substance Godhead and
 God, and again the three hypostases as something other than Fa-
 ther, Son and Holy Ghost, that they spoke of God as being seen in
 330 one substance and Godhead and three hypostases, in the Father, the Son
 and the Holy Ghost'. On the other hand, if God is not seen in one
 substance and Godhead, and the three hypostases are not seen in
 Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, 'as in others', the substance of God-
 head will not necessarily be supposed to be in the hypostases, nor
 335 again the hypostases in the substance of the Godhead, as 'one
 thing in another thing', since there is no evidence of this from any
 other demonstration.

In addition to what has already been shown, famous THEO-
 DOSIUS, he who in altogether priestly fashion headed all the ortho-

317/318 cf. *supra*, ch. 43, 152-153 318/320 cf. *supra*, ch. 43, 175-
 176 320/322 cf. *supra*, 272-276 329/331 cf. *supra*, 316-319

340 dox churches everywhere, testified that the substance is nothing
 else but the three hypostases since it is seen in them, by saying in
 his careful discourse *On Theology*, the following: Whereas all the
 things, as we have said already, which characterize the Godhead are com-
 mon to them and co-equal in honour and inseparable, and prove that we
 345 have put our faith in one God, who exists and is known in one substance
 and three hypostases. And again: So let all these things be said by us in
 proof that we worship and glorify one God, in one substance * and nature
 but in three hypostases. And after other things: So, as has often been
 said, bidding farewell to deductions like this we have learned to believe
 350 in one God, in one substance and nature, but in three hypostases or
 prosopa.

But readers are to remember that in the preceding too we heard
 Basil the Great define each prosopon as existing in true hypostasis.
 But what will the author do, on hearing the divinely inspired fa-
 355 thers say that the characteristic properties exist and are seen in the

342/346 Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 1 (OLA 56, pp. 152-153, ll. 126-130 [p. 226, ll. 123-126]); cf. supra, ch. 8, 390-394 346/348 Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 1 (OLA 56, p. 159, ll. 319-321 [p. 231, ll. 302-304]); cf. supra, ch. 15, 289-291 348/351 Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 5 (OLA 56, p. 172, ll. 51-53 [p. 242, ll. 54-56]); cf. supra, ch. 15, 291-294 353 cf. Bas. Caes., *Ep. 210*, 5 (PG 32, 776C; Courtonne, II, p. 196); cf. supra, ch. 28, 139-140

hypostases? Will he assent to his rules, which define the substance as 'something other' than the hypostases because it is 'seen in' the hypostases, and say that the properties are 'other than' the hypostases? Or will he disregard his rules, because he professes the
360 properties as being the same as the hypostases, and bid a very glad, I hope, farewell, to his present words and spurn them? Therefore, his attempt to claim that the substance is something other than the hypostases because it exists 'in them' having been seen to be totally false, this admirable writer casts an empty asper-
365 sion on the holy fathers, when he says that by saying that the hypostases exist in the substance and again that the substance exists in the hypostases they recognize the substance in its own concept as one thing and the hypostases as another thing, since even when they are seen to profess the hypostases in the substance and the sub-
370 stance in the hypostases, they do not recognize the substance as one thing and the hypostases as another thing.

למעלה, : וְהָיָה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה לְאִשְׁשָׁה :
 וְכִי יִשְׁרָאֵל לְמִוּתָא חַמְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכִי
 395 וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכִי יִשְׁרָאֵל
 לְמִוּתָא חַמְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה :
 וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה
 לְמִוּתָא חַמְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה
 וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה
 400 וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה
 וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה
 וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה
 405 וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה : וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה
 חַבְשָׁה וְכַמְעַתְּךָ חַבְשָׁה :

ADE²

Line 397: , E²: .

*Examination of wise Gregory of Nyssa's statement whereby the impiety of this excellent fellow is further rebutted, when he wants to prove that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are something
5 other than the substance of the Godhead from the fact that the master of mysteries declared 'ingeneracy and generacy are something other in their own concept than the substrate'. because he in no way considers either the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity, conceived of together, or each of them viewed on its own, * as God.*

10 Why, then does this sly and crafty man risk his slanders upon the saints and say: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its
15 own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties?

'So, my admirable fellow', someone may justly tell him, 'you have frequently said that the fathers recognize the substance as one thing and the hypostases as another thing, but you have not once
20 proved it in any way. So what is the good of uttering frequent blasphemies at your good pleasure so long as what you say lacks

proof, or rather, is falsely and wrongfully put forward? Either, then, clearly prove by even just one statement from one of the Church's doctors, that the divine substance is (as you would have
 25 it) one thing in its own concept and the hypostases another thing, or recognize, from now on, that the more you lie the more it will drag you to the abyss of perdition'.

However, perhaps he will say that he will do so very readily, anxious, as he is, to overwhelm the minds of listeners with
 30 his hypocrisy. He will certainly quote what he wrote in the *Many-lined Letter*, immediately after what has just been examined, as follows: For Gregory of Nyssa, as has been said, clearly testified that the property, or prosopon, is one thing in its own concept, and the substance another thing, in the *Discourses against Eunomius*, when he said:
 35 'Clearly the teaching of true religion will be confirmed by the opponents' claim, because they do not think ingeneracy is the same as substance but that it is viewed on the substrate, whereas the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than they'. But were somebody to think that ingeneracy does not characterize the Father's prosopon, such an one
 40 should know that we have just now quoted * Saint Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, as adopting such a distinction between prosopon and Godhead,

24/25 cf. *supra*, 12-13 32/49 Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* 35/38 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 8 (PG 45, 837A; Jaeger II, pp. 247,23 – 248,4)

25 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיָשׁוּב אֵלֵינוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ

30 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ
 35 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ
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 45 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ

f. 158ra

ADE²

Line 23: וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, E²: וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.
 Line 24: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, E²: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ.
 Line 31: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, D: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ.
 Line 32: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, E²: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ.
 Lines 34-35: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ ... וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, cf. infra, line 74-75 (trsp.).
 Line 36: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, E2: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ.
 Line 39: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, E2: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ. וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, E2: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ.
 Lines 41-42: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, cf. infra, ch. 46, line 23 (trsp.).
 Line 44: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, cf. ibid., line 24 (trsp.). וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, D: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ, E²: וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹלֵנוּ.

in his *Against Photinus or Maurinus* and saying: 'For prosopon is one thing and nature another. If, then, "God" belonged to prosopon, by saying "three prosopa", we should certainly be saying "three Gods". But because "God" belongs to nature, when we say "one nature of the prosopa" we necessarily say that there is only one God'. And thus, indeed, having learned that prosopon is one thing and nature another thing, we profess that there is one nature in three hypostases and we acknowledge three prosopa in one nature.

Oh, the mighty muddle of these ridiculous words! Oh, the clear and evident shame of the nonsense! Or, since we ought again to speak without regard of persons: Oh, the brazen senselessness and the contempt by its writers for their readers! For he supposed apparently that all have been deprived of their wits, engulfed in the utmost ignorance of their ailments, quite unconscious of what is being said. What a torpor this is, says wise GREGORY OF NYSSA to Eunomius, what a stupor this is, that these tipsy toppers suppose the

42/46 cf. supra, ch. 40, 56-60
401D-404A; Jaeger I, p. 169, 1-9)

56/63 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (PG 45,

ceiling is turning into the floor and that they have the ground over their heads! They cry out in protest that even the ground is unsteady, that the walls have run away, that the whole world is revolving and that nothing they can see is still! Perhaps, then, the author was writing with his soul in such turmoil that we ought to pity him for what he wrote rather than despise him.

Let us listen, then too, to this new-fangled writer's wretched babblings: For Gregory of Nyssa, as has been said, clearly testified that the property, or *prosopon*, is one thing in its own concept, and the substance another thing, in the *Discourses against Eunomius*. The hearer would be wise to recall again that also in the words already examined a little earlier, when the excellent fellow, having proposed to prove from holy Eustathius' words * the *prosopa* of the Holy Trinity one thing and the divine nature another thing and rightly failed to offer any such a proof, he ended up demonstrating that *prosopon* is one thing and nature another thing; and that having expected that this would give him what he was looking for, he was clearly rebutted and condemned to ridicule for having clearly opposed the laws of the Spirit. And now, indeed, by saying (as before): We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have

said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say
 80 that the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties, though he ought to have proved these words by patristic testimonies, he omitted to prove (as he had promised to do) that the substance in its own concept is one thing
 85 and the prosopa another thing, and again fell into the same embarrassment, shamelessly altering his wording in the passage and saying: For Gregory of Nyssa, as has been said, clearly testified that the property, or prosopon, is one thing in its own concept, and the substance another thing, in the *Discourses against Eunomius*.

90 Is there anyone to whom the deception, and slander upon the God-clad fathers here, will not be clear? For, in bold contradiction of the truth, he wrote: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing.
 95 But at the point where he was in consequence obliged to produce a proof of this, he perversely altered the phrasing and said: For Gregory of Nyssa, as has been said, clearly testified that the property, or prosopon, is one thing in its own concept, and the substance another thing, in the *Discourses against Eunomius*. Where, then? For we can
 100 justly require a proof from the writer for: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even), recognizing

84/85 cf. supra, 78-79 87/89 cf. supra, 65-67 92/94 cf. supra, 77-79
 96/99 cf. supra, 87-89 100/103 cf. supra, 92-94

the substance * in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing. Obviously he will say: 'Because the property, or prosopon, is in its own concept one thing and the substance another thing, the substance will necessarily be one thing and the prosopa another thing'. But, as has been clearly proved before, the famous Basil and Severus, who said that the divine nature is the three hypostases themselves, do not recognise each hypostasis of the Holy Trinity as the same as the substance and Godhead comprehending the hypostases. So, according to this cunning critic, they have been proved to be in contradiction both with truth and with themselves: by thinking one hypostasis not to be the whole Godhead and substance comprehending the three hypostases and by teaching that the divine substance is the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, if in this too we suppose that they are guides to orthodox teachings, it has been proved that the divine substance is not other than the three holy hypostases just by their calling prosopon one thing and nature another thing.

However, even so, what the clever author says will be examined. For, he says, Gregory of Nyssa, as has been said, clearly testified that the property, or prosopon, is one thing in its own concept, and the substance another thing, in the *Discourses against Eunomius*, when he said: 'Clearly the teaching of true religion will be confirmed by the opponents' claim, because they do not think ingeneracy is the same as substance but that it is viewed on the substrate, whereas the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than they'.

And again here too, we must wonder at the outrageous knavery in things divine on the part of this fellow who has seemingly appeared as a theologian for the destruction of many. For he is convicted of maliciously and hypocritically abbreviating the patristic text and of falsifying it too, so that he may get his wretched self some aid by specious hermeneutics. For previously when he set it down in its abbreviated form he none the less preserved the true content. Here he both abbreviated it and altered the content by a falsification, hoping * to change it over to his false view. Therefore, to convince truth-loving readers, we will set down the patristic statement in its entirety and from it show everyone a clear rebuttal of the new-fangled insanity. For the doctor, opposing thoroughly impious Eunomius, quoted a little phrase of Eunomius' in the eighth book (whose beginning is: But let us hold on to the previously established points) and wrote: 'Generation', he says, 'is separate from the ingenerate but joined to the Son's substance'. Does this not suffice to prove the ignorance of the author's mind? Who does not know that what can be separated from something and joined to something is first conceived of on its own, and in this way is joined to something else or separated from what it is joined to, for 'joining' is not predicated of a single item on its own. So, because he called generation 'separate from' the Father 'but joined to the Son's substance', it is wholly necessary that what

142/182 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 8: locus graece non servatus; est enim in lacuna quam repperit Jaeger II, p. 247, 21 142/143 Eunom. *Cyzic.*, *Apologia apologiae*, fragmentum aliunde non cognitum 148/149 cf. *supra*, 142-143

150 can be separated and joined should be seen entirely properly and on its
own, for what does not exist and does not subsist is neither separated
from anything nor joined to anything. But because he says 'generation is
joined to the Son's substance', he must view each of them on its own;
for if he supposed the one was the same as the other, he would not have
155 termed the identity 'joining', it being clear to everybody that the signifi-
cation of 'joining' is not observable in the single item on its own but that
the term indicates relationship with something else. In which case the
substance seen on its own is one thing and the generation which is joined
to this substance but separate, according to what he says, from the Fa-
160 ther's, is something other than it. But if generation is seen on its own by
our opponents, it will be acknowledged, even by our adversaries, that the
Only-begotten's substance is something other than it. For what is joined
to something is not the same as what it is joined to, and what is not the
same must be other. So if the concept of substance and that of generation
165 are different, the heresy will be cancelled by the very things he says. For
then * the Only-begotten's substance will not vary from the Father's sub-
stance through the difference between ingeneracy and generacy, for it has
been proved by our opponents themselves that generation is something
other than substance, so that there will be no necessity for a relationship
170 to exist between what are viewed in the substance and the one joined with
it; but if generation exists on its own and again substance is understood

on its own, an unique concept, with no participation by the other, will
 apply to each of them. For were someone to follow Eunomius in the ex-
 amination of the thought now proposed by him, and return the attack, it
 175 would be possible for an equivalent argument to be applied to the Father
 too. For it will be legitimate to imitate his express words, as follows: by
 ingeneracy's being separate from the Son but joined to the Father's sub-
 stance, the Son does indeed exist by generation and owes his being to the
 ingenerate, for he is begotten; for ingeneracy is not prior to the Father's
 180 subsistence nor is the Father prior to his own ingeneracy, for he who does
 not have his existence by being begotten has existed without being begot-
 ten. Equally then, if, when someone says 'ingeneracy is joined to the Fa-
 ther's substance', the argument follows in terms like those he has inferred
 of the Son, clearly the teaching of true religion will be confirmed by the
 185 opponents' claim: because they do not think ingeneracy or generacy is
 the same as substance but that they are viewed on the substrate, whereas
 the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than they; since no
 difference is found there (because the difference between generacy and
 ingeneracy is separate from the substance), it will, of entire necessity,
 190 turn out that they can profess no variation of substance in the two. Let us,
 again, examine in addition to what has been said, this too: what it is that
 he means when he says that generation is separate from the Father. Does
 he understand it as being a substance or an activity? Now if he thinks it
 an 'activity', it must be connected equally with what is effected and what

182/214 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 8 (PG 45, 837AD; Jaeger II,
 pp. 247,21 – 249,3)

195 acts, just as in the case of every effect it is possible to see, both in regard
to what is brought into existence and to the agent, * the activity unsepa-
rated from the craftsman and viewed in the making of the products. But if
he calls it a 'substance' separate from the Father's substance, by profess-
ing the Lord as owing his existence to it he obviously regards it as occu-
200 pying the place of Father to the Only-begotten, so that two Fathers are to
be thought of for the Son: one who only bears the name, whom he also
calls 'ingenerate', but who does not participate in generation; and one
who effects in the Only-begotten what it belongs to the Father to effect:
what he calls 'generation'. And this will be rebutted more by Eunomius'
205 very own words than by ours. For he says in the subsequent words: 'God
by existing without generation is also prior to the begotten'; and a little
later, 'for he who owes his existence to generation did not exist before he
was begotten'. Therefore, if generation is separate from the Father,
whereas the Son owes his existence to his having been begotten, the Fa-
210 ther himself will be inactive with regard to the Only-begotten's hyposta-
sis and separate from the generation to which the Son owes his existence.
So if the Father is alienated from the Son's generation, either they are
fabricating another Father of the Son by the term 'generation', or the
clever fellows are, by their words, declaring the Son a self-begotten Son.

205/206 Eunom. *Cyzic., Apologia apologiae* (PG 45, 837C; Jaeger II, p. 248,
23-25) 207/208 *Ibid.* (PG 45, 837C; Jaeger II, p. 248, 25-27)

215 We shall leave knowledgeable readers, acquainted with both the preceding and his quotation, to investigate in detail how he has maliciously curtailed and falsified the father's words. We ourselves will examine as best as we can the meaning of the wise words.

220 We must understand, then (as we have said even, in the preceding) that when detestable Eunomius was endeavouring to prove ingeneracy, and again generacy, a substance and was attempting in this way to claim the Son different in substance from the Father, all the pillars of the Church (as has been shown above) very
 225 wisely and in a variety of ways joined in fighting this blasphemous madness and clearly proved, sometimes by cogent and apposite arguments, sometimes by Eunomius' statements themselves, that neither * ingeneracy nor generacy is a substance, but that these, rather, are viewed on the substrate. Which is why BASIL THE
 230 GREAT too proves this point from the very profession of Eunomius, writing as follows in the first book *Against Eunomius* the impious: Having declared that 'if he is not prior to himself nor is there another to be prior to him, ingeneracy must follow him', he subsequently becomes aware that, as a consequence of the premisses, the argument has

232/259 Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 5 (PG 29, 517B-520B; *SChr.*, vol. 299, pp. 176-180); cf. *supra*, b. II, ch. 9, 263-291 232/233 Eunom. *Cyzic., Apologia*, 7 (*SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 246, 11-13; Vaggione, p. 40, 9-11)

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ADE²

Line 237: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, E²: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Line 238: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, D: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ. ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, DE²: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Line 241: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, DE²: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Line 242: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, E²: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Line 243: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, E²: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Line 249: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, D: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Line 250: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, D: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ. ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, E²: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Line 253: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, E²: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.
 Lines 253-283: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ ... ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, cf. Book II, ch. 9, lines 286-315 (a slightly different Syr. trans. with many small variants).
 Line 255: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ, D: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ.

235 come out to the opposite conclusion. For if ingeneracy follows God, it
evidently follows him externally; now what is outside God is not his sub-
stance and therefore the argument collapses. To avoid this fate what does
he do? Paying scant attention to the derision he was likely to incur by
uttering non-sequiturs, he corrected the argument and brought it to the
240 desired end, by saying : 'Rather ingeneracy is the substance itself'. But
this is quite out of key with the preceding words. For how can God have
the ingeneracy, which both follows him and does not follow him but in-
stead is based in the very concept of the substance? But yet he does not
allow the sophism to be demolished entirely. For if, having said that
245 ingeneracy follows him, he had let the argument rest here, he would have
been unable to call 'ingeneracy' the substance of the God of all, or to
prove that the Only-begotten Son is alien in respect of the substance to
him, since no external accompaniment can separate the affinity of sub-
stance between Father and Son. But now by adding 'but rather ingeneracy
250 is the substance itself', he has proved that whatever God is, is ingeneracy.
That he is preparing all this as a course for the onslaught of his blas-
phemy he will show when he has progressed somewhat in the argument.
His initial statement, indeed, has been seen to be a consequence of the
truth of the realities, by following from the points conceded. But the final
255 addition has been tossed in from heretical thought, our author having no

compunction at all towards making a *volte face* to set the argument straight. For how can the same thing follow God and be God, * when it is well-known to everybody that what follows is different from what it follows? So he has clearly inferred from the express words of the
 260 miscreant, who said that ingeneracy follows God, that ingeneracy is not God himself, or God's substance, but, rather, follows God.

Similarly, wise GREGORY too, Basil's brother, proved the matter by the blasphemer's words themselves by writing in his first book
 265 *Against Eunomius* (whose beginning is: There is a limit to the labours of those who *strive lawfully* in contests) as follows: So now let the critical hearer of these words remember this: by using 'begotten substance' of the Only-begotten he grants, by logical sequence, that we should use 'unbegotten substance' of the Father, so that, therefore, neither ingeneracy nor generacy will be understood as substance; but sub-
 270 stance, on the one hand, and the fact that it was begotten or not begotten, on the other hand, are to be considered on their own by means of the properties viewed in the substance. And again: For he is being cunning in speaking of the generacy of the substance, in order to procure the mutual opposition of the substances separated by generacy and ingeneracy

265 cf. II Tim. 2:5 265/272 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (PG 45, 589BC; Jaeger II, pp. 27,27 – 28,6); cf. supra, ch. 19, 17-24 272/284 Ibid. (PG 45, 589CD; Jaeger II, p. 28, 11-25); cf. supra, ch. 19, 29-41

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ADE²

Line 282: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, D: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, E²: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.
 Line 284: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, DE²: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.
 Line 286: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, E²: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.
 Line 287: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, E²: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.
 Line 290: At the top of fol. 181v D reads as follows: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ , ܕܘܚܘܬܐ
 ܕܘܚܘܬܐ. *Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.*
 Lines 291-310: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ ... ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, cf. supra, ch. 19, lines 18-42 (a slightly
 different Syr. trans. with many small variants).
 Line 293: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, D: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.
 Line 296: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, DE²: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.
 Line 298: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, D: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.
 Line 299: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ, E²: ܕܘܚܘܬܐ.

275 into a difference of natures. The feebleness of the attempt is rebutted by the very means whereby the trick is set up. For one who said the substance had been begotten clearly defined generacy as being something other than substance, so as not to permit the meaning of generacy to be adapted to the concept of substance. For he has not done in this part the
 280 very thing he designed in many passages so that he could say that generacy is the substance itself; but here he acknowledges that the substance has been begotten, so that the hearers have a distinct idea of each word. For different ideas are created for the hearer of 'has been begotten' and by the term 'substance'.

285 You see how the master of mysteries powerfully felled this adversary of truth out of the very words he intended to confirm his detestable madness by, proving indisputably that ingeneracy or generacy is not the same as substance. So with this aim in view, he purposefully catches the miscreant in the words set down * for ex-
 290 amination, in his own trap, and by Eunomius' assertion that generation is joined to the Son's substance the father clearly proves that substance must be one thing and ingeneracy or generacy another thing. Which is why he says: But because he says 'generation is joined to the Son's substance', he must view each of them on its own; for

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ADE²

- Line 300: מלכות, D: מלכות.
- Line 302: מלכות, A: מלכות.
- Line 303: מלכות, D: מלכות.
- Line 304: מלכות, D: מלכות.
- Line 307: מלכות, D: מלכות.
- Line 314: מלכות², DE²: מלכות.
- Line 315: מלכות, DE²: מלכות.
- Line 317: מלכות, D: מלכות.
- Line 319: מלכות, DE²: מלכות. מלכות, E²: מלכות.
- Line 321: אל, DE²: אל.

295 if he supposed the one was the same as the other, he would not have
termed the identity 'joining', it being clear to everybody that the signifi-
cation of 'joining' is not observable in the single item on its own but that
the term indicates relationship with something else. In which case the
substance seen on its own is one thing and the generation which is joined
300 to this substance but separate, according to what he says, from the Fa-
ther's, is something other than it. But if generation is seen on its own by
our opponents, it will be acknowledged, even by our adversaries, that the
Only-begotten's substance is something other than it. For what is joined
to something is not the same as what it is joined to, and what is not the
305 same must be other. So if the concept of substance and that of generation
are different, the heresy will be cancelled by the very things he says. For
then the Only-begotten's substance will not vary from the Father's sub-
stance through the difference between ingeneracy and generacy, for it has
been proved by our opponents themselves that generation is something
310 other than substance, so that there will be no necessity for a relationship
to exist between what are viewed in the substance and the one joined with
it; but if generation exists on its own and again substance is understood
on its own, an unique concept, with no participation by the other, will
apply to each of them. And again: Equally then, if, when someone says

325 ... <

330 ... <

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ADE²

Line 323: ... D: ...
 Line 326: ... D: ...
 Line 327: ... E²: ...
 Line 329: ... D: ...
 Line 330: ... D: ...
 Line 334: ... D: ...
 Line 336: ... E²: ... D: ...
 Line 339: ... D: ...
 Line 341: ... E²: ... D: ...
 Line 342: ... D: ... E²: ...

'ingeneracy is joined to the Father's substance', the argument follows in terms like those he has inferred of the Son, clearly the teaching of true religion will be confirmed by the opponents' claim: because they do not think ingeneracy or generacy is the same as substance * but that they are viewed on the substrate, whereas the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than they; since no difference is found there (because the difference between generacy and ingeneracy is separate from the substance), it will, of entire necessity, turn out that they can profess no variation of substance in the two.

So, by all this it has been proved, clearer than daylight, that to call ingeneracy or generacy a substance is totally foreign to the fathers' mind, whereas it is proper to Eunomius' heathen polytheism. It would, then, be worthwhile learning what Eunomius' pupil intends to claim by quoting the proof-text previously set down. For he wrote (as we have, indeed, frequently stated already) in proof that the substance is one thing and the hypostases something else, as follows: For Gregory of Nyssa, as has been said, clearly testified that the property, or prosopon, is one thing in its own concept, and the substance another thing, in the *Discourses against Eunomius*, when he said: 'Clearly the teaching of true religion will be confirmed by the opponents' claim, because they do not think ingeneracy is the same as substance but that it is viewed on the substrate, whereas the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than they'.

Concerning the fact that by misinterpretation and falsification of this same patristic text and by his saying 'the hypostases in their concept are one thing and the divine substance another thing', he is clearly convicted of completely denying profession of the Father as God, the Son as God and the Holy Ghost as God.

And who, on perceiving the author's scant regard for things divine, will not be justifiably surprised and amazed? Obligated by his promises to prove the 'otherness' of substance and hypostases and having undertaken to teach it by the difference between 'property or prosopon' and 'substance', * but having again absurdly omitted even that, he quoted the patristic text which states that ingeneracy and generacy are not the same as substance, altering it to his own view and substituting they do not think ingeneracy is the same as substance but that it is viewed on the substrate for they do not think ingeneracy or generacy is the same as substance but that they are viewed on the substrate, in order, as he said before, that a difference between one property (or, as he says, prosopon) and the substance may exist. Which is why he added immediately after the proof text: But were someone to think that ingeneracy does not characterize

3/5 cf. supra, ch. 45, 332-333 14/15 cf. supra, ch. 45, 36-37 15/
17 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 8 (PG 45, 837A; Jaeger II, p. 248, 1-3) 20/
23 cf. supra, ch. 45, 38-41

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ADE²

Line 8: ונחמך, E²: ונחמך.

Line 12: At the top of fol. 160v A reads as follows: ונחמך ונחמך
 ונחמך ונחמך. Of the patriarch St. Peter against Damian.

Line 15: ונחמך, DE²: ונחמך.

Line 18: ונחמך, D: ונחמך.

Line 22: ונחמך, DE²: ונחמך.

the Father's prosopon, such an one should know that we have just now quoted Saint Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, as adopting such a distinction between prosopon and Godhead.

Take prudent note of this writer's total negation of, and blasphemous against, God, the Father! For though his proposed task had been to demonstrate that 'property or prosopon' is one thing and 'substance' another thing, and he had quoted a patristic text proving, 'ingeneracy and generacy' one thing and 'substance or substrate' something else, he impiously misinterprets the proof text and said: But were someone to think that ingeneracy does not characterize the Father's prosopon, such an one should know that we have just now quoted Saint Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, as adopting such a distinction between prosopon and Godhead.

That is to say: Were someone to think that because wise Gregory distinguished ingeneracy from substance, it does not characterize (which is the same as saying, according to his argument, that ingeneracy is not) the Father's prosopon, but should think the Father is God, such an one should know that we have just now quoted Saint Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, as adopting such a distinction

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ADE²

Line 23: ררר ררר, cf. supra, ch. 45, lines 41-42 (trsp.). ררר. D:
 ררר.

Line 24: ררר, cf. supra, ch. 45, line 44 (trsp., om. ן). ררר.
 DE²: ררר.

Line 35: ררר, E²: ררר.

Line 36: ררר, DE²: ררר.

Line 38: ררר, DE²: ררר. ררר, E²: ררר.

Line 39: ררר, D: ררר.

Line 40: ררר, D: ררר.

Line 42: ררר, E²: ררר.

Line 43: ררר, DE²: ררר.

40 between *prosopon* and Godhead. What, then, is the distinction? *
Clearly that between 'ingeneracy' and 'Godhead'. Why, then, does
the cunning fellow attempt to delude his hearers, by hiding his
words, like those who cheat the eyes of onlookers by a swift mo-
tion of the dice? Why does he not frankly proclaim atheism and
45 clearly say out loud, unconditionally and without any conceal-
ment, that the Holy Trinity is not God at all? For he shows himself
to be defining Father or Son or Holy Ghost as by no concept nor in
any way 'substance' or 'Godhead', even though he hypocritically
contrives, for the deception of simpler folk, to throw in the phrase
50 in its own concept. Otherwise, let him show us any of the Church's
doctors who, in any thought or word whatsoever, called ingener-
acy or generacy 'substance' or 'God', but said that 'ingeneracy or
generacy is substance and God by participating in the substance
and Godhead'. Therefore, let him prove from patristic testimony
55 that ingeneracy and generacy participate in the substance and God-
head, and that each of these, by participating in the substance and
Godhead is substance and God, and we shall yield him the contest
and rightly award him the crown of victory. But if he is unable to
prove it, readers will learn that whenever he teaches that the char-
60 aracteristic properties, which he also recognizes as hypostases, are
one thing in their own concept and the substance of Godhead an-
other thing; and again, teaches that each of the properties is not

50 cf. *supra*, ch. 45, 37-38

61/62 cf. *supra*, ch. 45, 33-34

45 f. 160vb
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 55
 60
 65

ADE²

Lines 44-45: *kir* *am* *am*. DE²: *am* *kir* *am* *am*.

Line 45: *am*, D: *am*. *am*, D: *am*.

Line 46: *am*, E²: *am*.

Line 50: *am*, E²: *am*. *am*, D: *am*.

Line 53: *am*, E²: *am*. *am*, E²: *am*.

Line 57: *am*, DE²: *am*.

Line 58: *am*, DE²: *am*.

Line 61: *am*, E²: *am*.

God or substance or nature in its own concept, he does not speak of them like one who by some other concept or in some other way, 65 truly thinks of the three hypostases (whether conceived of along with one another or each seen on its own), as 'God', 'substance' or 'nature'. For, as we said, by what concept or thought would anyone call ingeneracy, generacy or procession 'substance' or 'nature' or 'God', unless he had fully decided that the three hypostases 70 (both when conceived of along with one another, and when each of them is seen on its own), are not God, substance or nature? For Saint * Gregory too, when he said: Ingeneracy or generacy is not the same as substance but they are viewed on the substrate, whereas the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than they, did not say 75 this on the ground that he recognized ingeneracy or generacy as in any way substance or substrate. No, he very wisely said: the substrate is, in its own concept, something other than ingeneracy and generacy, lest anybody should suppose from the words that he made the substrate on its own separate from the properties viewed

63 cf. *supra*, ch. 45, 37-38
837A; Jaeger II, p. 248, 1-4)

72/74 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 8 (PG 45,
76/77 cf. *supra*, 73-74)

80 on it, or should suppose, again, that he defined the properties
viewed on the substrate as separate from the substrate itself.

This we can clarify also from the words the doctor BASIL, his
brother, wrote to him *On Substance and Hypostasis*, as follows:
For just as a body always exists in a shape, but the concept of body is one
85 thing but that of shape another, and no one in giving the definition of ei-
ther of them would arrive at that of the other, nevertheless, even though
in concept one separates shape from body, nature does not admit of the
separation, but either is thought of along with the other connectedly; so
does the Apostle think, and we must teach as the word of faith the differ-
90 ence, unconfused and divided, of the hypostases. You see that although
the concept of body is one thing but that of shape another, they are not
separated on their own, one from another, nor again are they at all
identical with each other. Similarly, we say, was it said by the
master of mysteries: both 'that ingeneracy and generacy are one
95 thing in their own concept and the substrate on which they are
viewed is another thing'; and 'that we are not to define ingeneracy
or generacy as in any way substance or substrate'. But if anybody
thinks we have failed to interpret the doctor correctly, let him
show the doctor defining ingeneracy or generacy or procession in
100 any thought or way whatsoever as 'substance' or 'nature' or

84/90 Bas. Caes., Ep. 38, 7 (PG 32, 337CD; Forlin Patrucco, p. 192)
91 cf. supra, 84-85

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110 חן אהובים אהובים אהובים אהובים אהובים אהובים

ADE²

Line 88: אהובים, DE²: אהובים.

Line 90: אהובים, DE²: אהובים.

Line 94: אהובים, E²: אהובים.

Line 95: אהובים, DE²: אהובים.

Line 96: אהובים, DE²: אהובים.

Line 101: , אהובים, D om.

Line 105: אהובים, E²: אהובים.

Line 107: אהובים, D: אהובים.

Line 108: אהובים, D: אהובים.

'God', and we will openly acknowledge our ignorance. But until this is shown, the characteristic properties of hypostases will not be hypostases * because the hypostases, when conceived of along with one another are, and each when seen on its own is, God, substance and nature.

115 *Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a list or index. The text is partially obscured by a large watermark.*
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ADE²

Line 113: *Handwritten note in Arabic script.*

Chapter 47

Concerning the fact that, in attempting to claim, from the doctor's saying that ingeneracy and generacy in their own concept are one thing and the substrate on which they are viewed is another thing, that the substance of the Godhead is one thing and the hypostases of the Godhead another thing, he, for his part, proves the master of mysteries in contradiction both with himself and with the other fathers when they (as has often been proved) make ingeneracy and generacy (and clearly too procession) something other than the substance of the Godhead but, as will be proved immediately, expressly teach that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the divine substance.

Therefore, the admirable author must now recognize that the God-clad father, when he calls the substrate in its own concept 'one thing' and what are viewed on it (I mean ingeneracy and generacy) 'another thing', does not (as he sees fit to think), necessarily suppose an 'otherness' of Godhead and the Godhead's hypostases. In that case, he would have been clearly at odds with himself and with all the pillars of the truth, when they clearly make 'substance' one thing and 'ingeneracy and generacy' something else, and when they instructed and taught the whole world

מפאקטאָרן און אַרעאָמאָלן.

5 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 10 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 15 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 20 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$

25 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 30 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 35 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 40 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 45 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$
 50 $ax^2 + bx + c = 0$: $x = \frac{-b \pm \sqrt{b^2 - 4ac}}{2a}$

ADE²

- Line 3: אַרעאָמאָלן, DE²: אַרעאָמאָלן.
- Line 4: אַרעאָמאָלן, DE²: אַרעאָמאָלן.
- Line 7: אַרעאָמאָלן, DE²: אַרעאָמאָלן.
- Line 8: אַרעאָמאָלן, E²: אַרעאָמאָלן. אַרעאָמאָלן, D: אַרעאָמאָלן.
- Line 16: אַרעאָמאָלן, E²: אַרעאָמאָלן. אַרעאָמאָלן, DE²: אַרעאָמאָלן.
- Line 17: אַרעאָמאָלן, D: אַרעאָמאָלן, E²: אַרעאָמאָלן.
- Line 21: אַרעאָמאָלן, E²: אַרעאָמאָלן.

beneath the Sun, by inspiration from on high, in clear enunciation, that the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the divine substance itself. Indeed, we have just now quoted renowned Basil and
 25 Saint Severus giving this theology expressly and in plain terms.

Yet let us now bring in first wise GREGORY himself, who has been misrepresented, and let us hear his teaching on the point. For in the book *Against Eunomius' Statement* (whose beginning is: The faith of Christians), he spoke as follows, after first setting down
 30 the miscreant's words: For he says, 'Being superior to all rule, all subjection, * all authority, all empire'. This is ours, and the Catholic Church's declaration: that we believe that the divine nature is superior to all rule and has control over everything that is to be conceived of as included amongst things existing, but the divine nature is Father, Son and
 35 Holy Ghost. Now if he attests the power as belonging to the Father alone, if he says that he alone is free from change and alteration, if he says that he alone is immortal, it will be obvious that the claim is here being made that one to whom these do not belong must be mutable, corruptible, changeable and temporary. Therefore, it is these latter that Eunomius at-
 40 tributes to the Only-begotten and the Holy Ghost by his teaching.

30/40 Greg. Nyss., *Refut. Conf. Eunomii* (PG 45, 489AB; Jaeger II, p. 333, 12-25) 30/31 Eunom. Cyzic., *Expos. fid.*, 2 (PG 67, 587D; Vaggione, p. 152), fragm. per solum Greg. Nyss. cognitum

He who proved by a host of true and cogent demonstrations that the divine substance is one thing and ingeneracy and generacy another thing, has just said that the divine nature itself is Father, Son and Holy Ghost; for he wrote: But the divine nature is Father, Son and Holy Ghost. How, then, can the three hypostases of the Godhead be, in accordance with this absurd and detestable nonsense, either the same as the characteristic properties (I mean ingeneracy, generacy and procession) or something other than the divine substance?

No, let the fathers' accusers, (indeed, the accusers rather, of the Holy Trinity itself), accept on this point the testimonies of other proven doctors who have very wisely governed the holy churches from the beginning in apostolic times up to our own day.

DIONYSIUS THE GREAT, then, bishop of the church at Athens, wrote in the second chapter of *On the divine names*, as follows: And if they say that the whole most high Godhead is not Life, how can the sacred word be true, which said: *As the Father raises the dead and gives them life even so does the Son give life to those whom he wills*, and again: *It is the Spirit who gives life*? But because the whole Godhead possesses lordship over all * by virtue of Godhead, whether paternal or filial, it would, I think, be impossible to say how often in the theology the word 'Lord' is resoundingly proclaimed of the Father and of the Son: but

44/45 cf. supra, 34-35
3, 637AB; Suchla, p. 123)

56/66 Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nomin.*, II, 1 (PG
57/58 Ioh. 5:21 59 Ioh. 6:63

The Lord too is the Spirit. And goodness, indeed, and wisdom, are glorified in the whole Godhead; and the words of Scripture attribute 'light',
 65 too, and 'deification' and 'cause' and all that belong to the whole most high Godhead, to the whole glory of the supreme Godhead. Again, in the 13th chapter of the same book, he also says: Therefore though the all-transcending Godhead is glorified as unity and trinity, it is neither the unity nor the trinity known by us or by any other existent, but, in order
 70 that we may truly glorify its all-transcending singleness and its generative Godhead we call, with a divine name, trine and one, the Godhead which transcends existents in name and substance.

GREGORY THE GREAT, who took his name from miracles and wonders, also teaches in his book *On the Faith, by sections*
 75 (whose beginning is: Enemies and strangers to the apostolic profession), as follows: But we call the Trinity 'one Godhead', 'one lordship' and 'one holiness', because the Father is the Lord's *Beginning*, since he begat him eternally, and the Lord is the *Exemplar* of the Spirit; for thus is both the Father 'Lord' and the Son 'God' and of God it is said *God*
 80 *is Spirit.* And again: For this is why the Holy Trinity is believed and worshipped: one God, in accordance with what is attested by divine

63 II Cor. 3:17 67/72 Ps. Dion. Areop., *De div. nomin.*, XIII, 3 (PG 3, 980D-981A; Suchla, p. 229) 76/80 Ps. Greg. Thaum., immo Apol. Laod., *De fide κατὰ μέρος* (Lietzmann, p. 176, 13-18) 79/80 Ioh. 4:24 80/83 Ps. Greg. Thaum., immo Apol. Laod., *De fide κατὰ μέρος* (Lietzmann, p. 184, 23-27)

Scripture. although we have everywhere in the divine Scriptures, numberless teachings which further testify to the apostolic and churchly faith.

Let us note the teaching of these divinely inspired men, and let us marvel aright at their exactitude. For Dionysius, hearer of the apostolic voice and especially rich in the knowledge of divine and profound thoughts, who had felled with exact theology most of the absurd heresies before they appeared, clearly destroyed this one too, their queen (so to say), the oldest of them and even perhaps indeed the wickedest of them all, for could anyone discover a worse blasphemy against God? For * saying The whole Godhead possesses lordship over all, and professing it Father, Son and Holy Ghost, is nothing but uprooting from the very foundations the new-fangled insanity which godlessly makes the Godhead in the full sense 'something other' than Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Look, then, at what he says: But because the whole Godhead possesses lordship over all by virtue of Godhead, whether paternal or filial, it would, I think, be impossible to say how often in the theology the word 'Lord' is resoundingly proclaimed of the Father and of the Son: but *The Lord too is the Spirit*. And let us look at the other passage: Therefore, he says, though the all-transcending Godhead is glorified as unity and trinity. And in what way is the all-transcending Godhead a trinity when (according to the dangerous teaching of the *wise in themselves*) it is something other than the three hypostases, since they can nowhere show us any other Trinity except Father, Son and Holy Ghost?

91/92 cf. supra, 59-60
68 103 cf. Is. 5:21

96/100 cf. supra, 59-63

100/102 cf. supra, 67-

But let us have nothing to do with such utterly unutterable and unspeakable things! For would anyone uttering with his mouth the absurd blasphemies which attend that writing not be right to tremble in case some remnants of poison should persist, like deadly
 110 herbs, in the mouth which utters them?

But let us listen to what great Gregory wrote, for we will accustom our tongue only to the divinely inspired fathers' teachings, and through them often cleanse and hallow mind and lips. But we, he says, call the Trinity 'one Godhead', 'one lordship' and 'one holiness', because the Father is the Lord's *Beginning*, since he begat him
 115 eternally, and the Lord is the *Exemplar* of the Spirit; for thus is both the Father 'Lord' and the Son 'God' and of God it is said *God is Spirit*. You see how after calling the Trinity 'one Godhead', 'one lordship' and 'one holiness', he confirmed his words with an acknowledgement
 120 of Father, of Son and of Holy Ghost as 'God'. In this way, then, will we also understand For this is why the Holy Trinity is believed and worshipped: one God, * and with the patristic armoury we will, so far as strength in us lies, demolish the false belief which godlessly defines the Godhead as one thing and the hypostases of the God-
 125 head as another thing. For Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as the renowned father said, are one God, one Godhead, one lordship and one holiness. But he called the Lord, the *Exemplar* of the Spirit as it were the exemplar of his image; for the Spirit is the Son's image as he also said in the *Creed* revealed to him. It says there: One Holy

113/117 cf. supra, 76-80 118/119 cf. supra, 114-115 121/122 cf. supra, 80-81 126 cf. supra, 122 126/127 cf. supra, 114-115 127 cf. supra, 116 129/131 Greg. Nyss., *De vita Greg. Thaum.* (PG 46, 912D; Heil, p. 18, 13-16)

120 אלה כבודו יתן : ואלה כבודו יתן כבודו יתן :
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125 אלה כבודו יתן : ואלה כבודו יתן כבודו יתן :
 יתן כבודו יתן : ואלה כבודו יתן כבודו יתן :
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 130 יתן כבודו יתן : ואלה כבודו יתן כבודו יתן :
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 135 יתן כבודו יתן : ואלה כבודו יתן כבודו יתן :
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 140 יתן כבודו יתן : ואלה כבודו יתן כבודו יתן :
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 יתן כבודו יתן : ואלה כבודו יתן כבודו יתן :

f. 162rb

ADE²

Line 118: אלה, D: אלה.
 Line 122: אלה, E²: אלה. אלה, DE² om.
 Line 131: אלה, E²: אלה.
 Line 133: אלה, DE²: אלה.
 Line 134: אלה, E²: אלה.
 Line 142: אלה, DE²: אלה. אלה, E²: אלה.

130 Ghost who owes his being to God and was revealed through the Son i.e. to men, as perfect image of perfect Son.

And exact CYRIL too called the Spirit 'the Son's image' when he wrote as follows in the 33rd chapter of the *Thesaurus*: How, then, can the Holy Ghost be numbered amongst creatures, since he is the
 135 unvarying image of God the Son? And again: But if the Spirit is called 'the Son's image', he is God then and in no different way.

Next in order we will also investigate the divinely inspired teaching of apostolic ATHANASIUS, luminary of the Church, and will present readers with a few of his precise words on the theme
 140 in hand. For he instructed his hearers and taught true theology when he wrote as follows in the book *On the Incarnate Manifestation of God the Word* (whose beginning is: Those who want to interpret the divine Scriptures with evil design): And when the cherubim praise God three times, saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth', they
 145 praise Father, Son and Holy Ghost. And that is why we are baptized in the name of the Holy Ghost just as we are in the name of the Father and of the Son; and we become sons of God and not sons of Gods. For the *Lord Sabaoth* is the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. For the Godhead is one and there is one God. And a little later: The *Lord Sabaoth*,
 150 therefore is the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. And again, too, in

132 cf. infra, 136 133/135 Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. XXXIII (PG 75, 572A) 135/136 Ibid. (PG 75, 572B) 143/149 Ps. Athan. Alex., *De incarn. et contra Arian.* (PG 26, 1000B) 144 Is. 6:3 145/147 cf. Matth. 28:19 148 et 149 Is. 6:3 149/150 Ps. Athan. Alex., *De incarn. et contra Arian.* (PG 26, 1001B)

the *Letter on the Holy Ghost* (whose beginning is: Your sacred * Charity's letter was given me in the desert) he says the following: Abraham, then, being Nahor's son, became Isaac's father. And Isaac, being Abraham's son, became Jacob's father, and this is the way it is
 155 with the nature of men, for we are parts of one another; and each of them is begotten and has a part of his father, so that he himself too may become father of another. But this is not so in the Godhead. For *God is not as man is*, nor does he have a divisible nature; which is why he does not beget a Son by being divided so that he himself too may become fa-
 160 ther of another, since he himself does not owe his existence to a father. Nor, indeed, is the Son a part of the Father; which is why he does not beget too in the way he himself was begotten, but is entire *image* and *splendour* of his entirety, and in the Godhead alone is the Father 'Father' in the full sense and is the Son 'Son' in the full sense, and with them the
 165 Father stays ever Father and the Son ever Son. And just as the Father never becomes Son, so the Son never becomes Father. And just as the Father never ceases being sole Father, so too the Son never ceases being sole Son. It is madness, then, to think or speak at all of a 'brother' for the

153/177 Athan. Alex., *Epistulae ad Serap.*, 1 (PG 26, 569AC) 153/154 cf. Luc. 3:34 157/158 Num. 23:19 162 cf. II Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15 163 cf. Hebr. 1:3

Son, or to apply the term 'grandfather' to the Father. For the Spirit is not
 170 called 'Son' in the Bible, lest he be thought a brother; nor is he called the
 Son's son, lest the Father be thought a grandfather. But the Son is called
 the Father's Son, and the Spirit the Father's Spirit and in this way the
 Godhead of the Trinity is one. Therefore, even thus it is madness to call
 the Spirit a creature. For if he were a creature he would not be included in
 175 the Trinity, for it is all one God. And it will suffice to recognize that the
 Spirit is not a creature nor is he numbered with things made. For the alien
 is not mixed with the Trinity, but the Trinity is indivisible and like itself.

* He taught similar things to this too, when he wrote in the book
 entitled *On Doctrines* (whose beginning is: All the saints sent by
 180 God through the Word to preach in the Holy Ghost) as follows: So
 when the whole creation shall issue forth *to meet the Son in the clouds*
and be made subject to him, then too shall the Son himself be made sub-
ject to the Father, having been made a faithful apostle and high-priest on
behalf of all creation, so that God may be all in all i.e. Father, Son and
 185 Holy Ghost, the one lordship, Godhead and sovereignty.

What, then, will those who violently wrest the fathers' correct
 and irreproachable teaching to suit their own heterodoxy say about
 this too? For the guide to truth has just ruled by divine inspiration
 that the God, whom the cherubim praise three times, saying '*Holy,*
 190 *holy, holy Lord Sabaoth*', is the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.
 So how can the Godhead (which they say is 'other than' the Fa-
 ther, the Son and the Holy Ghost) not be a non-participant in this

179/180 Ps. Athan. Alex., *Sermo maior de fide*, incipit hucusque armeniace
 solum cognitum (cf. R.P. Casey, *Studies and Documents XV*, part II, p. 1,
 and part I, p. 13) 180/185 Ps. Athan. Alex., *Sermo maior de fide* (PG 26,
 1285D-1288A; Schwartz, p. 28) 181 cf. I Thess. 4:17 181/184 cf. I Cor.
 15:28 183 cf. Hebr. 2:17; 3:1 189/190 cf. supra, 143-144

divine doxology? And when, he says, the cherubim praise God three times, saying, '*Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth*', they praise Father, Son
 195 and Holy Ghost. And again: For the *Lord Sabaoth* is the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. For the Godhead is one and there is one God. And later: The *Lord Sabaoth*, therefore is the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

'But', he will say, 'The God and Lord Sabaoth is not in his own
 200 concept the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost'; for the blaspheming mouth exclaims: 'God and Lord, one thing in his own concept; and Father, Son and Holy Ghost, another thing'! Where, fellow, did you get this from? For what evil devil even (I will not go so far as to say 'which of the masters of mysteries who spoke
 205 by the Holy Ghost') ever counselled any accursed heretic to call what is in the full sense and in his own concept God, 'one thing', and Father, Son and Holy Ghost 'another thing'? So either show us somebody who ventured to say or think this or anything like it, or, recognize that you are engaged in teaching us and those in your
 210 clutches (would it were not so!) things unspoken and * unventured by any human beings, now compelling them tyrannically to think them, now coaxing them with baits of deceptions.

But take note, too, of the rest of the doctor's words: And in the Godhead alone, he says, is the Father 'Father' in the full sense and is the
 215 Son 'Son' in the full sense, and with them the Father stays ever Father and the Son ever Son. You see how, after saying, And in the Godhead

193/195 cf. supra, 143-145 195/196 cf. supra, 147-149 197/198 cf. supra, 149-150 213/216 et 216/219 cf. supra, 163-165

alone is the Father 'Father' in the full sense, and is the Son 'Son' in the full sense, he added, without a break and with them the Father stays ever Father and the Son ever Son, proving that the Godhead is Father, 220 Son and Holy Ghost. And listen to this: For if, he says, he (meaning the Holy Ghost) were a creature he would not be included in the Trinity, for it is all one God. And again: *So that God may be all in all* i.e. Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the one lordship, Godhead and sovereignty. Oh, the teaching of the fathers! Oh, the gift of the Spirit! 225 For what could be more clear and luminous than this exact and full theology: *So that God may be all in all* i.e. Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the one lordship, Godhead and sovereignty? This is the apostles' undeviating and inerrant faith! This is the proven creed of the fathers! Where is there here 'the Godhead in its own concept is one 230 thing and the hypostases of the Godhead something else'? Where 'the Father (and likewise the Son and the Holy Ghost) is, somehow or other, "God" by participation in the Godhead whether metaphorically or by grace'? If they are found in other texts of the divinely instructed father, let the presumptuous author without 235 delay set them forth against those quoted, and let us either make common cause or wrestle with one another over the contradiction by the inspired instructor.

But until he does so, he should take the trouble to learn what the man, * who owes his title and name to his excellent and exact
 240 theology, GREGORY (pastor and teacher of Nazianzus, and indeed of the whole world) taught us about the subject. He wrote, then, in the *First Oration on Easter* (its beginning is: The day of Resurrection) teaching that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one Godhead and power, as follows: But do you offer as fruit to God and to us your
 245 being tended well (and a few lines later) not listening to the strange voice which steals in, secretly, and will drive you away from truth over hills, wastes, pits and places the Lord does not visit, and remove you from wholesome faith in Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the one Godhead and power, *whose voice my sheep have ever heard and ever will hear.*

250 Again, too, in the *First Oration on Peacemakers*, when he discourses on the peace of the holy angels, he proclaimed that the Holy Trinity is, and is believed to be, one God, as follows: But the rest abide in their own dignity, the beginning of which is peaceableness and lack of dissension, having obtained their being one from the holy and
 255 praiseworthy Trinity, from whom also comes illumination, because it both is, and is believed to be, one God.

Similarly too he warns his listeners not to suppose that the Godhead overflows Father, Son and Holy Ghost or, again that it is restricted within them, but to recognize the Father, Son and Holy
 260 Ghost as one God, by speaking as follows, in the *Oration on the Nativity*: Let these things be now the subject of my philosophizing about

244/249 Greg. Naz., *Or. 1*, 7 (PG 35, 401A; *SChr.*, vol. 247, pp. 80-82) 249 cf. Ioh. 10:3 252 cf. *infra*, 256 252/256 Greg. Naz., *Or. 6*, 13 (PG 35, 740A; *SChr.*, vol. 405, p. 154) 261/268 Greg. Naz., *Or. 38*, 8 (PG 36, 320B; *SChr.*, vol. 358, p. 118)

God, for now is not the time to go beyond them, when not 'theology', but the 'economy' is our theme. Now when I say 'God', I mean the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the Godhead being neither diffused beyond them
 265 lest we import an assembly of 'Gods', nor confined within them lest we be condemned for penury of Godhead: either judaizing on account of the single sovereignty or paganizing on account of the plurality; for a like evil exists in both things, even if it is found in opposites.

He gave teaching similar to that already quoted when he said * in
 270 the *Oration on the Holy Ghost*, as follows: Finally, then, I decided it was certainly best to bid farewell to images and shadows as deceptive and very lacking in truth, but I myself, would hold to the more religious view, would take my stand on few words, would use the Spirit as my guide, would keep to the end as close associate and companion that source
 275 whence I have received illumination as in this world I walk, and would urge others, as best I can, to worship Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one Godhead and power, to whom be all glory and honour and power for ever and ever. Amen.

In the *Second Oration on Theology* too, he acknowledges the
 280 primal and immortal nature as Trinity, by saying as follows: But when I looked, I scarcely saw God's back, and this when I was hidden in a rock, in the Word which was, for our sake, incarnate; and gazing a little while, I saw, not the primal and immortal nature known to itself (I mean

270/278 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 31, 33 (PG 36, 172AB; *SChr.*, vol. 250, pp. 340-342) 279/280 cf. *infra*, 283 280/285 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 28, 3 (PG 36, 29A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, pp. 104-106)

< נשום מער. לו חניא ופער מה וכל מה שלפ. ולה
 < מחללה אלמסוהא ארעוהו מ, ושבחה לך : אלה
 < הוהוהוהא. אלהא ויה ארעה, ואלהא אלה : אלה הוהוה
 < איוסא מרעה ארעה אלה. בו לא לכל מה שלפ אלמסוהא
 < חלה ארעה : ולה כעעע ואלהא נחל : ולה ליה מה
 < שלפ חלה ארעה : ולה כעעעוהא ואלמסוהא נחשט :
 < ואם חלה לעוהוהא ויעוהא מוהוהא נחב : אם חלה
 < עעעוהא נשפ. כעעה חניא ונחשט כחיוהמס. ארפ
 < כחלפ עעעוהא כעעהא :

300 : בו שלפ ונחשט לחלפ ויה חב * אהההה, כחיו : f. 163va

< כחארוהא ונהל וסעא מרעה מחכא ארעה : לאלהא
 < ויה עעעה ל ונחשטוהא ארעה : ונחשט מה ארעה נחב
 < והללטה : ארפ חלחלטה מנה עזיא עפד עעע.
 < אלה ויה בו להוהוהא ונהו וכל מה שלפ אלהא איוסו :
 < כחלה ונחשט ארעה : כחיוהא כחיוהא ארעה :
 < עעעה ויה מרעה חלה : למע חוהא לאלהא ארעה :
 < ארפ עעעה עעעה כח חעעה : כחער חלכה
 < ארפ. הלטה ארעה ארעה ארפ עעע : ונחשטוהא
 < לאלה חלוהא ואלהא מרעה. לאלה אלמסוהא סעלה.
 < ולה חלה עעעוהא ארעה ארעה חלחלפ ארעה :

אלה כחארוהא ויה ואלה חלחלפ בו לה חעעה
 < מרעה ולה כעעהא : אלמסוהא נחב מחכא ארעה : בו
 < ויה נחב לחעע נחב כעעהוהא ואלהא. סוהא בו
 < ארעה חכא : כחלה ונהלפ ארעה. כח חלה
 < ארעה : לה חעעה מרעה ולה כעעהא מלה ארעה ארעה
 < ויה לאלמסוהא כח חחח : חלחלפ מה ויה מה חחח

ADE²

Line 291: ארעה, D: ארעה, cf. infra, lines 326-327 (trsp).
 Line 298: ארפ, E²: ארפ.
 Line 299: כחלפ, E²: כחלפ.
 Line 300: ונהח, E²: ונהח, אההה, E²: אההה.
 Line 302: עעעה, DE²: עעעה.
 Line 311: ונהח חחח, E²: ונהח חחח.

to the Trinity) all of which waits inside the first gateway and is hidden by
 285 the cherubim, but only all that is hindmost and reaches us.

In the other *Oration on Easter* (whose beginning is: '*On my watch will I stand*', says marvellous Habakkuk) he repeats the words in which he also philosophized in the *Oration on the Nativity*, and, as one who devotes himself to exact theology and to the offering of
 290 his fruits to God, he brightens the feast and makes it more festive, gladdening the devout and making them share as much as possible in the knowledge of God, by teachings like those: Let these things be now the subject of my philosophizing about God, for now is not the time to go beyond them, when not 'theology', but the 'economy' is our
 295 theme. Now when I say 'God', I mean the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the Godhead being neither diffused beyond them lest we import an assembly of 'Gods', nor confined within them lest we be condemned for penury of Godhead: either paganizing on account of the abundance or judaizing on account of the single sovereignty; * for a like evil exists in
 300 both things, even if it is found in opposites.

See, besides these passages, how he sets down again, in the *Oration on Baptism*, the same precise instruction, for the benefit of those to be perfected in divine baptism, as if he were anointing novice contestants in a match and entrusting them, as it were, with

< אִיזָה מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה : מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה חַיִּים כֹּהֵן לֵלֵךְ חַלֵּם
 < מִן הַיָּדָה מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה *

320 מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה דָּבָר מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה : מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה , מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה : חַלֵּם
 לְחַיִּים חֲפָזָה , מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה : חַלֵּם חַלֵּם חַלֵּם חַלֵּם חַלֵּם
 חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה : מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה
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f. 163vb

340 מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה
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ADE²

Line 318: מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה, E²: מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה.
 Line 322: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה, D: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה. E²: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה.
 חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה, E²: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה.
 Line 326: חֲפָזָה, cf. supra, line 291 (trsp.).
 Line 327: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה, E²: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה. מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה, D: מִיָּדָה חֲפָזָה.
 Line 334: חֲפָזָה, E²: חֲפָזָה.
 Line 335: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה, E²: חֲפָזָה חֲפָזָה.

305 invincible weaponry. He says: This I give you as companion and patron of your whole life: one Godhead and power found singly in three and embracing three dividedly; not disparate in substances or in natures, neither increasing nor diminishing by degrees of great and small, everywhere equal, the same everywhere, like the one beauty and grandeur of
 310 the sky: endless continuity of three without end; each of them viewed separately is God; the three of them conceived of together are God: the former because of the consubstantiality, the latter because of the single sovereignty.

Yet he also prays that those who have, so to say, retired from
 315 the contests may receive, as reward and honour for their sufferings on virtue's account, things heavenly and constant, the chief and best of which he called purer enlightenment as to how the same thing is perceived a unity and found a Trinity, and he prays in the *Oration on himself after his return from the wilderness* (its beginning is: I was longing for you, my children, and was longed for by you to an equal degree) with a boldness that befitted him, as follows: O holy and adorable and perfect Trinity, nobly to be summed and lauded by us. Yours, the making! Yours, the making right! Do you restore to concord with us those who just so far departed as to be disciplined into concord
 325 by the separation, and do you reward us for our labours here with things heavenly and immovable, the chief and grandest of which is to be enlightened in you more fully and more purely, as to how you, the same

305/313 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 40, 41 (PG 36, 417B; *SChr.*, vol. 358, pp. 292-294); cf. *supra*, b. II, ch. 6, 57-60 321/330 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 26, 19 (PG 35, 1252BC; *SChr.*, vol. 284, p. 270); cf. *supra*, ch. 23, 81-84

you, are perceived to be a unity and found as a Trinity, how the ingenerate, the begotten and the proceder, are one nature, three properties, *one God who is over all and through all * and in all.*

So, come now, and let us attend to a clear, brief summary of all that has been said. For he casts a flash of intellectual light on our minds in the *Oration on the Lights* and thunders, when he speaks these divine words: But when I say 'God', be illumined by one light
 335 and by three; by three in properties or hypostases, if anyone loves to call them that, or in prosopa (for we are not disputing at all over names, so long as the words come to the same thought); but by one in the concept of the substance or Godhead. For it is indivisibly divided, so to put it, and joined separably. For one in three the Godhead; and one the three in
 340 whom the Godhead or, to speak more exactly, who the Godhead is. And again: So one God in three, and one the three, as we said. But these, or this, being so, it was right, indeed, that worship should not be confined only to those above but that there should be some worshippers below, so that all should be filled with God's praise since all are also God's; and
 345 because of this was man honoured with God's hand and image.

What does our author think? Is not the expression of these words clear? Is it not a demonstration plain in terms and ample?

330 Eph. 4:6 334/340 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 39, 11 (*PG* 36, 345CD; *SChr.*, vol. 358, pp. 170-172); cf. *supra*, ch. 1, 72-76 341/345 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 39, 12-13 (*PG* 36, 348CD; *SChr.*, vol. 358, p. 176) 345 cf. Gen. 1:26-27; 2:7; 5:1

365 < ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ
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 < ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ * ܘܢܘܩܘܢ > f. 164a

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 375 ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ
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 380 ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ
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ADE²

Lines 365-368: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ... ܘܢܘܩܘܢ, cf. supra, ch. 23, lines 86-89: a slightly different Syr. trans. with several small variants.
 Line 365: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ, cf. ibid., line 87 (ܘܢܘܩܘܢ).
 Line 366: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ, D: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ. ܘܢܘܩܘܢ, D: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ.
 Line 368: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ, D: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ.
 Line 384: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ, E²: ܘܢܘܩܘܢ.

There it is! Sometimes the accurate preacher of true theology teaches Father, Son and Holy Ghost as one Godhead and power, and sometimes he calls the Holy Trinity God. Again, he says: When I say 'God'. I mean the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Later, too, he said: I would urge others, as best I can, to worship Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one Godhead and power, adding, to whom be all glory and honour and power for ever and ever. Amen. And let us not be pefunctory here but observe that he also said again, as previously set down: And gazing a little while, I saw, not the primal and immortal nature known to itself (I mean to the Trinity). You will see how, because he does not * recognize the Godhead and the Holy Trinity (i.e. the three hypostases) as different things, he said, in the passage above, that the primal and immortal nature of the Holy Trinity is one God, while here, again, he professes Father, Son and Holy Ghost one God, one Godhead and power. Look at the other words too: Endless continuity of three without end; each of them viewed separately is God; the three of them conceived of together are God: the former because of the consubstantiality, the latter because of the single sovereignty. But the opponent of this theology, by recognizing the true Godhead in the full sense as 'one thing' and Father, Son and Holy Ghost as 'another thing', has supposed we must believe each of the three viewed separately and, again, the three conceived of together, to be God in a metaphorical sense and by participation (as has been shown).

349 cf. supra, 248-249 350 cf. supra, 256 350/351 cf. supra, 263-264
 352/354 cf. supra, 275-278 355/357 cf. supra, 282-284 359/
 360 cf. supra, 356 361/362 cf. supra, 352-353 362/365 cf. supra, 310-313
 368/369 cf. supra, 363-364 369/370 cf. supra, ch. 36, 30-31

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 400 f. 164b

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ADE²

Line 394: E^2 : הָיָה .
 Line 398: DE^2 : הָיָה . D : הָיָה .
 E^2 : בַּיּוֹם .
 Line 409: D : הָיָה .

What of the rest of the doctor's words: How you, the same you, are perceived to be a unity and found as a Trinity; and again: For one in three the Godhead; and one the three in whom the Godhead or, to speak more exactly, who the Godhead is? What then the wise father intends, by saying: Or, to speak more exactly, who the Godhead is, is, I believe, that, when the Godhead is perceived in three hypostases and prosopa, the truth, as a result, will not be impiously and mischievously misrepresented, nor will the absurd and blasphemous doctrines now preached openly by this excellent fellow get any room, nor will the Godhead be thought of as 'one thing' and those, in whom the Godhead is, as 'another thing': for these teachings are (as has been shown) attempts to prove that because the Godhead is in three hypostases it is something else than they. For having said: One in three the Godhead and one the three in whom the Godhead, the wise father very cogently, and in a very divinely inspired way, anticipated these assailants of wholesome words and denied them their spoil, by adding: Or, to speak more exactly, * who the Godhead is.

The listener is to note carefully, and see whether it is not such words as these that the cunning author took as pretexts for calling the Godhead 'one thing' and the hypostases of the Godhead 'another thing'. For he wrote (as, indeed, we have already quoted earlier): We could set down many such testimonies of the doctors whereby the God-clad fathers recognized the hypostasis in its own concept as one thing and the substance as another thing, and gave the ruling that the community of substance is seen and known in the hypostases. And

371/372 cf. *supra*, 327-328 372/374 et 375 cf. *supra*, 339-340 384/385 cf. *supra*, 372-373 387/388 cf. *supra*, 373-374 393/396 cf. *supra*, ch. 44, 297-300

again: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that
 400 the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its own concept from the meaning of 'properties'), sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties. And again: And thus, indeed, having learned that 'prosopon' is one thing and 'nature' another thing, we profess one nature seen in three prosopa and acknowledge three prosopa
 405 in one nature. He wrote this, although the master of mysteries had completely obliterated the error, which impiously makes the Godhead 'one thing' and the hypostases of the Trinity 'another thing': after writing for one in three the Godhead, and one the three in whom the Godhead, he duly added: or, to speak more exactly, who the Godhead
 410 is, in case anybody, on hearing that 'one Godhead exists in three hypostases', should incautiously suppose, in accordance with new-fangled theologians, that the Godhead is something other than the three hypostases.

Why, then, does this accuser insolently proclaim, as if he had
 415 proved the Church's doctors contrary to one another and to themselves: We should understand, then, that the holy fathers (as I have said, frequently even), recognizing the substance in its own concept as one thing and the properties or prosopa as another thing, sometimes say that the properties exist in the substance (thus separated in its own concept
 420 from the meaning of 'properties'), * sometimes on the contrary that the substance exists in the properties? Where, my admirable fellow, are the patristic texts to confirm this? Let them come out into the light, so that readers may learn the accuracy of your doctrines and

397/402 cf. supra, ch. 44, 270-276 402/405 cf. supra, ch. 44, 302-304
 408/410 cf. supra, 372-374 416/421 cf. supra, 397-402

445 — וּמִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי וְהַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי וְהַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : בִּי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי לְחַבְדֵי
 — חַבְדֵי וְחַיִּים : מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — כֹּהֵן כֹּהֵן מִן הַחַבְדֵי וְהַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי
 — וְהַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : כֹּהֵן כֹּהֵן : כֹּהֵן כֹּהֵן
 450 — מִן הַחַבְדֵי : וְהַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — מִן הַחַבְדֵי : בִּי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — מִן הַחַבְדֵי : מִן הַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : מִן הַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 455 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 460 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :

לְחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי וְהַחַבְדֵי מִן הַחַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — מִן הַחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 465 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : f. 164vb
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 470 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :
 — חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי : חַיִּים לְחַבְדֵי :

ADE²
 Line 446: חַיִּים, cf. supra, ch. 40, line 76 (חַיִּים חַיִּים).
 Line 451: חַיִּים, DE²: חַיִּים.
 Line 455: חַיִּים חַיִּים, E² add.: חַיִּים חַיִּים.
 Line 456: חַיִּים, DE²: חַיִּים.
 Line 471: חַיִּים, D: חַיִּים.

the captiousness as you call it (or, if you prefer, the 'heterodoxy')
 425 of your critics, who condemn you on so many, and such, charges.
 However, you will never find anything to use against the Spirit in
 what the Holy Spirit spoke through the stewards of the Spirit,
 however hard you try again.

Therefore, receive again SAINT JOHN too, who was archbishop
 430 of the imperial city but adorned all the churches everywhere with
 his divinely inspired teachings. He took aim and with a single shot
 brought down your false opinion. For he wrote in his exposition
On the Holy Trinity (its beginning is: A teacher of the Church resem-
 435 bles a physician), as follows: First, then, is faith in God, who is a reality
 impalpable, incomprehensible, invisible, not to be investigated, inquired
 into or subject to judgement, a reality honoured by silence and adored by
 the intellect. Faith begins with the Father, and arrives at the Son and is
 perfected in the Spirit.

But let EPIPHANIUS too, to whom it fell to be leader of the Cyp-
 440 riots and who raised that renowned monument against heresies,
 number the blasphemies against God by this impious author along
 with the old heresies and fitly demolish, by his correct teachings,
 their monstrous madness along with the others. He wrote, then,
 against the Anomeans, in the first volume of the third book *On*

434/438 Ps. Ioh. Chrysost. (an Severian. Gabal.?), *De sancta trin. seu de fide*
 (PG 60, 767-768)

75 אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי
 אֲנִי כֹהֵן וְעַתָּה אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

480 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 485 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

490 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיָדָעְתָּ כִּי אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

ADE²

Line 474: At the top of fol. 196v D reads as follows: אֲנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.
 Line 479: , מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, DE²: , מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, D: מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.
 Line 480: וְיָדָעְתָּ, D: וְיָדָעְתָּ.
 Line 483: מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, E²: מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.
 Line 491: מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, D: מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.
 Line 494: וְיָדָעְתָּ, D: וְיָדָעְתָּ.

445 *Heresies*, as follows: We should recognize, then, that one is God, the
 Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom is also the Holy Ghost by
proceeding from the Father and receiving from the Son. And the one
 Godhead is this: one God one Lord, Father Son and Holy Ghost; there
 being no confusion of Son with Father or Holy Ghost, but the Father be-
 450 ing 'Father', the Son 'Son', and the Holy Ghost 'Holy Ghost', three per-
 fects, one Godhead, one God, one Lord, as * we have also often rendered
 the doxology amongst all the heresies. Again, in the same volume, in
 the refutation of Aëtius the Anomean, he says the following:
 Hence the one Trinity is one God, Father Son and Holy Ghost, a Trinity
 455 not made, not creature, not created; a Trinity not which was made but
 which makes, not having in itself the name of 'creature' but of 'creator';
 a Trinity which is one and not many, but from which are all that are many
 and not numbered with one another.

In addition to these athletes of truth, wise CYRIL too shall
 460 rightly hew down impiety, since he destroyed, like a doughty gen-
 eral, the pomposities of many heresies, and declared pure and lim-
 pid truth to the whole world. He wrote, then, in the sixth part of
 the sixth book of *Worship of the Spirit*, as follows: *But if 'Gods'*
and 'Lords' are spoken of also in heaven and on earth, yet for us there is
 465 *one God the Father, from whom is all and we in him, and one Lord Jesus*
Christ through whom all is and we through him. For we do not restrict
 the nature of the Godhead in Jewish fashion to one, God the Father alone,

445/452 Epiph. Const., *Panar.*, Haer. 76 (PG 42, 525AB; Holl, III, p. 346, 17-23) 447 Ioh. 15:26 et 16:14 454/458 Epiph. Const., *Panar.*, Haer. 76 (PG 42, 621D; Holl, III, p. 405, 7-12) 463/472 Cyr. Alex., *De ador. in spir.*, VI (PG 68, 412CD) 463/466 I Cor. 8:5-6

but expand it, as it were, to a holy and consubstantial Trinity; and again, while we separate it in the mode of the prosopa and properties of the
470 hypostases, we restrict it again to one God, on account of the identity of the substance, and him we worship, him we revere, invoking Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

What then! Does not THEODOSIUS, the celebrated, in whose days the execrable heresy of the polytheists came to life again, as it
475 were, from the underworld, and seethed up for the destruction of many, does not he too, with all the Church's pillars before him, instruct in the same straight and undeviating path, and light up with the brilliant beams of exact theology the whole wide world as it were, and clearly say: that the one God worshipped with true re-
480 ligion by all Christians and the one Godhead and substance is Father Son and Holy Ghost i.e. three hypostases? See what he wrote in the discourse *On the Trinity* * which he composed by divine inspiration against the heathen nonsense of the polyusiasts. But I think, he says, it is very absurd for certain persons to attempt to leave
485 out a definite number and to arrive at an indefinite. For if, by their indefinite usage, certain persons speak clearly merely of 'substances' or 'natures', but covertly on their own limit them to three, they are to know that this tacit attempt on their part has been denied them, and specially

483/499 Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 5 (OLA 56, pp. 177-178, ll. 196-215 [p. 246, ll. 188-204])

through Gregory the Theologian's statement, which we have clearly set
 490 down and which addresses his fellow believers, as follows: 'What, then,
 do you say, you who introduce three hypostases? Do you say this, think-
 ing three substances? I am fully persuaded that you would loudly protest
 against those who do so think'. And later: 'Those divided not in natures
 but in properties are three'. But if they do not limit them to three, one of
 495 two things will be necessary: either they will introduce more hypostases
 into the profession of Father, Son and Holy Ghost whom alone the Lord
 prescribed we should worship as one God; or, by the deficiency of one
 hypostasis (or, as they say, 'substance' or 'nature') they will be convicted
 of scheming to defraud the Holy Trinity. And later: So much for the
 500 words of holy Severus! Now, if they are minded to discern the words of
 Dionysius too with greater caution, they will have no stumbling-block
 there at all. For that blessed minister of Christ's mysteries by saying:
 'But humaneness especially, because in one of its hypostases it truly par-
 ticipated in our whole condition by summoning to itself anew and raising
 505 up the lowliness of our humanity of which Jesus the simple was, in an
 ineffable way, composed, and by the eternal's also accepting temporal
 measure and by what supersubstantially transcends the rank of all na-
 tures' coming, along with the unchanging constancy and unconfusedness
 of its own condition, to be within our nature' - by saying this, Dionysius
 510 did not, as they are saying, subject the Godhead, or substance, recognized

490/493 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 42, 16 (PG 36, 477A; *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 84) 493/
 494 Ibid. (PG 36, 477B; *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 84) 499/512 Theod. Alex., *De*
Trin., 6 (OLA 56, p. 212, ll. 72bis-85 [p. 249, ll. 71-80]) 503/509 Ps. Dion.
Areop., *De div. nomin.*, I, 4 (PG 3, 592AB; Suchla, p. 113)

in the three * holy hypostases (i.e. the three hypostases themselves), to incarnation, through the hypostasis of the Only-begotten.

Oh, the noble harmony! Oh, the wondrous accord of men so remote from one another in time and space, a harmony not procured
 515 by human artifice or effort but by the Spirit who inspired from on high! For see how John, who pours forth streams of variegated and faultless teaching, forges the same unaltered chain as his precursors, by saying: Faith in God begins with the Father, and arrives at the Son and is perfected in the Spirit. First, then, he says, is faith in God,
 520 who is a reality impalpable, incomprehensible, invisible, not to be investigated, inquired into or subject to judgement, a reality honoured by silence and adored by the intellect. He said this, taking care that no one should think polytheistically of the God, in whom faith is, as something other than the three hypostases, and resuming the same
 525 thought explains his words, as follows: Faith begins with the Father, and arrives at the Son and is perfected in the Spirit. How, then, is this theology not utterly incomplete, when it is curtailed and lacking in what is more necessary (or, rather, 'fuller in sense' as this writer puts it)? Apparently, then, this ecumenical doctor was in error
 530 along with all the masters of mysteries who were his peers, when he cut short the more necessary part of his theology and was silent

518/522 cf. *supra*, 437-438 et 434-437 525/526 cf. *supra*, 518-519 528 cf. *supra*, ch. 41, 16

f. 165va

570 * מוֹתָם מִיָּדָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם חַיֵּיהֶם לְלֵבָבָם <
 מוֹתָם : לְחַיֵּיהֶם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם, בְּיָד מוֹתָם וּמִיָּדָם <

אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם. אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 575 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : <

אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 580 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : <

אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 585 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : <

אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 590 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם :
 אֵם לְעַלְיוֹתָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : אֵם לְלֵבָבָם כְּחַיֵּיהֶם : <

ADE²

Line 574: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם, D: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם.
 Line 579: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם, E²: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם.
 Line 583: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם, DE²: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם.
 Line 585: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם, D: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם.
 Line 590: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם, D: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם.
 Line 592: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם, DE²: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם.
 Line 593: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם, E²: אֵם לְלֵבָבָם.

about the 'one' who is, as it were, separate from the three hypostases and by being more exalted than they is thought to be 'something other' than they, from whom we even come in an order to those
 535 in it. (but it would be truer to say 'whom he has debarred from adoration and glory' because of that 'hence' of whom - as has been examined - the writer also said, Hence, then, if we come in an order from the 'one' to those in it and thence descend to creatures).

But Epiphanius who reduced the other heresies to scorn and demolished them, will have erred also, as this writer supposes, because he is convicted of the greatest crime in not defining the
 540 'one' * of the Godhead as 'something other' than Father, Son and Holy Ghost; for he said that the three perfects are one Godhead. He says: Three perfects, one Godhead, one God, one Lord; and again:
 545 Hence the one Trinity is one God, Father Son and Holy Ghost. Seemingly, proven Cyril, guide to exactitude in divine doctrines, was also astray, when (as previously set down) he wrote similar things, and affirmed that the Trinity is the nature of the Godhead and that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one God.

550 Besides all these, they shall number along with the polytheists Theodosius (who fed the Catholic Church on knowledge and who lawfully, and in all ways, demolished the polytheists' lunacy), because he taught that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one God, and, again, that the Godhead, seen in the three hypostases, is the three
 555 hypostases. For he said: One of two things will be necessary: either

532, 534/535 et 537/538 cf. supra, ch. 41, 17-19 543 cf. infra,
 544 544 cf. supra, 450-451 545 cf. supra, 454 548 cf. supra,
 467 553 cf. infra, 556-558 555/558 cf. supra, 494-497

595 אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
 600 אלההוה יתנו

605 אלההוה יתנו
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אלההוה יתנו
 610 אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו

615 אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו
אלההוה יתנו

ADE²

Line 598: אלההוה יתנו, E²: אלההוה יתנו.

Line 600: אלההוה יתנו, cf. supra, ch. 41, line 20 (אלההוה יתנו).

Line 614: אלההוה יתנו, D: אלההוה יתנו, E²: אלההוה יתנו.
אלההוה יתנו, D: אלההוה יתנו.

they will introduce more hypostases into the profession of Father, Son and Holy Ghost whom alone the Lord prescribed we should worship as one God; and again: Dionysius did not, as they are saying, subject the Godhead, or substance, recognized in the three holy hypostases (i.e. the three hypostases themselves), to incarnation.

620 כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל <
 וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל <
 וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל <
 וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל <
 וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל <
 וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל <
 625 וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל <

Chapter 48

Concerning the fact that, considering the patristic tradition more authoritative than our own expression and understanding, (as the doctors of the Church frequently testify to us) we avoid
5 leaning over to either side, not putting forward pagan polytheism against Jewish atheism by defining in any word or way the three hypostases of the Godhead as 'Gods', 'godheads', 'substances' or 'natures', nor yet resisting pagan polytheism with Jewish atheism by contrariwise professing the Father, Son and Holy Ghost as
10 names or characteristic properties of hypostases. And examination of patristic statements * which lay it down that the same divine mystery is at once united and divided, both one and not one.

This is our rule of faith. These are the true proofs of our creed. We need no further wisdom or more curious questioning and debating of ideas. We will not substitute impious scrutiny for sound
15 faith and thereby destroy the credibility of the Spirit and gain the evil fruits of evil deeds. For we have learned to follow the fathers' intention in everything, and to reckon their word and their understanding more authoritative and more secure than our own word
20 and understanding. For, accurate THEODOSIUS proved this by the

... 5 ... 10 ...
... 15 ... 20 ...
... * ...

A. i. 166a

ADE²

Line 10: ... DE²: ...

Line 11: ... D: ...

Line 15: ... DE²: ...

Line 16: ... E²: ...

Line 20: ... E²: ... DE²: ...

Line 21: ... DE²: ...

Line 23: ... DE²: ...

divinely inspired words of Basil the Great, when he wrote in his *Discourse on Theology* in the following manner: Hence, bidding farewell to those who readily weave cobwebs of objections and speedily perfect thoughtless thoughts, and to the easy impious absurdities into which they slip especially from ignorance of the divine words, deceiving themselves rather than those they address, we ourselves will, so far as we can, collect and set down what we have received from our store-house (meaning from the divinely-inspired learning of the God-clad fathers), thinking that what comes from them will suffice right-thinking people for secure knowledge of the issue. For as to the man who does not follow the intention of the holy fathers at all points and does not reckon their word more powerful and more exact than his own notions, Saint Basil ruled that he deserves censure for his presumption, in the *Letter* he sent to the *Canoness on the Trinity*, where he wrote as follows: 'For not following the fathers and not considering their word more accurate than our own understanding deserves censure, because it is full of presumption'. Therefore, we too will be right to import no addition and make no subtraction in the fathers' teaching.

Now listen again, to what GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN said on this point in the first *Invective Against Julian*: 'To us', he says,

22/38 Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 1 (OLA 56, pp. 149-150, ll. 28-45 [p. 223, ll. 30-46]) 34/36 Bas. Caes., *Ep. 52*, 1 (PG 32, 392C-393A; cf. Courtonne, I, p. 134) 40/57 Greg. Naz., *Or. 4*, 102 (PG 35, 637AB; *SChr.*, vol. 309, pp. 250-252)

25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45

ADE²

Line 24: 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

D: 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Line 26: 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Line 32: 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Line 33: 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Line 34: 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Line 35: 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Line 39: 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

Line 44: 44, 45

Line 45: 45

'belong concepts and speaking Greek, to us who worship the gods; but to you belong irrationality and rusticity, and * your wisdom is nothing more than "believe!". I do not think that the Pythagorean philosophers amongst you will ridicule it: their first and greatest point of doctrine, more fitting for words in gold or lead, is 'ipse dixit'. For after the first philosophy of silence, much esteemed by the initiates in Pythagoreanism, in order that they might become habituated through silence to modest quantities of speech, it was the rule, so it is said, that, when asked about, or deciding any doctrine whatever and being required to give a reason, they should give no other answer but 'This was what Pythagoras approved', and that the reason for whatever doctrine he approved should be unquestioned and unexamined. 'Ipse dixit' comes to the same thing as our 'believe', in other words and syllables, even if you will not cease mocking and sneering at it: it means that we may not discredit the utterances of divinely inspired men; instead, their trustworthiness should be the proof of a statement, stronger than all the force of dialectics and counter-argument.

His namesake, wise GREGORY who occupied the throne of Nyssa, wrote similar things to this in his second book *Against*

60 *Eunomius* (its beginning is: But it is time that the explanation of the
 offspring's nature) as follows: First let him rebut these words as false
 and then he will be believed when he speaks about those that follow, but,
 so long as the first point is unproven, it will be idle chatter to dwell upon
 secondary matters. And nobody is to retort to me that what we say should
 65 be confirmed by an argument, for the tradition coming to us from the
 fathers as a heritage by succession from the apostles through the saints
 after them is sufficient proof of our case. But those who change doctrines
 by innovation need a good deal of help from their ratiocinations if they
 are going to persuade, not men blown about like dust but, people who are
 70 settled and constant in their minds.

However, CYRIL too, that guide to proven accuracy, * expounded
 to us the secure and inerrant pathway on all these matters, when he
 said, as follows, in the fourth book of his treatise *To Hermias*: So,
 Hermias, it would be best not to enjoy being disturbed by the loquacity of
 75 others, because it will carry us away into unsound thinking. No, we
 should make the words of those who express things divine the direct
 and uncomplicated rule of faith. It is fitting to praise not others, but
 them rather, and to say: *It is not you who speak but your Father's Spirit*
speaking in you. And a little later: *B*: It is a hard matter, my friend, and
 80 the charge of impiety is truly difficult to avoid. *A*: Indeed it is very easy

61/70 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 2 (PG 45, 653BC; Jaeger II, pp. 84,22 –
 85,5) 73/79 Cyr. Alex., *De SS. Trin. Dial. IV* (PG 75, 860BC; *SChr.*,
 vol. 237, p. 138) 78/79 Matth. 10:20 79/89 Cyr. Alex., *De SS. Trin.*
Dial. IV (PG 75, 861BC; *SChr.*, vol. 237, p. 142)

even. For those who want to, can escape it easily and banish any destructive and deadly objection by devoutly awarding right victory to the saints' words, who taught that God is not the maker but, rather, the Father by generation, of the Only-begotten: saints who were even made *the light*
 85 *of the world* by him who was not ignorant of his own nature, I mean Christ. For he said, at one point, to them: *You are the light of the world*; and again, when presenting them as true and infallible masters of mysteries, he said: *Go forth, make disciples of all the nations baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.*

90 See too what SEVERUS, who defines it as his chief glory to speak nothing of himself but only teach what the fathers approved, wrote in the book *Against Julian*, whose empty head deceived him and as a result he exalted himself over the God-clad masters of mysteries and lapsed accordingly into an unsound opinion (its be-
 95 ginning is: Let the apostolic law): But in addition to divinely inspired Scripture we must follow the proven and lawful masters of mysteries of holy Church, who have lived at various times, not only in doctrines but also in the words expressing the doctrines; and we are to think secure what they say and insecure what they do not say. For I myself acknowl-
 100 edge that I am conscious of my own frailty and all my life I have been careful to direct * my mind by their thoughts and words, to bridle my tongue, and to say and write theirs whenever occasion for it arose. Let us not acknowledge them as 'fathers' but exalt ourselves above the cogent

84/85 et 86 Matth. 5:14 88/89 Matth. 28:19 95/111 Sev. Ant., *Cens. Iomi Iul.* (CSCO 244, pp. 22,26 – 23,20; 245, p. 17, 12-33)

words expressing the exactness of their doctrines. For it was not they who
105 uttered them, according to the unlying word of the Saviour, but it was *the*
Spirit of their Father speaking in them, indicating what they should say
and, again, what they should not say, concerning the cunning wiles of
evil heresies to come, so that nothing unexamined or uninvestigated
would befall us. It is, then, a truly great thing for our generation, even
110 though we are set among the doctors, to think and speak purely and with-
out deceit what they studied and laboured over.

When we do not distrust the divinely inspired words of our
God-clad fathers, when we stamp and firmly fix in our minds their
careful words, we shall not pursue the unbeaten path which leads
115 to chasms and precipices but the royal middle way which the
pastors and doctors of the Church trod before us in their irre-
proachable doctrines. Therefore, we banish afar any deviation to
either side: we do not, for example, put forward pagan polytheism
against Jewish atheism, by defining in any word or way the three
120 hypostases of the Godhead as 'Gods', 'Godheads', 'substances' or
'natures' and thereby of necessity either not name them 'one God,
one Godhead, substance and nature' or name them 'only in imagi-
nation and phantasy (i.e. by a posterior concept and mental con-
struction), one God, one Godhead, substance and nature', nor (in

125 the way it pleases the new-fangled Arian toadies to think) do we
alienate the three from being truly one in Godhead but we stand
within the bounds of true religion, professing the one God (i.e. the
one Godhead, substance and nature) as three hypostases subsisting
in proper subsistence and each of them viewed on its own as 'God,
130 substance and nature', and we expell from our fold the abomina-
tion of Sabellius and Judaism. * Likewise, without the armoury of
Jewish godlessness we resist the heathen error of demon-worship:
we do not falsely suppose (as it pleases the new-fangled sup-
porters of the Libyan to suppose) that the three hypostases of
135 Father, Son and Holy Ghost are names or characteristic properties
(I mean, ingeneracy, generacy and procession) and thereby both
deprive Father, Son and Holy Ghost of truly being three hypo-
stases and again in the contrary way, the 'one' of the Godhead of
being three in properties. No, by professing them, rather, as three
140 hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, not as Gods, sub-
stances or natures but as 'one God, one Godhead, one substance
and one nature in concept and in reality, i.e. in the full sense and
truly', we completely negate all detestable heathen fables. For the
divine mystery we venerate is not (as those who embrace the
145 idolatry of polytheism say) 'three in the full sense but one in
imagination and phantasy', nor again is it (as those who revere
Jewish atheism say) 'one in the full sense and three so far as
names and appellations go', but truly at once and inexpressibly the

50 אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה אֶפְרַיִם וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׁמְעוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 155 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
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 160 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 165 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 170 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

f. 167ra

ADE² up to l. 163 (שם 110)

Line 153: אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה, E²: אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה. אֱלֹהֵינוּ, DE²: אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

Line 155: וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ, E²: וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ.

Line 157: אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה, DE²: אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה. אֱלֹהֵינוּ, E²: אֱלֹהֵינוּ. D: אֲנִי מֵעַתָּה.

Line 167: אֲנִי, D: אֲנִי.

Line 168: וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ, D: וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ.

same is united and divided, both one and not one. For three are 'one,
 150 in Godhead'; and the same one is 'three, in properties', as the guides
 and masters of truth instructed us by what will be set down.

Listen to BASIL THE GREAT, captain of true religion, theolo-
 gizing in the letter to his brother *On the difference between Sub-*
stance and Hypostasis and saying as follows: But do not be sur-
 155 prised if we say the same thing is both united and divided, and if we dis-
 cover some new and paradoxical, as it were enigmatical, united separa-
 tion and separated conjunction. For if anyone listens to the words without
 captiousness or cavil, he can discover something similar amongst objects
 of sense too. And, I beg you, regard my words as an illustration and
 160 shadow of truth, not as the very truth of the realities. For it is impossible
 to harmonize completely what is viewed in the illustrations with what
 gave rise to the need for illustrations. * How, then, do we say, we can un-
 derstand, by means of the sensibly perceived, what is at once separated
 and united?

165 We shall be right to couple with these words what GREGORY
 THE THEOLOGIAN said in his oration *On the Holy Ghost*: For neither
 is the Son 'Father' (for one is Father), but is whatever the Father is; nor is
 the Spirit 'Son' because from God (for one is the Only-begotten) but is
 whatever the Son is. For three are 'one in Godhead', and one is 'three in
 170 properties', so that there can be neither Sabellius' 'one' nor the 'three' of
 present evil division.

He wrote similar things too in the *Second Oration on Peace*, as
 follows: But I, by introducing a Beginning (non-temporal, without divi-

154/164 Bas. Caes., *Ep.* 38, 4-5 (PG 32, 333AB; Forlin Patrucco, p.
 186) 166/171 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 31, 9 (PG 36, 144A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p.
 292) 173/179 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 23, 8 (PG 35, 1160C; *SChr.*, vol. 270, pp. 296-
 298)

175 sion or bounds) of Godhead, honour equally both the Beginning and what are from the Beginning; the former, because Beginning of such, the latter because thus and such are they from such: divided neither by a 'when' nor by nature nor by venerableness, being one separably and unitedly separable (to speak paradoxically), not less praised for mutual relationship than when each of them is viewed and apprehended on its own.

180 In the oration *On Heron the Philosopher* also, he gave a preliminary outline of the same teaching and the following counsel: But now you are to teach that we know only thus much: an unity adored in Trinity and Trinity in unity, having a paradoxical division and union.

185 GREGORY OF NYSSA concurred in the same teaching when he said in the *Refutation* he wrote of *Eunomius' Statement* (its beginning is: The faith of Christians) as follows: For though there are many other names whereby God is signified, in history, prophecy and law, our Lord Christ, leaving all these aside, lays down these words as more capable of bringing us to faith about *Him who is*, and decreed that it is
190 enough for us to abide in the appellation of Father, Son and Holy Ghost for an understanding of *Him who truly is*, who is both one and not one. For in the concept of substance he is one (which is why the Lord ordained that we should pay regard to one name) * but by the properties indicative of hypostases he divides out faith in Father, Son and Holy Ghost,

182/183 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 25, 17 (PG 35, 1221CD; *SChr.*, vol. 284, p. 198) 186/195 Greg. Nyss., *Refut. Conf. Eunomii* (PG 45, 469AB; Jaeger II, pp. 314,19 – 315,3) 189 et 191 cf. Ex. 3:14

195 inseparably divided and unconfusedly united. And again: Therefore we
 say that *the mystery of godliness* is transmitted to the holy disciples as
 both united and separated: we are to believe in the name of the Father,
 Son and Holy Ghost. For the property of the hypostases makes clear and
 unconfused the separation of the prosopa, whereas the one name laid
 200 down in the deposition of faith explains to us clearly the unity of sub-
 stance of the prosopa, the objects of faith: I mean the Father, the Son and
 the Holy Ghost. He sets out similar things for us also in the
Catechetical Oration, as follows: How is the same thing both num-
 bered and yet avoids number, both viewed divisibly and apprehended in a
 205 unity, both separate in hypostasis and undivided in the substrate? For the
 Spirit is one thing in hypostasis, the Word another, and again another he
 to whom Word and Spirit belong.

Besides this we would do well to learn what SEVERUS (who
 epitomized in himself all the fathers and poured forth to every-
 210 body, as it were from an everflowing spring, rich and exact
 teaching) instructs us on this point. For he wrote in his 70th *Ca-
 thedral Sermon* the following: For the Father is 'God', the Son 'God',
 the Holy Ghost 'God', but not three 'Gods' dividedly, because the Son
 and the Spirit lead back to the Father, to one Beginning as non-temporal
 215 cause (for from him, though not after him, are Son and Spirit, for they are
 co-eternal); so that the same Trinity will be perceived threefold in the
 properties and recognized unitarily in the Godhead, will be indivisibly

195/202 Greg. Nyss., *Refut. Conf. Eunomii* (PG 45, 472CD; Jaeger II, p. 317,
 17-25) 196 cf. I Tim. 3:16 203/207 Greg. Nyss., *Or. catech.* (PG 45,
 17D; Mühlenberg, p. 13, 17-22) 212/228 Sev. Ant., *Hom. cath. 70* (PO 12,
 pp. 18,9 [10] – 19,11 [13])

separated and unconfusedly joined, and will avoid the Jewish poverty of Sabellius which restricts the Godhead to one prosopon and one hypostasis
 220 and will negate, by the oneness and sameness of substance, the polytheism of Arius and the heathen; being singly many (which is a paradox), because from one it extends only to three and leads back again to one. For after 'two', 'three' is an odd and not an even number, so that no participation or comparability of God with creation will here be understood.
 225 For amongst things * incorporeal we see nothing with oneness and threeness save God, whereas duality is a property of bodies which consist of matter and form; but there can be no composition in the Trinity either, for Godhead is simple and incomposite in substance.

In what has been quoted a little earlier it has been proved indisputably and as clearly as possible, by patristic testimonies, that the
 230 Godhead, or the substance and nature of Godhead, is nothing else but the Holy Trinity, indeed, rather, is Father, Son and Holy Ghost, which is the same as saying the three true and consubstantial hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But here too
 235 again, the same expositors of divine and mysterious knowledge clearly taught us that we are to believe that the same *mystery of godliness* is paradoxically both united and separated, one and not one, both numerable and avoiding number, both viewed dividedly and apprehended in a unity. For, as we have been instructed, it is
 240 understood as one and is joined, it avoids number and is apprehended in an unity, *qua* substance: whereas in the indicative properties of the hypostases, it is three, is separate and numbered:

236/237 cf. supra, 196-197
 203-205

237/238 cf. supra, 191

238/239 cf. supra,

But do not be surprised, says Basil the great luminary of truth, if we say the same thing is both united and divided, and if we discover some
 245 new and paradoxical, as it were enigmatical, united separation and separated conjunction. Notice the apt, very elevated and strange explanation of a reality truly inconceivable and inexpressible. And we discover, he says, some new and paradoxical, as it were enigmatical, united separation and separated conjunction. And again also the Theologian
 250 said: For three are 'one in Godhead', and one is 'three in properties', so that there will be neither Sabellius' 'one' nor the 'three' of present evil division. Again, in the later passage: Being one separably and unitedly separable, to speak paradoxically. Let us observe how he said that the same three: are 'one in Godhead' and one is 'three in properties'; and
 255 likewise, * too, having said of the three: Being one separably and unitedly separable, and also recognizing that the reality itself is completely incomprehensible to us (indeed, rather to all created nature), he added: to speak paradoxically. And he uses the same teaching too about an inexpressible paradox, giving the warning:
 260 But now you are to teach that we know only thus much: an unity adored in Trinity and Trinity in unity, having a paradoxical division and union. If the merely self-chosen theologians now in evidence, had not thought that they ought to be more elevated and richer in honours than these teachers of God, they would not have thrown the
 265 churches into so much tempestuous turmoil, indeed done their best to thrust everybody's soul into ultimate ruination! Let us attend too to what Gregory of Nyssa said about *Him who truly is*, who is

243/246 cf. supra, 154-157 247/249 cf. supra, 244-246 250/252 cf. supra, 169-171 252/253 cf. supra, 177-178 254 cf. supra, 250 255/256 cf. supra, 252-253 258 cf. supra, 253 260/261 cf. supra, 182-183 267/271 cf. supra, 191-195

both one and not one; for in the concept of substance he is one (which is
 why the Lord ordained that we should pay regard to one name) but by the
 270 properties indicative of hypostases he divides out faith in Father, Son and
 Holy Ghost, inseparably divided and unconfusedly united. And again:
 Therefore we say that the *mystery of godliness* is transmitted to the holy
 disciples as both united and separated. And again: How is the same
 thing both numbered and yet avoids number, both viewed divisibly he
 275 always and apprehended in an unity? So at every point he said that it
 was not as other and other that the *mystery of godliness* was trans-
 mitted to the holy disciples, but as the same being both 'one' and 'not
 one', both united and separated, as both numbered and avoiding number.
 Severus too, who wisely and very securely indicates the aim of the
 280 holy fathers in all things, said, by divine inspiration: The same
 Trinity will be perceived threefold in the properties and recognized
 unitarily in the Godhead, will be indivisibly separated and unconfusedly
 joined, and taught that it is: singly many (which is a paradox), because
 from one it extends only to three and leads back again to one, and
 285 theologized that it belongs only to God to be viewed in oneness and
 threeness.

272/273 cf. supra, 195-197 273/275 cf. supra, 203-205 276/277 cf.
 supra, 272-273 277/278 cf. supra, 267-268 278 cf. supra, 273 et
 274 280/283 cf. supra, 216-218 283/284 cf. supra, 221-222 285/
 286 cf. supra, 225-226

* Chapter 49

Concerning the fact that the faith which teaches the united and divided mystery transcends the comprehension of reasonings. Therefore it is more fitting to collaborate in thought with the fathers' laws and the Spirit's guidance than to blaspheme in easy manner by following a seeming train of arguments. For it is not studious but vain and utterly proud minds which investigate incomprehensible and sublime teachings.

But if any stricter scrutineer (or, to speak more truly, any more curious person) demands a completely comprehensible account of these things, he ought to be especially admonished by the words already spoken, that the object of theology transcends all thought and reason. For we have learned that the unity and separation belonging to the mystery is a paradox. Nevertheless, please let us hear again the same heralds of truth on this point too.

For BASIL, standard and teacher of all respect and honour towards God, says this too in the same previously mentioned letter: For above in the example too, what illumines the many-coloured

על וכללם כן מווצאיהם וקייחם מווצאיהם : מ,
 וכללם ויהי וקייחם וכללם. מכללם וכללם
 וקייחם כן וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם
 5 וקייחם : וקייחם וקייחם : וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם
 וקייחם וקייחם. לה וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם : וקייחם
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 * וקייחם

10 וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם : וקייחם
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 20 וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם וקייחם : וקייחם וקייחם

AD

Line 3: וקייחם, D: וקייחם. מכללם, D: מכללם.
 Line 4: וקייחם, D: וקייחם.
 Line 6: וקייחם, D: וקייחם.
 Line 10: וקייחם, A: וקייחם.
 Line 11: וקייחם, scripsimus, AD: וקייחם.
 Line 15: וקייחם, D: וקייחם. וקייחם, D: וקייחם. מכללם, D:
 מכללם.
 Lines 19-20: וקייחם ... וקייחם, cf. supra, ch. 13, line 80 (אם וקייחם)
 (אם וקייחם : וקייחם).

brilliance was one substance, reflected by the sunray, but the colour of what
20 appears is multiform, reason teaching us, even through creation, that we
do not experience anything new in doctrinal discussions whenever we fall
into an intellectual difficulty and are seized with giddiness at the prospect
of assenting to some statement. For just as with things viewed by the eyes
the experience has shown itself too great for words, so also in the most
25 sublime doctrines, the faith, which teaches separation in hypostasis and
union in substance, is too great for the comprehension of reasoned
thought.

See again how GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN too forbids and re-
strains any enquiry beyond the limit of our reasonings, laying
30 down the measure of enquiry and concession over divine doc-
trines, lest one of these things should be harmed by the other, and
taking much care for the caution due. For he wrote in the third ora-
tion *On the peacemakers*, giving the following admonition: * What
is this, you people? How long is it to go on? Shall we not become
35 modest, even though tardily? Shall we not wake up? Shall we not be
ashamed? Even if of nought else, shall we not beware of the enemies'
tongues ready to disparage with lies? Shall we not desist from this great
contention? Shall we not recognize which of the issues we can compre-
hend and to what extent, but which are beyond our powers; which belong
40 to the present time and to the base mixture which obfuscates the mind,
but which to the world to come and to the liberty it brings; so that we
may love the former now but be purified by the latter when we are finally

< םוּׁס : ן, ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןעׁנפּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס ןוּׁס
 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןעׁנפּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ. ןוּׁס ןוּׁס ןוּׁס ןוּׁס ןוּׁס
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 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ, ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. : ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ
 25 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןעׁנפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס.
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 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. : ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס.
 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס.
 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ : ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס. ןלפּוּ ןוּׁס.

30 < ןוּׁס, ןוּׁס ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ.
 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ :
 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ
 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ : ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ :
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 35 < ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ : ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ :

< * ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ. ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ. ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ
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f. 168va

AD

Line 21: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ, cf. *ibid.*, line 88 (ןוּׁס ןוּׁס).
 Line 36: At the top of fol. 168v A reads as follows: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ, ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ. *Of the patriarch St. Peter against Damian.*
 Line 37: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ, D: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ.
 Line 41: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ, D: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ.
 Line 43: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ, D: ןחׁבׁרׁתּוּ.

perfected and cease from desire? Shall we not discriminate for ourselves between what we ought not to enquire into at all, what, in their stead, we
 45 should enquire into with moderation, and what we ought to leave out of account and concede however they may be to the lovers of contention, as things which do no damage to our argument; what we must grant to faith alone and what to reasonings; what we must fight for with diligence, by words and without weaponry?

50 He wrote similar things too in the *First Oration on the Son*, as follows: These are our answers to riddlers, unwilling answers (for vexatiousness, indeed, and retorts are displeasing to the faithful, for one adversary is enough) but necessary on account of those who fall, since medicines too are necessary because of illnesses, in order that they may know
 55 that they are not completely wise and are not invincible in those superfluities which make void the Gospel. For when we put forward the power of reason, abandon believing, and destroy the credibility of the Spirit by investigation, and when subsequently reason is vanquished by the grandeur of the realities (for vanquished it must be, proceeding, as it
 60 does, from the frail organ of our mind) what will happen? The weakness of reason appears to belong to the mystery, and thus the grandeur of reason is found to be something that *makes void the Cross*, as Paul, too, held. For faith is the fullness of our reason.

Let us observe too the grateful mind of this true 'theologian' in
 65 the oration *On the * Holy Ghost*, and let us imitate him as best we

51/63 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 29, 21 (PG 36, 101C-104A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, pp. 222-224) 62 cf. I Cor. 1:17

can. For he theologizes about the union and separation belonging to the mystery and, not finding anything below to compare with the reality, or any finite area in which he comprehended it, he said this: As I pondered in myself many things in curiosity of mind and
 70 directed my reason all ways, I sought to obtain some illustration for so great a reality and there is nothing in our world below with which to compare the divine nature. For even if a small resemblance be found, the great thing itself escaped me and left me below with the illustration. And later: And there is nothing at all to give standing to my mind in the illus-
 75 trations, when I consider what is imagined, except a man take one thing from the illustration with a grateful mind and discard the rest.

But the same Gregory testifies again too that in things incomprehensible when reason correspondingly fails, toil and trouble in our reasonings when we stand up for the true faith, is better than
 80 departure from it through following the conventional train of reasonings, when he taught lovers of true wisdom in the oration *To Heron the Philosopher*: Do not be afraid of 'procession', for God, who is rich in all, has no necessity either to proceed or not proceed. But fear estrangement and the warning laid down, not to those who profess as
 85 God, but to those who blaspheme against, the Holy Ghost. Do not give wrong honour to the single sovereignty either by contracting or curtailing the Godhead. Do not be embarrassed by the charge of tritheism so long as another runs the risk of ditheism. For either you have resolved both charges or are in doubt about both or he has destroyed the Godhead too
 90 along with his reasonings, whereas the Godhead has remained for you;

69/73 Greg. Naz., *Or. 31*, 31 (PG 36, 169A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 338) 74/
 76 Greg. Naz., *Or. 31*, 33 (PG 36, 172A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 340) 82/99 Greg.
 Naz., *Or. 25*, 17-18 (PG 35, 1224AB; *SChr.*, vol. 284, pp. 198-202) 84/85 cf.
 Marc. 3:29; Luc. 12:10

even if reason has failed, toil and trouble in our reasonings with the guidance of the Holy Ghost is better than easy blasphemy in pursuing the facile. Despise for me objections and retorts, new-fangled religion, and * pettifogging sophistry; despise them more than cobwebs which catch
 95 flies but are torn by hornets, not to mention by fingers or any other heavier body. Teach that we are to be afraid only of destroying faith by sophisms. It is not a grievous thing to be worsted in argument, for argument does not belong to everybody; but it is a grievous thing to damage Godhead, for it is everybody's hope.

100 Similarly he wrote in the oration *On the Holy Ghost* as follows: You, therefore, have released yourself from the business by a single word and have gained a pyrrhic victory, having done something similar to those who hang themselves from fear of death. For you have denied the Godhead, so as not to labour in fighting for the single sovereignty, and
 105 have surrendered the point at issue to the enemy. But as for me, even if I am forced to toil somewhat I will not surrender what is to be adored.

Besides this, the wise words of the other GREGORY (I mean OF NYSSA) will teach us reverence and awe over divine doctrines, for when contending against detestable Eunomius and seeing him
 110 brazenly aspire to things not to be ventured upon, he said in the 30th chapter of his *Refutation of Eunomius* (its beginning is: To want to help everybody was not, apparently) the following, after first setting down the blasphemer's words, 'The kind of similarity to be sought', he says: By whom does he say it is to be sought? What
 115 command, what scriptural law has made the search necessary? Does not wisdom clearly forbid search into matters too profound and enquiry into matters too difficult and being wise in inessentials? Paul says and

101/106 Greg. Naz., *Or. 31*, 17 (PG 36, 152C; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 308) 113/
 149 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I, locus graece non servatus; est enim in lacuna
 quam repperit Jaeger I, p. 154 113/114 Eunom. *Cyzic.*, *Apologia apologiae*,
 fragmentum aliunde non cognitum

testifies in the Lord to everybody who is on our side that we should
not think things higher than we ought to think, not because he despised
 120 wisdom but because he rejects our over-much extending ourselves
 through contemplating an enquiry into things incomprehensible. Isaiah,
 more clearly than the rest, proclaims the impossibility of such an investi-
 gation, by calling his generation ineffable. Indeed all the words of the
 divinely inspired Scripture which figuratively * teach us *the mystery of*
 125 *godliness*, lay down the law that we ought not to enquire about things in-
 comprehensible. For what the divine teaching says is, as it were, a limit
 of our duties. So by what necessity has he sought 'the kind of similarity',
 there being no saint who has counselled any concern for such things? For
 had it occurred to the prophets or patriarchs or the Lord's disciples to
 130 give any consideration to these matters, it would not have been absurd for
 us too to be zealous for the same things in a like search for a similitude;
 although even so it would have been superfluous to search again into
 what has been searched into already, and we should have been right to
 stick by what was known before. But if the object of their concern
 135 seemed beyond even their comprehension and thus the search itself vain
 (their incapacity for the object of their search indicating its incomprehen-
 sibility), sollicitude, therefore, in these matters is superfluous and useless
 in both cases, whether the object desired was sought by saints or
 unsought. For if anything useful had come about from this search, the
 140 saints, who exhort us to *enquire even into the deep things of God through*
the Spirit, would not have disregarded these essentials. To whom after

119 Rom. 12:3 121/123 Is. 53:8 124/125 cf. I Tim. 3:16 127 cf.
 supra, 113-114 140/141 cf. I Cor. 2:10

< לחלוקה אחת כחומר, ואלה הן חלקי ארבעה חלקים
 < ואלה חלקי חמש. לה בן עשרה לשבועות: אלה בן חמשה
 130 < לחי, ואלה חלקי עשרה: חמשה, ואלה חלקי עשרה חלקים
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f. 169rb

AD

Line 131: חלקים, D: חלקים.
 Line 134: חלקים, D: חלקים.
 Line 140: חלקים, D: חלקים.
 Line 141: חלקים, D: חלקים.
 Line 151: חלקים, A om.

them, then, will be revealed what is too high for prophetic revelation and knowledge by the apostles? But I do know the necessity which constrains them to ask after such things. For, in my judgement, there is no
145 other cause for such an investigation except their desire to convert the contentious to them by the outlandishness of their teaching. For had they held to the wonted doctrines of the fathers, in accordance with the teachings of the Gospel and the Apostles, they would have had no occasion for being known more than other people.

150 You will see that to seek for comprehension of things too profound, and to investigate the knowledge of matters not searched into by any saint, is a vanity and pride rejected by God and is occasioned by the desire of those who occupy themselves in such matters to be known more than other people. Therefore let us pray we
155 may be far removed from the reasonings * which are odious to God, and, on the contrary, emulate the humble and measured mind of the God-clad fathers, and very appropriately treasure it amongst our greatest valuables, not considering it a grand thing to vaunt ourselves upon the unusual and hunt for honour beyond our due
160 measure by blasphemous chatter but thinking it a praiseworthy thing to keep a sober silence about things ineffable. Which is why the traditions of the fathers will suffice us to say without shame to

those who require of us proofs for things above reason that we are complete ignoramuses in this wisdom, and quite inexpert.

165 For the same doctor taught this too, when he wrote as follows, in the first book *Against Eunomius* (its beginning is: There is a limit to the labours of those who *strive lawfully*): But if anybody were to demand an explanation and description of the divine substance, we should not deny that we are ignoramuses in such wisdom, and profess
 170 only so much: that it is impossible for the infinite in nature to be comprehended by any design of words, for prophecy calls out that there is no limit to divine grandeur, clearly proclaiming: *There is no bound to the glory of his greatness*. But if the things belonging with him are infinite, much more is what he himself is in substance uncomprehended by
 175 boundary in any part. So if an explanation by names and words limits the subject in meaning and the infinite cannot be limited, nobody can rightly find fault with our ignorance in not attempting what cannot be ventured upon. For by what name shall I comprehend the incomprehensible? What word shall I use to express the ineffable? So since God is too exalted and
 180 too sublime for signification by names, we have learned to honour what is beyond speech and understanding by silence, even if someone, thinking beyond what he ought to think, waxes hot against this soberness of speech, ridiculing this ignorance of ours with regard to things incomprehensible (I mean the absence of configuration, the infinity, the absence
 185 of size and volume in Father, Son and Holy Ghost), and recognizes difference by way of dissimilarity and produces this * in rebuttal of our

167 cf. II Tim. 2:5 167/187 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (PG 45, 601BC; Jaeger II, pp. 38,17 – 39,12) 172/173 Ps. 144:3 et 5

והנהגותיו של מלך ישראל ושל ישראל ושל ישראל
למלך.

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למלך ושל ישראל ושל ישראל ושל ישראל * למלך ושל ישראל ושל ישראל

E. 169vb

AD

Line 190: ושל ישראל, D: ושל ישראל.

Line 195: ושל ישראל, this word is added in the margin in D in the same hand.

והנהגותיו, D: ושל ישראל.

Line 198: ושל ישראל, D: ושל ישראל.

Line 202: ושל ישראל, D: ושל ישראל. ושל ישראל, D: ושל ישראל.

ignorance. And again: And therefore we fix in ourselves the doctrine which has been made a laughing-stock, professing that we are too inferior in knowledge for things which transcend knowledge, and saying that we
 190 truly *worship what we know*. Yet we do know the sublimity of the glory of him we worship, reckoning the incomparability of the grandeur by our very incapacity to comprehend it by our reasonings.

But let us attend too to the frank voice of proven CYRIL, which proclaims aloud and testifies to the same things. For he said in the
 195 second book of the treatise *To Hermias*, the following: For just as *Hope that is seen is not hope, for how can one also hope for what one sees?*, according to wise Paul's voice, so faith that is investigated and does not possess inscrutability, is, by parity of argument with hope, not
 200 faith. For what is honoured by faith must be free of enquiry. I say, therefore, that just as *He who approaches God must believe that he is* and investigate no longer, so ought he too to think 'that' God is Father and has begotten, but to leave off burrowing into 'how' as an incomprehensible matter. And again: You say well! And I admire you now especially for such words. Therefore, if anyone investigates and jeopardises himself
 205 by enquiring into things incomprehensible to the mind and not to be mastered by the power of words, we shall say of such a man that he is no genuine scholar at all but that he floats, rather, on empty and idle labours. It will be said, indeed, of everybody like this (and not inappositely): *He who relies on falsehoods shepherds the winds, and chases flying birds,*

187/192 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (PG 45, 604BC; Jaeger II, p. 40, 16-22) 190 cf. Ioh. 4:22 195/203 Cyr. Alex., *De SS. Trin. Dial. II* (PG 75, 757A; *SChr.*, vol. 231, pp. 300-302) 196/197 Rom. 8:24 200 Hebr. 11:6 203/218 Cyr. Alex., *De SS. Trin. Dial. II* (PG 75, 760CD; *SChr.*, vol. 231, p. 306) 208/212 Prov. 9:12a-12c

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Line 207: ןחלפ, D: ןחלפ. ןחלפ, D: ןחלפ.
 Line 210: ןחלפ, D: ןחלפ.
 Lines 219-220: ןחלפ, D: ןחלפ.
 Line 222: ןחלפ, D: ןחלפ.
 Line 223: ןחלפ, D: ןחלפ.

210 *for he has left the roads of his own vineyard, the paths, indeed, of his husbandry he has missed, but he goes along the waterless desert and on ground appointed for thirst and will gather no fruits in his hands. For having, as it were, foolishly bade farewell to things necessary and advantageous and things full of truth, they embrace falsehood, and what has no*
 215 *fruits of religion they receive as if it were something to be prized. Their mind has mounted to such a pitch of pride that they then perhaps suppose it a point to be charged and condemned on that they should yield knowing 'how' he is in nature to God himself alone.*

* *Again in the Address to the devout Emperor Theodosius he*
 220 *wrote in the following manner: So, away with all futile talk, with feeble fables and falsehood, and the deceits of elaborate phrases; for we do not accept anywhere anything which can do damage, even if our opponents smite us with very carefully constructed and sharp words! For our divine mystery does not reside in the persuasive words of human wisdom*
 225 *but in the proof of the Spirit.*

220/225 *Cyr. Alex., Or. ad Theodos. de recta fide*, 23 (PG 76, 1165D; Schwartz, pp. 56,30 – 57,4) 224/225 *I Cor. 2:4*

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* אהיה זכר אהיה זכר [אהיה זכר] אהיה זכר אהיה זכר A. f. 172ra
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Line 233: אהיה זכר, D: אהיה זכר (a added in a different hand).
 Line 242: אהיה זכר אהיה זכר, D: אהיה זכר אהיה זכר.
 Line 246: אהיה זכר, D: אהיה זכר.

Chapter 50

Anathematization of the previously rebutted detestable teachings. And repudiation of those who impiously blathered them. And admonition which charges those who undertake ecclesiastical office to fight for their spiritual sheep and those who are grieved over truth not unreasoningly to join men who have once and for all been done to death by disbelief and stripped, through denial of the fathers confession, of all spiritual grace; nor are they to suppose that there will be any forgiveness for them if they foolishly follow those whose lot it has been to shepherd them: but let them wisely consider what will profit them, investigate the truth and account only those as pastors who are guides and teachers of orthodox doctrines.

And these matters shall be the end, as they were the beginning, of the enterprise we undertook to labour at under pressure from members of a different, or to venture a paradox, a contrary persuasion, who had asked us for a refutation of what good Damian wrote recently for the subversion of his hearers. Relying not on our own, but on our Lord Jesus' strength, we have called to mind what comes from the godly and wise masters of mysteries, uttering nothing of our own at all, and as proposed, we have, by their rich and divinely inspired teaching, abundantly demonstrated the truth to those minded to see it, on every one of the points examined. So,

since some of those who pressed us to take up the enterprise urged
25 it to obtain, from the writing we were going to produce, an occa-
sion for completely false accusation and slander against us, some,
* contrariwise, to find rebuttals of falsehood, some, indeed, mid-
way between these, wanting to have clear knowledge and enlight-
30 lawful and clear rebuttals of an outrageous folly, do proclaim a
dread anathema against all the detestable and mad doctrines which
have just been thoroughly castigated throughout the work by the
aid of the holy, adorable and consubstantial Trinity. We dispell the
effluents of atheism and polytheism as we do the congregations of
35 Jews and pagans; for those who have impiously disgorged these
doctrines, whose disposition, after many various modes of right
healing and admonition, is both completely unhealed and unal-
tered and who have congealed, so to say, and become putrid, in
belief more false (for seemingly *their heart*, as the sacred word
40 says, *has become hard as stone, rigid, indeed, as the unyielding*
anvil), we weep bitterly and mourn aright. And because (as has al-
ready been abundantly examined and proved clearly), they have
removed themselves by false belief from the truth and have swept
themselves away into the outer dark of falsehood and by apostasy
45 have miserably stripped themselves of all spiritual and heavenly
grace, we account them utterly estranged from our fellowship, that
is, the fellowship of all who are orthodox: we expell and remove
them, like dead and putrefying limbs from a healthy body; and

we number them with the heterodox who have been fierce in
 50 blasphemy against God; and we affirm that they have no part or
 inheritance whatever with us, unless they wisely re-learn the truth
 and devoutly hasten to a lawful repentance, accepting orthodox
 and irreproachable teaching in place of their absurd nonsense
 odious to God, and thus preserve for all Christ-loving peoples the
 55 wonted peace and the former concord in orthodoxy of doctrines
 irreproachable.

Thus let it be said of them! But we urge truth's servants to as-
 pire to manliness of heart, because they have Christ * the omnipo-
 tent as their aid and helper, and to fight diligently for the word of
 60 faith; and we charge them to gird themselves for the sake of the
 fathers' heritage, clearly recognizing that slackness in any of our
 responsibilities pertaining to the edification and salvation of spir-
 itual sheep and, in a word, any failure to rise to the highest pitch of
 effort for them, is apostasy in the full sense.

65 SEVERUS the celebrated bears witness to this, when towards the
 end of his book *Against Julian's Additions*, he said, to those who
 specially jeopardised themselves for the Church, the following:
 So, meditating on such things I called to mind all who must jeopardise
 themselves not only in word but in reality on behalf of orthodoxy, both
 70 the appointed high-priests and those who fulfil the order of divine minis-
 try and complete the Church's body; and trembling with fear at God's
 warning, I wrote nothing of my own. Otherwise, I should willingly have

68/87 Sev. Ant., *C. Add. Jul.*, 43 (CSCO 295, p. 164, 3-24; 296, pp. 138,25 – 139,12)

- עזיב עץ מונומנט : סבב נבחרתו האזכרה מונומנט ופער
 מפת לאסבל ראלמר גרופה זענט. מונומנט מייט רימור ומו,
 זכורה רע זיאהרה רעה למען בחך מעזאנד : רע קוה
 55 ורק מוכה להכירה בר כך וזיג נלער עזיר : זכורה
 ראלמר לאל האכורה נכחמעה זינפלע : מולק זינמעה
 עבירע מפינג, כך ראלמר : לחלופעה האזיאהר מלר
 ברילהר נעכע : מסוכה לחלמנן חזרה אינער מעסער :
 לערע זעכער מלסעהר ומך פריער : זעהזיטהר
 60 ונתלפע לר זינלר פליה.

- מוכל קווען כך מוכה פעהרזי. לחזמער אב ועזיר :
 בר לאל זינאהר לעבאהר זכה חלץ : זען, ומכזינר רעה
 למען ממעכער : מעסער * קוה ובל זכך : זעפולע
 65 ונהבחהרע מלך זכלהר וממכעהר. מונומנט זיאהרה
 רכחעהרע מלך מפינג. בר לחלמה נר. זינאהר
 זעהזינרעהר קוה וממכער : זכזכר כך מלך ולהר
 מלך לעכער מפינגר וזינאהר זעלער : מלה חלמ
 מלמעהר מפינגעהרע וזינאהר רעזי לאל מלך זעלע.

f. 172va

[= D. f. 213vb]

said Job's words: *If I have been in error, tell me!* But having set down in plain terms verbatim the sacred pronouncements of divinely inspired
 75 Scripture and the holy words of those who taught the mysteries with proven care, I might justly, even rather, very appositely, speak like Job, for I have not dealt falsely with the holy words of my God; for these words will stand aright on the day of judgement before Christ's judgement-seat, against those who contradict them, and not only against those
 80 who contradict them but also against those who do not give as much aid as they can to fight for apostolic and patristic doctrines, because the judge himself proclaimed in the Gospel the dread words: *Whoever confesses me before men I too will confess before my heavenly Father and whoever denies me before men I too will deny before my heavenly Father.* But it is
 85 also a denial in the full sense, to be irresolute over the word of truth when it is trampled upon, and not give aid *with all our power, all our soul and all our mind*, as Scripture has it.

In addition to all these people, we urgently, and very opportunely, I think, exhort those who are now, as one might say, mid-
 90 way * and have not, so far, committed themselves fully either to strict orthodoxy or, again, to an erroneous view, and we earnestly charge them *before the Lord and his elect angels* to read with diligence and with sincerity what we have written, to investigate the truth to their utmost, awarding it alone the victory and committing
 95 themselves to it, and not to be irresolute in any way about God's glory, supposing that they will have a pardon for following their

73 Job 6:24 82/84 Matth. 10:32-33 86/87 Matth. 22:37; Marc. 12:30;
 Luc. 10:27; cf. Deut. 6:5 92 cf. 1 Tim. 5:21

10 < אר * ארסו וזלזל ארס ארסו לר. בר אבא פוגח
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 105 ארסו ארסו ארסו ארסו ארסו ארסו ארסו ארסו

AD

Line 83: ארסו, D: ארסו.
 Line 87: At the top of fol. 214v D reads as follows: ארסו ארסו ארסו ארסו.
 Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.
 Line 102: ארסו, D: ארסו.

pastors and leaders foolishly. For any who abandon the universally attested company of God's teachers, spurning the irreproachable orthodoxy they taught us and passively accepting monstrous new definitions contrary to true faith from people converted to evil by
100 the sway of power, are not beyond extreme peril, even if those who lead them to monstrosities be found numbered in the front rank of pastors. As the very teacher who occupied with sanctity the throne of this great city, indeed rather was a teacher of the
105 whole world, renowned CYRIL testified when he speaks in the third book of the first volume of his *Commentary on the prophet Isaiah*, as follows: For I do not think we should be willing to be subject to those whose lot it is to be leaders, if they do not attempt to teach something profitable and helpful, and refuse to count worthy of censure what is
110 rightly believed to be in the portion of evil. For it is the special quality of a teacher to be able to lead those under instruction to accurate knowledge of what is profitable, to mark false what is capable of doing harm, and to order abstinence from what usually injures. Indeed, I think, pupils will be worthy of all praise, if they do not merely look at the opinions of their
115 masters but at the nature of the realities, and if they admire their teachers if they are upright, are men of knowledge, and counsellors of excellence, but censure those who do not have such an aim. For some pasture their flocks of sheep * on hills and heights, but should any ravine or precipice near the flock be seen, the sheep stray and do not give themselves over to

חסדו לתועלתו למי שירצה. כי יתן רצונו עתה
 כי למה יתן חסדו וחסדו וחסדו וחסדו : וחסדו
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f. 173ra

AD

Line 115: חסדו, D: חסדו.
 Line 123: חסדו, D: חסדו.
 Line 130: חסדו, D: חסדו.

120 death, for they are taught, as it were by an innate law, to spare their own
 lives. So how can it not be absurd if this evidently prevails among unrea-
 soning animals, yet amongst ourselves, despite our being rational, there
 should be no knowledge of what is useful and necessary for life? We
 ought not, then, if some of those appointed as teachers and rulers choose
 125 to lead us into wrong, simply to be willing to tolerate them or foolishly to
 follow what they please, but should consider every one of the actions and
 so choose the one wont to profit most.

He attests similar teaching in what he wrote in reply to Diodore
 and Theodore *On the One Christ*, as follows: Nothing has pre-
 130 cedence over truth for those who love her and know well how to speak
 what concerns her. But I say to those of such a mind, who have purposed
 to conduct themselves aright according to the sacred teachings of the
 Church, that they ought not to be guilefully disposed towards persons
 who think and speak what is correct, nor again are they to be constrained,
 135 by respect and affection, to agree with writers who are not free from cen-
 sure, lest they be condemned for *calling evil 'good' and good 'evil',*
sweet 'sour' and sour 'sweet', and for making light darkness and dark-
ness light, but, accomplish rather, what the divine law sees fit: for it says
Judge right judgement; and it is wise Paul's view too that we should be
 140 *wise money-changers* who *assay everything*, so that we may accept what
 is *profitable*, but avoid what is not so. For it is an absurdity that unreason-
 ing animals should be taught by certain innate laws to know well what
 will profit them and what will not, so that they can feed on things in the

129/149 Cyr. Alex., *Contra Diodor. et Theodor.*, initium libri I, quod, excepta
 prima sententia, aliunde non est cognitum (ed. P.E. Pusey, S.P.N. Cyrilli ... in D.
 Joannis Evangelium, vol. III, p. 492-493). 136/138 Is. 5:20 139 Ioh.
 7:24 140 ἄγραφοι (cf. Resch, ἄγραφα, pp. 112-116) 140/141 cf. I Thess.
 5:21

countryside which will do them no harm yet leave what is injurious,
145 whereas we, in whom dwell intelligence and right reason * (for our nature is wise and fully capable of being able to *assay everything*, when we correctly and impartially weigh the force of what is said or written), should be unable to deem praiseworthy what is free from censure and to avoid all absurd statements which go outside the teachings of truth.

150 If we obey these words, if, amid all these tumults, we direct and turn our minds to the orthodox and spotless faith alone which has been handed down to us by Christ *the chief shepherd*, through good and true pastors and teachers, we shall be true stewards of our souls. Accordingly we shall share, along with the saints, in the
155 struggles as much as in the blessedness beyond, in our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory, honour and power for ever and ever. Amen.

< לאל הו, ויעניו בן, ויחכה ויהיה הו, ואל :
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f. 173rb
[= D. f. 218rb]

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180 עלה ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה
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D. f. 218va

ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה ויחכה

AD
Line 177: ויחכה, D: ויחכה.

ADDENDUM

[A passage of uncertain place, belonging in Book II before chapter 5 line 103]

...Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With The Beginning, one God; he, endeavouring to be consistent with his own aim, mischievously and ruthlessly cut the text and the full sense of the theology, by saying: The Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With
5 The Beginning (that is, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost) are not expressions indicative of substances, but of properties belonging with the one substance. What can be clearer than this gross damage? The Theologian proclaims: The Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With
10 The Beginning, one God! This opponent of Theology, at war with the divinely inspired father (indeed, rather, with the Holy Ghost who spoke in him), contradicted him and exclaimed: The Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With The Beginning (that is, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost) are expressions indicative of properties belonging with the one substance. This is one of the author's complex
15 tricks. For acknowledging, as he does, the hypostases of the Holy Trinity as, so to say, nothing but imagination, and considering them, if they exist at all, as one thing and the Godhead and substance as something else, he maliciously mutilated the text and tore the words from one another like limbs off a well-knit body, so
20 that, with these torn off, the full profession of exact faith by which we honour the same as trinity and unity would be lame in its chief part, and he would then easily deceive weak people and make them slaves of his error, persuading them no longer to profess that the one God we reverence is the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but
25 that God is one thing and, as he clearly often proclaims, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost another.

1/2 cf. *infra*, 8-9 4/7 Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 4 (n° 4); cf. *supra*, b. II, ch. 20, 13-16 8/9 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 42, 15 (*PG* 36, 476A; *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 80); cf. *supra*, b. II, ch. 5, 103-104 11/14 cf. *supra*, 4-7

ADDENDUM

[We print in brackets letters and words illegible in the Syriac text and restored by conjecture or reference to parallel passages]

A. f. 170ra

... * וְלֵךְ יִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל : מִן הַיָּם :
 נִפְרָא וְלִשְׁמַע בְּפִי : כְּעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי אֲבִיבִי אֲבִיבִי
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : לְבָרְכֵךְ מִלֵּךְ מִלֵּךְ מִלֵּךְ מִלֵּךְ :
 5 וְיִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל : לֵךְ יִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁרָאֵל :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 10 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
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 15 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 20 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 25 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :
 וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי : וְעֵשֶׂה אֲנִי אֲבִיבִי :

But let us revert to the point the discussion had reached. * and let us examine the correct and pure teaching of the theologian father, and guided by his prayers and clarifications let us reveal how
 30 when right-minded readers hearken to the true meaning of the text...false teachings... unbeginning, The Beginning and the With The Beginning, one God! [It has] thereby become clear to us all that the same three consubstantial hypostases (i.e. Father, Son and Holy Ghost) are one God, and no one, I think, can in any fashion argue
 35 or say that this true Theologian here said: The Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With The Beginning, one God!, without thinking of the three prosopa themselves as also properly subsisting realities; which is why he also adds: Neither unbeginningness nor ingeneracy is the nature of The Unbeginning (i.e. of the Father who exists without
 40 beginning, ingenerately): i.e. his characteristic property: of being without beginning is not his nature. For we have learned that both the common substance of the three hypostases, and, again also, each of the three hypostases viewed individually, is named 'nature'.

45 That wise expert in spiritual treasures, the patriarch SEVERUS, shows this in the 39th chapter of the third book *Against the Grammarian of Caesarea*, as follows: The whole genus of men and the whole substance of manhood is called one nature i.e. substance; and such and such a man is one nature i.e. hypostasis. So also the Holy Trinity is
 50 professed one nature (i.e. one substance), and one Godhead of the three hypostases, and again we profess one incarnate nature of God the Word * ... Holy [Trinity] is professed one nature (i.e. one substance), and one

31/32 et 35/36 cf. supra, 1-2 38/39 cf. infra, 64-65 47/51 Sev. Ant., C. Imp. Gramm., III, 39 (CSCO 101, p. 249, 11-15; 102, p. 183, 17-22) 52/53 cf. supra, 49-51

f. 170rb

30 ... * ...
 35 ...
 40 ...
 45 ...

50 ...
 55 ...

f. 170va

A

Line 56: ... two lines illegible.

Godhead of the three hypostases and again the particular hypostasis of the Word has been very clearly [shown] in these words to be the
 55 Word's nature. But we do not hear anyone naming a characteristic property, e.g. ingeneracy, generacy or procession, 'nature'.

However, we recognize that he was bound to say that an hypostasis is the same as its characteristic property; for this is the root and foundation of all his absurd doctrines: so that his frail build-
 60 ings on it will collapse when it is examined and shaken with the aid of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, because the Theologian's text requires of us such an examination, let us, please, say a few words about it. 'Now (to summarize the particulars) The Unbeginning, The Beginning and the With The Beginning, one God. Neither unbeginningness
 65 nor ingeneracy is the nature of The Unbeginning, for no nature is because of various non-things, but because of things: the positing of an existent, not the negation of the non-existent'. So, he says, the father said that 'unbeginningness is not the nature of The Unbeginning', without recognizing a difference here, whether or not you understand 'The Unbegin-
 70 ning' as hypostasis or as characteristic property, and despite your pretending he used a periphrasis as if talking about two realities. Thus it is that with one and the same reality being indicated, he used one and the same term of it.

What are we to say in reply to this? That the good fellow has the
 75 studied aim of confusing * the meanings of the things signified, through their shared nomenclature; for we find the divinely inspired teacher using the expression 'The Unbeginning' (and 'the Unbegotten') in different senses, as, with Christ our God helping us, we shall examine here a little later. For, when undertaking a

53/54 Sev. Ant., C. Imp. Gramm., III, 39 (*CSCO 101*, p. 249, 16-17; 102, p. 183, 23) 63/73 Dam. Alex., loco indeterminato, probabiliter *Adv. Trith.*, 4 (om. in *OLA 60*) 63/67 Greg. Naz., *Or. 42*, 15 (*PG 36*, 476A; *SChr.*, vol. 384, pp. 80-82) 68 cf. *supra*, 64-65

80 more subtle style of examination and investigation, he sometimes
 uses it to present to us the uncreated nature, sometimes its char-
 85 acteristic properties (I mean non-temporality and infinity), in
 many passages too, he indicates the hypostasis itself of God the
 Father and its characteristic property viz. ingeneracy; but occa-
 90 sionally, in order to vary the subtle phraseology, he employs the
 phrase for our benefit as a name: not a mere name, but one which
 applies to a reality or hypostasis. That he has used here The
 Unbeginning to mean the Father's hypostasis, and has also used
 unbeginningness and ingeneracy to mean its characteristic property
 95 (i.e. the hypostasis itself's being unbeginning and ingenerate), is
 hence evident. For by saying neither unbeginningness nor ingeneracy
 is the nature of The Unbeginning, for no nature is because of various non-
 things, but because of things: the positing of an existent, not the negation
 of the non-existent, he has clearly indicated by the word 'unbe-
 100 ginning(ness)' both the Father's hypostasis and its property, be-
 cause neither unbeginningness nor ingeneracy is the nature or hyposta-
 sis of The Unbeginning, i.e. the Father. For it will be true also of the
 characteristic properties of the Godhead (e.g. the simplicity of the
 simple, the incorporeality of the incorporeal, or the infinity of the
 105 infinite) that none is the nature or hypostasis. * For if (since both
 hypostasis and its characteristic property are thus signified alike
 by 'unbeginning' and 'ingenerate'), the unbeginningness of The
 Unbeginning and the ingeneracy of The Ingenerate, hypostasis and
 characteristic property, are mutually identical, the properties 'in-
 110 corporeality' and 'infinity' will also be The Incorporeal and Infi-
 nite himself, since the words for them are the same: which is to-
 tally absurd and at odds with patristic teaching. Similar things, in-
 deed, may be said about the rest.

87/88 cf. supra, 63 89 cf. supra, 64-65 91/94 cf. supra, 64-67 96/97 cf.
 supra, 91-92

Moreover we should understand this: that when the cultivators
110 of Arius' profanity were impiously making ingeneracy the Fa-
ther's substance, nature and hypostasis, and again, generacy the
Son's substance, nature and hypostasis, in order thereby to prove
the Son different in substance and different in nature from the
Father, the Theologian adeptly shattered this wicked lunacy by
115 saying: Neither unbeginningness nor ingeneracy is the nature of The
Unbeginning, for no nature is because of various non-things, but because
of things: the positing of an existent, not the negation of the non-existent.
And The Beginning is not separated, by being The Beginning, from The
Unbeginning; for beginning is not its nature any more than unbeginning
120 is the other's nature. For belonging with the nature, these are not natures.
It is as if he were loudly exclaiming that they are seen to be
embracing an extreme error! For the Father's ingeneracy is not, as
they absurdly suppose, the Father's substance, nature and hyposta-
sis: unless, indeed, according to their argument the Father's sub-
125 stance, nature and hypostasis is the negation of his existence and
not the positing of his existence - which would be the absurdest of
impossibilities! Likewise also the generacy * of the Son is not, as
they blather, the Son's substance, nature and hypostasis, since nei-
ther is the ingeneracy of the Father the Father's substance, nature
130 and hypostasis; for these (I mean ingeneracy or unbeginningness)
are not natures and substances as they paganly suppose, but belong
with the nature. So when the God-clad father thus combats Arians
who reprehensibly suppose ingeneracy the Father's substance, na-
ture and hypostasis and likewise generacy the Son's substance,
135 nature and hypostasis, and says that 'unbeginning' or 'ingeneracy'
is not, as these miscreants wrongfully say, the Father's nature and
hypostasis, how will this writer not evidently be opposing the

Spirit's laws in word and thought, when he defines ingeneracy and generacy as the Father's and Son's hypostases? How will he not
 140 be espousing and embracing the opinions of Eunomius and his fellows?

But perhaps he will champion his perfidy and attempt to prove that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, by saying: If we suppose the hypostasis of
 145 the Father, or of the Son or of the Holy Ghost, a nature, we shall necessarily profess them also different in nature; for if the Father's hypostasis, say, is a nature, but it is different from the hypostases of Son and Holy Ghost, the Father must be different in nature from Son and Holy Ghost. The cunning fellow is to hear all the more, when he utters blasphemies like this and schemes against the truth that: 'To put it truly in
 150 a nutshell, this is the claim you have made throughout. * ... For if, as you think, the Father must be different in substance from the Son and Holy Ghost, he must accordingly be different in Godhead if he is professed as God'. Who will not consider this utterly godless insanity entirely foreign to the teaching of our divinely wise masters, who instructed and taught us to take the term 'nature' sometimes in the generic, sometimes in the proper, sense; and when we take it in the generic sense, we are to understand 'substance comprehending hypostases', but when in the proper, 'one and one only
 155 hypostasis'. Therefore, when we have regard to the generic sense (i.e. 'substance comprehending the three hypostases'), we duly say that the Father's nature is the Son's and the Holy Ghost's. For we
 160

have heard great ATHANASIUS proclaim in the *Fourth Oration*
against the Arians: For he who in this way recognizes that Father and
 165 Son are one, knows that he is in the Father and the Father in the Son, for
 the Son's Godhead is the Father's. But when we pay regard to the
 proper hypostasis of Father, say, or Son or Holy Ghost, though we
 call it 'nature' we are not thereby obliged to speak of different na-
 170 tures of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, even if the hypostases of Fa-
 ther, Son and Holy Ghost differ in their characteristic properties;
 for our God-clad fathers, when making use in their many books of
 such words * are nowhere seen to speak of different substances or
 natures of the Holy Trinity, but on the contrary, rather, reject all
 such wickedly heretical opinions. For it is not the case that we,
 175 because they occasionally designate the whole substance of the
 Holy Trinity and also each hypostasis viewed individually, by the
 term 'nature', owing to the commonness of the term, either merge
 the hypostases in any way indeed, and profess them 'one hyposta-
 sis', or that we divide the nature by professing it 'three natures' (or
 180 'natures', at all), for these are the detestable doctrines of the
 Sabellians and the Arians: the former having wanted to prove a
 confusion of the hypostases by the commonness of the substance,
 and the latter having hoped to introduce a plurality of substances
 and polytheism by the difference of the hypostases. We, therefore,
 185 though recognizing the three hypostases, thought of together as
 'one God, one substance and one nature in word and reality', as
 has been said do not constrict them to one hypostasis. Likewise,
 though we recognize the one substance and nature of Godhead as
 three hypostases and profess each of them, when viewed individu-
 190 ally, as in truth 'God, substance and nature', we do not hold
 the hypostases of the Holy Trinity in any way to be 'Gods',

164/166 Athan. Alex., *C. Arian*. III, 5 (PG 26, 332A; Metzler – Savvidis,
 p. 311)

'substances' or 'natures'. For the singleness of the substance and Godhead does not negate the difference of the hypostases or merge the three into one hypostasis, nor does the difference between the hypostases breach the unity of the substance or make
195 the three hypostases 'Gods', 'Godheads', 'substances' or 'natures'. For we say that it is not those who profess them 'one substance and Godhead' who confuse the hypostases, but it is those, we think, who absurdly consider them one hypostasis and who
200 divide the one substance and nature of Godhead...

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- De Spiritu Sancto (CPG 2839). PG 32, 68-217. Ed. Benoît PRUCHE, Basile de
 Césarée. Sur le Saint-Esprit (SChr. 17 bis), Paris, 1968².*
 18 (44) [148 CD; p. 402] **II**, XXI, 25-30, (120-121)

Epistula 38. PG 32, 325-340. Ed. Marcella FORLIN PATRUCCO, Basilio di Cesarea. Le lettere, I (Corona Patrum 11). Torino, 1983, pp. 178-194.

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| 1 (325 A; p. 178) | III, X, 259-269, (281-286) |
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| 7 (337 CD; p. 192) | III, XLVI, 84-90, (91) |
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| 8 (340 C; p. 194) | III, XIII, 163-167, (183-184) |

Epistula 52. PG 32, 392-396. Ed. Yves COURTONNE, Saint Basile. Lettres. Tome I (Collection des Universités de France), Paris, 1957, pp. 133-137.

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| 1 (392 C - 393 A; p. 134) | III, XLVIII, 34-36 |
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Epistula 210. PG 32, 768-777. Ed. Yves COURTONNE, Saint Basile. Lettres. Tome II (Collection des Universités de France), Paris, 1961, pp. 189-197.

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| 4 (773 BC; pp. 193-194) | II, XXI, 32-45, (128-132). (133), (135), (136); III, VIII, 128-141, (184-185), (187-189) |
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Epistula 214. PG 32, 785-789. Ed. Yves COURTONNE, Saint Basile. Lettres. Tome II (Collection des Universités de France), Paris, 1961, pp. 202-206.

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Epistula 236. PG 32, 876-885. Ed. Yves COURTONNE, Saint Basile. Lettres. Tome III (Collection des Universités de France), Paris, 1966, pp. 47-55.

6 (884 A; p. 53)

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De eis qui dicunt Filium esse dissimilem Patri (CPG 2988 [14]). Ed. Albert VAN ROEY, Une homélie inédite contre les Anoméens attribuée à saint Basile de Césarée, in Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 28 (1997), pp. 188-191 (Transl. pp. 183-187).

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Vide infra, CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS

CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS

Apologia XII capitulorum contra Orientales (CPG 5221). PG 76, 316-385. Ed. Eduardus SCHWARTZ, ACO I, 1, 7, Berlin - Leipzig, 1929, pp. 33-65.

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 Matthieu DE DURAND, Cyrille d'Alexandrie. *Dialogues sur la Trinité*, Tomes I-III
 (SChr. 231, 237, 246), Paris, 1976-1978.
 I (697 D - 700 C; t. I, pp. 194-
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Epistula ad Acacium Beroensem (CPG 5333). Ed. Eduardus SCHWARTZ, *ACO* I, 1, 7, Berlin – Leipzig, 1929, pp. 147-150.

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Oratio ad Theodosium imperatorem de recta fide (CPG 5218). *PG* 76, 1133-1200. Ed. Eduardus SCHWARZ, *ACO* I, 1, 1, Berlin – Leipzig, 1927, pp. 42-72.

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prout locutus esse dicitur in Concilio Ephesino. Ed. Eduardus SCHWARTZ, *ACO* I, 1, 3, Berlin – Leipzig, 1927.

p. 21, 29 – 22, 12

A.-T.D., p. 46, 9-27

DAMASUS PAPA

Oratio tertia contra Arianos, aliunde incognita.

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Vide etiam infra, SYNODUS ROMANA.

DAMIANUS ALEXANDRINUS

Adversus Tritheitas (CPG 7245). Fragmenta hinc solum cognita. Versio: A. VAN ROEY, *Le traité contre les Trithéites* (CPG 7245) de Damien d'Alexandrie, in *Philohistôr. Miscellanea in honorem Caroli Laga septuagenarii* (OLA 60), Leuven, 1994, pp. 229-250.

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 10 (88 AB; p. 198) **III**, VIII, 479-487
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 13-14 (92 AB; p. 204) **III**, XXXVI, 235-244
 14 (92 D - 93 A; p. 206) **III**, XXXVI, 244-249
 15 (93 B; p. 208) **III**, XX, 251-252
 16 (93 C - 96 B; pp. 210-212) **II**, XIX, 34-57
 19 (100 A; pp. 216-218) **III**, XXIX, 69-72
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 6 (140 B; p. 286) **II**, V, 58-59; (VI, 140-142), (215-216), (587)
 9 (141 C - 144 A; pp. 290-292) **II**, XII, 124-137, (164-166), (167-170)
 9 (144 A; p. 292) **III**, XLVIII, 166-171, (250-252), (254)
 14 (149 A; p. 302) **III**, XXXI, 236-237
 17 (152 C; p. 308) **III**, XLIX, 101-106

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22 (157 B; p. 316)	II, XXII, 386-388
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24 (160 B; p. 320)	II, XXII, 393-394
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28 (164 CD; p. 330)	III, I, 66-71
29 (165 BC; p. 334)	III, XXXVII, 58-60
30 (168 D - 169 A; p. 338)	A.-T.D., p. 64
31 (169 A; p. 338)	III, XLIX, 69-73
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33 (172 AB; pp. 340-342)	III, XLVII, 270-278, (352-354), (361-362)

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21 (197 C; pp. 128-130)	II, VI, 120-123
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Oratio 33 (Contra Arianos et de seipso). PG 36, 213-237. Ed. Claudio MORESCHINI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 32-37 (SChr. 318)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 156-196.

16 (236 A; pp. 192-194)	II, VI, 60-62
16 (236 A; pp. 192-194)	III, I, 76-80; XXIII, 34-38, (50-51), (60), (74-76)
16 (236 A; p. 194)	III, XXI, 249-250, (255-256), (298), (328-329), (331); (XXII, 220-221), (252-253)

Oratio 37 (In dictum evangelii: "Cum consummasset..."). PG 36, 281-308. Ed. Claudio MORESCHINI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 32-37 (SChr. 318)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 270-318.

4 (285 CD; p. 278)	III, XX, 222-229
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Oratio 38 (In Theophania). PG 36, 312-333. Ed. Claudio MORESCHINI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 38-41 (SChr. 358)*, Paris, 1990, pp. 104-148 + 92.

2 (313 B; p. 106)	III, XXIX, 61-62
2 (313 B; p. 106)	III, XXIX, 75-76
6 (deest in PG; p. 92)	III, XV, 161-168, (211-212)
7 (317 C; p. 116)	II, VI, 537-540
8 (320 B; p. 118)	III, XLVII, 261-268, (350-351)

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11 (345 C; pp. 170-172)	III, XXIII, 76-80, (91-95)
11 (345 C; pp. 170-172)	III, I, 72-76; (IV, 205-207), (449-452); (V, 227-231), (237-238), (273-277), (293-297), (308-313); (VI, 55-59); (XIV, 94-98), (137-141)

- 11 (345 CD; pp. 170-172) **III**, XLVII, 334-340, (372-374), (375), (384-385), (387-388), (408-410)
 12 (348 AB; pp. 172-174) **III**, VIII, 201-209, (226-227)
 12-13 (348 CD; p. 176) **III**, XLVII, 341-345
 14 (352 B; p. 182) **III**, XXIX, 205-207

Oratio 40 (In sanctum Baptisma). PG 36, 360-425. Ed. Claudio MORESCHINI, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 38-41 (SChr. 358), Paris, 1990, pp. 198-310.

- 2-3 (360 C - 361 B; pp. 198-200) **III**, XV, 177-194
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 41 (417 B; p. 294) **II**, VI, 57-60
 41-42 (417 CD; p. 294) **III**, XV, 194-199

Oratio 42 (Supremum vale). PG 36, 457-492. Ed. Jean BERNARDI, Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 42-43 (SChr. 384), Paris, 1992, pp. 48-114.

- 15 (476 A; pp. 80-82) **II**, (Add., 38-39), (63-67), (68), (87-88), (89), (91-94), (96-97), (115-120); **VI**, 165-172, (175-176), (249-250), (569-570), (572-578)
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 15 (476 AB; pp. 80-82) **II**, V, 62-66, (73), (97-98), (136-140), (148-150), (153-156), (156), (177); **VI**, 149-153), (587-588)
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 15 (476 B; p. 82) **II**, VI, 590-592
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 16 (476 C; p. 82) **III**, III, 37-43, (57-61), (65-68), (89-90), (121-125)
 16 (476 C - 477 A; pp. 82-84) **II**, XXI, 48-64, (139-142), (142-144)
 16 (477 A; p. 84) **III**, XLVII, 490-493
 16 (477 AB; p. 84) **III**, IV, 352-365, (444-448); **X**, 340-344)
 16 (477 B; p. 84) **III**, X, 352-354, (359-360); **XIV**, 172-175), (180), (229-231), (239), (244-246), (248-249), (253-254)
 16 (477 B; p. 84) **III**, XLVII, 493-494
 17 (477 C; p. 86) **II**, VI, 422-433, (519-521); **VII**, 79-81)

Oratio 44 (In novam dominicam). PG 36, 608-621.

- 4 (612 B) **III**, XXIX, 64-65

Oratio 45 (In sanctum Pascha). PG 36, 624-664.

- 3 (628 A) **II**, VI, 537-540
 3-4 (628 AC) **II**, VI, 388-404
 4 (628 C) **III**, XLVII, 292-300

GREGORIUS NYSSENUS

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I: 256 AB; t. I, p. 29, 11-20

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