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32

# PETRI CALLINICENSIS PATRIARCHAE ANTIOCHENI

## CONTRA DAMIANVM

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# PETRI CALLINICENSIS PATRIARCHAE ANTIOCHENI TRACTATVS CONTRA DAMIANVM

II

LIBRI TERTII CAPITA I-XIX

EDIDERVNT ET ANGLICE REDDIDERVNT

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ACO | *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* |
| CPG | Mauritius GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vols., Turnhout, 1974-1987 |
| CSCO | *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* |
| GCS | *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* |
| GNO | *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* |
| OLA | *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* |
| PG | *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Graeca* accurante J.-P. MIGNE, 161 vols., Paris, 1857-1866 |
| PO | *Patrologia Orientalis* |
| SChr | *Sources Chrétiennes* |

ASSEMANI, *Catalogus* = St. Ev. ASSEMANUS and J.S. ASSEMANUS, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, III, Roma, 1759.

WRIGHT, *Catalogue* = W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, acquired since the year 1838*. 3 vols., London, 1870-1872.

# INTRODUCTION

## The textual tradition of Book III

Book III of Peter's *Contra Damianum* is transmitted in the MSS Add. 7191, 7192, 14603 of the British Library, the Syriac MSS 107 and 108 of the Vatican Library and the MS Sachau 201 of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek of Berlin. As we shall see, Add. MS 14603 and Vaticanus Syriacus 107 are but parts of what was once a single manuscript; and the same is true of Add. MS 7192 and Sachau 201. We have, therefore, at our disposal for the edition of Book III only four, more or less complete, manuscripts.

Apart from these manuscripts there are to be found many, sometimes long, fragments of Peter's work in two florilegia, composed to defend his views. The sources for the excerpts were in Syriac. The first of these florilegia, which we name the *Trinitarian Florilegium* is transmitted in the four very large manuscripts of 'collected works' in the British Library: Add. 12155 (**W**), 14532 (**X**), 14533 (**Y**) and 14538 (**Z**). In about a hundred chapters, it defends with texts, some from Peter himself but most of them from the Fathers, Peter's theses against Damian. Most, if not all these *testimonia,* are drawn from *Contra Damianum*[1]. The second florilegium is transmitted in only one MS, the Add. MS 14533 of the British Library, where it is found on ff. 147va-161ra. It contains only extracts of the *Contra Damianum* by Peter, given in the order of the treatise itself.

### I. *The direct tradition*

#### 1. British Library, Add. MS 7191 (**A**).

We have already described Add. MS 7191, the nearest to complete of our manuscripts, in the introduction to the edition of Book

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(1) Cf. A. VAN ROEY, *Un florilège trinitaire syriaque tiré du* Contra Damianum *de Pierre de Callinique, patriarche d'Antioche (581-591)* in Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica, 23, 1992, pp. 189-203.

II (pp. XXIX-XXXIV). It will suffice to recall, supplement and, in some places, correct the description given there of what that manuscript contains of Book III.

In Add. MS 7191 Book III takes up folios 42-173r. Heading the text are the titles of the 50 chapters. In its present state the list (ff. 42-44vb) is incomplete in the beginning; it starts only in the middle of the title of chapter XIII with the words ܕܠܐ ܠܡܫܟܚ ܘܠܐ ܒܡܗܝܡܢ (Headings, l. 120).

Ff. 44vb-47vb: chapters I-II and the beginning of chapter III (*explicit:* ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܝ = III, 11). The text of the *lacuna* between f. 47 and f. 48 is given in f. 1 and has been reproduced already erroneously in vol. I, p. 15-23 as 'part of an uncertain chapter'. The editors apologise and plead *incuria*, with the mitigation that the mistake was not easy to see!

Ff. 48-61: the last part of chapter III (*incipit:* ܒܗܝ ܕܟ = III, 144), chapters IV-VIII and the beginning of chapter IX (*explicit:* ܡܚܝܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐ = IX, 78).

Ff. 62-63: the last part of chapter IX (*incipit:* ܒܟ ܕܐ ܕܐ = IX, 216), and the first part of chapter X (*explicit:* ܒܥܝ ܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ = X, 90).

Ff. 64-65: the last part of chapter X (*incipit:* ܡܚܝ ܒܗ = X, 231) and the beginning of chapter XI (*explicit:* ܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ = XI, 106). The text of the *lacuna* between f. 65 and f. 66 is partly given in f. 120.

Ff. 66-73: the end of chapter XI (*incipit:* ܒܟ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܚܠܡ = XI, 243), chapters XII-XIV and the first part of chapter XV (*explicit*: ܕܐ ܕܐ : ܕܐ ܕܐ = XV, 284).

F. 74 gives a part of chapter XV (*incipit:* ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ = XV, 302; *explicit*: ܕܐ ܕܐ = XV, 443)(2). Three extracts of this fragment are quoted in the florilegium II in the Add. 14533, ff. 154vb-155ra as taken from chapter XV (XV, 315-329, 338-350, 358-369), and also a fourth extract (444-493) which is not represented in the other MSS.

F. 75 gives a part of chapter XXXI, corresponding with Vat. Syr. 108, ff. 56vb-59va. It should come between f. 119 and 121(3).

Ff. 76-94: the end of chapter XV (*incipit:* ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ

(2) Cf. vol. I, p. XXXIII.
(3) Cf. ibid.



ܕܐ ܕܐ = XV, 500), chapters XVI-XXI and the first part of chapter XXII (*explicit:* ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ).

Ff. 95-102: the end of chapter XXII (*incipit:* ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ), chapters XXIII-XXIV and the first part of chapter XXV (*explicit:* ܕܐ ,ܕܐ ܕܐ ).

Ff. 103-113: the last part of chapter XXV (*incipit:* ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ : ), chapters XXVI-XXVII, chapter XXVIII without the end (*explicit:* ).

Ff. 114-119: chapter XXIX without the beginning (*incipit:* ), chapter XXX and the beginning of chapter XXXI (*explicit:* ). See above f. 75.

Ff. 120 gives a part of chapter XI. See above ff. 64-65.

Ff. 121-169: the last part of chapter XXXI (*incipit:* ), chapters XXXII-XLVIII, chapter XLIX without the last lines (*explicit:* ).

F. 170-171: part of an unidentified chapter (*incipit:* ; *explicit:* ).

F. 172-173: the last lines of chapter XLIX and chapter L. Half of f. 173 has been torn, with the result that of the end of chapter L only a few words remain.

## 2. British Library Add. MS 14603 and Vaticanus Syriacus 107.

### British Library, Add. MS 14603 (**B**).

The manuscript is described in WRIGHT, *Catalogue*, part II, pp. 586-587 (no. DCC). It is a parchment volume of 85 folios (170 pages) about 26 cms by 16,5 cms. The text, in two columns, measures 18 cms in length, each column being 5 cms in width and comprising between 39 to 44 lines of writing. The quires were originally 15 in number, signed with Syriac letters and also with Greek letters or Syriac arithmetical figures. But quires 6, 9, 11 are lost and several others are very imperfect. Leaves are wanting after ff. 8, 9, 10, 21, 31, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47 and 56. At the top of the last folio of each quire there is ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ, *Of Saint Peter of Antioch against Damian* (ff. 8v, 20v, 22v, 41v, 43v, 47v and 66v) or ܕܐ

ܥܠ ܡܪܝ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܢܛܝܘܟܝܐ ܥܠ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܡܚܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ *Of Saint Peter of Antioch against impious Damian* (f. 76v).

When the manuscript entered the British Museum, it was in complete disorder. At least three attempts were made to restore the correct order before Wright, comparing this manuscript with Add. MS 7191, succeeded in doing so. The effect of this was to provide the manuscript with four different paginations, noted in pencil in the upper left corners of the folios. Wright's pagination runs from 1 to 85. Some of the leaves are much stained and torn, especially ff. 6, 8, 9, 22, 23, 32, 40, 41, 43 and 48. The manuscript is written in a fine regular estrangelo of the VIIth century, by a single hand.

This manuscript was one of the many manuscripts which the Venerable Henry Tattam bought at the Monastery of the Syrians in Egypt and which were deposited in the British Museum in March 1843([4]).

The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

Ff. 1va - 5rb: the titles of the first 25 chapters of Book III, indicated with Syriac letters from ܐ to ܟܕ. Above the list we read: ܦܨܠܐ ܡܢ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܝܢܐ ܡܚܐ̈ܠ̈ܐ. *Chapters of a half of the third book against Damian.* On the outside margin of f. 2r there is a note by another more recent hand: ܡܢ ܫܘܠܡܐ ܕܐܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ

= XVII, 101; *explicit:* ܐܡܝܢ ܗܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܥܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܥܠܡ = XVII, 166). *Lacuna.*

F. 46: part of chapter XVII (*incipit:* ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܐܢܐ = XVII, 421; *explicit:* ܠ ܥܠ ܕܐܒܗ ܥܠ ܕܐܡ = XVII, 484). *Lacuna.*

F. 47: the end part of chapter XVII (*incipit:* ܥܠ ܕܐܡ ,ܐܡܪ = XVII, 549). *Lacuna.* Chapter XVIII is completely lost.

Ff. 48-56: the end of chapter XIX (*incipit:* ܐܒܪ ܕܐܒܗ ܥܠ = XIX, 327), chapter XX (ff. 51vb-52va) and the beginning of chapter XXI (*explicit:* ܥܠ ܕܐ ܥܠ ܐܡܪ = Add. 7191, f. 91rb, l. 12 from the bottom). *Lacuna.*

Ff. 57-85: the last part of chapter XXI, chapters XXII-XXV, but between f. 75rb (*explicit:* ܐܡܝܢ ܥܠ = Add. 7191, f. 99va, l. 27 from the bottom) and 75va (*incipit:* ܥܠ ܐܒܗ ܕܐ = Add. 7191, f. 100va, l. 24) the copyist omitted part of chapter XXIV.

After chapter XXV we read f. 85va: ܐܡ ܥܠ ܐܒܗ ܕܐܒܪ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ,ܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕ

(ASSEMANI, ibid., nos. 9-10)[11] and the letter of Philoxenus of Mabbug to the priests of Edessa, Abraham and Orestes, on Stephen bar-Sudayli (ASSEMANI, ibid., no. 11)[12]; the following part of this first manuscript is Add. 14555[13]. The second manuscript included in Vat. Syr. 107 (ff. 63-70) gives two letters of Cyril of Alexandria: the first (ASSEMANI, ibid., no. 12) to Rabbula of Edessa[14]; the second letter (ASSEMANI, ibid., no. 13), is a part of the third letter of Cyril to Nestorius[15]. It continues with a letter of Paphnutius to Moses of Agel (ASSEMANI, ibid., no. 14)[16], Moses' answer to Paphnutius (no. 15) and (ASSEMANI, ibid., no. 16) part of Moses' translation of the *Glaphyra* of Cyril of Alexandria (the other part is given in Add. 14555). The third manuscript of Vat. Syr. 107 (ff. 71-79) gives fragments of the pseudonymous *Apostolic Constitutions* (ASSEMANI, ibid., nos. 17-28). In the fourth manuscript (ff. 80-113) we have a long fragment of the treatise of Dionysius the Areopagite, *On the divine names*[17].

The fifth manuscript of the volume (ff. 114-134) has exactly the same codicological features as Add. MS 14603. It has a double pagination, one in the right corner (115-135) and the other (114-134) at the bottom of each folio. It is the latter that we employ in this edition.

According to the Assemani, *Catalogus*, III, p. 58, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II, p. 78 and Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 419, n. 5, this manuscript contains parts of Peter of Callinicus' work against Damian, as is indicated in a note by one of the Assemani on the top of f. 114r: *Petri iunioris Patriarchae Antiocheni*. The Assemani say that these extracts are taken from chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 84 and 88 of Peter's treatise against Damian. All this is inaccurate. Actually the contents of the manuscript are as follows:

(11) Cf. G. OLINDER, *Iacobi Sarugensis epistulae quotquot supersunt*, CSCO 110, Paris, 1937, p. V, letters 1 and 13.

(12) Cf. A.L. FROTHINGHAM, *Stephen Bar Sudayli, the Syrian Mystic, and the Book of Hierotheos*, Leiden, 1886, pp. 28-48; A. DE HALLEUX, *Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie*, Louvain, 1963, pp. 259-262.

(13) Cf. LEVI DELLA VIDA, *op. cit.*, p. 419, n. 5.

(14) See CPG 5334 and 5374. J.J. OVERBECK, *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabbulae episc. Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta*, Oxford, 1865, pp. 226-229.

(15) ACO I, I, 1, p. 37, 25-42.

(16) A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, pp. 160-161.

(17) Cf. ibid., p. 268, n. 2.



Ff. 114-119: Extracts from a commentary on biblical texts, numbered 2-5 in the margin. No. 2 (f. 114ra-rb): Basil, *In psalmum LXI*, PG 29, 481 (Ἅπαξ γάρ, φησίν ... καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐλεήμων), and Basil, In psalmum CXXV (*sic*, but actually CXV, 2): Ἐγὼ εἶπα ἐν τῇ ἐκστάσει μου· Πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης[18]. No. 3 (ff. 114rb-117ra): John Chrysostom, *In illud, Domine non est in homine via eius*, PG 56, 159-162 (ἀλλ' ἀγαγόντες ... εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν). No. 4 (ff. 117ra-119vb): Scholia on Jer. 38, 2-4 from Severus of Antioch, Letter 27 of book 9 written after his exile, addressed to Thomas of Germanicia: *Thus saith the Lord ... and urging it to speak*[19]. No. 5 (f. 119vb): Scholia on Is. 61, 2 from Severus of Antioch, Letter 250 of the first book written before his episcopate, addressed to Theognostus: *But now it is time ... But this I say*[20].

Ff. 120-126: chapter X without the beginning (*incipit:* ... = X, 21) and the beginning of chapter XI (*explicit:* ... = XI, 67).

F. 127: part of chapter XIV (*incipit:* ... = XIV, 92; *explicit:* ... = XIV, 153).

Ff. 128-131: the end of chapter XIV (*incipit:* ... = XIV, 217) and the beginning of chapter XV (*explicit:* ... = XV, 179).

F. 132: another part of chapter XV (*incipit:* ... = XV, 239; *explicit:* ... = XV, 301).

Ff. 133-134: Contrary to the description given by the Assemani these folios do not contain anything of *Contra Damianum*. They give the continuation of the patristic commentaries on ff. 114-119. F. 133 gives two lines of chapter 83 of these commentaries (*incipit:* ...) and the beginning of chapter 84 (*explicit:* ...). The initial part of chapter 84 deals with the status of Christ after the resurrection. It contains extracts from Severus, *Against Julian of Halicarnassus*, I[21]; Gregory of Nazianzus, Epist. 101, ad Cledonium I: Εἴ τις

(18) Not in PG 29 but see CPG 2836.

(19) PO 14, pp. 264-272.

(20) Ibid., p. 273.

(21) Cf. *Critique du Tome*, in R. HESPEL, *Sévère d'Antioche. La polémique antijulianiste*, I, CSCO 245, Louvain, 1964, p. 85, 19-24.

ἀποτεθεῖσθαι ... τὸ σαρκίον τῆς Θεότητος[22]; John Chrysostom, *In II Cor.*, hom. 11: Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν ... τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ[23]; Severus of Antioch, from a letter to the orthodox in Emesa, beginning *To those who are not wise...*[24]. F. 134 contains the end of chapter 87 giving a part of a quotation from John Chrysostom, *In Rom.* argum. : πρὸς αὐτοὺς κινήσας λόγον ὅτε ἔλεγε ... τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασι[25], and the beginning of chapter 88 giving a commentary on Rom. 2, 10 from John Chrysostom, *In Rom.*, hom. 5 : Δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ ... λοιπὸν εἰπεῖν λόγον[26].

In sum then, Vat. Syr. 107 supplies some fragments of the third book of Peter's *Contra Damianum*. All these fragments fall in lacunae of Add. MS 14603. The fragment given on f. 127 continues immediately from Add. 14603, f. 42vb. This confirms what was suggested by the codicological characteristics of both manuscripts: that the fifth portion of Vat. Syr. 107 is part of Add. MS 14603.

3. Vaticanus Syriacus 108 (**D**).

ASSEMANI, *Catalogus*, pp. 61-71; J.S. ASSEMANUS, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, II, Roma, 1721, pp. 77-78; G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Studi e Testi 92), Città del Vaticano, 1939, pp. 9, 209, 417-419.

Parchment. 16x23 cm. Each page is divided into two columns of 5 cm. Each column has 30-31 lines. The manuscript has a double pagination: one of the pages (1-429) starting on f. 3v and another of 219 folios. After two folios of modern parchment, which are not numbered, the manuscript starts with a quire of two folios (ff. 1-2) pasted together, presenting texts in a different script and presentation. Ff. 7-214 are composed of 22 quires. At the top of the last page of each quire is the title: ܕܡܪܝ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܥܠ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐܒܕ ܠܗ ܡܚܠ ܕܥܒܕ *Of patriarch Mar Peter against Damian*. Apart

(22) PG 37, 181A; *SChr.*, vol. 208, pp. 46,25 - 48,29.
(23) PG 61, 475.
(24) PO 12, p. 222, 8-10; p. 223, 4-8.
(25) PG 60, 392-393.
(26) Ibid., 426.



from the first, the quires are signed at their beginning with the old Syriac numbers and with estrangelo characters from ܐ to ܚܛ. The first quire (ff. 3-6) is incomplete and has only the four exterior folios. The following 200 folios (ff. 7-206) are made up not of quires but 'quinions' i.e. five sheets folded twice. The last quire (ff. 207-214) is incomplete. Ff. 215-216 are part of the same manuscript as f. 2. F. 216 being signed ܐ, is the first folio of its seventh quire. At the bottom of f. 215r there is a note by one of the Assemani: *In hoc et sequenti folio habetur fragmentum tractatus Philoxeni Mabugensis de uno ex Trinitate incarnato et passo*[27]. Ff. 217-218 belong again to the same manuscript as ff. 7-214. On f. 219r there is a note in a more recent handwriting:

ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܕ ܡܫܡܫܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܫ ܒܫܡ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܝܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܡܚܠ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚ ܠܗ

*cons and the whole divinely protected fraternity. Anyone who has requested this book* (penqīto) *in any way or other and does not return it to its owner, let his lot be with Judas Iscariot. Amen. Amen.* Another note on f. 219r has become illegible.

F. 219v has a note: ܒܫܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܪܝܐܠܗܐ ܡܝܡܪ
ܡܝܕ ܡܟܝܦܐ ܡܝܐ ,ܟ ܡܕܝܡ ܐܝܬ ܡܬܐ ܒܗ ܡܥܒ
ܡܫܘܫ ܡܕܝ ܡܝܕܝܐ ܡܠܟ ܒܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܝ ܡܪܝ
ܡܝܢ ܡܝ ܡܕ ܡܪܝ ܡܫܟ ܡܕܝ ܒܗ ܐܝ ܡܕ
ܡܕ ܡܝ ܬܪ ܡܪܝ ,ܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܘܐ
ܡܕ ܡܝ ܡܝ ܡܝ ܡܝ ܡ
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*In honour of the Holy Trinity, Cyriacus, Paul and Mar Thomas, sons of Yāyā the priest, son of Jaqira, Tagritians from Tagrit, the metropolitan city, known as the sons of Phašīkta, have given and donated this volume* (ktobo) *of saint Mar Peter the patriarch, to the holy monastery of the Mother of God in the holy desert of Scete in Egypt, wherein are living the sainted fathers, the Syriac monks. They have done this for the salvation of their souls and of their whole family, and to the memory of their faithful departed. May God, the master of all things, to whose holy name they placed this spiritual volume* (syomto) *in that holy place, cause them to rejoice in the bosom of Abraham, in the spiritual joys of the paradise of Eden. Anyone who reads in this book* (ktobo) *and takes pleasure in it, let him pray for them. By the word of the Lord, it is forbidden to anyone to erase this note or to take away this book*



(ktobo) *from the monastery. Anyone who ventures to transgress this will be anathematized by the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.* As the Assemani remark, this note is written by the same hand as those of Vat. Syr. 105 and 106, namely by Moses of Nisibis, the abbot of the Monastery of the Syrians at Scete, who took it from Mesopotamia in 932 along with many other Syriac manuscripts([30]). This manuscript, which by its script belongs to the seventh century, was evidently a gift, from the family in Tikrit named in the colophon, to the monastery. It seems not to have stayed there, since Moses of Sur (see above p. XIII) probably acquired it in the Orient([31]). He gave it, as he did Vat. 107, to the Collegio dei Neofiti. From there it was transferred to the Vatican Library in 1662. It is mentioned among the manuscripts transferred from the Collegio to the Vatican Library under number 7: *Petri Archiepiscopi Antiocheni, pars postrema libri tertii de divinis notionibus. Chaldaice*([32]). In the catalogue of Abraham Ecchellensis and I.M. Naironi, of 1686, it has the number 47. The Assemani, for an unknown reason, give it also the number *decimus septimus*([33]).

The contents of the manuscript are as follows:

On the end-paper there is a note in the hand of one of the Assemani: *CVIII. Inter antiquos Vaticanos Syriacos 47 alias 17. Petri Iunioris cognomine Callinicensis opus adversus Damianum a cap. 26 ad 50. Nov. 108* and in another handwriting: *siriaco.*

F. 1: fragment of a spiritual work, identified by the Assemani at the bottom of f. 1v as a *Fragmentum S. Isaac Ninivitae monachi.* It is written in two columns, in a fine estrangelo similar to that of the main part of the manuscript. On f. 1r there is the seal of the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris.

F. 2: according to a note by one of the Assemani on f. 2v: *Fragmentum commentarii evangeliorum.*

F. 3r: blank. Some almost illegible Syriac words in a more recent hand. The seal of the Vatican Library.

Ff. 3va-5rb: At the top of f. 3v there is the title of the whole volume: ܕܫܒܝܚܐ ܕܫܦܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܐ

([30]) See ASSEMANI, *Catalogus*, pp. 31, 39-40, 48-49 and index, p. 582; J. LEROY, *Moïse de Nisibe*, in *Symposium Syriacum 1972* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 197), Rome, 1974, pp. 457-470.

([31]) LEVI DELLA VIDA, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-418.

([32]) Ibid., p. 413.

([33]) Cf. infra and LEVI DELLA VIDA, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

ܡܪ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܐܪܟܝܦܣ ܐܢܛܝܟ ܦܠܓ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܝܢ. *Of Peter, archbishop of Antioch, the latter half of the third book* (memro) *against Damian.* There follows the list of the last 25 chapters of Book III of *Contra Damianum*. The list is incomplete: f. 3v gives the titles of chapters XXVI-XXVII and three words of the title of chapter XXVIII; after a lacuna, the list resumes, f. 4r, after a few words of the title of chapter XLIV (*incipit:* ܕܟ ܕܠ ܡܢ ܕ ܡܢ). After the list: ܣܟܘܡ ܡܩܠܝܢ ܕܣܥܝܪ. *End of the fifty chapters.*

Ff. 5va-218va: At the top of f. 5v again the title of the whole volume as at the top of f. 3v. Chapters XXVI-L of Book III of *Contra Damianum*: chapter XXVI (ff. 5va-13vb), chapter XXVII (ff. 13vb-26vb), chapter XXVIII (ff. 26vb-36va), chapter XXIX (ff. 36va-44vb), chapter XXX (ff. 44vb-54va), chapter XXXI (ff. 54va-70vb), chapter XXXII (ff. 70vb-78ra), chapter XXXIII (ff. 78ra-88ra), chapter XXXIV (ff. 88ra-97ra), chapter XXXV (ff. 97ra-106va), chapter XXXVI (ff. 106va-112vb), chapter XXXVII (ff. 112vb-119vb), chapter XXXVIII (ff. 119vb-126vb), chapter XXXIX (ff. 126vb-136rb), chapter XL (ff. 136rb-141va), chapter XLI (ff. 141va-153va), chapter XLII (ff. 153va-160rb), chapter XLIII (ff. 160rb-165vb), chapter XLIV (ff. 165vb-174vb), chapter XLV (ff. 174vb-183rb), chapter XLVI (ff. 183rb-185vb), chapter XLVII (ff. 185vb-199vb), chapter XLVIII (ff. 199vb-207ra), chapter XLIX (ff. 207ra-212va), chapter L (ff. 212va-214vb and 217ra-218va). The last chapter is interrupted (ff. 215-216) by an unidentified text in another hand. The note at the bottom of f. 215r in the hand of one of the Assemani: *In hoc et sequenti folio habetur fragmentum tractatus Philoxeni Mabugensis de uno ex Trinitate incarnato et passo,* is inexact. The commentary given in this fragment on Ps. 22:2 and Matth. 27:46 is not in this work of Philoxenus nor in his *De Trinitate et Incarnatione*[34]. After chapter L (f. 218va): ܐܬܪ ܕܡܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܒܗ ܕܡܪ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܐܪܟܝܦܣ ܐܢܛܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܝܢ. *The latter half of the second volume* (ktobo) *of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian*

([34]) A. de Halleux (*Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie*, Louvain, 1963, p. 225, n. 1) thinks that the fragment comes from a monophysite work of Evagrian inspiration giving a mystical interpretation of the 'four fruits' of the tree of life (Gen. 2:9; 3:22) in the form of a dialogue between a master and his disciple.



*is finished;* and after a decorative strip: ܫܒܚܐ ܠܬܪܝܡܪܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ *Glory to the Holy Trinity. Amen.*

At the top of the last page of each quire and sometimes at the verso of the fifth folio, or, for the last quire, of the fourth folio (ff. 26v, 36v, 46v, 56v, 66v, 71v, 76v, 86v, 96v, 106v, 111v, 116v, 121v, 126v, 131v, 136v, 141v, 146v, 151v, 156v, 161v, 166v, 171v, 176v, 181v, 186v, 191v, 196v, 201v, 206v, 210v, 214v): ܡܪ ܦܛܪܘܣ ܐܪܟܝܦܣ ܐܢܛܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܝܢ ܕ ܡܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܪ. *Of the patriarch Mar Peter against Damian.*

4. British Library, Add. 7192 and Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Sachau 201.

This manuscript contains only chapters 40 to 48 of Peter's work. It will be described in the introduction to the fourth volume of this edition.

Conclusion. For the edition of Book III, ch. I-XIX we have at our disposal, apart from the indirect tradition, only two witnesses: the Add. MS 7191, containing, with some lacunae, the whole of Book III, and the Add. MS 14603 - Vat. syr. 107, giving its first 25 chapters almost complete.

## II. *The indirect tradition.*

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

As we said before, this florilegium is drawn largely from the Syriac translation of Peter's *Contra Damianum*. The extent of this dependence cannot be determined exactly, because the whole of Book I and a large part of Book II of *Contra Damianum* are missing. Instead of giving a complete edition of the florilegium or a list of all its quotations — which would be very long — we will indicate here only the extracts relevant to our edition.

In vol. I of this edition references were given to this florilegium. Two of them were incomplete referring only to one (W) or two (W and X) of the four manuscripts transmitting the florilegium, when the text

occurs also in the others. It seems appropriate to repair these omissions and give a list of all the extracts from Books II and III. We may note that almost all the extracts from Book II are taken from the chapters 1-29 of the florilegium which are transmitted only in W (ff. 2va-13ra).

Book II

VI, 174-181 (165-172): W, f. 19ra
184-197 (175-189): W, f. 19ra
342-363 (331-350): W, f. 17ra-rb; X, ff. 117vb-118ra; Y, f. 82vb; Z, f. 127v.
364-372 (351-359): W, f. 17rb; X, f. 118rb; Y, ff. 82vb-83ra; Z, ff. 127v-128r.
439-451 (422-433): W, f. 10ra
493-496 (474-477): W, f. 10ra
500-512 (480-491): W, f. 10ra-rb
515-526 (493-502): W, f. 10va-vb
VII, 100-124 (94-112): W, f. 10vb
IX, 28-43 (28-42): W, f. 9va-vb
43-49 (42-47): W, f. 9vb
52-68 (49-63): W, f. 9vb
70-79 (65-73): W, ff. 9vb-10ra
111-166 (102-150): W, f. 10rb-va
253-263 (232-242): W, f. 30va
XI, 61-80 (55-71): W, f. 11ra
80-110 (71-98): W, f. 11ra-rb
239-269 (217-243): W, f. 11rb-va
XII, 138-150 (124-137): W, ff. 11vb-12ra
165-175 (149-158): W, f. 12ra
XVIII, 141-197 (132-183): W, f. 9ra-va
XIX, 18-26 (17-24): W, f. 7va
27-33 (25-31): W, f. 7va
36-60 (34-57): W, f. 7va-vb
64-73 (60-67): W, f. 7vb
73-77 (68-71): W, ff. 7vb-8ra
78-94 (72-86): W, f. 8ra
108-122 (99-111): W, f. 8ra
124-148 (113-133): W, f. 8ra-rb
208-240 (193-221): W, f. 8rb-va
240-243 (222-225): W, f. 8va



246-277 (228-255): W, f. 8va-vb
XXI, 26-32 (25-30): W, f. 6vb
34-49 (32-45): W, ff. 6vb-7ra
52-70 (48-64): W, f. 7ra-rb
72-73 (66-68): W, f. 7rb
74-89 (68-81): W, f. 7rb
92-103 (83-93): W, f. 7rb
105-120 (96-110): W, f. 7rb-va
XXII, 18-64 (17-59): W, f. 2va-vb
68-109 (63-98): W, ff. 2vb-3ra
110-126 (99-113): W, f. 3rb
128-142 (115-128): W, f. 3rb-va
148-157 (133-141): W, f. 3va
161-267 (144-243): W, ff. 3va-4rb
403-409, 415-418, 422-423, 425-428 (375-380, 386-388, 393-394, 396-398): W, f. 4va-vb
431-433 (402-403): W, f. 5ra
433-438, 438-448 (403-408, 408-417): W, f. 5rb
467-469, 469-470 (434-436, 436-437): W, f. 5va
474-476 (441-443): W, f. 5va-vb
519-522 (489-491): W, f. 5vb
522-526 (492-495): W, f. 6ra
538-545 (506-512): W, f. 6ra
545-548 (513-515): W, f. 6ra-rb
574-584 (540-547): W, f. 6rb-va
621-628 (582-589): W, f. 6va
633-635 (594-596): W, f. 6va
644-648, 663-665 (604-607, 623-624): W, f. 6vb

Book III

I, 44-50 (42-47): W, f. 21vb; X, f. 128rb-va; Y, f. 87rb; Z, f. 131v
76-81 (72-76): W, f. 13rb-va; X, ff. 95vb-96ra; Y, f. 73rb-va; Z, f. 120r
138-173 (125-157): W, f. 23ra-rb; X, ff. 131vb-132vb; Y, ff. 88vb-89ra; Z, f. 133r
IV, 49-102 (46-89): W, f. 31ra-va
114-152 (100-135): W, f. 31va

205-219 (185-198): W, f. 31ra
237-280 (213-249): W, f. 31vb
281-289 (250-288): W, f. 32ra
342-370 (303-328): W, f. 32ra
387-419 (343-369): W, f. 32ra-rb
429-437 (378-384): W, f. 14va; X, f. 99ra; Y, f. 74vb; Z, f. 121r
VIII, 101-103(95-97): W, f. 17va; X, f. 118vb; Y, f. 83ra; Z, f. 128r
104-110 (98-103): W, f. 17va; X, f. 118vb; Y, f. 83ra; Z, f. 128r
110-115 (103-107): W, f. 3ra
117-122 (108-113): W, f. 17va; Y, f. 83ra; Z, f. 128r
131-136 (121-126): W, f. 17va; Y, f. 83rb; Z, f. 128r
138-152 (128-141): W, f. 7ra
140-150 (131-139): W, f. 17va; Y, f. 83rb; Z, f. 128r
215-223 (201-209): W, f. 17va-vb; Y, f. 83rb; Z, f. 128r
251-261 (234-243): W, ff. 12ra, 17vb; Y, f. 83rb; Z, f. 128r
266-273 (249-254): W, f. 17vb; Y, f. 83rb-va; Z, f. 128r-v
306-307 (286-287): W, f. 17vb; Y, f. 83va; Z, f. 128v
308-313 (287-291): W, f. 17vb; X, f. 119ra; Y, f. 83va; Z, f. 128v
314-322 (292-298): W, f. 17vb; X, f. 119ra; Y, f. 83va; Z, f. 128v
323-328 (299-303): W, f. 17vb; X, f. 119ra-rb; Y, f. 83va; Z, f. 128v
392-399 (362-367): W, ff. 17vb-18ra; X, f. 119rb; Y, f. 83va; Z, f. 128v
512-521 (469-477): W, f. 30rb
524-529 (479-485): W, ff. 24ra, 26ra; X, ff. 107rb-va, 112vb; Y, ff. 78rb, 80va; Z, ff. 124r, 126r
556-562 (506-510): W, f. 24rb; X, ff. 107vb-108ra; Y, f. 78va; Z, f. 124r
IX, 60-62 (56-58): W, f. 24rb; X, f. 108ra; Y, f. 78va; Z, f. 124r
X, 286-289 (271-273): W, f. 26rb; X, f. 113va; Y, f. 80vb; Z, f. 126r
XIII, 18-50 (20-54): W, f. 28rb-va



59-86 (64-88): W, f. 28va-vb
99-101 (100-103): W, f. 28vb
112-120 (114-122): W, f. 28vb
XV, 320-321 (280-281): W, f. 25ra; X, f. 110ra; Y, f. 79rb; Z, f. 125r
330-332 (289-291): W, f. 27ra; X, f. 115rb; Y, f. 81va-vb; Z, f. 127r
465-471 (413-419): W, f. 28ra-rb
474-477 (421-424): W, f. 25vb; X, f. 112ra-rb; Y, f. 80rb; Z, f. 125v
495-500 (441-445): W, f. 28rb
XVI, 181-183 (167-169): W, f. 7va
XVII, 126-130 (117-120): W, f. 30va
126-132 (117-122): W, f. 7va
167-174 (157-163): W, f. 30rb
192-198 (178-184): W, f. 30rb-va
262-266 (241-245): W, f. 24va; X, f. 108va-vb; Y, f. 78vb; Z, f. 124v
323-341 (293-307): W, f. 24vb; X, f. 109ra-rb; Y, f. 79ra; Z, f. 124v
472-476 (419-423): W, f. 16vb; X, f. 105ra-rb; Y, f. 77va; Z, f. 123r-v
XVIII, 49-51 (43-44): W, f. 15rb; X, ff. 100vb-101ra; Y, f. 75va; Z, f. 121v
156-159 (133-135): W, f. 24ra-rb; X, ff. 106vb-107ra; Y, f. 78ra; Z, f. 124r
159-162 (136-138): W, f. 24rb; X, f. 107ra; Y, f. 78ra; Z, f. 124r
XIX, 49-52 (47-51): W, f. 15va; X, f. 101rb; Y, f. 75vb; Z, f. 122r

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

In the first volume of this edition of the *Contra Damianum* (pp. 9-13 and p. 203) were reproduced six extracts from Book II, taken from this florilegium, which are not to be found in the main manuscript, Add. MS 7191. Twelve others were mentioned in the apparatus (pp. 99, 105, 107, 121, 131, 147, 155, 157, 201, 205,

219). Of Book III the florilegium gives 59 extracts. They do not add anything to the text transmitted in the direct tradition, except in the case of chapter XV, 444-493 (noted above, p. VIII and marked in the list below with an asterisk). We list them here with the indication of their place in the chapters I-XIX edited in this volume, or, for the following chapters, their place in Add. MS 7191 or, when their are lacking in this manuscript, in Add. MS 14603 or Vat. syr. 108.

III, 105-128 (96-117): Y, f. 149rb (already printed erroneously in vol. I, Unc., 94-116).
180-188 (161-169): Y, f. 149rb-va
V, 129-192 (118-177): Y, ff. 149va-150ra
VII, 105-116 (98-110): Y, f. 150ra
VIII, 62-97 (58-91): Y, f. 150ra-rb
154-170 (143-158): Y, f. 150rb-va
203-207 (189-193): Y, f. 150va
IX, 228-254 (218-240): Y, f. 150va-vb
X, 24-47 (25-51): Y, ff. 150vb-151ra
144-225 (145-215): Y, f. 151ra-151vb
XI, 76-89 (69-81): Y, f. 151vb
207-304 (185-269): Y, ff. 151vb-152va
XII, 60-70 (59-68): Y, f. 152va-vb
145-215 (143-211): Y, ff. 152vb-153rb
XIII, 18-146 (20-147): Y, ff. 153rb-154va
XV, 315-329 (276-288): Y, f. 154va
338-350 (296-306): Y, f. 154va-vb
358-369 (313-322): Y, f. 154vb
444-493 (393-440): Y, ff. 154vb-155ra *
XVIII, 258-264 (225-230): Y, f. 155rb
284-293 (250-257): Y, f. 155rb
XXII, Add. 7191, f. 94rb: Y, f. 155rb-va
Add. 7191, f. 94va-vb: Y, f. 155va-vb
Add. 14603, ff. 62vb-63va: Y, ff. 155vb-156rb
Add. 7191, f. 95rb-va: Y, f. 156rb-va
XXIII, Add. 7191, f. 96va-vb: Y, f. 156va-vb
Add. 7191, f. 98rb-va: Y, ff. 156vb-157ra
Add. 7191, f. 98va: Y, f. 157ra-rb
XXIV, Add. 7191, f. 100rb-vb: Y, ff. 157rb-158ra
XXV, Add. 7191, f. 101ra-rb: Y, f. 158ra
Add. 7191, f. 102vb: Y, f. 158ra



XXVI, Add. 7191, f. 106vb: Y, f. 158ra-rb
XXVII, Add.7191, f. 107rb-va: Y, f. 158rb
Add. 7191, f. 107vb: Y, f. 158rb
Add. 7191, f. 108rb: Y, f. 158rb-va
XXIX, Add. 7191, f. 114vb: Y, f. 158va
XXX, Add. 7191, f. 116va: Y, f. 158va
Add. 7191, f. 117rb-va: Y, f. 158va-vb
Add. 7191, f. 117va-vb: Y, f. 158vb
XXXI, Vat. syr. 108, f. 57va-vb: Y, f. 158vb
Add. 7191, f. 121ra: Y, ff. 158vb-159ra
XXXII, Add. 7191, f. 124ra: Y, f. 159ra
Add. 7191, f. 124rb-va: Y, f. 159ra-rb
XXXIII, Add. 7191, f. 126ra-rb: Y, f. 159rb-va
Add. 7191, f. 126rb-va: Y, f. 159va
Add. 7191, f. 126vb: Y, f. 159va
XXXIV, Add. 7191, f. 129vb: Y, f. 159va
Add. 7191, f. 131ra-rb: Y, f. 159va-vb
XXXV, Add. 7191, f. 133vb: Y, ff. 159vb-160ra
Add. 7191, f. 134ra: Y, f. 160ra
Add. 7191, f. 134rb: Y, f. 160ra-rb
Add. 7191, f. 134rb-va: Y, f. 160rb
XXXVI, Add. 7191, f. 135rb: Y, f. 160rb-va
Add. 7191, f. 136vb: Y, f. 160va
XXXIX, Add. 7191, f. 143ra: Y, f. 160va
XLIII, Add. 7191, f. 154ra-rb: Y, f. 160va-vb
XLIV, Add. 7191, f. 157ra: Y, ff. 160vb-161ra

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## ANALYSIS OF BOOK III, CHAPTERS 1-19

Most of Book III published in this volume (ch. 1-19) contains a critique of the arguments put forward by Damian in his *Many-lined Letter* to prove that the divine hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost are identical with their characteristic properties, viz. ingeneracy, generacy (fatherhood and sonship) and procession. Only in ch. 19 does Peter attack Damian's *Festal letters* of 586 and 587. In this analysis we repeat the extracts from Damian and give a summary of Peter's responses.

### *Chapter I*

Damian attempts to negate the proper and individual subsistence of the divine hypostases; sometimes he confesses them to be names and terms; sometimes to be characteristic properties of the prosopa; sometimes to belong with the substance and innate in it. In the preceding pages, says Peter, it has been sufficiently demonstrated that the hypostases of the Trinity are not names or terms but realities. Now he will show that the hypostases are not merely the characteristic properties, ingeneracy, generacy and procession, as Damian claims. The Patriarch of Alexandria wrote in the ninth chapter of his treatise *Against the Tritheists*:

> However, seeing that the matter has been explained by the previous statements, let us quickly recall that it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance 'hypostases' and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert that they characterize the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind about them.
>
> For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius, writing against heresies and saying: 'The term "hypostases" shall not disturb people, for the reason the Easterns say "hypostases" is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa' and again: 'They have good grounds for denominating the properties of the prosopa "subsisting hypostases", as we said before, because the Holy Ghost also subsists'?
>
> And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea: 'For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the

two: the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property'? Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis 'indicative of the property' (ll. 40-60).

No orthodox thinker will deny that the hypostases can be *named* 'properties'. Gregory the Theologian in his oration *On the Holy Ghost* names Father, Son and Holy Ghost 'properties'; in his oration *On the Lights* he has the expression 'properties or hypostases' and in his oration *Against the Arians* he defines the Trinity as being 'one nature in three spiritual, perfect properties' (ll. 61-80). But Damian claims that according to the fathers the divine hypostases *are* the characteristic properties, viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession. That is the doctrine he has to prove with patristic testimonies (ll. 81-91).

That Damian actually defined ingenerary, generacy and procession as the divine hypostases is manifest from the words just quoted from his treatise *Against the Tritheists* and even more clearly from what he wrote in his *Many-lined Letter*:

For the Father being the Father and not the Son or the Holy Ghost has the unique indication of the fatherhood, which is called his 'hypostasis' or 'property' without distinction. Likewise the Son, being the Son and not the Father or the Holy Ghost has the unique and incommunicable indication of the sonship, which is his hypostasis and property. Take the same view of the Holy Ghost's procession, which indicates his existence without being the Father or the Son.

And again, towards the conclusion of the same letter, he speaks as follows:

For if you thought of the property only as being a hypostasis when it subsists in the substance and has reality in the community, but that property as being substantial which fully participates in the substance and is not the aggregate of substance and property, we shall say that this doctrine belongs to your orthodox teaching and no right-thinking man will dispute the fact.

And again:

Hence being led a little further towards the aim of the matter proposed to my humble self, I said that he who is glorified is not mere ingeneracy, generacy and procession because the terms do not indicate the substance; no, it is the fullness of the preaching of the mystery that we reckon that these things are substantial: three perfect hypostases and three prosopa in the one substance of the Godhead (ll. 92-124).

Damian, then, must prove that the fathers take his view *expressis verbis*. For he wrote again in the same *Many-lined Letter*:



Reverend brother, it has clearly been proved from this that our humble selves have not innovated so much as a jot or a tittle; no, we have drawn from the well of the fathers and brought therefrom the pure water of their teaching.

And after a few lines:

Surely, therefore, nobody can indicate a word of ours or syllable, thought, mode of discussion or logical deduction, which is not gathered and gleaned from collecting the crumbs which fall from the loaf of doctrine. Let anyone, then, who will, show what things in our previous passages are not the *ipsissima verba* of the holy fathers, and not condemn us without reason with a pretence of charity (ll. 125-157).

That is emptiness and vain glory. Peter invites the reader to see whether in his apologies Damian has been able to confirm his opinion by the fathers. In what follows Peter will examine whether his opponent has shown indeed that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are fatherhood, sonship and procession (ll. 158-183).

*Chapter II*

Indeed, he has not, and Damian himself confesses his uncertainty when he writes that the fathers frequently assert that the properties characterize the prosopa or the hypostases, intimating that properties and hypostases are not the same thing (ll. 11-17).

In his refutation Peter will not follow human wisdom as does Damian, but only the inspired doctors of the Church. Severus also in his *Letter to Eustathius the Scholasticus* confesses to be of a very rustic disposition and content to follow only the orthodox doctors (ll. 18-62). If Damian had done the same, he would not have needed to rely on snippets but would have adduced valid texts of the fathers (ll. 62-74).

Perhaps Damian will say that he has already done this in the response he gave Peter in his *Many-lined Letter*, in which he accuses his opponents of empty and fatuous criticism, writing:

Such are their views. What are we to say to them, if not that those who, according to what you said, are aflame with warm zeal for orthodoxy ought not just to offer mere disparagement and censure but ought also to correct, and say how these things can be taken by the opponents in another way and which of my views are not fortified with patristic confirmation? For we ought not only to take account of wrongful action or statement but also re-introduce right action and due statement. Because it is not simply the combatant but the lawful combatant who is crowned;

and not all zeal is good – only zeal with knowledge. The Apostle, indeed, bade us to be zealous for great spiritual gifts. For I declare with Truth himself in audience: I should have defined such people as my teachers and helpers. But as it is, having merely asserted that my words are capable of being taken by the opponents in a different sense without saying how and without mention in a brotherly way of their not being patristic, they have smeared them with empty, fatuous criticism. And it is surprising that one should be convicted of failing to adhere to the fathers' teaching in the very passages where one condemns the statements of one's opponents for failing to accord with the fathers' teaching and declared that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to take such a view' (ll. 75-105).

Peter will not respond to Damian's criticism, but only pull up the roots of his heretical opinion by the divinely inspired fathers' teaching, as Gregory of Nyssa undertakes to do in his *Refutation of Eunomius*. Such was his behaviour with Damian from the beginning when he made some remarks on his *Against the Tritheists* in an irenic and submissive note full of praises and later sent him humble petitions from Paralos. Damian reacted to them like a wild animal. In another passage of his *Refutation*, Gregory relates that Saint Basil showed the same sort of sympathy to Eunomius but was also treated brutally by the heretic. Severus suffered a similar fate from Julian, as he declares in his treatise *Against the additions* (ll. 106-199).

*Chapter III*

Damian in his *Many-lined Letter*, as quoted in ch. II, ll. 101-105, has claimed that it is absurd to be criticized for disloyalty to the fathers at those points on which he had, in his treatise *Against the Tritheists*, ch. IX, declared his intention to follow them in rebutting his opponents (ll. 8-14). Peter responds that it is fully possible while rebutting one heresy to fall into the opposite heresy (ll. 14-27). The fathers were aware of this peril and Peter quotes in support three texts by Gregory Nazianzen from *Orr. 20, 4* and *21* (ll. 28-52), in which Gregory urges his hearers to take the *via media* between Arianism and Sabellianism. Peter, following his usual practice, now goes on to underline the points made in these texts and exhorts his opponent to refute the tritheists who profess three substances, natures and godheads, without falling into Sabellianism by reducing the divine hypostases to their characteristic properties (ll. 53-125).



Peter, he says, never criticized Damian for refuting tritheism, as Damian pretends, but because he teaches that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are hypostases. The Alexandrine Patriarch, in his *Many-lined Letter*, has obscured Peter's true reproach by transcribing the remark in his *Against the Tritheists* incompletely. Here he wrote: 'It is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases" and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert they "characterize" the prosopa or hypostases'; whereas in his *Many-lined Letter* he put it vaguely: 'It is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching *to take such a view*'. The error of the tritheists Damian had to refute was not that they did not consider the characteristic properties hypostases but that they made the one divine substance a fiction and a fantasy and professed three substances, three natures and three godheads. If Damian had proved that his view of the hypostases is patristic, he would be entitled to surprise at Peter's criticism (ll. 126-175).

In his *Many-lined Letter* Damian claims that he produced this proof in his treatise *Against the Tritheists*. He writes:

> Had I not written this down earlier, I should not be free from just rebuke. But if the refutation of opponents derived from the ideas and words of the fathers, let us banish the aspersion on the teaching of inspired men. Let us examine the passage, then, in detail. For I briefly mentioned there that it was 'hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases" '. If, therefore, the statement is false and the God-clad teachers of truth did not call either the properties of the prosopa viewed in the Godhead and the one identical substance, or the properties of the substance, 'hypostases', let someone prove the fact and he shall gain me as a fellow-critic of my statement. For I am not dismayed by a rebuttal but feel the hurt done to the truth because though it did not rebut anything it came as a rebuttal. But if in that very chapter and place were adduced testimonies from the fathers which confirm the statement, let no one fault the truth. For after the passage not one word interrupted the testimony adduced, for the very reason that it terminated the section it stood in, as follows: 'Let us quickly recall that it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases" and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert that they characterize the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind about them. For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius writing against heresies and saying: "The term 'hypostases' shall not disturb people, for

the reason the Easterns say 'hypostases' is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa", and again: "They have good grounds for denominating the properties of the prosopa 'subsisting hypostases', as we said before, because the Holy Ghost subsists"? And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea: "For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property"? Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostases "indicative of the property"' (ll. 176-211).

Peter analyses Damian's text phrase by phrase, finding many points to criticize. Damian cunningly pretends to confirm his orthodoxy by the fathers and makes it appear that he is fighting against strangers to the Church of the orthodox; in his repetition of what he said in *Against the Tritheists*, he omits the phrase expressing his uncertainty: 'Even though the doctors frequently assert that they characterize the prosopa or hypostases'; he was not criticized for only *calling* the hypostases 'properties'; what does it matter that the properties of the substance are not hypostases? Peter's rebuttal of his *Against the Tritheists* was graver than he says (ll. 212-263). The testimonies of Epiphanius and Severus quoted by Damian in the text will be examined in the following chapter (ll. 264-277).

*Chapter IV*

First Peter picks up the two proof-texts of Epiphanius. Damian himself, Peter writes, considered them as inadequate and removed them from a second redaction of the passage in his *Against the Tritheists* and in his *Many-lined Letter* and substituted for them a proof-text from Gregory Nazianzen (ll. 14-37). Nevertheless he will explain why the fathers used the term 'properties' to indicate the hypostases. The reason was not a divergence of doctrine but only a different meaning given to the term 'hypostasis'. The fact is illustrated with quotations from Athanasius' *Tome to the Antiochenes* and the Theologian's *Oration on the burial of the famous Athanasius* (ll. 38-135).

But, contrary to the quarrel between the followers of Paulinus and those of Meletius, the present controversy is not at all verbal:



Peter will happily *name* the hypostases 'properties', as also the fathers did, in the sense of perfect, individually subsisting properties, but will not define them as only their names or their characteristic properties (ll. 136-207). Not only the Theologian but also Basil in his *Letter to Count Terentius* and Acacius in a *Letter to Cyril*, relating the dissension between Easterns and Westerns about the term 'hypostasis', show that the fathers did not decline the use of terms unfamiliar to them to establish peace and harmony (ll. 208-319). The dissension had been removed for the most part in the days of Athanasius, but lasted till the time of the Cappadocians and even of Severus, as quotations from Basil, Acacius, Gregory Nazianzen and Severus show (ll. 320-396). Extracts from a letter of Liberius to Athanasius and from a decree of a Roman synod confirm that the Italians professed the Trinity only one hypostasis (ll. 397-418). A survey of the controversy teaches that the Eastern fathers by using the expression 'properties' sought to convince the Westerns that they were of a common mind. That is what Gregory Nazianzen explains in his *Oration on the burial of the famous Athanasius*. In this context the term 'properties' is synonymous with 'hypostases' and 'prosopa' (e.g. in Damasus' blessing in his *Third oration against the Arians*) and does not indicate ingeneracy, generacy and procession (ll. 419-493).

*Chapter V*

As was said at the end of the preceding chapter, the term 'properties' does not always indicate the characteristic properties of the hypostases. In the ninth chapter of his *Against the Tritheists*, Damian demands clear and frequent testimonies when proofs are drawn from the fathers, but he himself does not comply with this demand. The obscure and occasional statements he produces prove only that in rare instances did the fathers *call* the divine hypostases 'properties'; such statements do not prove that they are their characteristic properties. That is the sort of evidence Athanasius pilloried in his *Encyclical letter* and Gregory of Nyssa in his *Refutation of Eunomius* (ll. 14-95).

Perhaps Damian will reply that the Theologian, by saying in his *Oration on the burial of the famous Athanasius* (IV, ll. 111-112) that the expression 'three hypostases' indicates 'the properties of the three', ruled absolutely that the hypostases are ingeneracy,

generacy and procession. But no proof of this was offered and nothing will stop us maintaining that the 'properties' are the same thing as the three hypostases: e.g. in the expression 'the hypostases of Peter, Paul and John', the term 'hypostases' indicates the same as 'Peter, Paul and John', and when we speak of 'manhood's substance', we do not mean something other than manhood. The use of the genitive is ambiguous. Only the context can determine whether the expression 'the properties of Father, Son and Holy Ghost' means the characteristic properties or the hypostases themselves (ll. 96-177). Therefore also the phrases of Epiphanius, quoted by Damian, saying that the hypostases indicate 'the properties of the prosopa' does not necessarily imply that the doctor speaks of the characteristic properties of the prosopa and not of the prosopa themselves (ll. 178-190).

As for these proof-texts from Epiphanius, Peter discovered that Damian, having evidently become apprised of the fact that they are not the fathers's words but quotations from a text of dubious orthodoxy, had removed them from later copies of his *Against the Tritheists* and his *Many-lined Letter* and substituted a proof-text from Gregory Nazianzen's *On the Lights* (ll. 191-281). After this 'falsification' he had to change two other passages. When quoting the Theologian's text a second time he added in the second redaction: 'as we have already said', and instead of saying, as in the first redaction: 'as Saint Epiphanius testified when defending the Easterns', he put: 'as we have adduced God-clad fathers teaching in many other passages' (ll. 282-346).

*Chapter VI*

In this short chapter Peter says that Damian's last resort against the assaults will be the sort of countercharge of falsification that Julian of Halicarnassus devised against Severus, according to a declaration of the patriarch in his treatise *Against Julian's additions* (ll. 7-45). But the larger part of the chapter deals with an anomaly in the passage of the *Many-lined Letter* quoted in V, ll. 300-313. Here Damian promises further testimonies but actually repeats only the passage of the Theologian given a little earlier without even recording the proof-text of Severus annexed to it. In an unidentified text, Severus condemns such behaviour (ll. 46-125).



*Chapter VII*

Having criticized in the preceding chapters Damian's proof-texts from Epiphanius and Gregory the Theologian, Peter passes on in this chapter to the third testimony Damian invoked in his treatise *Against the Tritheists*, namely a passage of Severus of Antioch saying that 'hypostasis' is 'indicative of the property' (ll. 10-23).

Peter rebukes Damian for carelessness in his references. He did not specify the source of Severus' statement; neither had he done so previously in the case of Epiphanius' phrases. Severus himself was always very accurate in quoting the fathers and reproached Julian of Halicarnassus and Felicissimus for their negligence (ll. 24-69).

After this remark which might be considered trifling, Peter elucidates the meaning of Severus' statement, taken in fact from his *Contra impium Grammaticum*, II, 17. If Damian interprets it as meaning that the hypostasis can be *called* 'property', he will not contradict him, as he has already declared many times; but he claims that it is improper to reckon the hypostases of the Holy Trinity as characteristic properties (ll. 70-94). Why, indeed, is the term 'property' in Severus' phrase taken by Damian as indicating the characteristic property of the hypostasis and not a single prosopon? (ll. 95-103). Moreover, even if it is granted that 'property' here indicates the characteristic property, Severus' statement does not mean necessarily that the hypostasis is the characteristic property, because indicator and indicated are not always the same (ll. 104-110).

*Chapter VIII*

As the heading says, the chapter has two sections: (i) If, as Damian claims, the characteristic property is the same thing as the hypostasis, the phrase of Severus 'the hypostasis is indicative of the property' means that indicator and indicated are one and the same thing. This is not always the case. (ii) This is proved from the fathers.

(i) Damian tried to prove the identity of indicator and indicated from Gregory Nazianzen, Proclus and Severus (ll. 12-50). From these texts he has deduced 'a general canon that *all* indicators, signifiers and characterizers are the same as the indicated, signified

and characterized' and that consequently Severus' phrase 'the hypostasis is indicative of the property' means that, the hypostasis and the property are identical. Peter replies that Damian's canon is not general, is true only in some cases and not in others and that, consequently, Damian must prove that it has to be applied to the hypostasis and the property (ll. 51-91).

(ii) From texts of Basil (ll. 91-193), Gregory Nazianzen (ll. 194-231), Gregory of Nyssa (ll. 232-282), Cyril (ll. 283-358), Severus (ll. 359-375) and Theodosius (ll. 376-408) it is clear that the fathers do not admit the general canon of Damian but distinguish sometimes between indicators and indicated. Theodosius e.g. says that the characteristic properties of the Godhead characterize the Godhead but does not mean that these characteristic properties are the same thing as the Godhead (ll. 409-438). Indeed, Basil (ll. 439-477), Gregory Nazianzen (ll. 478-487), Cyril (ll. 488-504) and Severus (ll. 505-517) teach the contrary. Consequently, just as Gregory of Nyssa demanded proof from Eunomius instead of mere assertions, so Damian must prove his identification of characteristic properties and hypostases (ll. 518-542). He has also to explain why while, according to Theodosius, the characteristic properties of the Godhead are indicative of the Godhead and are not identical with it, the characteristic properties of the hypostases are identical with them (ll. 543-548).

*Chapter IX*

This chapter continues the reasoning and even the sentence of the previous chapter: Peter asks Damian to prove that his canon about the identity of the characteristic properties with what is characterized by them is applicable within the created order (ll. 11-24). Cyril and Severus clearly distinguish between the natural properties and the substance even in the case of created nature (ll. 25-71); and Severus clearly distinguishes the characteristic properties of the hypostases from the hypostases themselves, when in a passage of his *Contra impium Grammaticum* he describes the characteristic properties of Job and Elkanah. Nobody of sane mind will say that the characteristic properties he enumerates or the collection of these properties *are* Job or Elkanah themselves. Moreover, how can these characteristic properties concur, make up a collection, there not being given an hypostasis with which they are



capable of concurring? And how can the characteristic properties of Job and Elkanah rehearsed by Severus constitute their hypostases, seeing that they were not innate in them but came to belong to them latterly? (ll. 72-175).

Perhaps Damian will answer to the last consideration that only the permanent and inseparable characteristics of Job and Elkanah constitute their hypostases. That will lead to absurd ideas (ll. 176-196). Maybe Damian will argue that in man, a creature, characteristic properties cannot be hypostases but that in the Holy Trinity we must profess the characteristic properties as hypostases, because here nothing is accidental, imperfect, non-subsisting or imaginary. Peter, evidently, agrees with the second part of the claim but retorts that not he but the theologians who consider the hypostases to be characteristic properties, make the whole mystery of Godhead something imperfect, non-subsisting and imaginary and even negate completely the Holy Trinity, because the divine hypostases, if identified with the characteristic properties, which do not subsist individually, will not be real hypostases (ll. 196-224). This retort of Peter does not imply that he considers the characteristic properties in God imperfect; no, in his view they are perfect but perfect only as characteristic properties (ll. 224-230). If to be perfect the characteristic properties of the *hypostases* must be the hypostases themselves, we have to say also that the characteristic properties of the divine *nature* are the nature itself (ll. 230-240).

It remains to be considered, someone may say, that Basil defines the hypostasis as the collection of properties. A full explanation of this definition will be given afterwards. For the moment it will suffice to remark that Basil did not define the hypostasis merely as the collection of properties but as the collection of properties *belonging with each of the hypostases* (ll. 241-256).

Peter reverts to the explanation of Severus' phrase, quoted in chapter IX of the treatise *Against the Tritheists*, that 'the hypostasis is indicative of the property'. For Damian, this phrase means that the characteristic properties are not accidents or natural indications (Severus in his *Against Felicissimus* opposes hypostases to natural indications) (ll. 257-277). Damian, says Peter, did not prove his interpretation (ll. 278-298). Moreover he fought shy of enunciating his thesis openly and instead of mentioning the *characteristic* properties of the prosopa, he spoke simply of the prop-

erties (ll. 299-312). His interpretation of Severus' text is not proved from the fathers, who never, even in created things, identify the characteristic properties with the object characterized by them. If the characteristic properties are the hypostases, because they indicate one another, we must also identify the nature of God with its characteristic properties (ll. 313-385).

*Chapter X*

In this chapter Peter continues to refute the interpretation given by Damian of Severus' affirmation that 'the hypostasis is indicative of the property'. Even if we allow, Peter says, that Severus understood here 'the property' in the sense of 'the characteristic property', his phrase does not mean that for him the hypostasis *is* the characteristic property; 'hypostasis' and 'property' are different terms for one and the same thing: as e.g. in the phrases 'Godhead's nature is signified by substance', 'substance is indicated by Godhead', 'hypostasis is characteristic of a single substrate', the terms 'Godhead', 'nature', 'substance' and also the terms 'hypostasis' and 'a single substrate' indicate the same thing. From Severus' statement one cannot conclude that the hypostasis is only a characteristic property so that it could be said that 'the hypostasis is a property of a single substrate' (ll. 15-51). Peter repeats parts of the texts of Gregory Nazianzen, Proclus and Severus, which were adduced by Damian to prove his opinion and quoted already in ch. VIII, ll. 16-50, in which the phrases mentioned above, are used (ll. 52-74).

Damian in his letter to the bishops of the Eastern province argued from Severus' assertion 'hypostasis is characteristic of a substrate', that his opponents, because they do not admit the identity of the characteristic properties with the characterized hypostases, have to think necessarily of hypostases of hypostases (ll. 75-97). Peter retorts that the fathers ruled that characterizers and characterized cannot be identical; and that, as is the case in such expressions as 'the nature of God is indicated by "substance"', the terms 'hypostasis' and 'substrate' in Severus' assertion must be understood as meaning the same thing. As the first phrase does not force us to think of substances of the divine substance, the second does not compell us to speak of hypostases of hypostases (ll. 98-151).

Does Peter's explanation not contradict what Cyril wrote in the third chapter of his *Thesaurus* — the text was already quoted in



ch. VIII, ll. 287-291 — that the indicated is not the same thing as the indicator, a principle admitted also by Peter himself? Peter replies that there can be no question of indicator and indicated when there is no difference at all between the words; e.g. one cannot say: 'the Godhead signifies Godhead'. The fathers use different terms for the same thing when they say: 'The Godhead indicates the substance'. The different names 'Godhead' and 'substance' in this phrase are synonyms. Severus' assertion that 'hypostasis is characteristic of a substrate' explains that the names 'hypostasis' and 'substrate' are also synonyms (ll. 152-243). The texts of Gregory Nazianzen, Proclus and Severus previously quoted are produced to show the need for making synonyms plain (ll. 244-257); and quotations from Basil's letter to his brother *On Substance and Hypostasis* and another to Amphilochius, and quotations from Gregory's oration on Athanasius and his *Farewell Address to the bishops* (the last quoted by Damian in his *Many-lined Letter*) show also that the same reality can be indicated by different names (ll. 257-361). These texts moreover indicate that realities are not the same thing as terms (ll. 362-376).

*Chapter XI*

This chapter concerns the same point as had been made in chapter X: even when the fathers do not say it expressly, 'Godhead', 'substance', 'nature' and also 'hypostases', 'properties' do not mean the realities but the terms. Peter will prove this from the passage of Damian's *Letter to the Bishops of the East*, part of which has already been quoted in ch. VIII, ll. 35-50, where he gives two quotations from Severus' *Against the impious Grammarian* II, 4 and II, 1, containing the phrases, discussed already in previous chapters: 'Substance is indicative of the community and the generic sense, whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate' and 'Substance is indicative of the genus and the sense inclusive of many species, whereas hypostasis is a determination of some one species, i.e. it is indicative of the prosopon, having by its property non-participation with the fellow-members of the genus and embracing the substrate in its proper mark' (ll. 8-52).

Peter complains of Damian's lack of accuracy in quoting Severus' texts. First, his references are wrong; the quotations are

not taken from the *first* book of the *Against the impious Grammarian*, but from the first chapter of the second book. Secondly, in the second text Damian inserted, Peter says, the explanation: 'i.e. it is indicative of the prosopon' (N.B. Lebon's text has something similar to Damian's: 'Hypostasis ... is indicative of one form, i.e. of one prosopon'. Here Peter himself seems not quite accurate) (ll. 53-68).

After this remark on Damian's carelessness in quoting Severus, Peter proceeds to the examination of his argument. It reposes entirely, Peter explains, on Damian's presupposition that *all* characterizers are identical with what they characterize. But this postulate is wrong, because it has been proved in what precedes that the characteristic properties of the nature are not identical with the nature, neither those of the hypostases with the hypostases, nor again — what is important to remark in this chapter — the terms identical with the realities they signify. Nevertheless, Peter will make an examination of the statements of Severus and show their genuine meaning from the context (ll. 69-91).

There follow many quotations from Severus. The manuscripts have a lacuna here, but in what remains Peter quotes several texts from the *Against the impious Grammarian* II, 1, II, 2 and II, 5, to conclude that in the definitions of 'substance', 'nature' and 'hypostasis' given there, Severus intends to teach us what the *terms* not the realities are indicative of (ll. 92-169).

Perhaps Damian will retort that Severus sometimes speaks, in the same sense, of the 'substance', the 'nature' and sometimes of the 'term substance', the 'term nature', indicating that for him terms do not differ from realities nor do characterizers and indicators from characterized and indicated (ll. 170-179). To prove the total witlessness of this idea Peter quotes from *Against the impious Grammarian* II, 2: 'The term "nature" ... is sometimes indicative of the common and the genus like "substance", sometimes of the species and of a single substrate like "hypostasis" too'. If the expression 'the term "nature"' means here the substance itself or the hypostasis itself, the phrase will be completely absurd (ll. 179-211).

One could object: in this text Severus speaks expressly of 'the *term* nature' and it is, indeed, impossible that the doctor means the nature itself; but when he simply mentions 'nature', 'substance', or 'being', we cannot but understand that he is speaking of the realities and identifies characterizers and characterized (ll. 212-225). To show that Severus uses these expressions sometimes to indicate the realities, sometimes the terms, leaving it to the reader to determine their exact meaning by the context, Peter quotes texts from Severus' refutation of the Grammarian in which these expressions certainly do not indicate the realities but the terms (ll. 226-306).



The author concludes that in the definitions given by Severus, the subject of the phrases is merely a term, but the predicate a reality, and that, consequently characterizers and characterized are sometimes identical but sometimes are not: Cyril, saying on one occasion that indicated and indicators are not identical, and Gregory Nazianzen, identifying them in another context, do not contradict one another (ll. 307-334).

### *Chapter XII*

Peter continues his critique of Damian's *Many-lined Letter*. After his defence of the use he made in his treatise *Against the Tritheists* of the quotations from Epiphanius and Severus, the Patriarch of Alexandria concluded:

> Has it not then been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases but accidents or certain natural indications? (ll. 15-23).

Rather pretentiously Damian claims that he has proved what he had to prove. First, we are not opposed at all to calling the divine hypostases 'subsisting properties', but to identifying them with the characteristic properties of ingeneracy, generacy and procession. And we reject the dilemma that by refusing this identification we have to think of the hypostases as accidents and natural indications (γνωρίσματα). If this were true, even our opponents, if they do not call the natural properties of the divine substance 'substances' or, at least, 'substance', would be forced to define them as accidents or characteristic properties of their hypostases (ll. 24-68).

Peter then proceeds to what Damian writes after that in his *Many-lined Letter*:

> Unless, therefore, the Unbeginning, the Beginning, and the With the Beginning, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the three properties of

the Holy Trinity, when viewed in the common substance, are conceived of, in the way we say, as three hypostases, it will turn out that Fatherhood, Sonship and Procession will belong to a single hypostasis like natural properties (uncreatedness, I mean, invisibility, eternity and the rest) which is plain Sabellianism; or, that we shall attribute substantial differences and substance itself to each hypostasis, which is the diametrically opposite evil and, evidently, clear Arianism (ll. 69-78).

Damian in this passage explains what he said immediately before: If Peter does not admit his theory that the characteristic properties are the hypostases, he must consider them as accidents or natural properties. If they are mere accidents, the Trinity will be only one hypostasis; if they are natural properties, each divine hypostasis will have its own substance.

Actually, Peter answers, nobody says that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are not three hypostases or three properties, if this term is taken as a synonym of 'hypostasis'. But that is not the question. What Damian has to prove is that the characteristic properties of the divine hypostases, i.e. ingeneracy, generacy and procession, are the hypostases (ll. 79-128).

Nevertheless, Peter will refute Damian's argumentation. Damian takes it as a principle that what exist in the common substance, are hypostases or natural properties. If the characteristic properties of the divine hypostases subsisting in the common substance are not three hypostases, we have to think of the substance common to the Three as one hypostasis, which is Sabellianism, or consider them as natural properties different from one another and agree with Arius. The same reproach, Peter retorts, can be made also to Damian and his followers by parity of argument about the characteristic properties of the *substance* i.e. the natural properties, seen in the hypostases: if they do not think of them as substances, they will propound Sabellianism or Arianism (ll. 129-211).

*Chapter XIII*

This chapter deals with the problem, raised in the last chapter, of how we are to conceive of the natural properties in the hypostases and again of the properties of the hypostases in the substance, without our admitting either the confusion of the hypostases or the division of the substance, which follow, as shown in the last chapter, from Damian's views.



Peter's doctrine can be expressed in one phrase: the Church's doctors spoke of the Godhead and its properties as being in the three hypostases, and likewise of the three hypostases and their properties as being in the Godhead (ll. 19-31). But this does not mean the identity of the hypostases with their properties, or the identity of the divine substance with its properties, nor the division of the substance or the merging of the hypostases. The one substance does not produce a contraction of the hypostases, nor do the three hypostases produce any cleavage of the substance (ll. 31-44). Basil proves this clearly in his letter *On Substance and Hypostasis* (ll. 45-59).

The fathers teach — Peter cites again two texts from the same letter and a passage from Severus' *Against the impious Grammarian* — that the three hypostases along with their characteristic properties are in the divine substance, but that the characteristics are to be distinguished from the hypostases and exist in the common substance not as hypostases but as their characteristic properties. The hypostases are united in the common substance but their hypostatic characters remain distinct, as is said in two other quotations from Basil's letter (ll. 59-188).

Peter's refutation might seem too long. But his silence could be interpreted as acknowledging the foundation of Damian's claims. Therefore he will also examine the rest of his words (ll. 189-194).

*Chapter XIV*

In this chapter Peter goes on with his criticism of the *Many-lined Letter* and examines three passages which follow immediately the extract given in ch. XII, ll. 16-23 and ll. 69-78 containing Damian's conclusion from the texts of Epiphanius and Severus.

I. The first passage of the *Many-lined Letter* (ll. 7-85):

Therefore, either let someone prove that the words are not patristic and those who spoke them unworthy of credence in their testimony and we shall be silent; or, if the words are patristic and their authors' testimony is true, how can it not be an obvious misrepresentation to excerpt from them the phrase which was the reason for their quotation and to condemn it as an innovation? For if this phrase does not have the same meaning as the testimonies, it will rightly be condemned. But, until anyone proves this, he is to understand that he not only condemns the phrase but also criticizes the patristic teaching which confirmed it. My sole desire, in fact, was to use it to show first the sense of the testimonies quoted. But if

the aim went astray and did not find expression, someone should explain the lapse and we will owe him a debt for his learning. If, too, because the proof-texts were explained by us earlier and the reason for their quotation was made known previously by other words, the phrase is criticized on the grounds that those proof-texts ought only to appear in express quotation without any interpretation or preface, it is obvious that I am being condemned for no other reason but that I did not make my little exposition a collection of proof-texts. But we have been taught not to fight truth's enemies so simply, because they too quote us often the same testimonies, giving them a wrong interpretation and because one who responds with discernment to challenges like these, besides being anchored in the biblical and patristic tradition, should endeavour to explain and harmonize the fathers' meaning in its entirety from all their expositions and to record the disputations they were variously engaged in and all the other things which compell those who oppose them to write works of refutation.

Apparently Peter, in the letter he wrote to Damian after receiving his treatise, mentioned the texts of Epiphanius and Severus quoted by Damian for his doctrine, but did not repeat the phrase in which Damian gave his interpretation of these texts (ch. XII, ll. 19-23 and ll. 69-78). Why, asks Damian, did not his colleague reproduce the words which give the reason for the quotation of these fathers? If Peter thought they did not render the exact meaning of the testimonies, he had to prove it. If he considered that patristic testimonies must be quoted without any commentary, Damian disagrees: heretics often quote the same texts as the orthodox; therefore one has to give their exact interpretation in harmony with the entirety of all the expositions of the fathers (ll. 7-35).

Actually, Damian did not prove that the texts of Epiphanius and Severus corroborate his opinion (ll. 36-71) nor did he take into account all their testimonies (ll. 72-85).

II. The second passage of the *Many-lined letter* (ll. 86-160):

Perhaps then, we may be criticized on the grounds that the proof is defective, and constructed with only a couple of testimonies. But it would be wrong to take much offence at this. The law of apostolic teaching affirms that by two or three witnesses every word shall be established. Nevertheless, critics of the statement may, if they like, have further testimonies in which the holy fathers recognize the properties as identical with the hypostases.

In the oration *On the Lights*, then, Gregory the Theologian clarifies our ideas and shows the single meaning in the terms by saying: 'But when I



say "God", be illumined by one light 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'.

Those who say, then, that the terms 'hypostasis', 'property', and 'prosopon' here do not bring the hearers to the very same idea, stand confounded and are in disaccord with this teaching of accurate theology, as it is here set down. Who, therefore, having read this will fault the statement that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the properties' (a review of which we have previously conducted) 'viewed in the common substance, "hypostases" '? (ll. 86-105).

In response to Peter's remark on the deficiency of Damian's patristic argument, the Alexandrian appeals to Saint Paul's rule in II Cor. 13:1 and quotes a text of Gregory of Nazianzen in his oration *On the Lights*, already quoted in the second redaction of the treatise *Against the Tritheists* instead of Epiphanius' text (see supra ch. V, ll. 269-281), in which the Cappadocian father has the expression 'in properties or hypostases', indicating that he considered the two terms as synonymous (ll. 86-105). But this expression, answers Peter, only indicates that hypostases can be *called* 'properties'; it does not prove at all that Gregory considered the divine hypostases as identical with the characteristic properties of ingeneracy, generacy and procession (ll. 106-151). Perhaps Damian himself was conscious that his argument was not *ad rem* and therefore wrote at the end of the quoted text that 'it is at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the *properties* viewed in the common substance, "hypostases" ', and not that 'it is at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the *characteristic properties* viewed in the common substance, "hypostases" ' (ll. 152-160).

III. The third passage of the *Many-lined Letter* (ll. 161-258):

Thus in the second chapter I quoted careful readers the same Theologian, cited by the thoroughly distinguished Theodosius, saying in his oration *On Athanasius*, as follows: 'For when we say "one substance" and "three hypostases" with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three)'. So he clearly said that the properties of the three are signified by the term 'hypostases'. Thus it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose the terms do not indicate the same thing here.

The same doctor gave teaching similar to this also in the *Farewell Address to the Bishops* saying: 'What, then, do hypostases mean to you,

or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three'. Here too, after first inquiring about the view of those in dispute over the terms 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis', to reconcile the two and unite them to one mind, he said to each side that the same thing is indicated by the different appellations and took the unambiguous word 'property', signifying the same things as 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis', and said that 'those divided not in natures but in properties are three' i.e. that 'prosopa' and 'hypostases' seek to indicate nothing else but subsisting properties, as Saint Epiphanius also testified when defending the Easterns (ll. 164-182).

Damian quoted the text of Gregory's oration *On Athanasius* without its context which rejects his interpretation (ll. 183-201). Nobody will contest that in this phrase the Theologian takes the terms 'properties' and 'hypostases' as indicating the same thing. But in other places, as in the expressions 'natural properties' or 'characteristic properties', the term 'properties' may have another sense than the term 'hypostases' (ll. 202-225).

Where in the words of the *Farewell Address* 'that those divided not in natures but in properties are three', did Damian find that the hypostases and prosopa are the characteristic properties ingeneracy, generacy and procession? (ll. 226-258).

*Chapter XV*

In his commentary on Gregory's words in his *Farewell Address*, quoted in the preceding chapter, Damian wrote that the fathers preferred the unambiguous term 'property' to the terms 'hypostasis' and 'prosopon'. Peter agrees that the fathers sometimes used 'properties' in reference to the hypostases. But this does not mean that they considered that the divine hypostases are ingeneracy, generacy and procession. The fathers used the terms 'hypostases' and 'prosopa' more frequently and when using the term 'properties' to indicate the hypostases, they often added 'individually subsisting properties' or another expression to avoid all ambiguity (ll. 11-43).

After the passage just examined, Damian wrote in his *Many-lined Letter*:

> For it is unusual to say that the union has been effected from the properties; whereas such a union has been handed down to us by the clear and unambiguous word 'hypostases'. But we shall not reckon the two as not the same thing, though I myself in my book (in order that the hypostases should not be thought of as non-substantial) referred the concept to the properties indicating the prosopa.



And some lines later Damian wrote:

> So my mention of the Patriarch here and my assertion 'the Patriarch says' are a sort of summary addressed to men who know the father's words, but one has to add: 'concerning the natural properties'. So we also, in the case of the substrates, profess the Saviour's union as being not a union of properties, but, more accurately, of hypostases, lest anyone think that the concurrence is simply a concurrence of non-substantial properties, and that it is mere sonship and not the Son's Godhead (i.e. his nature) which was incarnate. In answer, then, to that objection I was saying that 'the hypostasis of the Only-begotten' was clearer as a full indication of the mystery of his becoming man, because it can better disclose the subsistence of the substantial property in its own being without confusion, or when it is mentally separated from the substance in which it is seen as naturally existing (ll. 44-64).

In these extracts Damian speaks of the term 'hypostases' as unambiguous and more accurate than the term 'properties' and so contradicts what he asserted before. It is, indeed, as Severus wrote in the fifteenth chapter of the second book of his *Against the Grammarian of Caesarea*, an evil trick of heretics to mix intentionally into their expositions heretical and orthodox statements. Why, then, should we not prefer the unambiguous term 'hypostases' to the term 'properties', which is ambiguous and may indicate hypostases but also may indicate properties which do not subsist individually? (ll. 65-105).

In the last quotation from the *Many-lined Letter*, Damian wrote that speaking of the incarnation as a union of properties could be interpreted by some people as meaning that it is only 'a concurrence of non-substantial properties' and that only the sonship of the Son and not the Son himself became flesh. 'Who are these people?', Peter asks. Since Damian reduces the Holy Trinity to names, one has to think of heretics who do not even put forward the names of Father, Son and Holy Ghost and therefore are more impious than the Sabellians who, as Basil testifies in his *Letter to Terentius*, though teaching that God is only one hypostasis, recognize Father, Son and Holy Ghost as three prosopa (ll. 106-136).

At the end of his commentary on the extract from the *Farewell Address*, Damian in the first redaction of his *Many-lined Letter* (ch. XIV, l. 182) wrote: 'as Saint Epiphanius also testified when

defending the Easterns'. He changed and 'falsified' his text in the second redaction and set down: 'as we have adduced God-clad fathers teaching in many other passages'. But it has already been proved that the fragment he adduced from the Theologian's oration *On the Lights* (ch. V, ll. 273-277) in no way assists his false opinion (ll. 137-147).

To show the true teaching of the Theologian, Peter quotes fragments of his oration *On the Nativity*, his *Second Oration on the Son* and his oration *On Baptism*. In these texts the Theologian mentions two generations of the Son, the one from God the Father, the second from the Holy Virgin. Damian himself spoke of these two generations in a passage of his *Enthronement Sermon* which he repeated in the *Synodical Letter* to James Baradaeus. If generacy were an hypostasis, as Damian teaches, we should consequently admit the Nestorian heresy of two hypostases in Christ (ll. 148-263).

After a lacuna in the manuscript, Peter repeats that it is not because the fathers term the hypostases 'properties', that we have to think of them as characteristic properties. And after this remark, Peter quotes a subsequent text from the *Many-lined Letter*:

> For if one does not take such words in this way one will not think either that a prosopon is the same as a hypostasis because Basil professed the prosopon as being *in* the hypostasis.

It seems that Peter is refuting here an argument of Damian in his *Many-lined Letter*, based on the text from the Theologian's oration *On Theology*: 'Because we must preserve one God and profess three hypostases or prosopa and each of them *along with* its property'. In this text, Damian argued, 'property' is synonymous with 'hypostasis' and 'prosopon'; as is evidently 'prosopon' with 'hypostasis' in Basil's assertion in his *Letter to the Neocaesareans*: 'We must acknowledge each prosopon as existing *in* true hypostasis'. Peter answers that because in the text of Basil the preposition indicates a synonymy, we do not have to admit that it always does. It clearly does not when Theodosius in his discourse *On Theology* writes: 'We worship and glorify one God *in* one substance and nature but *in* three hypostases' and 'We have learned to believe one God *in* one substance and nature but *in* three hypostases or prosopa' (ll. 264-296).

In the expressions 'characteristic properties of hypostases' and 'hypostases with properties', Damian has to take the terms 'characteristic properties' or 'properties' as synonymous with the term 'hypostases'. If this were true, we should also consider the terms 'nature', 'substance' as the same thing as its characteristic properties, because we speak also of 'the characteristic properties of the nature or the substance' (ll. 297-306).



Because, Peter repeats, in Basil's phrase 'each prosopon exists in true hypostasis' the terms 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis' indicate the same thing, we are not to conclude that we are our accidents or all the things belonging with us or to us from outside (ll. 306-324). If Damian replies that we ought not to apply these reasonings to created things, he has to remember that the fathers when giving teaching about the characteristic properties of the Holy Trinity used human conditions to do so (ll. 324-332).

In the *Many-lined Letter* Damian wrote, quoting a passage from Gregory Nazianzen's Oration *On Theology*:

> And again, in a later passage he called the Son's generation a hypostasis, thus: 'But if you do not investigate, whether we should speak of the Son's generation or hypostasis or whatever else which one may find fuller in sense than these.'

How, Peter asks, can Damian prove from this text that the doctor thought of generacy as a hypostasis? What he means here, as is clear from the whole context and a similar passage in his *First Oration on the Son*, is that we are not to investigate how the Son exists by generation from the Father (ll. 332-392).

Two extracts from the *Adversus Damianum* in the florilegia partially fill a lacuna in the direct tradition. The first, taken from *flor. II*, gives a quotation from Gregory Nazianzen's *First Oration on the Son*: 'The one who has a different fleshly generation has also a different spiritual generation.' If, says Peter, we think of generation as a hypostasis (as was already suggested by Damian in the just quoted passage of his *Many-lined Letter*) we have to give the Son two hypostases, and also the Father two hypostases, because, according to Damian, his ingeneracy constitutes a hypostasis and we can speak also, as Basil does in his discourse *In the beginning was the Word*, of the generation of (by) the Father (ll. 393-440). — The second extract, taken from the *Florilegium Trinitarium*, belongs to the same context of Damian's work and gives the conclusion that generation cannot be a hypostasis (ll. 441-445).

After the lacuna in the manuscripts, Peter concludes from an assertion of Gregory Nazianzen in his *First oration on the Son* (already quoted in VIII, ll. 479-487) that those who profess ingeneracy and generacy as hypostases are not only Sabellians but they also deny, as did Eunomius, the consubstantiality of Father and Son (ll. 446-464). If Damian retorts that ingeneracy and generacy must be consubstantial, he will be forgetting that consubstantiality is said of hypostases but not of things viewed with the hypostases (ll. 465-486).

*Chapter XVI*

After Gregory Nazianzen Damian, in his *Many-lined Letter*, invoked support for his theory from Amphilochius, Damasus and John II of Jerusalem. First Amphilochius and Damasus:

> Hence wise Amphilochius, roused, yet, rather, instructed by, the Holy Ghost, gives, in the third book *On the Holy Ghost*, a tradition similar to the foregoing and accompanies it with a statement to the effect that the terms 'hypostases' and 'properties' indicate the same things; which passage I also set down in the discourse. He said the following: 'But we do not call those three hypostases and three properties "substances" or "natures", nor "three powers", for the three hypostases have one substance and nature and the three properties have one power'. Thus the father. But if someone were to say that the terms are not set down in direct connection, let him distinguish their different meanings and tell us what the statement then amounts to. For we cannot now speak on these points in detail, but shall simply set down the father's words.
>
> For holy Damasus too, bishop of Rome, in his *Third Oration against the Arians* pronounced a blessing on those who think of the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, as three subsisting prosopa, saying as follows: 'Blessed is he who confesses one Godhead and that all the Godhead's fullness belongs to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Blessed is he who confesses that the properties of the names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are three subsisting prosopa'.
>
> Therefore it is not only hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose that the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are not three subsisting prosopa, but it is also foreign to the foregoing blessing (ll. 13-35).

We have no quarrel at all, says Peter again, with those who *term* the divine hypostases 'properties' but only with those who make these hypostases nothing but names and characteristic properties. This opinion cannot be proved from the testimony of Amphilochius (ll. 36-62). If one concludes from the fact that the father termed the hypostases 'properties', that he considered ingeneracy, generacy and procession as hypostases, one has to define the characteristic properties of the *substances* also as 'hypostases' (ll. 62-67). Damian has to prove that Amphilochius here understood 'properties' as indicating ingeneracy, generacy and procession (ll. 68-94).



Damasus blesses those who confess that 'the properties of the names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are three subsisting prosopa.' Damian did not render these words of the bishop of Rome correctly, writing 'the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost', instead of 'the properties *of the names* of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost'. How can Damian quote Damasus as a support for his thesis, since the Romans in general did not speak of 'three *hypostases*'? But, even when it is conceded that Damasus' expression 'three prosopa' is synonymous with the term 'three hypostases', his phrase only means that the term 'properties' can indicate subsisting properties (ll. 95-146).

John of Jerusalem has the expression 'in the three hypostases or properties', using 'hypostasis' and 'property' as synonyms, as did also Basil and Gregory the Theologian. But, as has been said already many times, this does not prove that they considered the *characteristic* properties to be hypostases. The term 'property', indeed, has several meanings; sometimes it indicates hypostases but more often the characteristic properties of the hypostases or the marks of the divine nature (ll. 147-223). Why, then, does Damian understand it always in the sense of 'hypostasis'? It is as ridiculous as was the misuse of the homonymy of the term 'nature', for which Severus reproached the Grammarian of Caesarea (ll. 224-244).

*Chapter XVII*

Peter repeats the three fragments of Basil Damian quoted in the preceding chapter, when he explained the text of John of Jerusalem (ch. XVI, ll. 162-179). They are the last patristic testimonies produced by Damian in his *Many-lined Letter* to prove his thesis (ll. 8-36). He concluded from them not that it is patristic to name the *characteristic properties (ingeneracy, generacy and procession)* 'hypostases', which is what he had to prove; but that it is patristic to name the *subsisting properties* 'hypostases', about which there never was a dispute (ll. 37-47).

Of the three fragments of Basil, only his definition of an hypostasis as 'the collection of properties belonging with each' is

worth examining (ll. 48-58). That Basil says 'belonging with each' shows that he considered the hypostasis as an individually subsisting reality with whom the particular characteristic properties belong (ll. 58-65). Furthermore, Basil defines the hypostasis as a *collection* of properties, whereas in Damian's view the hypostasis is only one property: ingeneracy, generacy or procession (ll. 65-79). Perhaps, Damian will object that, as he wrote in his treatise *Against the Tritheists* and again in his *Many-lined Letter*, Basil has defined the hypostasis not only as 'a collection of properties' (Damian omits the words 'belonging with each'), but also 'each one's indicative note' *or* 'the subsisting property'. But in his expositions, Damian seems to know the hypostasis only as 'a collection of properties'. Using this definition, he has to show how a single property can be an hypostasis and how a collection of properties can be a single substrate subsisting particularly and individually (ll. 80-111).

In a commentary on a text from Basil's *Against Eunomius*, Damian, instead of calling the hypostasis 'the collection of properties belonging with *each*', writes 'the collection of properties belonging with *the substance*'; but, clearly, 'each' is not said of what is common but of a single substrate among a plurality (ll. 112-155).

In a passage of the first book *Against Eunomius*, Basil explains that ingeneracy is not the Father's hypostasis but that it follows his hypostasis as its characteristic property (ll. 156-226). Similarly, he writes in his second book *Against Eunomius* that generacy follows life: meaning here by 'life' not the whole Trinity but the hypostasis of God the Father alone, as Basil himself explains in this text and also Severus in his *109th Cathedral Homily* (ll. 227-317). In both texts Basil teaches that ingeneracy is something external to the Father's substance; if, then, the Father's hypostasis is the same as his ingeneracy, it follows that the Father — and also the Son and the Holy Ghost — are not God (ll. 318-360).

In another passage from the first book of his *Against Eunomius*, Basil names 'ingeneracy' a product of 'inventive thought', expressing the Father's not having a cause of being. How, then, will those who make the Father ingeneracy, not deprive him of any real existence? Actually, 'ingeneracy' presupposes that the Father is a reality and only expresses the truth that he is without beginning (ll. 361-490).



Damian's false opinion has already been entirely demolished. It will nevertheless be useful to look at what Basil said in the text quoted above on ll. 378-381. What can it mean, according to Damian's theory that 'ingeneracy' (i.e. the Father's hypostasis) 'is perceived in the God of all'? And that Basil, after saying that God's substance is incomprehensible, endeavours to define ingeneracy? Actually, Basil writes that ingeneracy is not the Father's hypostasis but only the mode of his hypostasis (ll. 491-545).

*Chapter XVIII*

Continuing his last remark of the preceding chapter, Peter asks: How can ingeneracy be a hypostasis if hypostasis means subsisting, which is the same as being and existing, whereas ingeneracy discloses only the mode of being of the substrate? The synonymy of 'hypostasis' with 'subsisting', 'being' and 'existing' is confirmed by two quotations of Severus' *Against the Grammarian*; Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Cyril are quoted as saying that ingeneracy does not indicate the being of God but only his mode of existing (ll. 10-113). Peter, by making ingeneracy a hypostasis, mixes up the two notions (ll. 114-138).

In the second book of his *Against Eunomius* Basil defends the eternity of God the Father's fatherhood against the heretic and says that the Father *has* his fatherhood co-extensive with his eternity. How, then, can one claim that the Father *is* his fatherhood? And is it not absurd to say that the Father has his *hypostasis* co-extensive with his eternity? In the letter to his brother *On Substance and Hypostasis* the same Basil writes that in the Son we see the ingenerate beauty of the Father not his ingeneracy, clearly indicating that ingeneracy is not the Father's hypostasis (ll. 139-235).

In his address *To those who say the Son is unlike the Father*, Basil wrote that ingeneracy is the negation of God's being begotten. Will Damian assert that the Father's hypostasis is a negation? (ll. 235-263).

*Chapter XIX*

In a long quotation from the first book of his *Against Eunomius*, Gregory of Nyssa argues from the fact that Eunomius called the

Son 'a begotten substance', that generacy is not the Son's substance. Indeed, he says, one who says: 'the substance has been begotten' understands 'begotten' as something other than substance, just as when the Lord speaks of a man 'who has been born into the world' (John 16:21), expresses two different ideas: the idea of generation by birth and the idea of the one who has come into existence by generation (ll. 11-74).

This text of Gregory has been quoted by Peter and his bishops in the *Syndocticon* they composed when they went to Arabia to meet the Patriarch of Alexandria. It was criticized by him in his *Festal Letter* of 587 (ll. 75-174). As the same Gregory advises in his *Refutation of Eunomius*, Peter will not answer Damian's insults with insults but investigate the force of his arguments (ll. 175-213). Actually Peter's retort is purely a formal one. Damian, he says, did not read Gregory's book but borrowed the text from the *Syndocticon* (ll. 213-223). Damian has criticized Peter because he wrote that the quotation was taken from the *first* book of the *Against Eunomius*, whereas it belongs in fact to the *third* book. But Peter proves with quotations from Severus' *Against Felicissimus* and the *Annotations* Severus wrote with his own hand, that not he but Damian is mistaken; he sets down the right numbering of Gregory's ten books (ll. 223-406) and, describing their origin, as did Severus in the 101st *Hypomnesticon to Caesaria*, he indicates the reason for Damian's error (ll. 407-484). Damian's mistake in non-doctrinal matters must, as Gregory of Nyssa writes in his *Refutation of Eunomius*, inspire mistrust of his expositions of patristic doctrines (ll. 484-500).

## SIGLA

A London, British Library, Add. 7191
B London, British Library, Add. 14603
C Vatican Library, Syriac Manuscript 107
D Vatican Library, Syriac Manuscript 108

Flor. I (florilegium on the Trinity):
W London, British Library, Add. 12155, fols. 2va-32va
X London, British Library, Add. 14532, fols. 94vb-133va
Y London, British Library, Add. 14533, fols. 73ra-89rb
Z London, British Library, Add. 14538, fols. 119v-138v

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 (see, for example, p. 81).

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ.

## [ܡܩܠܤ ܥ – ܐ ܡܩܠܤ]

## * CHAPTERS OF A HALF OF THE THIRD BOOK AGAINST DAMIAN.

*Chapter 1*

Concerning the fact that although already in the examination of the difference between names and things there has been a by no means perfunctory investigation of properties and hypostases, nevertheless there will now be a more careful examination as to whether, as the author holds, the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are ingeneracy, generacy and procession. For it was this he ought to prove clearly and not what he repeats vainly everywhere for deception and proves, as if it were dubious: that the hypostases are named properties.

*Chapter 2*

Rebuttal of statements devised by him against the fathers wherein he says that it is hazardous not to profess the characteristic properties viewed in the common substance as hypostases. And examination of the beginning of the strong, as he supposes, proof in his *Many-lined Letter*, where he also shows himself annoyed because at the start we did not write to him by way of dispute but peaceat fully called his attention to points we were in doubt over. And proof drawn from statements of the fathers that only the modest can bear rebuttals in a peaceful manner.

*Chapter 3*

That * this distinguished man wrests the truth by affirming that it is impossible to depart from orthodoxy when censuring polytheists for transgressing divine doctrines, and a clear rebuttal of this from the doctors. And again, a manifest demonstration that we were obliged to criticize him not because he wrote against polytheists but because he leaned towards Jewish atheism.



## * فصلاء العلم المحرمة الملة المحل : المحلا

B. f. 1va

ح ... على المرء من حيث ما هو حيوان العقل ومعلوم العقل ومعقول ... ومن أجل هذا جعل أيضا حكماء ... : ومن هنا فصل أيضا حكماء ... :

30 *Chapter 4*

Investigations of testimonies which have been put forward by him without examination to confirm his impure doctrines. And *exposé* of the old disagreement between Latins and Easterns over the terms 'substance', 'hypostasis' and 'prosopon' and upon the
35 wise economy of the fathers who called the hypostases 'properties'. From whom we have learned not to dispute with those who, in simple fashion, have called the hypostases 'properties' without impiously taking the hypostases for characteristic properties; although we by no means consider the characteristic properties, *qua*
40 characteristic properties, to be imperfect but consider them to be perfect and, as the fathers saw fit, call the hypostases 'properties'.

*Chapter 5*

Concerning the fact that when he thinks of * the hypostases as the properties of the hypostases, viz. ingeneracy, generacy and
45 procession, and was required to prove this by clear statements from the divinely inspired fathers, this excellent fellow vainly goes round and investigates the writings of the doctors. Rightly deprived of any true defence, he puts forward, without examination and without understanding or distinguishing them, all the
50 unclear and obscure texts he can where mention is made of properties. This is why he tries also to remove by stealth certain things he had previously put in his writing and reveals himself plainly as an agent of sacrilege, bringing on his own head charges of committing illegal acts of this kind in addition to heresy.

55 *Chapter 6*

Concerning the fact that he did not venture otherwise upon such attacks until he had judged fit to accuse us too of being forgers when we published his exact words, in the same way that Julian – who in many things was his teacher and master – accused our
60 God-clad father Severus in his *Additions*.



1 ܐܬܝܕܥ ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܘܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܟܬܒܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܐ
ܐܬܠܦܢܘ ܟܬܒܬ ܟܬܒܘܬܝ ܒܪܡ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܠ
ܥܕܬܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܬܪܝܙ ܕܟ ܒܥܝܕ ܬܐܘܕܟܪܐ ܕܐܬܬܝܡܐ ܀
ܟܠ ܡܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܐܒܝܘܢܐ. ܘܟܠ
ܟܬܒܬܐ ܫܠܝܚܬܐ ܕܐܬܬܝܡܐ ܀ ܦܘܠ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ
ܐܬܐܡܪ ܟܬܒ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܬܪܥܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠ ܬܐ
ܕܐܬܬܝܡܐ ܟܬܒ. ܕܐ ܠܟ ܟܬܒܬ : ܘܠܐ ܫܐܪ ܟܠ
ܐܟܠܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܐܢ ܟܬ ܐܢ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ
ܐܟܬܒܬ ܐܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟܬ
ܟܬ ܟܬ 

*Chapter 7*

Examination of Saint Severus' statement in which he says that substance is indicative of the community but hypostasis of the property. And demonstration of the fact that in his aim of utterly concealing the truth and so avoiding rebuttals, the author avoids saying where the majority of the proof-texts, he puts forward, came from, whereas the holy fathers for each proof-text proclaim clearly not only the author of the work but also the themes of the writings, and thereby make the truth manifest.

*Chapter 8*

Concerning the fact that in attempting to prove from the above-mentioned statement by our father Severus that the hypostasis is the characteristic property, because the doctor said that the hypostasis indicates the property, the excellent fellow is plainly refuted on the ground that he understands indicator and indicated, characterizer and characterized, signifier and signified as being throughout the same thing. And sufficient examination of the fathers' words on this point; from which it is again demonstrated that it is highly impious, as well as senseless, to profess * the characteristic properties of the substance as substance.

*Chapter 9*

Concerning the fact that it is impossible, even in the case of creatures, to profess either the characteristic properties of the substance, or those of the hypostases, as being substances or hypostases. And clear demonstration which proves that we do not, by refusing to think of the characteristic properties of the hypostases as hypostases, profess an accident or something imperfect in the Holy Trinity; whereas those who define the hypostases as ingeneracy, generacy and procession are obliged to think of the hypostases as imperfect, or, rather, to deny them completely.



ولكن نعترف لها قائلين.

65 : لا لان ما في ذاته فلم يتمكن المتكلم بأسره : لان كل ما في الجوهر مشترك

وكل ما يجيء كلمة الجوهر على المشترك لذاته : وكذلك

الأقنوم مشترك بأسره : لان هو الذي يجيء من الجوهر قائلين :

70 الجوهر هو الجوهر. ومن الجنس هو الجنس : ومن الجوهر هو الجوهر. ومن الجنس هو الجنس. ومن الجوهر هو الجوهر. وكل ما يجيء كلمة الجوهر على المشترك لذاته

قيل مرتين. الجنس هذا جوهر : لان هو الجنس

لذاته * جوهر لان يجيء جوهر : فهو أيضا f.27va

بسيط بذاته هو.

لا لان الأقنوم لا يمكن جوهر : لان الذاتية جوهر

75 لان يجيء : مع هذا المشترك يجيء مع المشترك فان

يجعلون الذاتية جوهر الجنس : لان هو الذي جوهر : لان

يجب على الذاتية جوهر المشترك الذاتي للمشترك :

لانه مع هذا لم يجعل لا الذاتية بالذاتية

جوهر : مثل هذا لان الذاتية بالذاتية

80 بالعرضية جوهر للمشترك جوهر : لان يجعل

الذاتي للمشترك : مثل الذي لان يجعل

جوهر.

لا لان الله في ذاته فلم يتمكن المتكلم بأسره :

95 acterizers are the same things as the characterized, and signifiers and indicators as the objects signified and indicated) that the teachers of mysteries said that substance signifies the Godhead's nature whereas Godhead * is indicative of the substance and that the hypostasis characterizes a single substrate and similar things.

100 And refutation of the facile sophism whereby this cunning fellow attempts to argue that those who do not consider the characteristic properties of hypostases as being hypostases are bound to profess hypostases of hypostases, because wise Severus said that the hypostasis characterizes a single substrate.

105 *Chapter 11*

Clear demonstration which lucidly makes known by many means that it was in teaching people who were mistaken as to the meanings of terms, that the God-clad fathers declared that substance indicates the Godhead's nature and Godhead signifies the

110 substance, and that hypostasis is characteristic of a single substrate etc.

125 *Chapter 13*

Concerning the question how we are to conceive of the natural properties in the hypostases and again those of the hypostases in the substance without our admitting either the confusion of



85 ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܫܡܥ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܒܥܝ ܠܡ ܒܥܝ

the hypostases or the division of the substance. And that if, as the author sees fit, the characteristic properties of the prosopa are the hypostases of the Holy Trinity, illustrious Basil and Saint Severus plainly appear to contradict each other; the one saying that the characteristic properties of the hypostases do not participate in, * and do not accord with, the community of the substance, and again, that it is not ingeneracy but ingenerate beauty which is viewed in the generate; but the other writing that each hypostasis, through the community of the substance, has absence of difference and total likeness with respect to the consubstantial hypostases, and, on account of the total equality of the community, the others too, who participate in the very same substance, are seen and known in each hypostasis. And close examination of these matters.

*Chapter 14*

Clear demonstration whereby it will be plainly recognized that even the author's supposedly strong proofs are nothing but old-wives' tales. And examination of statements by Gregory the Theologian, which he puts forward, which are of no help at all to him in establishing his absurd and despicable doctrines.

*Chapter 15*

Concerning the fact that, having said in his *Many-lined Letter* that the term 'property' is unambiguous, a little later, forgetting himself, so to say, he declared that the term 'hypostasis' is more accurate than the term 'property'. And due examination of this point. And subsequently quotation of proof-texts from Gregory the Theologian, who proves that he by no means proposed, as the author falsely accuses him of doing, the generation of the Son as a hypostasis when he says: 'But if you do not investigate



A, f. 42ra

whether one should speak of the Son's generation or hypostasis etc.'

160 *Chapter 16*

Concerning the fact that in attempting to prove by texts he quotes from Saints Amphilochius, Damasus and John of Jerusalem that the characteristic properties of the hypostases are hypostases, he shows himself plainly to be falsifying truth and incapable of
165 disclosing any valid defence at all for his absurd doctrines from what the doctors said. For, by simply denominating the hypostases 'properties', they did not at the same time define them as being ingeneracy, generacy and procession.

*Chapter 17*

170 Examination of the testimonies from Saint Basil on which this excellent fellow prides himself as perfectly proving that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are either some sort of collections of properties or are ingeneracy, generacy and procession. And rebuttal of the aspersion on the doctor from many brilliant and
175 divinely inspired words of his.

*Chapter 18*

Concerning the fact that since hypostasis is indicative of subsisting which is the same as being and existing, whereas * ingeneracy discloses only the mode of being of the substrate, ingeneracy
180 cannot be the Father's hypostasis. But this is proved again also from the fact that wise Basil said that the Father possesses his



ع ← لما كان حد تلك قلة الجنس : الماهية مرحبا
ن الجنس ومن الجنس الجوهر جنس : لضحك
جوهر ما هو ؛ هو حد يقع لك نوع مرة
الماهية : هو لك مرتبة ولدة ومعنى.
155 وجوهر الجوهر الجوهر ؛ هي تلك قلة
ملائكة ليست ولدة هي مرة.

ع لما كان حد الجنس هي جوهر مرة، الجسم :
ف، م، ح، مرة ف، مرة، مرة، وكذا : لك
لدة * ليس ف، مرة، الجوهر حلة، مرة، ف، الصح f.42rb
160 مرة جوهر ؛ لك هي لك لدة ولدة مرة
الجوهر ومرة. ولكن هي مرة ف، مرة، الجوهر

AB

Line 142: ليس, B: ليست.
Line 143: جوهرية, A: جوهرية (cf. ch. 16, lines 2, 14, 64), B: جوهرية.
Line 144: جوهرية, A: جوهرية. مرة, A: مرة.
Line 147: لجلية, B: لتلية.
Line 156: ولدة, B: ولدة.
Line 159: ليس, B om.

fatherhood co-extensively with his eternity and that it is not ingeneracy but ingenerate beauty that is perceived in the offspring; along with this also that generation is not a denial of the ingeneracy of God.

*Chapter 19*

Examination of Saint Gregory of Nyssa's statement (parts of which we quoted in our *Joint Confession and Agreement* concerning the present affair) which the good Damian has shown he attacked in that previously mentioned *Festal Epistle*. And rebuttal of the same ludicrous blather against us in the same *Festal Epistle*, whereby he reveals himself to be an imitator of women of ill-fame by publicizing his revilings against us and as exceedingly ignorant in accusing us of ignorance because, he says, we did not know from what book we had quoted Saint Gregory's testimony.

*Chapter 20*

Concerning the fact that in having said that the begotten is not the same as generacy, we, so this admirable fellow says, were ignorant of the point of importance in it. Therefore it will also be shown that he is not blathering against us but plainly against Saint Gregory, who said this. For the teacher of mysteries did not intend to prove anything else in his numerous works against Eunomius but that generacy and the begotten are different things, as his divinely inspired words themselves will bear witness. Moreover by making an absurd application to the Holy Trinity of the exam-



ملاحظة دقيقة : لأن الخطأ قد حدث هنا
لم لكن بالضبط : لكن بالحري
عوقب لكن هذا أيضا. لأنه قد
لأنه قد أن يرى خطأه لم للخطأ
ولادة لكن هذا أيضا. لأنه قد
ولادة.

ك لا لأن بالحري لكن هذا أيضا، هذا لأنه
ملاحظة : بالحري لأنه هذا : لكن قد
هذا. لأن بالحري لأنه هذا في لصحة
ه، لأنه. ولكن هذا لأنه بصحة لأنه هذا في لصحة
حقه : لأنه لا لصحة قد لأنه هذا من
لأنه بالحري. لكن حتى أيضا بالحري بالحري لأنه
لأنه. لأنه بالحري هذا لأنه بالحري لأنه
لم لصحة لحقه بالحري : بالحري لأنه ه،
بالحري : بالحري هذا لأنه : بالحري لأنه
قال لأنه لصحة في بالحري هذا. لأنه قد لأنه

ك حتى لأنه لأنه لأنه لأنه لأنه :
لأنه بحق حتى هذا لأنه لأنه بالحري
لأنه بالحرية بأنه لأنه. ه، لأنه في، لأنه
في لأنه حتى ه، لأنه بالحري بالحري لأنه.
بحقه بالحري لأنه لأنه بالحري لصحة في
بالحري. لأنه بالحري بحقه بالحري لأنه
بالحري : حتى، لأنه بالحري : بالحري هذا
لحقه بالحري لأنه لأنه : بالحري هذا في
لأنه بالحري لأنه بالحري لأنه لأنه بالحري

AB

Line 162: حتى، B: حتى.
Line 175: بالحري، B: بالحري.
Line 183: لأنه بالحري، B: لحقه بالحري.
Line 185: لأنه، B: لأنه.

ple of accidents he covertly attacks Saint Gregory for not, as he says, having taken aright the example of man and generacy in relation to the divine mystery.

*Chapter 21*

Examination of the author's arguments whence it is proved that it is not we, as he slanderously alleges, who belittle the divine generation but, rather, he, by eradicating the Son's hypostasis and merely substituting for it divine generacy. And again he is clearly rebutted for declaring without examination and with exceeding ignorance that we, by not acknowledging the characteristic properties to be hypostases, maltreat the properties because we term them, as he says, non-subsisting marks and make them appellations bereft of realities, whereas we favour * the hypostases by considering them to be substances; and he shows himself a complete ignoramus since he did not have any presentiment of the ruin into which his audacious slanders plunge him.



ملاحظة على منهج الطبيعيين الحديث

إن الغرض الأساسي من هذا البحث هو تقديم نظرة عامة على المنهج الذي يستخدمه الطبيعيون المعاصرون في دراستهم للظواهر الطبيعية. وسنركز بشكل خاص على الطريقة التي يتعاملون بها مع البيانات التجريبية، وكيفية صياغتهم للفرضيات، ومعايير قبولهم أو رفضهم للنظريات العلمية.

*Chapter 22*

Concerning the fact that in making the ignorant ruling that if ingeneracy, generacy and procession are not spiritual, perfect and individually subsisting properties, ingeneracy, generacy and procession must be imperfect, he is manifestly convicted of making all things which differ from one another in some respect entirely dissimilar to one another in any respect and conversely those which resemble one another in some respect not different from one another in any respect. And again by saying that it is impossible for things which subsist (i.e. subsist individually) to be characterized by what do not subsist individually and by showing thereby

AB

Line 186: ܐܝܬ̈ܘܬܐ, B om.
Line 191: ܕܝܢ, B: ܕܝܢܝ ܗܝ.
Line 195: ܫܘ̈ܐ, B: ܫܘ̈ܝ ܗܝ.

that he thinks the characterized and the characterizers are the same, he is clearly found guilty of thinking that the divine substance and the characteristic properties of the Godhead are the same thing. And that in having to give proofs of these and suchlike things, he is reduced to the absurd device of proving that God is not defective. And again by saying that if the characteristic properties of the hypostases are perfect and there is no difference between perfect and perfect *qua* perfection, the hypostases and their characteristic properties must be the same, he is convicted of supposing all the latter to be mutually identical: which is both blasphemy and the height of lunacy.

*Chapter 23*

Restatement and clear rebuttal of the words already previously quoted from the *Festal Epistle*, where this wise fellow says that because we do not think the characteristic properties of the hypostases are hypostases, by making the properties, we maltreat the properties, by making them, as he says, unsubsisting marks and appellations bereft of realities, and that we favour the hypostases by defining them, as he slanderously says, as substances. And examination of the Theologian's statements which proves that the master of mysteries uses the term 'properties' in different senses (viz. of the hypostases and of the characteristic properties) and that the writer uses the homonymity of natural properties and hypostases to accuse us falsely of making the properties of the hypostases imperfect by this * homonymity. Moreover he is also plainly convicted of completely negating the hypostases and thereby of thinking the properties and names of the hypostases to be mere names which is, on the contrary, what he falsely accuses us of thinking.



ولمحلو : مصلا هؤم حنسم ا.هنو حد هنو حصتا
ا.مكحمنو : ولم ا.حكمنمو مصمو. حكمؤا لكمكمك :
ا.هنو حد هِ، حكؤاكم ا.مكمؤه عمصم مكمكم
ماكؤتمكم حنؤنمكم ا.مكمكمكم. ماحد ؤاد هسم لم
ا.هؤنمكم ا.ملم ماهنم ا.ؤتِ لمم ولل : حكمصحكم
عدؤم ؤاه ا.نسم : ا.لم نصؤم مكمكمو، مكمم. هنح
ا.م مدا. مهتا ا.ك هِ هِن ا.ماؤتمكم حنؤنمكم ا.مسؤتِم
حنؤتلمكم مكمكمو : لحمحتلم ا.م لنمك حنحتلم حه
حمؤم ا.عنحتلم ولم ما. عنولمكم مكمك : هِ مكمسم
هِنو حد هِنو مكمكمو مسؤتِم : ماؤتمكم
حنؤنمكم ا.ملمو : حكمحمم : ا.دلمو ملم ا.مكمكمو :
هِم حد هِم لتؤا.ؤم حهِتا. هِ، ا.مكم ا.ماهمكو ماسنمكم
ا.مؤمكم مكمكمو.

AB

Line 230: مصؤم, B: مصؤم.

*Chapter 24*

Concerning the fact that by decreeing in an ill-considered way and without proof that if a hypostasis is not a characteristic property, it is a proper Godhead, he resembles someone who says that if a man is not a horse he is an angel. And, again, by ignorantly alleging against us what was said by the fathers against those who declared that the Son was an activity, he also attempts to argue that ingeneracy cannot subsist unless it is a hypostasis; and by supposing that what does not subsist does not exist and that what subsists must subsist individually, he is convicted either of thinking that the properties of the divine substance subsist properly and individually or of making them non-existent.

*Chapter 25*

Concerning the fact that the patriarch, when he compared what exists and subsists with what does not subsist or does not exist, said the divine generacy subsists because it truly exists but not that it subsists individually. And close examination of the statement of our God-clad father Severus where he calls the generacy 'subsistent', without, though, defining it as a hypostasis, as is evident from his abundant teaching.

* OF PETER, ARCHBISHOP OF ANTIOCH, THE LATTER HALF OF THE THIRD BOOK AGAINST DAMIAN.

* *Chapter 26*

Concerning the fact that since the author promised to state Saint Gregory of Nyssa's and impious Eunomius' view of generacy and



حد حل ددا كلا مكمد كمحد كلا ددا

كمحمحمد كمحلدا حلا ددمدا : فعف كمحلدمحمد

نكدا .،مدهمد كمحلدا كمحدلد : كمحدد ،مدهمد

لهدا ددمدا : نكد ددا كمحدد مدهمد لا كمحدد ،حنمد :

حلم مدهمد حلا كمحدد ،مدهمد كمحلحدا ،ه كمحدد

لاحدا : كمحد كمحمد حد ددا حلم مدكمحد لا

كمحمحد : كمحد لحدم مدهمد كمحلددحدا حلم

حد : كمحمحد لا مدهمد كمحدد حلا ددمدا : ددهدا

حل ،ش حلا ددا حمحمد لا ددمد مدهمد : مدهمد كمحمحد لا

مدهدا كمحمحدا ،ش : لهد ،ددا كمحمد لا كمحمد لا

كمحلحدا كمحمحدا ددمحمد : كمحمد ددمحمد حد حلم

حمحلم حمحمحد مدكمحدا مد : كمحلمد كمحددا

.حمحمد لا مدهمد مد : حمحمد

حد حل ددا مد كمحمد لا ،ش حلا ددا مد كمحمد لا ددمدا : مدهمد لا ددمد مدهمد : مدهمد كمحمحد لا مدهدا كمحمحدا ددمحمد : كمحمد ددمحمد حد حلم حمحلم حمحمحد مدكمحدا مد : كمحلمد كمحددا .حمحمد لا مدهمد مد : حمحمد

حه حل ددا كلا مكمد كمحد كلا ددا * D, f. 3va

كمحمحمد كمحلدا حلا ددمدا : فعف كمحلدمحمد

.كمحدا

حه حل ددا * A, f. 42vb

AB up to l. 262 D from l. 263 on

Line 254: مكمدا, B om.

Line 260: كمحد, B: كمحد.

Line 266: حه, D: كمحد حمحمد مدهمد.

the begotten and put forward empty and idle blathering, we ourselves ought, for the full assurance of readers, to do that clearly and to show by a full examination and demonstration that the doctor proffered the illustration concerning generacy and that which exists by generation with a view to showing that property and hypostasis are different things.

*Chapter 27*

Resumption and detailed explanation of every word of our *Joint Confession and Agreement* which was drawn up by us on the basis of statements by Saint Gregory of Nyssa; also of intervening words which were left out then for the sake of brevity. And refutation of points on which this author slandered us. And examination which shows * that Eunomius, by the substance he called 'begotten' meant nothing else but the hypostasis of the Son. Again, presentation of various statements of the author whereby the wretched and ludicrous folly of his chatter will be known more clearly. For though he was under obligation to prove, as he promised, that the offspring is the same thing as generacy, he shamelessly passed on to showing that the divine generation must not be subjected to notions of passibility and time.

*Chapter 28*

Concerning the fact that in ignorantly stating that the generation of God is a hypostasis because it is non-temporal and free from division and separation, he is convicted of thinking the characteristic properties of the divine substance also to be substances, because they too are non-temporal and exist without division and separation from the Godhead; and again, too, that though he



ح

f.43ra

ط

AD up to ܠܟ (l. 288)

Line 277: ܗܦܟ, D: ܗܡܟ.
Line 279: ܟܬܒܬܐ, D: ܟܬܒܬܐ ܕܐ.
Line 286: ܐܟ, D: ܐܟ.

proposed to write, in the *Festal Letters* mentioned, against what we said in our *Joint Confession*, he omitted all the patristic statements which we there quoted against his impiety and their examination, and he is seen to be manipulating the truth; and specially when various things left out by him are here set down and many statements by Cyril are examined.

*Chapter 29*

Concerning the fact that the author, in mischievously attacking the truth, carefully leaves out those statements which are clear and rebut plainly his wrong belief, and quotes any rare and obscure statement he finds because of its having some seeming plausibility for confirming his abominable heresies; which was also the practice of all the ancient promoters of absurd heresies. He is convicted of imitating them by having quoted also with very mischievous design Saint Cyril's statement that 'divine generacy is preserved in its own hypostasis', though without gaining therefrom any advantage in the defence of his false view.

*Chapter 30*

Rebuttal of the author's brazen false explanation when he attempts to prove that Saint Cyril in declaring that ingeneracy is not the Father's hypostasis meant by 'hypostasis' the common substance. And examination of hypostasis understood, according to him, as substance, whereby it is shown that in reality he thinks there is only one hypostasis of Father, Son and Holy Ghost but names four hypostases; and that in carefully teaching * the difference between the hypostasis and the common substance Saint Cyril shows that he does not at all interpret, as he is falsely accused of doing, God the Father's hypostasis as the common substance.



ܕܚܕܝܬܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ : ܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܬܒ
ܕܦܘܠܝ ܕܐ ܕܟܐ ܕܟܐ ܕܚܕܡ : ܐܦ ܒܗ ܕܡܫܬ
ܒܝܢ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܬ
ܐܦ ܒܗ ܕܡܫܬ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܘܠܐ ܬܠܬ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ
ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗ ܚܕ ܒܬܠܬ ܐܢܘܢ̈ ܘܒܬܠܬ ܐܢܘܢ̈ ܐܠܗ ܚܕ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܕܐܓܪܬ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܚ̈ܬ ܠܟ
ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܕܐܓܪܬ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܚ̈ܬ ܠܟ
ܕܐܝ ܐܦ ܒܗ ܕܡܫܬ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܬܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ
ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܘܠܐ ܬܠܬ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ
ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗ ܚܕ ܒܬܠܬ ܐܢܘܢ̈ ܘܒܬܠܬ ܐܢܘܢ̈ ܐܠܗ ܚܕ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܕܐܓܪܬ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܚ̈ܬ ܠܟ
ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܕܐܓܪܬ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܚ̈ܬ ܠܟ

*Chapter 31*

After investigation of the said *Festals* an examination which proves that a hypostasis is neither a single characteristic property nor a collection of properties but the substrate, it being understood that the characteristic properties appear on it. And investigation of the statement of our father Severus who says: 'And we must recognize, indeed, another thing: that fatherhood or ingeneracy, or generacy or procession are not empty names and relationships bereft of realities'; whereby this cunning fellow, on being obliged to prove clearly how, by negating the hypostases because he thinks they are characteristic properties, he does not make them mere properties, has, in his mischievious design, reached the point of teaching what absurdities a man who thinks them mere properties falls into. And again, on being required to prove that the fatherhood or ingeneracy existing in the Godhead is God the Father, he fraudulently declares, 'I do not in this way call the fatherhood God the Father'.

*Chapter 32*

Concerning the fact that the author, by sometimes saying that God the Father is not only the hypostasis of the Father but is both participant and participated (i.e. is both a hypostasis and the substance which comprehends the hypostases) and sometimes that the fatherhood or ingeneracy existing in the Godhead is God the Father, is convicted of thinking things which are mutually inconsistent and by each of them teaching very impious things.

*Chapter 33*

Concerning the fact that by speaking of his substantial and unsubstantial hypostasis he has ended up by teaching very absurd and crazy things. For either he calls it substantial and according to his argument it is found to be both hypostasis and substance comprehending the hypostases: for because he thinks of God the Father as participant and participated he defines him, as he says, as a substantial hypostasis; or, again, he will call the hypostasis

375 unsubstantial, and it will plainly be found to be non-existent; for the divinely-inspired teachers have said that what is not substantial is non-existent.

*Chapter 35*

Concerning the fact that it was with a view to proving, that each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity is also a characteristic property and is named God, substance and nature not in the full sense 395 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 the 400 full sense and truly belongs to each of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity: a point which, as if he were refuting impiety, he forced, to pervert the words of true religion and draw them towards his evil doctrine.

*Chapter 34*

Concerning the fact that God the Father (and clearly God the Son and Word also), is not, as this good fellow supposes, partici- 380 pant and participated i.e. * hypostasis and substance comprehending hypostases, but one only hypostasis, as will be proved from the quoted statements of theologians. For if God the Father is both participant and participated, God the Word accordingly too 385 will be both participant and participated, and it will be found in consequence that the whole Godhead or Holy Trinity was incarnate – to think which is complete lunacy and impiety. But if God the Word is one only hypostasis, of necessity God the Father is also one only hypostasis and the author's argument therefrom is



proved empty.

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سحكم ٣٤ مننحكم وحلمذ سلهوم، : وهنمكم سلهنه،
سحكم ذاذ مننحكم وحلمذ سلهوم، : وهنمكم سلهنه،
سحكم ٣٤

*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.

*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 not think of each hypostasis of the Holy Trinity as God in the full sense and truly 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.

*Chapter 38*

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 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.



*Chapter 39*

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.

*Chapter 40*

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 not think of each hypostasis of the Holy Trinity as God in the full sense and truly 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.

*Chapter 41*

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 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.

*Chapter 39*

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 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 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.

*Chapter 40*

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 hypostases (which he understands as characteristic properties) and the divine substance are different things. For how can he consider the hypostases to be divine substance and nature, in accordance with the teaching of the fathers, when he thinks ingeneracy, generacy and procession are the hypostases? Consequently when 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.

*Chapter 41*

Examination of that 'one' said by him in the full sense from whom, as he blasphemously says, we come to those in it in some order when descending to creation. For it will be shown that also when he speaks of the Holy Trinity he professes the common substance (which according to his argument is different from the



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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 here too he places the 'one' in the full sense somewhere above but abases the hypostases to another humbler rank.

*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 and also their characteristic properties as mere appellations, he is clearly proved by these ignorant claims, to be saying that the divine substance, viewed in the hypostases, is an accident; and again, contrariwise, that the hypostases existing in the one substance of the Godhead, are accidents.

*Chapter 43*

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 the divine nature are different things. And again, wanting to claim that the divine nature is something different from the three hypostases because it is viewed 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 viewed in three hypostases 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 viewed in Father, Son and Holy Ghost.



ܟܠܗܘ ܒܝܢܗܝܢ ܒܐܠܗܘܬ ܘܒ ܡܢܝܢ ܩܢܘܡ : ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܒܬܪܟܝܒܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܢܘܡ̈ܐ : ܐܠܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܕ ܡܐܬ : ܠܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܟܢܐ ܗܪ ܒܗܢ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܬ ܩܢܘܡ̈ܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ ܐܡܪ : ܕܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܐܚܕ ܡܐܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܒܬܪܟܝܒܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܢܘܡ̈ܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ ܐܡܪ : ܕܐܠܗ ܐܝ

495 *Chapter 44*

Concerning the fact that in attempting to claim, from the fact that one hypostasis is not the same as the substance compre-hending the hypostases, that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are one thing and the divine substance another thing, he is nec-essarily 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 com-mon substance and the hypostases in the lapsed into many absurdities, as the examination itself clearly reveals too.

510 *Chapter 45*

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 other than the substance of the Godhead from the fact that the master of mysteries declared 'ingeneracy and generacy are some-thing 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.

*Chapter 46*

520 Concerning the fact that by misinterpretation and falsification of this same patristic text and by his saying 'the hypostases in their own 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.



470 ولا اندا حنهكم اهي هٍ. ولمه هِن دا هِن بعلهنه: ٭ ٭ ٭
ما مننكم : لكمنهكم بعسناهكم انمننكم ليمنا :
انحتم بعزبه بعلهنه ٭ مننكم انظلمنهكم ماعكم :
ولهانه : انسعت لحمليمه حنهحم ولهكمنانم
دسزم : انملم انعقتحلم لمعنه ٭ بعزانسه. دا
لكبعلم هِ انمه هِن دا هِن بعلهنه، لم ما هِ هلهكم
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ابه ننه حنهكم انمنم بعنهكم ننعلم انكلمنهكم
هلهكم مننكم بعلهنه ٭ بعزنه. نانم بعزنم ابه : هِ
هِ. انحكمنهكم ابكنم بعلهنه ٭ مننكم : نهلنه
حمننكم بعنهكم : انحتم بعزبه لمننكم : ننحتم
بعزبه لكمنهكم : حبعتانهكم هكتبعكم نهل : بعتلم
انعم هِن حنهكم لكبعلم حنننم.

AD from انمه انه (l. 476) on

Line 479: انمنه, D: انمن.

Lines 487–488: بعزبه بعزبه, D trsp.

525 *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 in which they are viewed is another thing, that the substance of the Godhead is one thing and the 530 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 535 immediately, expressly teach that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the divine substance.

*Chapter 48*

Concerning the fact that, considering the patristic tradition more authoritative than our own expression and understanding, (as the 540 doctors of the Church frequently testify to us) we avoid 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 545 by contrariwise professing the Father, Son and Holy Ghost as 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.



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حل ١٦٦ حنهم ١٦٦٦٦٦ ٦٦٦٦٦ ٦٦٦٦٦ 

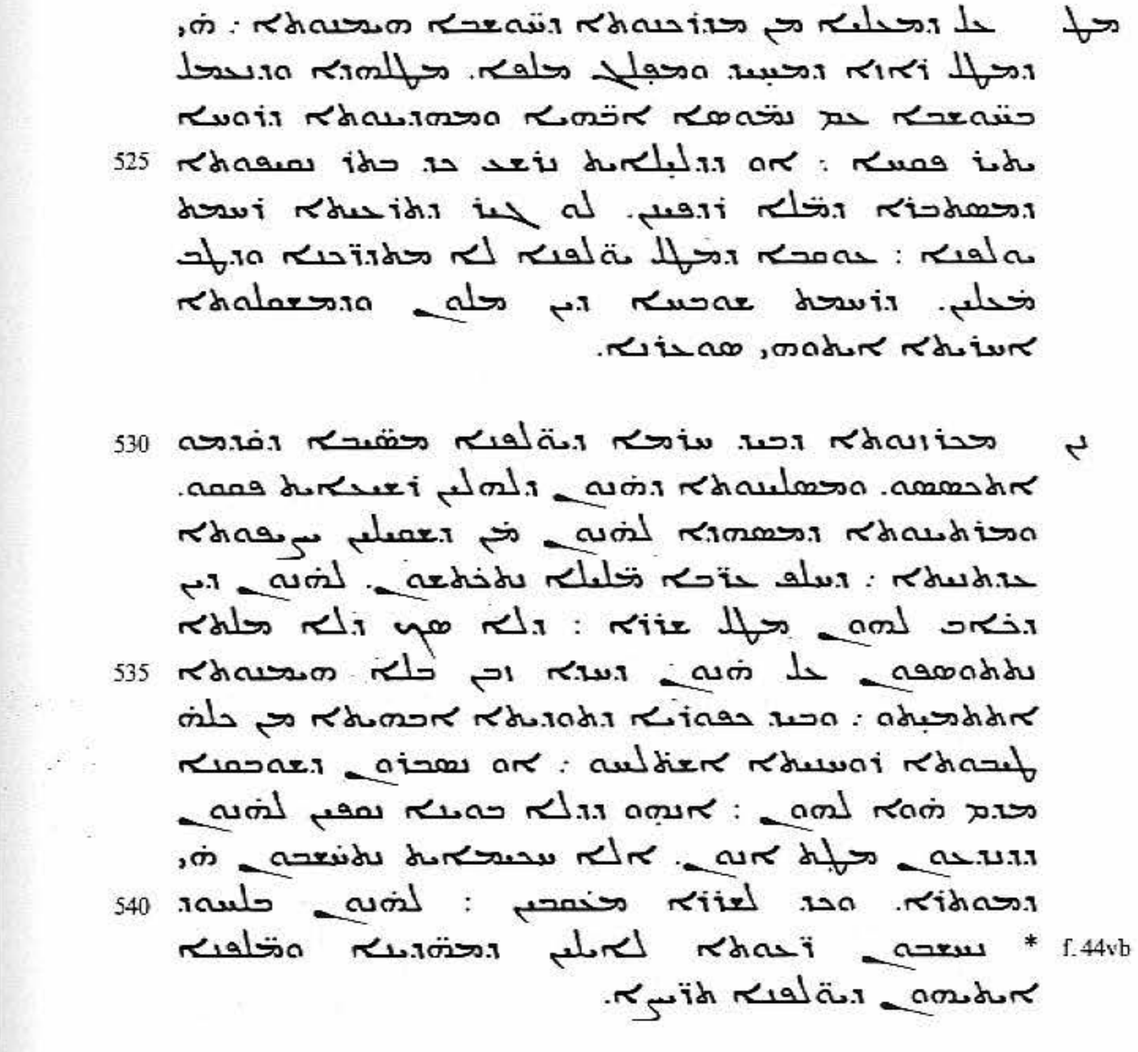
*Chapter 49*

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.

*Chapter 50*

Anathematization of the previously rebutted detestable teachings. And repudiation of those who blather them impiously. 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.





AD

Line 526: ܕܐܬܝ, D: ܕܐܬ.

Lines 530-531: ܡܫܬܟܚ ܗܘܝܢ, D: ܡܫܬܟܚ.

Line 542: ܐܡܝܢ, a scribal note in D adds: ܣܘܦ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܚܡܫܝܢ. *End of the fifty chapters.*

*The Third Book against Damian by Saint Peter, patriarch of Antioch.*

*Chapter 1*

*Concerning the fact that although already in the examination of the difference between names and things there has been a by no means perfunctory investigation of properties and hypostases, nevertheless there will now be a more careful examination as to whether, as the author holds, the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are ingeneracy, generacy and procession. For it was this he ought to prove clearly and not what he repeats vainly everywhere for deception and proves, as if it were dubious: that the hypostases are named properties.*

Now it has, I think, been sufficiently proved already to right-minded people, as it was our necessary task to prove by the fathers' teaching, that the hypostases of the holy, adorable and consubstantial Trinity are by no means, as the excellent Damian falsely supposes, names and terms but, rather, full and properly existing realities; and to show in another essay that neither are they ingeneracy, generacy and procession (as, again, this author likes to think), we will examine and rebut the feebleness of the other absurdities of his teaching. We pray, indeed, that God the true Son of the true God, may, by the guidance of the Holy Ghost, direct our words towards the truth and may strip away falsehood

AB

Line 1: At the top of fol. 5v B reads as follows: ܬܪܝܢ ܡܐܡܪ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܦ ܠܕܡܝܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܣܝܡ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟ. *Second volume of Saint Peter of Antioch against Damian of Alexandria* and on the first line of f. 5va: ܬܠܬܐ ܡܐܡܪ. *Third book.*

Line 4: ܕܐܡܪ, B: ܕܐܡܪ.

from hypocrisy, so that as the correctness of the divine doctrines shines out in the minds of the hearers the Church of God may acquire its former glory.

Let us proceed, then, in due order to the other statements of the author, in which he attempts to prove that the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost are the same as the characteristic properties of the hypostases. * For seeing that he attempts by so many evil arguments to negate even their subsisting properly and individually, sometimes confessing them to be names and terms sometimes to be the characteristic properties of the prosopa, sometimes, again, to be subsisting as belonging with the substance, and in many places defining them as innate in the substance and viewed in it, by all this he is convicted of engaging in a proof that they are not hypostases at all. For the divinely inspired doctors of the Church never said anything like this about the hypostases, as will be revealed to all truth-loving readers by the very same patristic proof-texts quoted by him in support of his novel doctrines.

For he wrote in the ninth chapter of that notorious book as follows: However, seeing that the matter has been explained by the previous statements, let us quickly recall that it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance 'hypostases' and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert that they characterize

**41/60** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 14)



A, f. 45ra

AB flor. I from ܐܬܝ (l. 44) on

Line 26: ܟܬܒ, B: ܟܬܒ.

Line 30: ܐ ܐ, A: four lines erroneously written are erased by the scribe.

Line 47: ܟܝܢ (as ch. 2, line 19), cf. infra, line 105, ch. 2, line 33, ch. 3, line 219 (ܟܝ).

the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind about them. For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius, writing against heresies and saying: 'The term "hypostases" shall not disturb people, for the reason the Easterns say "hypostases" is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa'; and again: 'They have good grounds for denominating the properties of the prosopa "subsisting hypostases", as we said before, because the Holy Ghost also subsists'? And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea: 'For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property'? * Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis 'indicative of the property'.

Before the close examination of this, readers must know that no orthodox thinker disagrees with people who simply term the hypostases of the Holy Trinity 'properties'. For we find some of our God-clad fathers using this expression in relation to the hypostases, and especially GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN. For exam-

**48/50** Epiph. Const., *Panar.*, Haer. 73 (*PG* 42, 432-433; Holl, III, p. 288, 20-22) **50/52** Ibid. (*PG* 42, 433A; Holl, III, p. 288, 27-29) **54/58** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, loco non reperto **59/60** cf. supra, 58



AB flor. I up to l. 50

Line 48: ..., WY: ....

Line 51: ..., B: ....

Line 52: ..., A: ....

Line 54: ..., cf. ch. 3, line 226 and note.

Line 55: ..... ..., cf. ch. 5, line 197 and note.

Line 56: ..., B: ....

Lines 60-61: ..... ..., cf. ch. 3, lines 233-234 (..... ...) and note.

Line 67: ..., B: .... ..., A: ....

ple, at one point in the oration *On the Holy Ghost* he says: Thus do I stand on these matters and will stand and would have it so for everyone who loves me, that we should confess the Father as God, the Son as God, the Holy Ghost as God, three properties, one Godhead undivided in glory, honour, substance and sovereignty as a fairly recent God-clad saint philosophized. In the oration *On the Lights*, he said at one point: But when I say 'God', be illumined by one light 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. In the oration *Against the Arians* he says: We worship the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost; God the Father, God the Son and God (if you are not obdurate), the Holy Ghost; one nature in three spiritual, perfect properties subsisting of themselves, divided in number and undivided in Godhead.

But everybody educated in things divine will take issue with those who are at pains to innovate upon and falsify the orthodox doctrines of the Church and who dare to suppose the characteristic properties (I mean ingeneracy, generacy and procession) to be the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if this admirable fellow were really able to give proofs on these matters, correct and not twisted proofs, he ought not to produce for deception utterances by the doctors which no way assist his thesis, but instead such as clearly prove * that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the characteristic properties of the hypostases viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession.

**66/71** Greg. Naz., *Or. 31*, 28 (*PG* 36, 164CD; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 330)
**72/76** Greg. Naz., *Or. 39*, 11 (*PG* 36, 345C; *SChr.*, vol. 358, pp. 170-172)
**76/80** Greg. Naz., *Or. 33*, 16 (*PG* 36, 236A; *SChr.*, vol. 318, pp. 192-194)



AB flor. I from l. 76 to l. 81

Line 75: ܟܣܐܡܠܐ, B: ܟܣܝܐܡܠܐ.
Line 79: ܟܐܘܬܐ, WY: ܟܐܘܝܬ. ܡܬܟܬܒ, flor. I: ܡܬܟܬܒ.

That he defines ingeneracy, generacy and procession as the hypostases of the Holy Trinity is evident from his very words just set down, for he says: It is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance 'hypostases' and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert that they 'characterize' the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind about them. Notice he has decreed that it is hazardous not to reckon the characteristic properties of the prosopa and of the hypostases as not hypostases. Which, then, are the properties which characterize the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost? Is it not evident that they are fatherhood, sonship (i.e. ingeneracy and generacy) and procession? Listen to him, who writes more plainly in the *Many-lined Letter* to us what is here said timidly *sotto voce* as follows: For the Father, he says, being the Father and not the Son or the Holy Ghost has the unique indication of the fatherhood which is called his 'hypostasis' or 'property' without distinction. Likewise the Son, being the Son and not the Father or the Holy Ghost has the unique and incommunicable indication of the sonship, which is his hypostasis and property. Take the same view of the Holy Ghost's procession which indicates his existence without being the Father or the Son. Again, towards the conclusion of the same letter, he speaks as follows: For if you thought of the property only as being a hypostasis when it subsists in the substance and has reality in the community, but that property as being substantial which fully participates in the substance and is not the aggregate of substance and property, we shall say that this doctrine belongs to

**94/98** cf. supra, 42-47 **106/112** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **113/118** Ibid.



AB

Line 105: ܕܐ, cf. supra, line 47 (ܕܐܝ) and note.
Line 116: ܐܝܟ, B om.

your orthodox teaching and no * right-thinking man will dispute the fact. And again: Hence being led a little further towards the aim of the matter proposed to my humble self, I said that he who is glorified is not mere ingeneracy, generacy and procession, because the terms do not indicate the substance; no, it is the fullness of the preaching of the mystery that we reckon that these things are substantial: three perfect hypostases and three prosopa in the one substance of the Godhead.

That being thus established and it being clear that this excellent fellow thinks the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the characteristic properties of the prosopa (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession), we may rightly require him not to take refuge in arguments that are irrelevant to the dispute or occupy himself in profitless labours, attempting to prove by patristic proof-texts what are common points of agreement between us and him as if they were something grand and strange. No, let him show plainly and *expressis verbis* from the fathers' utterances that the hypostases are the characteristic properties of the prosopa. For as we have written elsewhere he has strenuously laid it down that nobody can indicate a word of his or syllable, thought, mode of discussion or logical deduction, which is not said *expressis verbis* by the holy fathers. Either, then, he should confirm from patristic teaching *expressis verbis* as he said, what has just been quoted from his writings; or, the readers are to understand that the arrogance of his statements is as idle and empty as his doctrines.

**119/124** Ibid. **135/137** cf. infra, 152-153



f. 45vb

AB flor. I from l. 138 on

Line 133: ...ܐ, B: ...ܐ.

Line 148: ..., WY: ..., XZ: ....

But it would be as well to quote a few of his words here as a reminder, words set down in what has previously been examined, so that the listener, seeing the grandeur of his promises and the feebleness of his proofs, may easily avoid the bedizened error and hasten, the more fervently, towards truth and correctness of doctrines. He wrote, then, in the *Many-lined Letter* I have mentioned, in the following fashion: Reverend brother, it has clearly been proved from this that our humble selves have not innovated so much as a jot or a tittle; no, we have drawn from the well of the fathers and brought therefrom * the pure water of their teaching. And after a few lines: Surely, therefore, nobody can indicate a word of ours or syllable, thought, mode of discussion or logical deduction, which is not gathered and gleaned from collecting the crumbs which fall from the loaf of doctrine. Let anyone, then, who will, show what things in our previous passages are not the *ipsissima verba* of the holy fathers, and not condemn us without reason with a pretence of charity.

You see the emptiness and vain glory! It has clearly been proved from this, he says, that our humble selves have not innovated so much as a jot or a tittle; and again: Surely nobody can show a word of ours or syllable, thought, mode of discussion or logical deduction, which is not gathered and gleaned from collecting the crumbs which fall from the loaf of doctrine. He says this in vain self-glorying, but we invite the more diligent brethren to read with special care the *Apology*, the

**148/151** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **151/157** Ibid. **158/160** cf. supra, 148-150 **160/163** cf. supra, 151-154



AB flor. I up to l. 173

Line 156: ܫܒܘܬܟ, W: ܫܒܘܬܟܟ.
Line 166: ܐܝܟ, B, flor. I: ܠܟܡ.
Line 169: ܢܦܠܢ, Y: ܢܦܠܝ.
Line 171: ܡܝ, flor. I: ܡܝ.
Line 176: ܐܝܟ, B: ܠܟܡ.

*Many-lined Pterophoria*, and all the rest of his apologies for apologies and investigate whether up till now he has been able to confirm in any way by the divinely inspired statements of the fathers a single one of those chapters of his we have criticized. For we should have liked, had time permitted and had it not gone well beyond the compass of the discussion, to quote the utter nonsense in all his apologies and demonstrate that he has been unable to prove from the fathers' teaching any of the matters criticized, as has been said, by us; and moreover *inter alia* thereby convince everyone of how, without investigation or understanding, he writes whatever he pleases, not discoursing on anything not looked at in a superficial manner. Because of its immoderate abundance, as I said, we now abstain from a task too lengthy for the present. However, in regard to what is now set down for examination, let us investigate and scrutinize it as far as possible, to see whether he has shown with any kind of proof at all that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are fatherhood and sonship



ר.ד. דמולידא אלוף כחה בתיא לך מלתמניא
אלידא אמיתיה : מכתלט כחה בתיא ר.אלה
בתיא מרא כאלכלא. בוד אלל פ. ר.אתא אלידא
ר.אלאנה אלמרא אלחיי לכתאלא ר.אזא יראלא
מז. מ בוללא ר.אלא פוט ר.אחי אלאיר.לט : כר. אילא
ר.אלאנה אלמרא אלחיי לכתאלא ר.אזא יראלא
לאמא אילא. מיבא מסא לאא אלט ר.אלא כלאא מסא :
אלט פולא לאא מ כאמאלא כלאא אילא מסאל :
לאמאא כאלכלא ר.אלאט כאה בתיא אילא מסאל לך יאמא
מיסא : ר.לא כתר אלט מ אלא ר.אחי אילא
ר.אלאכתיה אלאיר.ל : ר.אסא מ בולאלאא אכתאלא
אלאלחי. ובד אלא אילתאא בכר. אזא לכלא יאמא :
ר.אבילא ר.לא אכאכא בר.לא כאלא : פט כלא ר.אסא
ר.אזא לא בולא : כר. לא אלל כתר : אילא ר.אט, ר.אלבאיר
ר.אזא לא בולא : כר. לא אלל כתר : אילא ר.אט, ר.אלבאיר
כלאיא בזר. כלאיא. מכלל אלאנה ר.לא כאמאלא

AB

*Rebuttal of statements devised by him against the fathers wherein he says that it is hazardous not to profess the characteristic properties viewed in the common substance as hypostases.*

*And examination of the beginning of the strong, as he supposes, proof in his* Many-lined Letter, *where he also shows himself annoyed because at the start we did not write to him by way of dispute but peacefully called his attention to points we were in doubt over. And proof drawn from statements of the fathers that only the modest can bear rebuttals in a peaceful manner.*

Therefore, presently taking this task with both hands and only examining briefly the purport of the main points, we shall show, so far as is possible, the wicked nonsense of his scattered and absurd statements.

15 He said, then, in what has previously been set down: It is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties, viewed in the common substance 'hypostases' and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert that they 'characterize' the prosopa or hypostases.

20 Let us take note how, apparently aware that the divinely inspired spiritual guides do not allow us to profess the characteristic properties of the prosopa as hypostases, he accordingly becomes confused and, to deceive the simple audience, makes the

**15/19** cf. supra, ch. 1, 42–46



كتمهنها الغبي صلى الملك برحمتها تجلب له.

الجزء الأول : الرد العاجز ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الثاني : الرد على تخاريف له كما يظن. وحسنة
ذا جوهرها الرد تجلى لنا هذا منجي. وحسنة
الجزء الثالث من الجبة الغبية : الجزء على
الجزء الرابع الذي جلى الرد على ضد الجزء
الجزء الخامس من الجبة الغبية : الجزء على
الجزء السادس الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء السابع الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الثامن الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء التاسع الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء العاشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الحادي عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الثاني عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الثالث عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الرابع عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الخامس عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء السادس عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء السابع عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء الثامن عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء التاسع عشر الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها
الجزء العشرون الذي جلى ضد الدنيئة تحملها

كتمهنها ❖

AB

Line 19: صلاة, cf. ch. 1, line 47 and note.

impossible attempt to mingle cavills against the God-clad saints
25 with respect for them. By saying, it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties, viewed in the common substance 'hypostases' and to suppose they are not three realities, he seems to have been at great pains to show them good will and to advocate orthodox teachings. But by saying what he immediately goes on to do, even though the doctors frequently assert that
30 they 'characterize' the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind * about them, he faintly hints that although the doctors said (not, as one might say, accurately and carefully, but, rather, negligently or wordily) that the properties (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession) characterize the hypostases,
35 nevertheless I recognize and define them as the hypostases of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

However, since we recollect his own wordiness and have seen in many places that the whole force of his reprobate view depends
40 mainly on it, let us consider what an ordinary person like myself ought to do, who cannot, as it seems, without it, become cognizant of the knowledge of the true doctrines of his theology. Are we to abandon the irreproachable teaching of the Church's pastors and be taught by him, on the grounds that he teaches more accurately
45 by human wisdom the inerrant understanding of divine doctrines, because he who hired out his tongue to him for this new theology, as they say, ended his life first? How shall we not offend exceedingly against our God-clad fathers and accordingly, by doing so, stray from the truth? For we have learned that we should entrust

**25/28** cf. supra, ch. 1, 42-45 **30/32** cf. supra, ch. 1, 45-47



كيانسكم احمدكم وعظكم لم كعفيتكم : ٥٤٨
كتعم : احتقدكم الكعط لقيم لكلهم نيلل دسكم
— الكعكمو . ٥٤٨، في ازمنة ٭ الم سعكم اسوكم ولم
— لنحكم لكلهكم سكمكم ف، اسعة : الم ١١٥
— الكالقكم ٥٤ كمومكم الكم كعقيم نعم مقحكم :
30 — ومعة الم سعكمم كلكم مكتاتم ٭ كعفكة
احسيعكم فكيكم لم نحة عمانط يحكم
الكعكمو . ومكم لاتكم الكتلومو . فاسم. ٥٤، الم
— الكعكمط حمعف ٭ مع اتكم قكيكم تكلم
— الحكم لفيمعم مم حكم لقحكم * مكتم لمم :
35 الحتمم لفيمعم مم حكم لقحكم * مكتم لمم : — A, f. 46v2
٭ ٥٤تكم حكم قكم الكمم ولم كمعمعم كيللمم —
حمنيمكم انما الكم تكلم لالقم الكم الم لكم
للالكم ولالكم ولعمكم : لم سعم مم لكتم
عكمكمكم ولم حمل لكلم : كتيمكم الم كلم مم حكم
دكمكم كلكم : الحتمم لمقحكم سكتم : مكم مكم :
40 مقحكم لكتم ولتقم ولالكم كمكم نحكم مكم

AB up to مكمكمكم (l. 38)

Line 33: مم, cf. ch. 1, line 47 and note.

our minds to the divinely inspired doctors of the Church and to no others.

Let us see what our wise and exact father and doctor SEVERUS teaches us on this point, writing, as he does, as follows in the *Letter to Eustathius the Scholasticus* (the beginning of which is,

If ministering, as you do, the divine commandment which he has commanded): Your wisdom has, I think, seen therefore, by these statements that the doctor designated as 'sufferings' both the partial and the complete corruptions and changes. You are to understand clearly that we follow him therefore and the doctors who are like him, being ourselves of a very rustic disposition and not accurately instructed in profane matters, in order that we may be able therefrom to meet the tangles and objections expressed by certain parties.

Had he too followed these divinely inspired words * and thought he ought to produce proofs, from the fathers' expositions, of his controversial statements, he would not have needed to rely on





هُن هُ لمحتزم : لهُنهلم ١٠٢ هعتُ ح مُلهُم
١٠٨٠هُم : لهُ١٠هلم حدا حتد سهُح.

ونسم مُلهُ حلل هُ٠م ١٠٢٠ لُ هسحُم وسهُهُم مُحتم
١٠لُ وحنهُم حمُهُوْم : ٢٠ حسُم حهُد حمُلهُوْم ١٠لهُ
مهوهُلهُهُ مُ٠ هسحلهوهُلهُم. هُ، ١٠١هُه مُهُهوه، :
* مُهوه ١٠٢٠ لهوه٠١م مُلهُم ١هُه٠ حمُهُ مُهُ ؛ ويلهُ لهُ
: ١وحنهُ حسُم هُ٠ه. لهُم وحُم ولهُنهلم مُلهُ ١٠هُب
: لُتحلم وهوُنهلم تُهُهُم : ولهُلم حمُتحلم حهُ
: ٢٠حتهُم تُهُم هُه. لهُم وحُم ولهُنهلم مُلهُ ١٠هُب
: لهُ ١٠٢ لهُمهُم ١هُهُ٠ : ٢٠ هُهُ٠ هوُ١٠هُم هُهُحُب ؛ ولهُ
: سهُهُمهُم وهُ١٠ لهُ٠ ١٠١٠ : مُحتم ١٠هُم ١هُح ح هُم ؛
لهُ مهُ١٠لم ٥هُحتم مُلهُ ١٠ح مُلهُ حمُهُوْتُ
* لهُم



ولهُ مُهُ١٠ ١هُم ح ٢٠٥ هُ١٠ ١٠٢٠ : هُ، ١٠حمُهُوْتُم
هوُ١٠١٠م : مُحتم ٥٢٠ ح٠ حمُهُحتم ١هُلهُ ١٠حتم
١هُ١٠هُم مُحتُ لهُهُ ٢٠٥هُ لهُ هُ، هُلهُم

ful and lengthy apologies' on the point with all diligence and care. We shall, so far as we are able, examine, and by the fathers' testimony more plainly rebut, these, so that the friends of right doctrines may easily and effortlessly hasten to the truth. Truth we shall honour more than anything, because it is the beginning and end of the good works which especially conduce to salvation.

He says, therefore, as he begins his invincible 'demonstrations' and as if he were setting right and addressing the argument to those who, along with us, had read his book, as follows: Such are their views. What are we to say to them, if not that those who, according to what you said, are aflame with warm zeal for orthodoxy ought not just to offer mere disparagement and censure but ought also to correct, and say how these things can be taken by the opponents in another way and which of my views are not fortified with patristic confirmation? For we ought not only to take account of wrongful action or statement but also * re-introduce right action and due statement. Because it is not simply the combatant but the lawful combatant who is crowned; and not all zeal is good - only *zeal with knowledge*. The Apostle, indeed, bade us *be zealous for great spiritual gifts*. For I declare with Truth Himself in audience: I should have defined such people as my teachers and helpers. But as it is, having merely asserted that my words are capable of being taken by the opponents in a different sense without saying how and without mention in a brotherly way of their not being patristic, they have smeared them with empty, fatuous criticism. And it is surprising that one should be convicted of failing to adhere to the fathers' teaching in the very passages where one condemns the statements of one's opponents for failing to accord with the fathers' teaching and declared that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to take such a view'.

**86/105** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **94** cf. II Tim. 2:5 **95** Rom. 10:2 **95/96** I Cor. 12:31 **104/105** cf. supra, 15-16



AB from حل (l. 101) on

These things we have set down, not because we think that they contain anything worthwhile, nor again because we are concerned out of vanity to write down much that is unnecessary, but because we are seeking to prove even from his uncontroversial statements the turmoil and instability of his mind. For our sole aim now is to pull up the causes, as it were, the roots, of his heretical opinion by the divinely inspired fathers' teachings; and to rebut, so far as we can, what is supposed to import some powerful defence of impiety. For it is obvious that if that is brought about through him who said, *I am the truth*, the other senseless rubbish will be easily reduced to nothing. For we find our teachers did this too, and, out of many, we show wise GREGORY OF NYSSA, who in the fourth chapter of his *Refutation of Eunomius* (which begins: It is not possible, it seems, to want to help everybody) says as follows: I omit all such as being an empty multitude of things which introduce nothing useful. But if any defence * of heretical opinion is made by him, towards this I consider it would be as well for me to devote more effort. For this is how the leader of divine doctrines acted in his own discourse, he who, though there were many points capable of broadening the argument, runs through only the essentials and shortens most of the subject-matter, selecting from all the statements in that book of impiety, the main points of the blasphemies. These things the master of mysteries says.

But let us take note with how much intensity whether in jest or with mischievous intention, the cunning author abuses us (us, indeed, no one else, even though his statement is made to look as if it were directed to other people), because at the start of this affair we wrote to him in irenic, submissive terms, with no hostil-

**115** Ioh. 14:6 **119/127** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (*PG* 45, 256AB; Jaeger I, p. 29, 11-20)



AB

ity towards him. But everybody knows that here too (unless he wrote this by way of pretence and to deceive) he is in the wrong: from the fact that he could not endure even a meek note, full of praises, without irritation, and did not accept the very humble petitions made when we were close by him at Paralos, but raged from then on like a wild animal and became our open enemy. How was a man, who had repudiated the darling, tender shoots of love unfeigned, prepared to endure careful reasoned rebuttals with a calm mind? It is even impossible for him to tolerate the useful advice of the majority, never mind rebuttals!

Saint GREGORY teaches us this again in the second chapter of the *Refutation* just mentioned, writing as follows: It has occurred to me to say these things on considering one who shared his good things unsparingly with everybody, Basil, I mean, the man of God, the mouth of blessing, who often in the abundance of spiritual treasures pours out the grace of wisdom without investigation even on souls who devise evil, even on Eunomius ungrateful to those who have taken pains to benefit him. For he, because of his soul's immeasurable disease with which it sickened as regards the faith, was considered pitiable by all participants in the Church (for who * is so lacking in compassion as not to pity the perishing?) but him alone did he move to undertake the cure, him alone who in the abundance of his philanthropy ventures upon an impossible cure; who, pained by the loss of the man, due to his natural sympathy

**145/165** Ibid. (*PG* 45, 249AB; Jaeger I, pp. 23,8 - 24,7)



AB up to ܠܡܠܝ (l. 169)

Line 147: ܠ ܘܡ, B: ܡܫܬ.

Line 171: ܟܠܐܝܬ. This word is supplied in the margin in A.

towards those in misery, devised, as an antidote to the evil, lethal poisons, a refutation of heresy having as its aim to save and restore him thereby to the Church. But he, as if mentally distraught by madness, rages against the physician, fights and battles with, and counts an enemy him who battles to draw him from the gulf of evil. And he babbles in this way not simply casually before just anyone, but he has erected a written monument to his own madness, and, having obtained in a long period, as much leisure as he desired, he travailed with the discourse longer than the large, big-bodied animals, in all the intervening time.

But proven SEVERUS, writing against Julian, who suffered a fate similar to our author, says this at the beginning of the treatise *Against the additions:* For, knowing as I did, from the start, that the enduring of a rebuttal is not the part of just anybody but of those whose way of life runs in divine wisdom, and having read his tome sent to me for scrutiny, I reminded his Reverence in a humble letter: 'I have read some of what you wrote but have felt certain hesitations, for I see proven masters of piety who give us different spiritual guidance'. I did this without engaging in anything here except that he should correct himself and compare the holy fathers' statements with his writings. This he did not do but only became upset and angered because, as he said: 'You did not straight away dispatch brief memoranda on such matters' but, more truly, because he was bitterly annoyed at my failure to concur with his ill thought out writings, and I was like someone *consorting with a thief* * *and making his portion with an adulterer* (as David says in psalm at one

**168/185** Sev. Ant., *C. Add. Iul.*, 1 (*CSCO* 295, pp. 1,22 - 2,16; *296*, pp. 1,24 - 2,13) **179/180** Ps. 49:18



A

point). And again I bore it patiently and wanted to keep silence unlawfully (for *it was a time to speak*) but cherishing, as I ought not to have done, affection towards him. Nevertheless he assailed me, silent and remote though I am, and having armed a letter with abusive remarks, he wanted, as it were, to murder me.

This will suffice people to know the vain and truly empty arrogance of the author's arid arguments and how, in a furious rage over a note simply fraternal in its praises in order that I might speak as he desires, he pretends to be vexed and angered because he did not receive a 'rejoinder' with rebuttals: people who, to understand the meaning of these writings, need also only the reason. For *give*, says the proverb, *a reason to the wise and he will become wiser still*. For what else but this is shown by, those who are in doubt ought not just to offer mere disparagement and censure but should correct; and, I declare with Truth in audience I should have defined as my teachers and helpers; and, they have smeared what was written with empty, fatuous criticism; and along with this too, for I am not dismayed by a rebuttal but feel the hurt done to the truth because though it did not rebut anything it came as a rebuttal.

**182** Eccle. 3:7 **192/193** Prov. 9:9 **193/195** cf. supra, 87-89 **195/196** cf. supra, 96-97 **196/197** cf. supra, 100-101 **197/199** cf. infra, ch. 3, 188-189



A

## *Chapter 3*

*That this distinguished man wrests the truth by affirming that it is impossible to depart from orthodoxy when censuring polytheists for transgressing divine doctrines, and a clear rebuttal of this from the doctors. And again, a manifest demonstration that we were obliged to criticize him not because he wrote against polytheists but because he leaned towards Jewish atheism.*

But let us examine what he said with surprise and a certain wonderment to see if it has any sense in it whatever. And it is surprising that one should be convicted of failing to adhere to the fathers' teaching in the very passages where one condemns the statements of one's opponents for failing to accord with the fathers' teaching and declared that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to take such a view'. * Let us investigate the clever words. Why do you say, you subtle fellow, that it is impossible ... that the perversion of the truth for example to censure others ... from the truth; so that in your struggle with the impious tritheists you could babble everything that came into the mind about the divine mystery without examining it, or do you think men released from those people's defiling disease cannot fall into other absurd heresies? It is time, then, you acquitted all the heretics (as it were) who have ever existed, on the grounds that in many cases they lapsed into various lawless impieties when writing against heresies. You have, indeed, had proof of this already from the fathers' teachings in the foregoing, nevertheless learn here, from other proof-texts as well,

**9/14** cf. supra, ch. 2, 101-105



لا انه كيف لقائل ومن كيف كيان : انما كيف
انما انت تقيسه، تريد حدثني انتقلوا تريد :
هذه اي وحكمتها معناه : انك كيل انجد لوصل
تقيسه، تريد : ومن ضع، انسبوك لله في ومعناه
معناها ومريده كيف كيانه. ❊

ومن ضع، انكاتبانها ومين ضع انكاتبا كيف ٧
ومحتا لم وحد : ومعنى انصوا ومنا انعنى ومنه لم ❊

that those who do not stand firmly on the faith's true rock, lapse very easily, even when combating heresies.

GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN spoke as follows in his *First Oration on the doctrine of God:* We worship, then, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, separating the properties but uniting the Godhead, and neither merge the three into one (lest we fall sick with Sabellius' ailment) nor divide into three of different stock and foreign (lest we rave with Anianism). For why should we force, as it were, a plant very bent in one direction over to the other side and correct distortion with distortion, instead of straightening it out half-way and taking our stand within the bounds of true religion? Moreover in the oration *On the arrival of the Bishops* he uses the same theological expressions, and says: To the contentious shifts of argument now this way now that, * and the counter-balances, let us, then, bid adieu, neither sabellianizing with the one over against the three (and dissolving the division by a mischievous confusion) nor arianizing with the three over against the one (and overthrowing the one by a pernicious division). For it is not our aim to exchange one evil for another, but to avoid missing the good. But in the oration *On the illustrious Athanasius*, too, he wrote as follows: But aware that contracting the three to an arithmetical unit is atheism and an innovation by Sabellius (who was the first to invent a contraction of the Godhead) yet that separation of the three by natures is outlandish multiplication of the Godhead, he both safeguarded well the one in Godhead and also taught with true religion the three in properties, neither confounding, by the one, nor dividing, through the three, but remaining within the bounds of true religion by avoiding immoderate inclination to, or aversion from, either side.

**29/36** Greg. Naz., *Or. 20*. 5 (*PG* 35. 1072A; *SChr.*, vol. 270, pp. 66-68)
**37/43** Greg. Naz., *Or. 42*. 16 (*PG* 36. 476C: *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 82) **44/52**
Greg. Naz., *Or. 21*. 13 (*PG* 35. 1096BC: *SChr.*, vol. 270, p. 136)



ܟܬܒ ܒܬܘܒ ܬܠܬ ܩܠ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܘܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܚܕ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܦܪܫ ܐܢܘܢ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܒܠܒܠ ܐܢܘܢ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܬܢ̈ܣ̈ܝ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܒܡܡܪ ܥܠ 

My admirable fellow, you have heard the great doctor proclaim: For why should we force, as it were, a plant very bent in one direction over to the other side and correct distortion with distortion, instead of straightening it out half-way and taking our stand within the bounds of true religion? And again: Neither sabellianizing with the one over against the three (and dissolving the division by a mischievous confusion) nor arianizing with the three over against the one (and overthrowing the one by a pernicious division); for it is not our aim to exchange one evil for another, but to avoid missing the good. And again: Neither confounding, by the one, nor dividing, through the three, but remaining within the bounds of true religion by avoiding immoderate inclination to, or aversion from, either side. So how can he correct distortion with distortion either by sabellianizing with the one over against the three and dissolving the division by a mischievous confusion or conversely by arianizing with the three over against the one and overthrowing the one by a pernicious division and exchanging one evil for another, if (as you have seen fit to say) the opponent of Sabellius, for example, cannot incline towards the * heathen polytheism of Arius or again the adversary of Arians bring down the scales on the side of the Jewish atheism of Sabellius? What is the excellence and vigilance of renowned Athanasius who remained within the bounds of true religion by avoiding inclination to, or aversion from, either side, if you are convicted of saying that these things are as you say they are. If, however, things so clear have been overlooked by your learned mind, I will ask you to learn things you do not know and not to be surprised (as you pretend to be) if, even during your campaign against polytheists, you have lapsed into the Libyan's Jewish and godless profanity at the instigation of some arbitrary impulse. But if you do know them, why, to mislead the innocent, do you utter

**54/57** cf. supra, 33-36 **57/61** cf. supra, 39-43 **61/64** cf. supra, 49-52
**64/65** cf. supra, 55 **65/68** cf. supra, 57-61 **73/74** cf. supra, 50-52



f. Iva

A

words devoid of any sense and proclaim: And it is surprising that one should be convicted of failing to adhere to the fathers' teaching in the very passages where one condemns the statements of one's opponents for failing to accord with the fathers' teaching and declared that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to take such a view'. So if your sophism has now been exposed and you can no longer take advantage of the simplicity of the guileless, desist from correcting distortion with distortion and sabellianizing against the three and dissolving the division by a mischievous confusion! So that, avoiding immoderate inclination to, or aversion from, either side, you may, like mighty Athanasius, remain within the bounds of true religion. For, indeed, you have been taught clearly (the herald of truth proclaiming it to you) that one can (as some do) both dissolve the Arian division with mischievous confusion and, again, overthrow Sabellius' one by a pernicious division. Now if you say 'I did not understand those things in this way, but am rather seeking to prove I am unjustly censured, because I have rejected the polytheists' error as out of accord with the fathers' teaching', we will honestly say that it is truly wrong for those * who censure the false opinion of polyusiasts and tritheists to condemn those who subvert it lawfully. For how can the due uprooting of a profession, for example, as well as the profession itself be rejected? Therefore since they godlessly maintain one substance in some concept of posteriority and as a figment of the imagination, and make the hypostases of the Holy Trinity in heathen fashion substances and natures (but necessarily also Gods and Godheads) we must eradicate their foul opinion lawfully, by acknowledging in accordance with the fathers' definitions, the three hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost as one Godhead, one substance, and one nature in both thought and reality. Now let us repudiate the stupidity which

**82/86** cf. supra, 9-14 **88/89** cf. supra, 64-65 **89/90** cf. supra, 65-66
**90/92** cf. supra, 50-52



ܟܬܒܝ ܡܫܬܡܥ ⁘ ܐܢ ܕܚܝܫ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܗܘ — 90
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ — ,
ܠܐ ܝܬܝܪ : ܡܢ ܕܐܦ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܒܟ ܐܢ — ,
ܟ ܡܢ ܕܐܦ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܢ ܐܢ — ,
ܟ ܒܟ : ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܐܢ ܐܢ — 95
ܠܐ ܢܬ ܒܟ ⁘ ܡܢ ܕܐܦ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܬ ܐܢ —
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ ,
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ 100
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ 105
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ 110
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ 115
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ
ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܙܟܝ ܐܢܐ ܒ
ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ,ܟ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ

f. 1vb

A flor. II from l. 105 on

Line 98: ܕܡܫܬܡܥ, A: ܕܡܫܬܡ (wrongly), cf. lines 44, 62, 70, 133.
Line 108: ܡܢ ܕܐܦ ܒ, flor. II: ܕܐܦ ܒ.

makes the divine substance an invention of the mind and somehow defines the hypostases of the Holy Trinity as Gods, Godheads, substances or natures. Let us not (as you, you accurate author, see fit to do) by heedlessly and godlessly defining them as the characteristic properties of the hypostases thereby also deprive them of being hypostases. This is the point the Theologian is alluding to when he says: For why should we force, as it were, a plant very bent in one direction over to the other side and correct distortion with distortion, instead of straightening it out half-way and taking our stand within the bounds of true religion? And again: Neither sabellianizing with the one over against the three (and dissolving the division by a mischievous confusion) nor arianizing with the three over against the one (and overthrowing the one by a pernicious division); for it is not our aim to exchange one evil for another, but to avoid missing the good.

Either, therefore, prove you were prevented by us from lawfully overthrowing polytheist and polyusiast doctrine and be justly astounded at our unreasonable criticism, for it is truly the height of folly to reject polytheists and yet criticize those who have skilfully eradicated their loathsome opinion; or, if you cannot prove this * do not be surprised if, when you think the thoughts of Sabellius, you have a pleasant meed of censure and condemnation even though you pretend a host of times to be writing against tritheists.

**118/121** cf. supra, 54-57 **121/125** cf. supra, 57-61



A flor. II up to l. 128

Line 133: ܐܚܕܝܬܐ, A: ܐܚܕܬܐ (wrongly), cf. supra, lines 44, 62, 70, 98.

but just what you said 'in surprise' has shown, to those who are
able to appreciate such things, that you were not criticized by us
for refuting the doctrine of the polytheists. For you said: And it is
surprising that one should be convicted of failing to adhere to the fathers'
teaching in the very passages where one condemns the statements of
one's opponents for failing to accord with the fathers' teaching and
declared that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to
take such a view'.

Note the cunning and the shiftiness of this truth-loving writer!
For, observing that his trick does not then proceed aright if the
point on which, as he says, he judges and is judged connects with
this scheme of argument; quite in accordance with his purpose, he
excises from the section of the text the point at issue, saying: It is
hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to take such a view. For
had he put down and said here also his own words as they were, it
is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to
call the properties viewed in the common substance 'hypostases' and to
suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently
assert that they 'characterize' the prosopa or hypostases, he could have
said with justice: And it is surprising that one should be convicted of
failing to adhere to the fathers' teaching in the very passages where one
condemns the statements of one's opponents for failing to accord with the
fathers' teaching and declared that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the
fathers' teaching to take such a view'. For from every right-thinking
person whatsoever, he would have heard the appropriate remark:
My dear man, you are talking nonsense, for where do you get the

**136/141** cf. supra, 9-14 **146/147** cf. supra, 140-141 **148/152** cf. supra, ch. 2, 15-19 **153/157** cf. supra, 136-141



ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܟܠ
ܓܠܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܟ ܒܗ
ܐܡܪܬ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܒܫܘܠ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕ
— ܡܫܬܟܠ ܢܐܡ ܡܝܬ ܒܡܟܬܒ ܠܟ ❖ ܒܡܠܐ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܒܫܘܠ ܒܗ ❖ ܒܡܠܐ ܐܡܪ
— ܠܦܪܘܣܘܦܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠܐ ܐܚܪ ❖ ܒܡܠܐ ܐܡܪ
— ܐܬܐ ܓܠܝܐ ܓܠܝܐ ܕܐܬܡܪ ܐܝܟ ❖ ܒܡܠܐ ܐܡܪ
— ܡܫܬܟܠ ܢܐܡ ❖ ܒܡܠܐ ܐܡܪ ❖ ❖ ❖ ❖
— ❖ ❖ ❖

idea from that it is at odds with the fathers' teaching not to suppose that the characteristic properties are the hypostases, or which of the proven orthodox will you produce who has criticized those who are sick with the error of polytheism for not professing as hypostases the characteristic properties of the hypostases? No, it was not for this that they were thrown out of the Church, but for wickedly * and paganly supposing the one substance of the Godhead a fiction and fantasy and for professing substances and natures in plurality, and hence necessarily the hypostases as Gods and Godheads. Either prove, then, my valiant friend, that this is the fathers' opinion and be justly surprised and vastly astonished that you are convicted of mistreating the fathers' laws in those points where you are pained on behalf of the fathers' maltreated teaching; or, understand that trampling on the doctors' definitions, you are pretending, for deceit, to avenge the fathers' teaching.

Therefore, let us investigate this more exactly by what you wrote later. For you wrote the following lines: Had I not written this down earlier, I should not be free from just rebuke. But if the refutation of opponents derived from the ideas and words of the fathers, let us banish the aspersion on the teaching of inspired men. Let us examine the passage, then, in detail. For I briefly mentioned there that it was 'hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases"'. If, therefore, the statement is false and the God-clad teachers of truth did not call either the properties of the prosopa viewed in the Godhead and the one identical substance, or the properties of the substance, 'hypostases', let some-

**177/211** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **181/183** cf. supra, ch. 1, 42-44



f. 48rb

A flor. II from l. 180 to l. 188

Line 186: ܐܘܣܝܐ, flor. II: ܐܘܣܝܐ.
Line 187: ܕܐܝܬܝ, flor. II om.

one prove the fact and he shall gain me as a fellow-critic of my statement. For I am not dismayed by a rebuttal but feel the hurt done to the truth because though it did not rebut anything it came as a rebuttal. But if in that very chapter and place were adduced testimonies from the fathers which confirm the statement, let no one fault the truth. For after the passage not one word interrupted the testimony adduced, for the very reason that it terminated the section it stood in, as follows: 'Let us quickly recall that it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases" and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert that they characterize the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind about them. * For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius, writing against heresies and saying: "The term 'hypostases' shall not disturb people, for the reason the Easterns say 'hypostases' is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa"; and again: "They have good grounds for denominating the properties of the prosopa 'subsisting hypostases', as we said before, because the Holy Ghost subsists"? And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea: "For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative

**193/211** cf. supra, ch. 1, 42-60



A

Line 219: ܟܝܢ, cf. ch. 1, line 47 and note.

Line 226: ܟܘܝ (as ch. 4, line 18 and ch. 5, line 235), cf. ch. 1, line 54 (ܟܝܢ ܟܘܝ) and ch. 5, line 196 (ܟܘܝ ,ܡܗܘܬܐ).

Line 231: ܐܬܦܣ, cf. ch. 1, line 58 (ܐܬܦܣܬ).

of the community, the latter of the property"? Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis "indicative of the property"'.

Let us note this excellent fellow's promises, and let us keep hold of them until we see if they correspond with deeds or whether, like his doctrines, they too are filled with empty words. He says, then: Had I not written this down earlier, I should not be free from just rebuke. But if the refutation of opponents derived from the ideas and words of the fathers, let us banish the aspersion on the teaching of inspired men.

It will have escaped no one, I think, how, mindful only of everywhere catching the simple and devising a persuasive sophistry which seems evidently good to himself, he employs a double deception. First, by pretending to confirm his heterodoxy by the fathers' thoughts and words; secondly, by making it appear that he fights against opponents and total strangers to the Church of the orthodox. For each of these things too, is a trick to seduce the inexperienced; the falser it becomes, the more cunning it becomes.

So let us investigate the meaning of these statements on the basis of what follows: Let us examine the passage, then, in detail. For I briefly mentioned there that it was 'hazardous and at odds with the

**215/218** cf. supra, 177-180 **229/232** cf. supra, 180-183



A

Lines 233-234: ..... ,ܡܐܡܪܐ (as ch. 7, lines 21-22 and 87-88, ch. 9, lines 336-337 and 363-364, ch. 10, lines 20-21, ch. 11, lines 321-322 and 344-345), cf. ch. 1, lines 60-61 (..... ,ܡܐܡܪܐ).

fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases"[1].

Let us note that here too having omitted even though the doctors frequently assert that they characterize the prosopa or hypostases * (which was the reason for all, so to say, of our uncertainty about him) he bears down upon us in all his pride, saying as follows: If, therefore, the statement is false and the God-clad teachers of truth did not call either the properties of the prosopa viewed in the Godhead and the one identical substance, or the properties of the substance, 'hypostases', let someone prove the fact and he shall gain me as a fellow-critic of my statement. For I am not dismayed by a rebuttal but feel the hurt done to the truth because though it did not rebut anything it came as a rebuttal.

Here again, carefully omitting the reason he is being judged, he expends his clear and proven 'proof' in idle and empty nonsense. For we never criticized him for naming the hypostases 'properties' but because he sees fit to make ingeneracy, generacy and procession the hypostases of the Holy Trinity. So let him prove this and he will have no need of all these circuitous, empty devices. For what is madder than attempting to prove that the hypostases are not the properties of the substance if it does not procure him a forceful argument that those who do not call the characteristic properties of the hypostases 'hypostases' must of necessity acknowledge the properties of the substance as hypostases – which is quite absurd? So he should not stray from the point of the debate and become confused, go on repeating to us what has no relevance whatever to the subject by saying ludicrously, let someone prove that they called neither the properties of the substance, nor those of the prosopa, 'hypostases'; and thereby stealthily and, as

**233/234** cf. supra, 196-197 **236/242** cf. supra, 183-189 **256/258** cf. supra, 237-240



— لحلاصها بحسها ف: ابعبا : الما ازد الماليلها ما
— حاصها الحا حكاتي بعا صلحا ÷
— نلاصا : الما عد وازا حبا ف: ابعو اتلها
— قكاحلها كلوا الحصا لوجوا عن حلا لصلحا ÷
— الحلاف بحلا حكاتي بعا صلحا ÷ f.48vb
سلاصا : حد حلف ابحلها حكلحا على : ما حدا
— حبا ÷ ح في حدا الحلها ف، حلها : حلف لياللها
— لوجوا حلم الحكلصلها حصبا حصه، ما ف،
— حصلها حكاتي : حلف ابي لياللها ابحصلها صلحا
— فاف كلوا لقعد لكلحم الواز : نسحا بعد : حصلا
— عد لا حدم حكاتي الحلها. لم ابوا ازاز بعد لحلا
— حلصلها : بحلا حلل الما حجاح لم بحصلا بحب
— حلصلها بحلها : ما لح علم واز حجا لم ÷

A

it were silently, avoid proofs of his statements. But what I am not dismayed by a rebuttal but feel the hurt done to the truth because though it did not rebut anything it came as a rebuttal expressed, let those, who confirm that we received his pamphlets at the outset, remember with care!

But let us hear also what the subsequent lines are: But if in that very chapter and place were adduced testimonies from the fathers which confirm the statement, let no one fault the truth. For after the passage not one word interrupted the testimony adduced, for the very reason that it * terminated the section it stood in, as follows: 'Let us quickly recall that it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases" and to suppose they are not three realities even though the doctors frequently assert that they "characterize" the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind about them'.

So, he bids us profess the characteristic properties of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity (I mean fatherhood – or ingeneracy – generacy and procession) as hypostases and affirms that he has proved this from the fathers' doctrines.

**259/261** cf. supra, 241-242 **264/273** cf. supra, 189-198



f.49ra

A

*Investigations of testimonies which have been put forward by him without examination to confirm his impure doctrines. And* exposé *of the old disagreement between Latins and Easterns over the terms 'substance', 'hypostasis' and 'prosopon' and upon the wise economy of the fathers who called the hypostases 'properties'. From whom we have learned not to dispute with those who, in simple fashion, have called the hypostases 'properties' without implying taking the hypostases for characteristic properties; although we by no means consider the characteristic properties,* qua *characteristic properties, to be imperfect but consider them to be perfect and, as the fathers saw fit, call the hypostases 'properties'.*

So let us examine with a love for truth the words he quoted. He says, then: For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius, writing against heresies and saying: 'The term "hypostases" shall not disturb people, for the reason the Easterns say "hypostases" is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa'; and again: 'They have good grounds for denominating the properties of the prosopa "subsisting hypostases", as we said before, because the Holy Ghost subsists'?

20 This is the first of the proof-texts quoted by this excellent fellow in 'proof' that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the characteristic properties of the hypostases. But readers should know that having set down the quoted text in a different way in the copies of his books which were given out at the beginning

**14/19** cf. supra, ch. 3, 198-204

[الفصل الرابع]

تحقيق الشهادات التي وضعت لتأييد الخطإ الذي فيها دون فحص. ولنفحص نحن كلمات القديس أبيفانيوس التي كتبها ضد الهرطقات وقال: «لا يزعج الناس لفظ "أقانيم" لأن السريانيين يقولون "أقانيم" ليدلوا على الخواص الموجودة والقائمة بذاتها»؛ وأيضاً: «لهم حجة حسنة لأنهم يقولون "أقانيم" أي الخواص القائمة بذاتها»، كما قلنا سابقاً، لأن الروح القدس ليس بقائم». هذه هي الشهادات الأولى التي وضعها هذا الرجل الفاضل في كتابه لتأييد الخطإ الذي في كتبه. ولكن القارئ يعرف أن يقول إن الأقانيم هي الخواص القائمة بذاتها بطريقة أخرى غير التي ذكرها في الكتاب الذي أعطي في البدء لنسّاخ كتبه.

[1] وهذه هي الشهادة الأولى: لتثبت قلة الحشمة التي تكلم بها. — أقانيم واحد * وهذا لأنه يقول القديس أبيفانيوس: — لا لفظ واقعة تحت نكرة: ولكن يجب ألا يتعب الناس — بحسب القديس: حيث هذا لأنه تدبير صالح — أقانيم: أي القائمة بذاتها الخاصة بالأشخاص — يعني * واحد * طبيعة الإلهية أنها أقانيم صالحة — للقائمة بذاتها الخاصة أقانيم أي صالحة — جيدة * 20

فهذه هي الشهادة الأولى التي وضعها لتأييد الخطإ الذي في كتبه. ولنفحص نحن أيضاً كلمات القديس أبيفانيوس: فإنه يقول في مواضع كثيرة من كتابه ضد الهرطقات: «لا يزعج الناس لفظ "أقانيم" لأن اليونانيين يقولون "أقانيم" ليدلوا على الخواص القائمة بذاتها»؛ وأيضاً: «لهم حجة حسنة لأنهم يقولون "أقانيم" أي الخواص القائمة بذاتها»، كما قلنا سابقاً، لأن الروح القدس ليس بقائم.

A

Line 18: أقنوم, cf. ch. 3, line 226 and note.

(some of which he sent me), later on, * on being accused by certain persons of misrepresenting Saint Epiphanius and of quoting as evidence in defence of his doctrines a heretic, he removed it from all his new books, not in an open manner at all but, rather, furtively, and substituted for it a proof-text of Gregory the Theologian. In view of what he has done, it might have been right merely to mock these acts of sacrilege and shift the discussion to other matters, but lest, from the absurdities he has put forward, his abominable doctrines might seem to somebody to have some kind of defence, we prefer, after setting down a few words from the divinely inspired spiritual masters and thereby showing clearly the real intention of the fathers' words, to expose the sophist's evil design against the truth.

It must be understood, then, that when certain persons in days of old were arguing against one another, not about the doctrine but about certain names and expressions, the pillars of the churches (like physicians, and using the means of economy) were at pains to try to remove such dissension by summoning together those who in their simplicity were in mutual disagreement to meet them. Apostolic ATHANASIUS is the first witness. He sent a letter to Eusebius, Lucifer, Asterius, Cymatius and Anatolius, and said as follows: So even though someone publishes this or another document, silence such folk and make them quieten down. For we see nothing more in them than mere contentiousness. For we urged those, whom some criticize for saying 'three hypostases' because the words are un-biblical and

**46/84** Athan. Alex., *Tom. ad Antioch.*, 5-6 (*PG* 26, 800D - 804A)



A, f. 49rb *

AB from ... (l. 44) on W from l. 49 on

Line 47: ..., B: ....

Line 52: ..., W: .... ..., A: ....

under suspicion, to require nothing more than the confession of Nicaea. Nevertheless, owing to the contentiousness, we examined them as to whether they too said, as Arians say, that the three hypostases are mutually alien, foreign and different and that each hypostasis is as distinct and separate as the other creatures and as the offspring of men or as e.g. different substances such as gold, * silver and bronze are; or whether they think of them in the way that other heretics speak of them as three beginnings and three gods, when talking of three hypostases. They confirmed that they did not, nor had they ever held that view. But on our asking them 'What then do you mean when you say these things or why do you use these words?', they answered 'Because we believe in the Holy Trinity which is and subsists as Trinity not merely in name but in reality. For we recognize that the Father truly is and subsists, and that the Son is truly substantial and subsists and that the Holy Ghost truly subsists and is. Nor do we, on the other hand, say 'three gods' or 'three beginnings' or tolerate at all those who say this – no, we say that we recognise the Holy Trinity but the single Godhead and single beginning, and the Son consubstantial with the Father (as the fathers said) and the Holy Ghost not a creature and not alien to, but belonging to, the very substance of the Son and inseparable from it'. So having praised the explanation of these words and the defence, we judged also those whom they had criticized



ܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܗܘ ܕ

for saying 'one hypostasis', asking whether they too expressed a similar view to Sabellius, intending the negation of the Son and the Holy Ghost. But these also confirmed that they neither said, nor ever had thought, that, but 'We say "hypostasis" supposing that it means the same thing to say "hypostasis" and "substance", whilst we think there is one hypostasis because the Son is from the Father's substance and because the nature is the same, for we believe there is a single Godhead and that its nature is one: the nature of the Father is not different, and the nature of the Son and Holy Ghost alien to it'. So those former people criticized for saying 'three hypostases' agreed with these latter and these latter who said 'one substance' confessed the former's view as they had interpreted it. Arius was anathematized by both sides as an enemy of Christ, Sabellius and Paul of Samosata as impious, Valentinus and Basilides as aliens to the truth, and Manes as an inventor of evils. And a little later: So, this profession being made * we urge you not to condemn or rashly reject those who make this profession and explain the words they say in this way, but, rather, take them to yourselves as they explain and defend their words; but such as refuse to profess and explain the words in this way you are to restrain and abash because they are suspect in their opinion. Hereby it is clearly shown that when those who reckoned on one hypostasis of the Holy Trinity and those who asserted three were violently accusing one another of Arianism and Sabellianism, and each side was in battle against the other, the great Athanasius, at that time the wise pilot of the Church, removed their division over a word

**84/89** Athan. Alex., *Tom. ad Antioch.*, 8 (*PG* 26, 805AB)



AB W up to l. 102

Lines 79-80: ... , W om.

Line 94: ... B and W: ... . ... W: ... .

Line 96: ... W: ... .

by showing up their dissension as being about names rather than realities, and, having thus put them at peace with one another, he joined together the limbs, so to say, which had till then been sundered.

Again, GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN attests this too in the *Oration on the burial of the famous Athanasius*, saying as follows: But what I find especially to marvel at in the man and what it would be damaging to keep silent on because the hour brings forth especially schisms in plenty, this I shall add to what has been said. His action will be instructive to our contemporaries too, if we look towards him. Just as not only what the hand has let go as it draws it off is cut off from the water but also what is shed as it drips between the fingers, so also not only the impious is sundered from us but also the very religious, not over merely trifling and negligible doctrines (for that would be a slight evil) but heretofore also over words that convey the same meaning. For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) the Italians understand them in the same way as we, but they were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of terms, to distinguish 'substance' and 'hypostasis' and therefore 'prosopa' was introduced so that three substances * might not be accepted. What happens? Something ridiculous and pitiable; the verbal triviality was thought a difference of faith. And consequently Sabellianism was fabricated in

**100/135** Greg. Naz., *Or. 21*, 35-36 (*PG* 35, 1124C - 1125C; *SChr.*, vol. 270, pp. 184-188)



AB up to ܥܡ (l. 110) W from l. 114 on

Line 115: ܠܐܠܗܐ, W: ܐܠܗܐ.
Line 119: ܟܐ ܐܒܐ, W om. ܟܐ.
Line 121: ܟܬܝܢ, W: ܣܬܝܢ; cf. infra, line 327 and note.
Line 122: ܠܐܠܗܐ, W: ܐܠܗܐ.
Line 123: ܒܐܦܣܘܢ, W: ܒܐܦܣܘܗܝ.
Line 130: ܡܢ ܚܕ, W: ܒܡ ܟܚܕ.

'three prosopa' and Arianism in 'three hypostases' – contentious fabrications. But what after that? By the constant addition of small annoyances (the annoyance produced the quarrel) the ends of the earth were in danger of being rent asunder along with the words. So the saint, truly a man of God and great steward of souls, on seeing and hearing this, did not feel it appropriate to disregard so absurd and irrational a dissection of the word, but applies his own remedy to the ailment. How, then, does he do this? Inviting both sides to come to him, so gently and humanely, he carefully investigated the meaning of their statements and, because he found both sides of one mind and not removed from one another on any point of principle, indulgent to the terms, he bound them by the realities. This was more beneficial for them than the exercises and lengthy discourses which everybody is writing nowadays and to which is coupled a certain ambitiousness, and, therefore, perhaps, some innovation is made with regard to doctrine – this, I say, is more valuable than the many vigils and prostrations on the ground, things profitable only to those who accomplish them. This was of worth equal to the man's exile and famous flights.

These words would have been our instruction and in these matters we would have accordingly imitated the wise and true stewards of the Spirit (though it goes without saying, that we are insignificant in comparison with them and remote from them) if the doubt in our midst had been simply over the term 'properties' and not over the Godhead itself. For, as we have frequently said,



A W up to l. 152

Line 133: ܫܟܠܠܬܟ, W: ܫܟܠܠܬܟ.
Line 136: ܒܫܬܟܝ, W: ܒܫܬܟ.
Line 137: ܫܟܘܢܬܗ, W: ܫܟܘܢܩ.
Line 142: ܪܝܩ, W: ܪܝܦ.
Line 144: ܒܪܟܘܢ, cf. infra, line 519 (ܒܪܟܘ).
Line 151: ܕܝܝܠܟܢ, W: ܕܝܝܠܟܢ.

we are not in disagreement with those who name the hypostases
'properties', but with those who, for their part, attempt to eradicate
entirely the whole mystery of the Holy Trinity by the term 'prop-
erties', because they profess that the Father, the Son, and the Holy
Ghost are nothing but ingeneracy, generacy and procession and
thereby * make the confession of Christians empty names and
mere properties. For if the realities, of which the names are predi-
cated and whose characteristic properties are ingeneracy, generacy
and procession, are not professed by them at all, how can both the
names and the properties not be for them empty and mere names?
Therefore, as we have said a host of times (for I say the same thing
many times over) were these masters of new-fangled doctrines
disturbing the churches of God because the hypostases are named
'properties', we should accordingly have said to them, 'come, let
us agree with one another for in this we are content with your
opinion as also with that of our divinely inspired fathers of former
days and down to the present. And now, along with you, we shall
opinion as also with that of our divinely inspired fathers of former
days and down to the present. And now, along with you, we shall
name the hypostases "properties" as much as you like – but
perfect, spiritual and individually subsisting properties, as we have
been taught'. We said 'perfect', not as contrasting them with
imperfect properties (for let us banish afar the misrepresentation
of those who despoil the truth) because we have accepted that we
should not conceive of anything imperfect in the Holy Trinity.
Hence we recognize the properties which characterize the divine
nature and those which characterize the hypostases as perfect
but perfect *qua* characteristic properties of the substance and of
the hypostases. Therefore we do not recognize the properties char-
acteristic of the substance as substances or substance, nor again



ܕܚܝܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܗ̈ܒ ܒܗ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ
ܡܬܩܪ̈ܝܢ : ܐܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܫܡ̈ܐ ܒܗ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܬܩܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ
ܟܕ ܐܡ̈ܪܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ̈ܝܢ ܐܦ ܐܝܢ ܕܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܐܢ̈ܐ
ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ

those which characterize the hypostases as hypostases. For to think this is the part of those who refuse to recognize the difference between characterizers and characterized and who absolutely identify what make known, and what are known, signifier and signified, characterizers and characterized, and who muddle everything absurdly. But because this contention of theirs does not stop at the term 'properties' but they define the hypostases of the Holy Trinity as the names of the hypostases and as the properties characteristic of the prosopa and thereby negate their being hypostases, *let them walk*, as it says in the Bible, *by the light of their fire and by that flame which they kindled*. For we will never accept these Jewish and heathen doctrines or any of their absurd conclusions. For we have been taught clearly to profess as three hypostases * not the characteristic properties of the hypostases but the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost themselves.

But to come to the point presently set before us, let us see how our theologians acquired a suspicion of Arianism on account of the orthodox profession of three hypostases, when the Italians, as we have been taught, were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of terms, to distinguish substance and hypostasis, and therefore introduced those 'prosopa' which Sabellius did not entirely refrain from using (though he did not recognize or accept the idea and the term 'prosopa' in the correct sense but only in a wrong sense) and were, hence, thought to be holding the Jewish doctrines of this impious man. However that steward of souls, as the

**179/180** Is. 50:11 **187/190** cf. supra, 112-114 **194** cf. supra, 122



AB W from l. 205 on

Line 188: ܟܬܒܐ, B: ܟܬܒ.
Line 191: ܕܐܩܢܘܡ, A: ܕܐܝܢܘܡ (wrongly).
Line 200: ܕܡܠܟ ܣܒ, B: ܕܡܠܟ.
Line 211: ܐܠܗܐ, W: ܐܠܗܐ.

Theologian says, did not feel it right to discount such a senseless dissection of the word. Having found both sides holding the same view and not in contention over the idea, indulgent to the terms he bound them by the realities. By showing our humble selves as followers of this wise steward, had the dispute been over the term 'properties' and not over the faith itself and the profession of divine doctrines, we should have justly been curing feeble men's thinking and not been in any dissension at all over the words. For as often as they like we shall say, along with the Theologian and those like him who cured such illnesses that when we hear 'God' we are illumined by one light 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.

Because of a fraternal dispute between the Easterns and the Romans, related to this, wise BASIL, hating the wicked heresies of the accursed Sabellius and Arius equally and to the same degree, completely defeated them. He wrote in the *Letter to Count Terentius* (the beginning of which is: When we heard that your Reverence had again been forced) and said as follows: But along with this news a report has reached us that the brothers too, of Paulinus' side, are speaking to your Rectitude about their union with us, us, I mean, who are of the party of the man * of God, Bishop Meletius. These, I hear, are presently circulating a letter from the Westerns which entrusts the bish-

**197/198** cf. supra, 128 **205/207** cf. supra, ch. 1, 72-75 **213/219** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 214*, 2 (*PG* 32, 785B; Courtonne, II, pp. 202-203)



AB W up to l. 219 and from l. 237 on

Line 232: ܒܐܠܗܐ, B: ܐܠܗܐ.
Line 236: ܡܬܒܥ, B: ܡܒܥ.
Line 240: ܒܐܠܗܐ, B: ܐܠܗܐ, W: ܒܐܠܗܐ.

opric of the Church of Antioch to them but rejects the admirable Meletius bishop of God's true Church. And a little later: For I for my part, if a certain man receives a letter of men and thinks grand things because of it, shall not consent to stand in awe of him on that account; not even if he comes from heaven itself, but does not agree with the sound word of faith, shall I be able to count him a participant in holy things. For consider, my admirable friend, that the falsifiers of the truth, those who import the Arian schism into the sound faith of the fathers, proffer no other excuse for not accepting the religious doctrine of the fathers, except the idea of consubstantiality which they interpret wickedly and as a slander against the whole faith, saying that the Son is declared by us to be consubstantial in hypostasis. If we yield them that as a pretext, as a result of our agreeing with those who out of simplicity rather than wickedness say this or similar things, nothing will prevent our giving an indisputable handle against ourselves and strengthening the heresy of those whose sole exercise in addresses to the Church is not to equip their own arguments but to slander ours. But what could be a worse slander, more capable of unsettling the majority of folk, than if some of us should be seen to speak of one hypostasis of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, some who despite fre-

**219/249** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 214*, 2-3 (*PG* 32, 788A - 789A; Courtonne, II, pp. 203-205)



AB W

Line 242: ܟܬܒܐ, W: ܟܬܒܬܐ. ܐܝܠܝܢ, W: ܐܝܬܝܢ.

Line 243: ܒܐܝܠܝܐ, B and W: ܒܐܝܠܝܐ. ܟܬܒܐ, W: ܟܬܒ.

Line 246: ܠܚܕ ܒܐܟ, cf. infra, line 291 (ܠܚܕ) and note.

Line 249: ,ܡܐܡܪܢ, W: ,ܡܐܡܪ.

Line 258: ܡܢ, cf. infra, line 381 (ܠܡܢ).

Line 259: ܟܚܕ, cf. infra, line 381 (ܟܚܕܬ).

Line 263: ܒܪܝܫܝܬܐ, B and W: ܪܝܫܝܬܐ; cf. infra, line 384.

Line 264: ܗ, W om.

quent clear confession of the difference between the prosopa nevertheless confess what was accepted by Sabellius formerly who says this very thing: 'God is one in hypostasis but is presented by Scripture in the guise of prosopa in various fashions to suit the particularity of the subject-matter, sometimes taking upon itself the Father's words whenever there is occasion for this prosopon, sometimes those which are fitting for the Son whenever he condescends to a concern for us or to other actions of the scheme of salvation, and sometimes he wears the prosopon of the Spirit whenever the occasion demands words of such a kind from such a prosopon'? If, therefore, some of our people are seen to say that * Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one in the substrate but to profess three perfect prosopa, how can they not be supposed to be giving a clear and irrefutable proof of the truth of what is said about us?

From this it is clear to us that there was no little dissension between the Westerns and those of Basil the Great's party over the profession of the hypostases when the former, out of simplicity and not with evil intention, were maintaining a single hypostasis of the Holy Trinity, but the exact teachers wisely proclaimed three hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Hence this divinely inspired father, not surrendering the words of true religion but



f.51ra

AB W

Line 266: ܟܠܣܥ, W: ܟܠܣܥܠ, as ch. 15, line 140.
Line 267: ܘܐܠܗܐ, W: ܘܐܠܗܐ. ܟܬܘ, W: ܟܬܘ.
Line 270: ,ܡܠܚ, cf. ch. 15, line 144 (ܡ).
Line 272: ܒܝ, W: ܒܝ, as ch. 15, line 146.
Line 274: ܠܛ, cf. ch. 15, line 148 (ܟܠܟܠ).
Line 275: ܟܦܘܦ, B: ܟܦܘܦ.
Line 276-277: ܣܘܐܠ ..... ܟܟ, cf. ch. 15, lines 150-151 (..... ܟܟ ܣܘܐ).
Line 287: ܟ, W om.
Line 288: ܟ, W om.

manfully fighting on their behalf, at one point says: For I for my part, if a certain man receives a letter of men and thinks grand things because of it, shall not consent to stand in awe of him on that account; not even if he comes from heaven itself, but does not agree with the sound word of faith, shall I be able to count him a participant in holy things. Again at one point he says: But what could be a worse slander, more capable of unsettling the majority of folk, than if some of us should be seen to speak of one hypostasis of Father, Son and Holy Ghost?

ACACIUS, too, archbishop of Aleppo, clearly shows this when he says in the *Letter to proven Cyril* (the beginning of which is: I have read your Holiness' letter): But those who wish to produce a defence of what they have presumed to think and preach, say they have suffered a fate similar to what befell the blessed Bishop Paulinus, who declined to speak expressly of three hypostases (though he was implicitly and really thinking the same things and meaning the same things) but he followed the God-loving Western bishops because the Latin vocabulary was limited and could not speak, like the language of us Greeks, of 'three hypostases'.

This we have thus set down, demonstrating abundantly that the doctors of the Church, using the guidance of the Holy Ghost, had as their aim * to administer to the souls of all men manifold varieties of healing when no injury is sustained by the divine

**257/261** cf. supra, 219-223 **262/264** cf. supra, 234-236 **267/274** Acac. Ber., *Ep. ad Cyrill.* (*PG* 77, 100CD; *ACO* I, I, 1, p. 99, 23-28)



ܒܪ ܥܡ ܠ ܐܢ ܟܕ ܐ ܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܟ
ܕܒܝܢ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠ : ܠܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܟ
ܕܠ ܢܚܬ : ܐܢ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܐܬ ܠܟ : ܕܐܝܬ ܟ
ܕܠܐ ܥܡ ܠ ܒܠܒ ܐ : ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܐ ܟ
ܕܐܝܬ ܐܢ ܫܐ : ܕܐܢܫܘܬ ܕܐ ܟ
ܒ ܐ ܐ ✧ ܐ ܐ ✧ ܕ ,ܡܫܬ ܟ
ܕ ܚ ܐ : ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܟ
ܐ ܐ ✧ ܐ ✧ ✧ ✧

doctrines. So when the Westerns, from no heretical intention but rather from simplicity and the constraints of their language, were faltering not a little over the phrase 'three hypostases of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost', and were unwilling to attribute number or difference to the hypostases of the Holy Trinity and supposing that they were being drawn towards the impious Arians who said this very thing, the champions of truth did not decline to cure their opinion by expressions and words which were welcome and apparently customary to them, and thus to establish and settle peace and harmony with them.

The words of the Theologian, quoted shortly before, prove this clearly. They are: So also not only the impious is sundered from us but also the very religious, not over merely trifling and negligible doctrines (for that would be a slight evil) but heretofore also over words that convey the same meaning. For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) the Italians understand them in the same way as we, but they were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of terms, to distinguish 'substance' and 'hypostasis' and therefore 'prosopa' was introduced so that three substances might not be accepted. What happens? Something ridiculous and pitiable; the verbal triviality was thought a difference of faith. And consequently Sabellianism was fabricated in 'three prosopa' and Arianism in 'three hypostases' – contentious fabrications.

**290/302** cf. supra, 106-119



AB

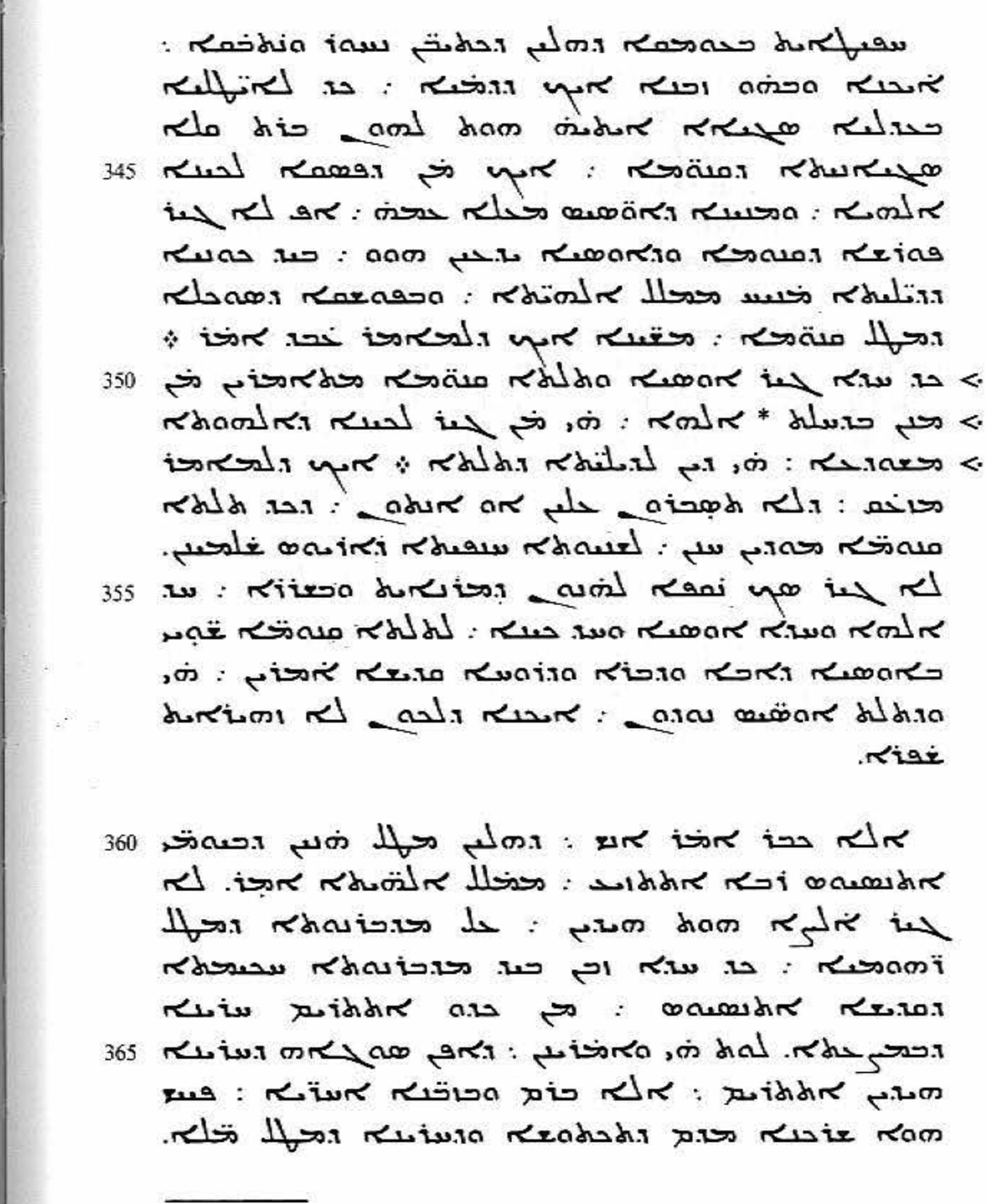
Line 327: ܕܢܥܒܕ (as infra, line 525), cf. supra, line 121 (ܕܥܒܕ).

Let us look carefully into the profundity of these texts and examine how apparently even at that time, there being much for the Italians to find fault with in the plural word 'hypostases' on the ground that it sundered the divine nature and introduced along with itself a number of substances (for they did not know the distinction between hypostasis and substance) the Theologian relieves them by the expression 'properties' and, so to say, pacifies them by an interpretation of the idea involved in hypostases, and says: For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with * true religion, for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three. He as it were exclaims: 'As for you, do not think that we, because we profess three hypostases, agree with Arius' pagan madness; for it by no means follows that those who speak in the full sense and truly of the three consubstantial hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost as one God, one substance and one nature, also profess three substances, as you have incautiously decided'.

But perhaps someone may say that the Theologian says this in regard to the matters mooted in the days of Athanasius the Great, for there was no need at that time for any 'economy' with regard to the Romans once the dissension had been removed by the wise 'economy' of Saint Athanasius. To which we reply that although the dissension had for the most part been removed at that time, nevertheless, there remained latterly a residue of hostility and dissension over words. We can easily see this from the previously

**311/313** cf. supra, 293-295





AB W

Line 349: ܡܬܥܒܕ, W: ܡܥܒܕ.
Line 350: ܐܢ ܐܡܪ, W trsp.
Line 354: ܠܡ ܡܕܡ, W: ܡܕܡ. ܡܠܥ, W: ܡܠܥ.
Line 365: ܡܝܟܡܘ, B: ܠܡ ܡܝܟܡܘ.
Line 366: ܐܝܡܪ, W: ܐܝܡܪ. ܫܡ, W: ܫܡ.

quoted words of the wise and famous Basil and of holy Acacius, when Basil the Great says of the Paulinists and the Romans: These, I hear, are presently circulating a letter from the Westerns which entrusts the bishopric of the Church of Antioch to them; and after some other matters: For I for my part, if a certain man receives a letter of men and thinks grand things because of it, shall not consent to stand in awe of him on that account; not even if he comes from heaven itself, but does not agree with the sound word of faith, shall I be able to count him a participant in holy things; and again: If we yield them that as a pretext, as a result of our agreeing with those who out of simplicity rather than wickedness say this or similar things, nothing will prevent our giving an indisputable handle against ourselves and strengthening the heresy; and again: But what could be a worse slander, * more capable of unsettling the majority of folk, than if some of us should be seen to speak of one hypostasis of Father, Son and Holy Ghost? Acacius, on the other hand, wrote: But those who wish to produce a defence of what they have presumed to think and preach, say they have suffered a fate similar to what befell the blessed Bishop Paulinus, who declined to speak expressly of three hypostases (though he was implicitly and really thinking the same things and meaning the same things) but he followed the God-loving

**329/331** cf. supra, 216-218 **332/336** cf. supra, 219-223 **336/339** cf. supra, 229-232 **340/342** cf. supra, 234-236 **343/349** cf. supra, 267-274



ܡܠܟ ܐܠܐ ܒܬ ܡܢ : ܐܒܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܡ ܐܬܦܥ
ܕܡܬܦܣܩ ܕܐܬܪܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܐܬܪ ܡܢ ܕܐ
ܫܟ. ܐܢ ܐܦܠܘ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܡ ܐܢ
ܐܡܪ ܠܘ ◇ ܐܢ ܐܬܪ ܐܬܪ ܐܠ ܐܦ ◇
: ܐܬܪ ܐܬ ܐܡ ܐܬ ܐܢ ܐܬ ◇
ܐܢ ◇ ܐܦ ܐܬ ܐܬ ܐܬ ◇
◇ ܐܬ ◇ ܐܬ ◇
ܐܡ : ◇ ܐܬ ◇
: ◇ ◇
◇ ◇
◇ ◇

Western bishops because the Latin vocabulary was limited and could not speak, like the language of us Greeks, of 'three hypostases'. The Theologian too shows that in his time the formula 'three hypostases' was a matter of uncertainty for the Romans. Listen to what he says in his *Farewell Address*: For what do you say, you who introduce three hypostases? Do you say this, thinking three substances? I am fully persuaded that you would loudly protest against those who do, for you teach that the substance of the three is one and the same. What of those who introduce prosopa? Do you imagine some one composite thing, with three prosopa, or anthropomorphic? Of course not! You would protest against them that anybody who talks like this will not see the prosopon of God, whatever it may be. What, then, do hypostases mean to you, or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three. Very good. How could people more think the same thing or say the same thing than those who hold to these things? Even though they differ in words. You see how I am your reconciler, drawing you away from the letter to the meaning, as from the Old Testament to the New.

Is it surprising that these things were mooted in the days of those saints Basil and Gregory, when the Italians were found

352/365 Greg. Naz., *Or.* 42, 16 (*PG* 36, 477AB; *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 84)



AB W

Line 405: ܪܥܓ, W: ܪܥܒ.
Line 407: ܠܗ, W: ܟ.
Line 413: ,ܒܪ ܪܒ, W trsp.
Line 416: ܪܒܒ, W: ܪܒ. ܐܠܗܝܐ, W: ܐܠܗ.

guilty of faltering over the profession of three hypostases even in the time of proven SEVERUS? So the teacher of truth says in the
370 *Letter to the priests and archimandrites John and John and the rest* (whose beginning runs: After I had written this in reply to what your Holiness sent): But I hear that the Romans are saying: 'We are afraid of calling him who suffered for us in the flesh "one of the Trinity", because we should not subject the Holy Trinity to number'. But all this
375 * is replete with ignorance and impiety and is an opportunity for those who lay hold of pretexts for sins or those who *do not know what they are talking about or what they are making assertions about* as the apostle Paul says of certain persons. For the Trinity is numerable in the hypostases but subsists outside number because it is one and the same
380 substance. And a little later: Therefore these very subtle Romans are sick with a profound error, not knowing that the Trinity is, in the substance, not numerable or divisible, but in the hypostases is divided and separated in order that the unconfusedness may be preserved to the proper marks of Father, Son and Holy Ghost. But I am very surprised at
385 the Jebusites who resemble the Romans, both in impiety and ignorance, because they have termed the Holy Trinity 'tri-hypostate' in a rustic manner using a new and exceedingly crude expression. For I have never before today heard this compound word. Indeed it presents us with the idea that they do not hold to three individually subsisting hypostases but
390 a single hypostasis which takes shape in three ways and alters, sometimes into the Father's hypostasis, sometimes into the Son's and sometimes into the Holy Ghost's: and that it is one hypostasis, but that it changes

**372/380** Sev. Ant., *Ep. ad presb. et archim.* (*PO* 12, pp. 214-215) **376/377** I Tim. 1:7 **380/396** Sev. Ant., *Ep. ad presb. et archim.* (*PO* 12, pp. 215-216)



420 425 430 435 440 445

f. 52ra

AB W up to l. 419 flor. I from l. 429 to l. 437

Line 418: ܪܝܥܐ, B: ܪܝܫܐ.
Line 423: ܕܠܐ, B: ܠܐ ܕܠܐ.
Line 432: ܠܐ, flor. I: ̣ ̣ ̣.
Line 434: ܐܚܕܐ, W: ܐܚܕܐ.

prosopa as if it were on the stage and sometimes speaks and acts in the prosopon of the Father, sometimes in the Son's prosopon and sometimes in the Holy Ghost's prosopon, as witless Sabellius, the Libyan, saw fit to suppose.

Along with this, someone may ask us to prove from some texts by the holy Roman bishops that they did not profess the all-adorable Trinity as three but as one hypostasis. So we shall be glad to confirm this too by what this excellent fellow also quoted in his book. For he spoke in the following manner in chapter 12: Holy Liberius, then, when occupying the archiepiscopal throne of the Romans wrote to renowned Athanasius and expounded to him the faith, saying in the letter (beginning 'Our confession, beloved Athanasius') as follows: 'The Word of God, the Son by nature, was begotten of God the Father, with the result that the Trinity exists in one Godhead, in one power, in one substance and in one hypostasis. For the Son is not divided from the paternal hypostasis * which fills heaven and earth. The Trinity, therefore, as I previously said, exists in one hypostasis, one in substance, one in Godhead, one in power, one in sovereignty, one in image and one in spirit, for the Spirit is not divided'. And later: And in the letter of the Roman synod of 90 holy fathers, at whose head was Saint Damasus and which decreed that adherence should be given solely to the faith laid down at Nicaea, the letter beginning 'The bishops who assembled in a holy synod at Rome', we find a similar phrase, thus: 'So that the Father,

**402/411** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 12 **405/411** Liberii papae *Ep. ad Athan.*, hucusque incognita **411/418** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 12 **415/418** Syn. Rom., *Ep. ad episc. Illyr.* (*PG* 82, 1053AB)



AB

Line 451: ܕܚܕܐ, B: ܕܚܕܐ.
Line 457: ܕܐ, B: ܕܐܝ.
Line 471: ܕܡܝܐ, B: ܕܡܝܐ.

the Son and the Holy Ghost are to be believed to be one power, one image and one hypostasis. Him who thinks otherwise we judge estranged from our communion'.

By all this we learn that the divinely inspired rulers of the Church sought perforce to convince the Westerns (who professed one hypostasis of Father, Son and Holy Ghost and wrongly suspected those who religiously proclaimed three hypostases of the Holy Trinity) by means of expressions which seem to contain their cure, that because they cherish the appellation 'properties', they are of a common mind.

The point we are given to understand is that the Theologian in speaking of them took care to alleviate their suspicion diplomatically by his appellation 'properties'. He says, then: For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) the Italians understand them in the same way as we, but they were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of terms, to distinguish 'substance' and 'hypostasis' and therefore 'prosopa' was introduced so that three substances might not be accepted.

Thus he says that the three hypostases indicate the properties of the three, aware, as it seems, that those who are weak on the confession of three hypostases might be relieved by the term 'properties'. For he wisely regarded it as right to indicate the same orthodox understanding of the faith by a different term for the benefit of those faltering over the words, lest people of identical views

**428/434** cf. supra, 109-115



AB

should suppose they were arguing about the realities. No, * those who are sound in their understanding must be in dispute with one another only over an expression. For in proof of this, in the rest of what has previously been quoted, he says: What, then, do hypostases mean to you, or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three. Very good. How could people more think the same thing or say the same thing than those who hold to these things? Even though they differ in words. And in another passage: But when I say 'God' be illumined by one light 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). Again, writing about the famous Athanasius, he says: How, then, does he do this? Inviting both sides to come to him, so gently and humanely, he carefully investigated the meaning of their statements and, because he found both sides of one mind and not removed from one another on any point of principle, indulgent to the terms, he bound them by the realities.

Here too in this fashion taking special care for a correct and sound understanding of the realities and seeing the Westerns stumbling over the term 'hypostases', he cures their suspicion by the appellation 'properties', saying: So also not only the impious is sundered from us but also the very religious, not over merely trifling and negligible doctrines (for that would be a slight evil) but heretofore also

**444/448** cf. supra, 359-363 **449/452** cf. supra, ch. 1, 72-75 **453/457** cf. supra, 124-128 **461/472** cf. supra, 106-117



f. 52va

AB

Line 517: ܒܪܫܝܬ, A: ܒܪܫܝܬ.

Line 519: ܡܬܚܫܒ, cf. supra, line 144 (ܡܬܚܫܒܢ).

Line 525: ܐܬܥܒܪ, cf. supra, line 327 and note.

over words that convey the same meaning. For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) the Italians understand them in the same way as we, but they were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of terms, to distinguish 'substance' and 'hypostasis' and therefore 'prosopa' was introduced so that three substances might not be accepted. What happens? Something ridiculous and pitiable: the verbal triviality was thought a difference of faith.

You will perceive how * the doctors of the Church were greatly concerned that their fellow-thinkers should not be considered as faltering in faith on account of a difference of terms. For that is why, recognizing Father, Son and Holy Ghost as three perfect and properly subsisting individual realities, they sometimes designated them as three 'hypostases', sometimes as three 'prosopa', sometimes as three 'properties'; by no manner of means recognizing the hypostases as 'Gods', 'Godheads', 'substances' or 'natures'; nor saying that the three prosopa are a single composite prosopon, as it were, with three prosopa, or a single hypostasis, of three-fold shape, changing now into the hypostasis of the Father now into the Son's now into the Holy Ghost's, altering the prosopon as on the stage; nor, again from the fact that they name the hypostases of the Holy Trinity 'properties' do they suppose them to be ingeneracy, generacy and procession. It was, we say, with this fully correct and sound intention that Saint DAMASUS spoke, his precise words (quoted by this excellent fellow in 'confirmation' of



faith.

ناه سرهن سردم دسوهم هكاهم * سرهنه f.52vb
همه لقلهم ردهم : ردم حلا همهلم رهمصم
دصحصهم لهمهزه رحمهزه تم هزسهمه .
حلاهم لهز دم ولهدم ولهزهم ولهزهم هدهم :
هلهم همدزم حقهلم رزهلهزهه بحصمه ولمه
حمهم نزهه : دهم هم هلهم همهم : دهم رم
هلهم فزهوهم : همه رم همحه، همله نزلهم حلهم
همه : دم لم هم دهم حدم ولم لهمهم همقم
همه همقههم همه همهمه همه تهم نزهه : ولم رم
لهلهم فزهوهم مم همم رلحمهز حزهدم همهلم،
فزهوهم : همه مم همهم رهلهمهه حمهدم
همهزم : دهم هم لهمهم همه رمدم : دهم رم لهه
همه : دهم رم لهه رزهه هدهم : همهم
رهزهلهزه فزهوهم : ولم هلهه همهم رهلهم
همهم رهمهزه همهزم رهلهم همهم رهمهم :
همهم همقهم رهمهه لهمه همهمهم رهمهم
همهزم رهمه هزهم ورهلهم همهم : همهزه رهزهز
همهم رهمهزه همهزم رهلهم همهم رهمهم :

Line 556: همهمهم, B: همهمهم.

490 error) being clearly shown as saying: Blessed is he who confesses that the properties of the names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are three prosopa, even though he happens to say it in this way owing to the constraints of his language.

**490/492** Damas. p., *Or. 3 contra Arianos*, cit. a Dam. Alex. in *Ep. prolixa;* cf. infra, ch. 16, 30-32



← ܕܐܒ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ ← ܕܐܒ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ← ܕܐܒ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ← ܕܐܒ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ
560 ܕܐܒ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ.

**AB**

*Concerning the fact that when he thinks of the hypostases as the properties of the hypostases, viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession, and was required to prove this by clear statements from the divinely inspired fathers, this excellent fellow vainly goes round and investigates the writings of the doctors. Rightly deprived of any true defence, he puts forward, without examination and without understanding or distinguishing them, all the unclear and obscure texts he can where mention is made of properties. This is why he tries also to remove by stealth certain things he had previously put in his writing and reveals himself plainly as an agent of sacrilege, bringing on his own head charges of committing illegal acts of this kind in addition to heresy.*

* Why, therefore, does this excellent fellow, saying, as he does, that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the characteristic properties of the prosopa (ingeneracy, I mean, generacy and procession) and needing to prove this plainly from patristic teachings which are very clear and evident to everybody, why, I say, does the wise fellow vainly labour so multifariously, dancing and exulting in ignorance of the good whenever he finds the term 'property', supposing that he will thereby have a victory in the proposed contest? Does he not judge it fair, in obedience to his own rules, to give



لما انه انقيم قنصلها امتنع ندبر انه لم
يكن اقنوما كلمتنا وبعضنا كفاير لطبيعتر
وان كفاير : وبنه هوه اي قنه قلر يكلهر
نرتقهر لهنيه هي برلهر وان نسبر : كفاير
هانهرلهر بدهتر انقلبر كرفه. بدا اا هرلهر هي دولم
هان برنهر هانهر كفيلا : ظهر وله اكرنه انر
يكلهر بدهتهر : برلهر دهي انه هانر كرفر انقلهر : انر
دولم كهان. نر لر كفيلا ولر فاند وله
انكفيلهانهي. كيلا وان بكفهر : انكرفر كرفر هي وله
انكرفتنهم هي نر. كرم برفيلهند يكرلهر نهر.
بكفهر يكرلهر كنيل دلر كرنهر. نر بر وانهند

AB

Line 2: كر, B: ككر.
Line 11: انكرفتنهم, B: انكرفتنهم.
Line 12: هانهم, B: هانهم.

proofs in equal measure of his own statements when he very rightly demands from others detailed proofs of their statements?

Let him recollect even now that he wrote as follows in the ninth chapter of his book, against those who attempted to establish polytheism from the divinely-inspired fathers: If, therefore, at the behest of time, person and literary form or when the matter was urgent, the holy fathers temporarily employed their opponents' phrases to refute them with, we should not rashly exult over such phrases, disregarding those clearly uttered many times for the exposition of the faith in all their books with complete freedom, plainness and clarity for the benefit and salvation of us, their readers, lest we seem to be driving truth away while catching only at trifles.

Do you recognize these words, my admirable fellow, and confess that you were right to say them? You will, I think, say 'yes', if you do not oppose yourself besides the nature of the realities. Consider, therefore, that, in accordance with these fine principles of yours, even if someone allowed that the holy fathers, for some reason or other, on rare occasions used the words quoted by you in support of your detestable opinion, you ought not to have exulted senselessly over such expressions, disregarding those clearly uttered many times in all their books with complete freedom, plainness and clarity for the exposition of the faith, lest you be convicted, as you yourself said, of driving truth away while catching at trifles.

**27/34** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 15) **42/45** cf. supra, 30-34



AB

Line 39: ܒܪܡܫܬܘ, B: ܒܪܡܫܘ.

But if this is true, what are you to do if * you are deprived of confirmation of your wicked view even by these rare and occasional statements with an unusual meaning? Perhaps you will say: 'the doctors did call the hypostases "properties"'. What advantage is yours from that fact? For, as has been said frequently, we have no quarrel with you over that but over your defining the hypostases of the Holy Trinity as the characteristic properties viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession. When you put forward such things and produce them in justification, you are (as ATHANASIUS THE GREAT said) acting like someone charged with adultery, it may be, or murder, who defends himself against a charge of theft or lying.

But it would be as well to listen to the father's very words written in the *Encyclical Letter* or *First Oration against the Arians*. They are as follows: Nobody charged with adultery defends himself against a charge of theft, nor again would the complainant in a murder suit permit the accused were they to defend themselves, to say 'we have not cheated but have kept what was entrusted to us safe'. That would be more like a joke than an invalidation of the charge or a proof of the truth. And again: For a defence against one charge will not invalidate a different charge; but if we ought to do everything lawfully and justly, then a man ought to defend himself against the charges he is accused of and either prove that he has not committed the offence, or promise, if he is proved in the wrong, not to commit or do these things again. If he has committed and done them and will not make the promise but, instead, conceals some acts by speaking in defence of others, it is clear that he has not done right, but, indeed, is aware of his own wrongdoing.

**60/64** Athan. Alex., *Ep. ad episc. Aegypti et Libyae*, 11 (*PG* 25, 561B)
**65/72** Ibid. (*PG* 25, 561C - 564A)



f. 53rb

AB

Wise GREGORY, who occupied with sanctity the throne of Nyssa, is seen to have said as follows in the 29th chapter of the *Refutation of Eunomius* (whose beginning is: To want to help everybody was not, apparently): If, therefore, the concept of the energy indicates the substance, one nature of the two will be seen, energy and substance being found in the same equal marks and properties. If, however, the concepts of substance and energy are not the same but the meaning of * each is different, how can proofs of the points in question be given by things alien and foreign? It is just as if, when the substance of manhood is being inquired into and it is being discussed whether man is a laughing animal or an animal capable of grammar, someone should take, as proof of the former subject, the construction of a house or ship which a builder or shipwright has effected.

Knowing this, you ought as an exact expositor of the fathers' words to have produced the relevant proofs for what you wrote and, instead of filling your books with absolutely unavailing patristic testimonies, with the sole aim of seeming to speak learnedly and thereby to subvert the faith of the simple, you ought to have proved from clear and indisputable words by the divinely inspired fathers that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are ingeneracy, generacy and procession. For that way your proof would be seen to carry conviction with all lovers of truth.

Perhaps you will say that the Theologian ruled absolutely that the hypostases are ingeneracy, generacy and procession, when he said: For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the

**76/85** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (*PG* 45, 381AB; Jaeger I, p. 149, 1-11) **98/100** cf. supra, ch. 4, 464-466



ولكن يجب أن نعلم أن الله تعالى خلق الأشياء كلها بالحكمة والعلم والإرادة، وأن كل ما خلقه فهو حسن وجميل، وأن الإنسان هو أحسن الحيوانات وأكملها، وأن الله تعالى خلق الإنسان على صورته ومثاله، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يعرف الله ويعبده ويطيعه، وأن الله تعالى خلق الإنسان ليكون خليفة له في الأرض، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يتعلم العلوم والصنائع المختلفة، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يبني البيوت والسفن، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يصنع الأدوات والآلات، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يزرع الأرض ويحصد الزرع، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يربي الحيوانات ويستفيد منها، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يصنع الأطعمة والأشربة، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يلبس الثياب ويتزين بها، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يتزوج ويكون له أولاد وأحفاد، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له أصدقاء وأعداء، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له أعمال صالحة وأعمال سيئة، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له حسنات وسيئات، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له ثواب وعقاب، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له جنة ونار، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له خلود أو فناء، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له سعادة أو شقاء، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له نجاة أو هلاك، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له فوز أو خسران، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له رضا الله أو سخطه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له محبة الله أو بغضه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له قرب الله أو بعده، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له وصال الله أو هجره، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له لقاء الله أو فراقه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له رؤية الله أو حجابه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له كلام الله أو سكوته، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له سماع الله أو صممه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له نظر الله أو عماه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له علم الله أو جهله، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له قدرة الله أو عجزه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له إرادة الله أو كراهته، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له حياة الله أو موته، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له كلام الله أو سكوته، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له سمع الله أو صممه، وأن الإنسان هو الذي يستطيع أن يكون له بص

properties of the three)! 'How do you get that idea, clever fellow?', we shall retort. Have we not the same right as you to use your 'wordiness' and say that by talking of 'the properties of the three' the doctor by no means meant the characteristic properties of the prosopa but the prosopa themselves? For if you maintain that the patristic theologians, whenever they clearly mention the non-properly-subsistent characteristic properties of the prosopa, are speaking 'wordily' of the individually subsistent hypostases themselves, what is to stop us too maintaining that the doctor did not speak of the properties of the three as 'ingeneracy', 'generacy' and 'procession' but of the hypostases themselves? Either, then, prove clearly, with other statements by the Theologian, that the characteristic properties of the prosopa (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession) are the same as the hypostases and then we shall say that you have gained the point in question; or, if you cannot * prove this, you must plainly understand that you found nothing of help to your new-fangled teachings through these quotations of yours.

But to explain this point more clearly to readers by acquainting them briefly with an example, we shall observe that when, for instance, we say that the hypostases of Peter, Paul and John are consubstantial, we do not foolishly suppose, because we know certain functions etc. of, say, Peter, Paul and John, which we cannot think of as being Peter, Paul and John themselves, that *ipso facto* their hypostases too are other than they. For we knew before-



f. 53vb

AB flor. II from l. 129 on

Line 130: , B: .
Line 131: , B: .
Line 132: , flor. II: .
Line 136: , B: . , B: .

hand with certainty by many means that the hypostases of Peter, Paul and John are nothing other than Peter, Paul and John themselves, even though we said they are Peter's, Paul's and John's, because otherwise we should not have been able to separate them in any respects from the hypostases of the rest of men. The same is to be said of 'manhood's substance'; we do not recognize manhood's substance as something other than manhood itself, even though we say 'manhood's substance'. But because there are many other different substances of creatures, if we want to talk particularly about the human race, we make a distinction and say 'manhood's substance'. Again, if we say that there are many things, be it virtues, upright deeds or the like, of Peter, Paul and John, we shall not perforce be witlessly saying that their virtues, or whatnot, are the same as themselves, because we have laid it down that Peter's, Paul's and John's hypostases are Peter himself, Paul and John.

These distinctions, then, being made, what reason do you have, my excellent fellow, for using forms of speech to muddle the meaning of the precise statements by the divinely inspired fathers? Why are you ashamed of not admitting: that if we simply affirm that something is, e.g., Peter's, Paul's and John's (something not commonly agreed on by everybody whether as being the same or not the same as Peter, Paul and John), we are quite unable as



AB flor. II

Line 141: ..., B: ....
Line 143: ..., B: ....
Line 145: ..., flor. II: ....
Line 151: ..., flor. II: ....
Line 155: ..., B: ....

a result of * saying that they are Peter's, Paul's and John's, to determine whether they are Peter, Paul and John themselves or things other than they, until we show by further indisputable proofs either that they are, or that they are not, the same as they, because, by true investigation of the wording we have discovered that some of the things affirmed of Peter, Paul and John are the same as they whereas some are not the same? In this way too in the proposed question, if we find the holy fathers to have thought the hypostases of the Holy Trinity to be the characteristic properties of the prosopa (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession) and conversely these latter to be hypostases, clearly whenever they said 'the properties' or 'the idiomata' 'of the prosopa' or 'of the hypostases' they meant the hypostases or the prosopa themselves. But if, contrariwise, we have learned from their many divinely inspired teachings that the characteristic properties of the prosopa are not hypostases, it is imprudent, simply on hearing divinely inspired teachings that the characteristic properties of the prosopa are not hypostases, it is imprudent, simply on hearing 'the properties of Father, Son and Holy Ghost', to understand, without discrimination or inspection, either hypostases, or, again, characteristic properties of the hypostases, until we have clearly learned the sense of the phrase from the preceding and following words. Because on hearing the indeterminate 'the properties of Father, Son and Holy Ghost' we can understand it both as meaning the characteristic properties of the prosopa (if the sense of the written words leads us to that interpretation) and, again, as meaning the hypostases (if the sense of the context discloses such an interpretation to us) seeing that the God-clad doctors (as



f.54ra * ومحمد : وحمد ومحمد ومحمد وم

has been proved and will be proved again) by no means used the term 'properties' for the same signification but for different significations: for the hypostases and the characteristic properties of the hypostases.

Therefore, my clever fellow, it is pointless for you to produce in support of your opinion: The term 'hypostases' shall not disturb people, for the reason the Easterns say 'hypostases' is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa; and again: They have good grounds for denominating the properties of the prosopa 'subsisting hypostases', as we said before, because the Holy Ghost subsists and is; * even were the words unanimously admitted to be by Saint Epiphanius. For anyone making due use of the previous examination will say that Saint Epiphanius by no means understood ingeneracy, generacy and procession, but the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity themselves, as the subsisting properties of the prosopa. Hence your rock, and the inexpugnable refuge of your invincible fortress are hereby destroyed.

So much for this! We need no further argument because at this point the excellent fellow, exhibiting priestly good manners, removed the previously quoted text, as we have stated it above, from his recently written volumes, convinced, apparently, of the truth of the objections raised against him because of it.

**179/183** cf. supra, ch. 3, 200-204



AB flor. II up to l. 192

Line 193: ܐܝܬܝܠ, A: ܐܝܬܠ.

Line 196: ,ܬܘܒܬܐ, cf. ch. 1, line 54 (ܒܬ) and note.

Line 197: ܩܢܘܡܐ ... ܗܘ (as infra, line 236), cf. ch. 1, line 55 (ܩܢܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܚܕ ܕܐܬ).

Line 198: ܡܬܝܕܥܐܠ, A: ܡܬܝܕܥܐܠ.

Line 199: ܡܬܚܙܐ, B: ܡܬܚܙܐ.

For after a neighbour had disclosed to us his really outlandish impudence, his total want of respect and civility, we sent to the bookshop of the Museum of this great Christian city of the Alexandrians and, after inquiry, we found it completely removed from his book. Consequently, in great surprise and near incredulity at the attempted outrage, we thought we should examine the *Many-lined Apology* where he again quoted the same proof-text. So, having observed that the *Many-lined Apology* was also a product of his mischief, we deemed that a proper prudence required us to obtain a copy of both his expositions from his usual scribe. Reading these very carefully and comparing the falsified passages with the volumes prepared by him, in the great city I have mentioned, and sent to us by him in the beginning when we were living in the East, 'for judgement and correction' (as was shown at the start of this treatise) we found the precise volume of his book which he had sent us, containing in chapter 9: For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius, writing against heresies and saying: 'The term "hypostases" shall not disturb people, for the reason the Easterns say "hypostases" is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa'; and again: 'They have good grounds for denominating the

**211/218** cf. supra, ch. 3, 198-205



AB

Line 220: ܕܘܟ, B: ܕܘܟܐ.
Line 221: ܡܢܝ, B: ܡܢ ܡܝ.
Line 222: ܒܥܒ, B: ܡܢ ܒܥܒ.
Line 225: ܒܟܚ, B: ܡܢ ܒܟܚ. ܟܬܒ, B: ܟܬܒ.
Line 232: ܫܘܝܬ, B: ܫܘܝܬ.
Line 234: ܒܚܩܪ, B: ܒܚܩܪ.
Line 235: ܟܘܝ, cf. ch. 3, line 226 and note.

properties of the prosopa "subsisting hypostases", * as we said before, because the Holy Ghost subsists'? And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea etc. And: Hence, confessing that Immanuel's union was effected from two hypostases, or natures, we do not likewise state that he is thus from two properties, because the term 'hypostasis' is clearer and indicates the property subsisting in the substance. For this is the point of our previous quotation from Saint Epiphanius who says: 'For, they denominate the properties of the prosopa "subsisting hypostases", as we said before'. Now, in the newly written and falsified text instead of this there stands here: For what are we to say of Saint Gregory the Theologian who says in his oration *On the Lights:* 'But when I say "God", be illumined by one light 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'? And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea etc. And a little later: Hence, confessing that Immanuel's union was effected from two hypostases, or natures, we do not likewise state that he is thus from two properties, because the term 'hypostasis' is clearer and indicates the prop-

**218/224** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (ed. prima; n° 16) **223/224** cf. supra, 215-216 **226/232** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (ed. secunda; n° 17) **227/231** Greg. Naz., *Or. 39*, 11 (*PG* 36, 345C; *SChr.*, vol. 358, pp. 170-172); cf. supra, ch. 1, 72-76 **233/238** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (ed. secunda; n° 18)



f. 54va

AB

Line 236: ... , cf. supra, line 197 and note. , B: . , B: .

Line 239: , B: .

Line 245: , B: .

Line 248: , B: .

Line 252: , B: .

Line 253: , B: .

erty subsisting in the substance. For this is the point of our previous quotation from Saint Gregory who says: 'Be illumined by one light and by three, by three in properties or hypostases'.

These things in the book, which offend against divine laws and even human laws, are the work of an impudent and falsifying hand. But please may we also observe the additions and omissions he has embellished his *Many-lined Apology* with. For having attempted to imitate in many respects, indeed greatly to outdo, crazy Julian, he considered he would be at fault unless he made, as it were, an unforgettable and deathless memorial of his model * by corrupting and falsifying texts; hence having introduced, for examination, statements of his previously put in the *Many-lined Letter* spoken of, he made even more lavish use in it, so to say, of his lawless arguments. In that small volume of his *Many-lined Letter*, the volume which he himself got ready and despatched to us at the outset is this: For I am not dismayed by a rebuttal, but feel the hurt done to the truth because though it did not rebut anything it came as a rebuttal. But if in that very chapter and place were adduced testimonies from the fathers which confirm the statement, let no one fault the truth. For after the passage not one word interrupted the testimony adduced, for the very reason that it terminated the section it stood in, as follows: 'Let us quickly recall that it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching, to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance "hypostases" and to suppose they are not three realities even

**237/238** cf. supra, 227-228 cf. supra, ch. 3, 188-205

**251/268** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. prima);



ܣ ܟܬ ܠܟ ܟܐ ,ܟ ܒܢܝ ܐܝ ܟܐ : ܟܬܒܐ —
ܕܐܝܬܝܗܝ ܟܐܡܐ ܣ ⁘ ܐܬܐ ܒܒܐܝܟ ܟܐ ←
⁘ ܟܬܒܐ ܒܟ ܒ ܟܒܠ : ܟܒܠ ←

ܟܠ ܟܒ ܠܡ : ܟܬ ⁘
ܟ ܒܐ ܟ : ⁘ ⁘
: ⁘ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘
⁘ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘
⁘ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘
⁘ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘ f. 54vb
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⁘ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘
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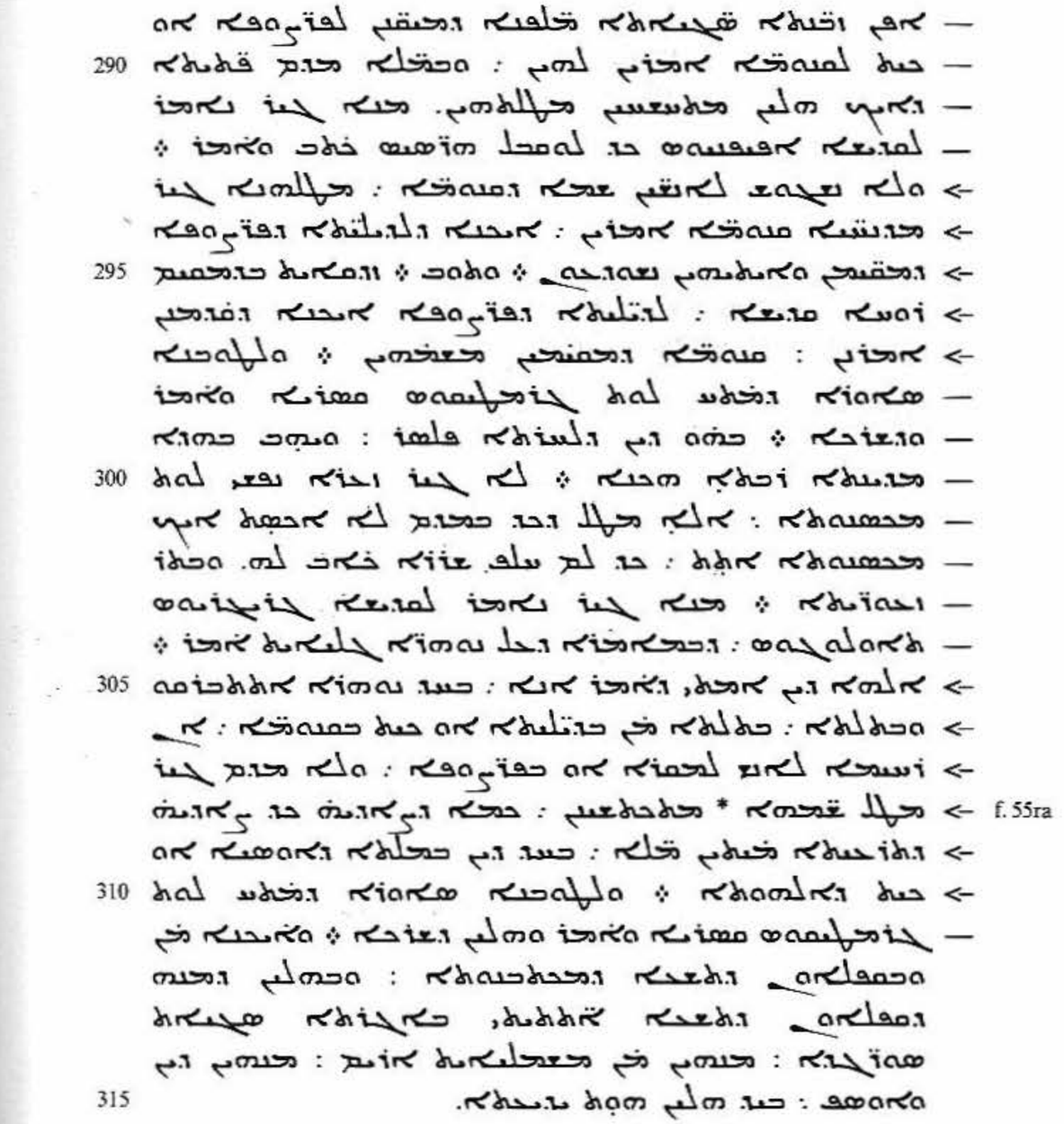
though the doctors frequently assert that they "characterize" the prosopa or hypostases, and use certain wordy expressions of this kind about them. For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius, writing against heresies and saying: "The term 'hypostases' shall not disturb people, for the reason the Easterns say 'hypostases' is to indicate the subsisting and existing properties of the prosopa"; and again: "They have good grounds for denominating the properties of the prosopa 'subsisting hypostases', as we said before, because the Holy Ghost subsists"? And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea etc.' But in the later version he falsified and published in this great city, there is this: For I am not dismayed by a rebuttal but feel the hurt done to the truth because though it did not rebut anything it came as a rebuttal. And a little later: For what are we to say of Saint Gregory the Theologian who says clearly in his oration *On the Lights:* 'But when I say "God", be illumined by one light 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'? And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea etc. This shows how in chapter 9 of his book and in the quotations from chapter 9 in the many-lined letter he completely removed some passages and added others.

**270/271** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. secunda); cf. supra, 251-253
**272/279** Ibid.; cf. supra, 262-268 et 225-232





AB

Line 308: ܡܥܒܕܢܐ, B: ܡܢ ܡܥܒܕܢܐ.
Line 310: ܕܝܘܣܩܘ, B: ܕܝܣܩܘ.
Line 313: ,ܒܗܝܢ, B: ,ܒܗܝܢ.

Accordingly we will also point out what he falsified by an examination of the passages he had removed and added. He says this too, then, for confirmation of what he originally said in his book: Perhaps, then, we may be criticized on the grounds that the proof is defective and constructed with only a couple of testimonies. But it would be wrong to take much offence at this. The law of apostolic teaching affirms that *by two or three witnesses every word shall be established*. Nevertheless, critics of the statement may, if they like, have further testimonies in which the holy fathers recognize the properties as identical with the hypostases. In the oration *On the Lights*, then, Gregory the Theologian clarifies our ideas and shows the single meaning in the terms by saying: 'But when I say "God", be illumined by one light 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'.

These are the precise words which escaped his mischievous and audacious hand. Let us, indeed, compare the text of the falsification with them: Perhaps, then, we may be criticized on the grounds that the proof is defective and constructed with only a couple of testimonies. But it would be wrong to take much offence at this. The law of apostolic teaching affirms that *by two or three witnesses every word shall be established*. Nevertheless, critics of the statement may, if they like, have further testimonies in which the holy fathers recognize the properties as identical with the hypostases. In the oration *On the Lights*,

**285/297** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. prima) **288/289** II Cor. 13:1 **293/297** cf. supra, 227-231 **300/313** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. secunda); cf. supra, 285-297



AB

Line 321: ܒܥܝܗܝ, B: ܒ݂ ܒܥܝܗܝ.

Line 332: ܒܥܒܕܒܕ, B: ܒ݂ ܒܥܒܕܒܕ. ܫܘܪܟ bis, A: ܫܘܪܟ (wrongly). ܒܗܝܬ, B: ܒܗܝܬ.

then, as we have already said, Gregory the Theologian clarifies our ideas and * shows the single meaning in the terms by saying: 'But when I say "God", be illumined by one light 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'.

Let us observe the addition of as we have already said. For our hero having adduced in the *Many-lined Letter* those words from chapter nine of his book (amongst which were initially both the passage he earlier thought to be by Saint Epiphanius and the proof-text of proven Severus) a little later made the statement given above in the *Many-lined Letter*: Nevertheless, critics of the statement may, if they like, have further testimonies, and for 'confirmation' of the pair of proof-texts he put the previously quoted statement of the Theologian. Latterly, frightened, I suppose, of criticism, he rejected the proof-text, previously adduced by him as the *ipsissima verba* of Saint Epiphanius, and surreptitiously removed it, substituting for it the passage from the Theologian just quoted. Inevitably, therefore, to avoid the suspicion of adding anything new to the earlier text, he was obliged to make a fresh join between the quotation from the Theologian and its repetition in the same passage: as we have already said.

**314** cf. supra, 307 **319/320** cf. supra, 304-305 **329** cf. supra, 307



AB up to ܒܗܝܢ (l. 364)

Line 354: ܒܪܝܟܐ, B: ܒܪܟܐ.
Line 357: ܪܝܫܐ, B: ܪܝܫܐ.

Besides these let us observe a third impudent fabrication in the same *Many-lined Letter* in connection with Saint Epiphanius. For having spoken, shortly after what has just been quoted, about the Theologian in these very words: Having taken the term 'property' over which there was no dissension as meaning the same things as 'hypostasis' and 'prosopon', and said that those divided not in natures but in properties are three i.e. that 'prosopa' and 'hypostases' signify nothing else but subsisting properties, he goes on immediately to add * as Saint Epiphanius testified when defending the Easterns. In the falsified version he has excised as Saint Epiphanius testified when defending the Easterns and substituted as we have adduced God-clad fathers teaching in many other passages. The sentence runs in its entirety as follows: Having taken the term 'property' over which there was no dissension as meaning the same things as 'hypostasis' and 'prosopon', and said that those divided not in natures but in properties are three i.e. that 'prosopa' and 'hypostases' signify nothing else but properties, as we have adduced God-clad fathers teaching in many other passages.

**333/338** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. prima) **339/340** cf. supra, 337-338
**340/341** cf. infra, 345-346 **342/346** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. secunda)



f. 55va

A

*Concerning the fact that he did not venture otherwise upon such attacks until he had judged fit to accuse us too of being forgers when we published his exact words, in the same way that Julian – who in many things was his teacher and master – accused our God-clad father Severus in his* Additions.

These texts, having been set out distinctly and having, by their clear comparison with one another, unmasked the malice of truth's enemies, let us try to refute clearly the mischief of the absurd falsification on the basis of their sense or, rather, senselessness. For besides the falsification there will be entirely visible the scheme for misrepresentations and false accusations based on it. For since the total defamer of truth acted furtively and slavishly, and is convicted of not frankly correcting himself, it is clear that he will altogether deny the attempt too. But if he does even this, the last resort will be for him to reach the very crowning-point of wickedness, and attempt a counter-charge of falsification against those who publish his true and unfalsified texts, to end up being seen not only as a falsifier but also as a lying defamer, a villain and a slanderer. None the less, this will not succeed when the very examination of the fabricated texts, alongside the books he published, rebuts his mischief and his godless, slanderous design.

As we said above, did not his master in many matters, crazy Julian, plan this device against our God-clad father Severus? In the treatise * *Against Julian's additions* SEVERUS clearly proved to everybody the lawlessness and wickedness of hidden slander, when he spoke as follows: For, had he cared for truth, he should have

**27/32** Sev. Ant., *C. Add. Iul.*, 3 (*CSCO* 295, p. 9, 3-9; *296*, p. 7, 9-15)



ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܣܝܦܐ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܐܢܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܝܘܠܝܢܘܣ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܟܬܒܘܗܝ ܕܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܐܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܗ ܠ

written a pure defence of his Tome and have aided his arguments, and he should not have added other things from time to time covertly, like beaten slaves speaking through clenched teeth, to make it look as if we, who had reminded him of these things at the outset, had falsified words by cutting them short. And again: Are these, then, not acts of perfidy? Me, who reminded him fraternally of correct thought about God, he tries, by an ambush, to prove a slanderer and falsifier, by devising his additions without abandoning his opinion or heeding the wise counsellor who says, *Sow not a lie against your brother*, nor reverencing the divine book of Proverbs which foretells what will be the end of those who labour emptily in lying, when it says, *He who gets treasures by a lying tongue pursues vanities and comes to the snares of death.*

Who will not marvel at the similarity of these cases? For the doctor exactly prefigured, so to say, the murderous attack by this recent author (or, more appropriately, falsifier). And this attack too, when canonically condemned, will suffice, quite apart from his profane heresy, to strip him entirely of the order and rank of the priesthood.

However, let us leave this aside for the present! Let us again listen to his words. Perhaps, then, he says, we may be criticized on the grounds that the proof is defective and constructed with only a couple of testimonies. But it would be wrong to take much offence at this. The law of apostolic teaching affirms that *by two or three witnesses every word shall be established*. Nevertheless, critics of the statement may, if they like, have further testimonies in which the holy fathers recognize the properties as identical with the hypostases. In the oration *On the Lights*, then, as we have already said, Gregory the Theologian clarifies our ideas

**32/39** Sev. Ant., *C. Add. Iul.*, 4 (*CSCO* 295, p. 11, 1-15; *296*, p. 8, 22-32)
**36** Sir. 7:12 **38/39** Prov. 21:6 **47/59** cf. supra, ch. 5, 300-313



A

and shows the single meaning in the terms by saying: 'But when I say
55 "God", be illumined by one light 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'.

Who can worthily extoll Christ our true God who, in his con-
60 stant care for truth, frees those who love him from all hurt in many
ways, especially in the heat of trials, but frustrates the evil plans of
those wont to fight with him, who have set their hope upon a lie,
so that one needs no extensive contest to make an easy escape
65 from their machinations and ruses? For is there anybody, save the
very simple and naive, who will not recognize the villainy of this
cunning sophist? For had this passage by the Theologian really been
quoted earlier, by what sequence of thought could one who says
with such pride and drunken exaltation perhaps we may be criticized
70 on the grounds that the proof is defective and constructed with only a
couple of testimonies and again nevertheless critics of the statement
may, if they like, have further testimonies leave aside the quotation of
many testimonies, as he says, yet, on the other hand, repeat him-
self by quoting the very passage of the Theologian given a little
75 earlier as if it were something strange and quite unquoted hith-
erto? Will not everybody rightly laugh at one who pretends that
he will be criticized by others for introducing, in confirmation of
his opinion, only a couple of testimonies and who with so much
loftiness, promises immediately to produce other patristic state-
80 ments, yet who, before the quotation of the other testimonies,

**63** cf. Is. 28:15; 30:12; Jer. 13:25 **69/71** cf. supra, 47-49 **71/72** cf. supra, 51-52



— لمحنه : ولمل هنحلم المحلم تقحمم كحنم نمحا :
→ نملمم ا.ب نمحلم، ا.نحا نمرم : حمل نحمام نمهلحاصو
→ ونحلهم. حلهم في حالقهم نمو حلم حمنقم. م/
→ انحم * لمرم لحمام نمو حمَّيوحم. ولم حرح لما f. 56ra
→ وحلل تقحمم وحلحلهم سم : وحم ا.ومالحم حا. ومالحم
→ ا.هل حلحم تقلم تقلم. حمل ا.ب وحلهم ا.نموحمم نمو حلم
* ح ا.نملمحم

ونحن نمرم ا.نحم ومحم ا.وحم لحمامم نملم
65 حالم. هن ماحا. وحلح نيم ا.هاتم : تاتم قلمحم
هلهاحم حم حمام ا.نقسم : لتمحصم، في حي حا
هنلحم حمناه. لتمحتم ا.ب حيم ا.هن ا.وحم
حرام ا.هنحم : ولم ا.لحلهم لمحتمم، وحن حرلل :
70 حرام ا.لم هلم نرم حا م/حلحم وحلحم ومحم : لحلم

repeats again one of the couple of earlier testimonies, introducing it and stating it in settlement of the point at issue? Yet why, if he judged it right to recall, before the quotation of the other testimonies he promised, the statement by the Theologian which had already been quoted previously, as he said in the very passage, did he not also recall the proof-text, annexed to it, from the God-clad patriarch?

It is marvellous how God, who ever unmasks the mischief of wicked thoughts and unlawful doings, has wisely * darkened his counsels and mocked his furtive acts. For although the benefit of the majority did not require him to be mocked so absurdly, and although no shame would have been attached to him on the part of men of sound sense if he had corrected himself with frankness and civility, and had done with candour what he did with a shame befitting evil slaves and slanderers (for being men and endued

105/113 Sev. Ant., loco non repetto



ولم فاعِه معْانهْم مْتْهْم فهم حتِب : f. 56rb
ولمنهْم انهْ، انمِه لمْه مِنه مْانه حْهْم بهْمِه. حِلّ
حتم انِ مِ هِ هِن ماانهْم انِ : انمِه حْهْنهْم
انمْانهْم مِعْانهْم مْلِ انمِهْمْا، : لهمِه. لْنِه هْم
انحلل مِلْنهْم هْ، انهْم حِ حْه مِهْ انِنْا حِن
حْانِه لم انِه لْمِه وْانِنْه مِهْمِه.

ولحْهانحْه مِهْ انِنْه مِلْهم هْن انحْلِ لهْنهْم
حْنِه مِهْ لم لهْم حْهْنه حْنهْم مْحِلْ حْه
حْنِ

discussion concerns divine doctrines and he has ventured to do this very thing in connection with the faith than which there is nothing higher for believers and those who perceive the truth, no condemnation can be laid down for him by men, but we abandon it to him who said *Vengeance is mine, I will repay!*

These words of the doctor are aimed at him. But our humble selves earnestly beseech sober-minded readers not to spurn their redemption but to use these and similar arguments (which clearly guide them to the truth), with intelligence and the right vigilance, so that, deriving sustenance from them for the rebuttal of error, they may (ere their minds are enmeshed and enslaved in falsehood by the weight of sufferings, long habit and time), easily and very wisely illumine their souls with orthodox, patristic doctrines and become entirely free from participation in blasphemies against God, the wickedness of which has been made clear frequently and shall be again, with our Lord Jesus Christ, directing our discourse to examine * the rest of the doctors' words.

**112/113** Rom. 12:19



f. 56va

A

*Examination of Saint Severus' statement in which he says that substance is indicative of the community but hypostasis of the property. And demonstration of the fact that in his aim of utterly concealing the truth and so avoiding rebuttals, the author avoids saying where the majority of the proof-texts, he puts forward, came from, whereas the holy fathers for each proof-text proclaim clearly not only the author of the work but also the themes of the writings, and thereby make the truth manifest.*

So let us pass on to the statement of our God-clad father Severus which is set out next, from which this author attempts to establish something or other of his evil opinion again. Having said, indeed, as previously set down, For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius writing against heresies and saying such-and-such, without anything intervening he adds: And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea: 'For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property'? Having set this down, therefore, I reminded the listener and said: 'Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis "indicative of the property"'.

**13/14** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*, ubi iteratur *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 14); cf. supra, ch. 3, 198-200 **15/23** Ibid.; cf. supra, ch. 3, 204-211



ܐܦ ܗܟ ܕ : ܡܝܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܬܪ ܡܢ
ܕܡܬܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ : ܡܐ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ.
ܠܐ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕ ; ܗ ܡܬܚܙܝܬܐ. ܡܕܡ ܕܐ ܕ
ܒܗ ܕܐ ܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܕ : ܡܬܐ ܕ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܕ
ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕ ܗ ܐܦ ; ܠܐ ܐ : ܡܬܚܙܝܬܐ
ܠ ܡܩܕ ܡܬܒܪ ܕ ܐܦ ܐ ܕ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܗ
: ܡܐ ܕ ܡܬ ܠ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠ ܡܬܚܙܐ
ܕ ; ܒܗ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܠ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠ ܡܬܚܙܐ
ܠ ܡܬ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܡܬ ܕ ܐ ܕ ; ܡ ܕ ܐ ܕ ; ܡ ܕ ܐ ܕ ; ܡ

documents closely), negligent of all this, he wrote: And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea?
40 What could be easier than saying, 'And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea and says in the 17th chapter of the second book against him?' if, as we said before, his sole aim was not to try to conceal the truth of what he says and quotes, in ways both great and small?

45 So, with the aim that readers may understand the plainness and exactitude in every detail on the part of the divinely inspired fathers and this novel author's carelessness and want of judgement, it will not be profitless to recall a few words by the same proven father SEVERUS, which are set down in the first chapter
50 of the fifth book of his treatise *Against Felicissimus* and are as follows: But by usefully repeating these things to you, I have made

Even though it be considered trifling, nevertheless, it will suf-
25 fice to demonstrate the writer's perverse approach to the points under discussion, that he is unwilling to indicate clearly where the majority of the proof-texts he sets down come from. For there are various volumes written by Saint Epiphanius against heresies containing, correspondingly, many tomes, and he took the above
30 words from the first tome of the third volume *Against Heresies* without indicating either the volume or the tome from which they come. He only said For what are we to say of Saint Epiphanius, writing against heresies and saying. And again here, though there are various books against the Grammarian of Caesarea * and chapters not few
35 in number (for which reason he ought to have indicated the book and the chapter from which he has quoted the proof-text by our holy father Severus, for the sake of those intending to examine the documents closely), negligent of all this, he wrote: And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea?

**32/33** cf. supra, 13-14 **38/39** cf. supra, 15-16 **51/69** Sev. Ant., *C. Felicissimum*, V, 1 (fragm. hucusque incognitum)



25 ونحن ايضا كمطرقين : ولكن فضلا لهذه المسئلة المشكلة : ان لم نبين ان هذين كتابان من كتب ابيفانيوس الكثيرة المجلدات : في اي منها وفي اي مقالة منها ذكر هذه الالفاظ التي ذكرها هذا المتكلف على سويرس : فانه قد ذكر في كتابه الذي سماه ضد النحوي في المجلد الثاني من الكتاب الثالث من كتب ابيفانيوس ضد الهرطقات في المقالة الثالثة والستين : وقد ذكر ايضا

known the doctor's words, put to shame the asinine and contentious ears of the impious, and demonstrated with clarity to the listeners the soundness of his profession, which takes no delight in the heretical, unsound and implausible fabrications which they have wickedly ventured to publish against him. Julian fabricates the name only (I mean, of Saint Peter the martyr) whereas Felicissimus has encompassed holy Timothy too, in his fabrication, falsely quoting his book to make the deception of his pen plausible, and this despite our making known the author of the discourse at every testimony, and clearly announcing the intentions of the writings and the number of the books which are devoted to the intentions and the long-standing causes which each quoted testimony has been concerned with. For this is the way with truth and the words of the wisdom from on high which goes forth and has free expression, and shows the light to everyone. For according to the sacred word of Proverbs: *Wisdom is honoured in the streets and in the market-places she lifts up her voice, on the walls, indeed, is she proclaimed.* But slander and falsehood are fond of hiding under the covering of tricks, just as thieves and bandits love to hide behind walls and darkness.

* These things being thus said by the wise and careful doctor, come now, let us rely upon his prayers and elucidate the meaning of this careful statement of his which is set down for examination, so that captious criticism and lying slander against him may be dispersed like smoke and the discussion lead us rightly to the destruction of the schemes devised by this clever writer against other divinely-inspired doctors.

So what does this cunning fellow want to claim from the fact that the doctor says: For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the sub-

**65/67** Prov. 1:20-21 **78/83** cf. supra, 16-21



f. 57ra

A

stance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property? It is that he calls the hypostasis indicative of the property. For the holy patriarch by saying the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property, has declared that hypostasis, being indicative of the property, is the property!

First, then, let the fair-minded listener remember what we said, and understand that this excellent fellow does not make the defence, just uttered, against us but against those, rather, who do not call the hypostasis 'property' at all. For, as we have said hosts of times, we have no quarrel over whether we may term the hypostases simply 'properties', but over our affirmation that it is improper to reckon the hypostases of the Holy Trinity (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession) as characteristic properties. Later on we shall examine more closely the meaning of those texts and scrutinize the senselessness of the unwholesome doctrines. For, notice, the clever fellow says: The father called the hypostasis 'indicative of the property' – meaning the characteristic property. 'Why', someone will ask him, 'should the doctor be defining the hypostasis as indicative of the characteristic property and not be using the term "property" as indicative of a single substrate and prosopon, because not only the characteristic property but also a single prosopon is, as has been said, termed "property" by the fathers?' However, let it be the case (if he likes) that hypostasis is indicative of the characteristic property; why then should the hypostasis be the characteristic property? Is it * because it indicates the characteristic property (to grant this point by way of concession)? But why must it be inferred, since indicator and indicated are not neces-

**83** cf. supra, 23 **84/85** cf. supra, 82-83 **97/98** cf. supra, 23



A flor. II from l. 105 on

Lines 87-88: ..... ,ܡܘܗܠܐ, cf. ch. 3, lines 233-234 and note.

sarily always the same, that because the hypostasis is indicative of
110 the characteristic property it must be the characteristic property?



ܕܐܢ ܚܕ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܘ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܘ ܠܐ

*Chapter 8*

*Concerning the fact that in attempting to prove from the above-mentioned statement by our father Severus that the hypostasis is the characteristic property, because the doctor said that the hypostasis indicates the property, the excellent fellow is plainly refuted on the ground that he understands indicator and indicated, characterizer and characterized, signifier and signified as being throughout the same thing. And sufficient examination of the fathers' words on this point; from which it is again demonstrated that it is highly impious, as well as senseless, to profess the characteristic properties of the substance as substance.*

But perhaps he will say that indicator and indicated, characterizer and characterized, signifier and signified, are the same thing and that it is appropriate for him to quote, as patristic testimonies in 'confirmation' of it, this one by the Theologian, who says, as has been shown in the preceding, For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three); and that one as he set it out in chapter 15 of his book, by holy PROCLUS, who wrote, By confessing the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we do not, by means of the number, import three Gods into the faith, for the Godhead is indicative of the substance. However, he also adduces wise and proven Severus, who, as he supposes, confirms his opinion. He says this, in fact, about Severus in the letter written by his wise self and by certain of his bishops to the holy bishops of the Eastern province: As you are yourselves aware, the patriarch Severus, like him, distinguished substance and hypostasis for us by defining the former

**16/18** cf. supra, ch. 5, 98-100 **20/22** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 15: Procl. Constantinop., *Ep. unifor.* (*ACO* IV, 2, p. 65, 27-28) **26/43** Dam. Alex., *Ep. ad episc. Orientis*



ولكن لعله سيقول إن المدلول والدال، والمميز والمتميز، والمفهم والمفهوم، هي الشيء نفسه وإنه يليق به أن يقتبس، كشهادات آبائية لتأكيده، هذا الذي للاهوتي، الذي، كما تبين في ما تقدم، عندما نقول طبيعة واحدة وثلاثة أقانيم (لأن الأول يدل على الطبيعة والثاني على خواص الثلاثة)، وذاك الذي وضعه في الفصل الخامس عشر من كتابه، البروقلس المقدس، الذي كتب: إننا بالاعتراف بالآب والابن والروح القدس لا نأتي، من أجل الإيمان، بثلاثة آلهة، لأن العدد يدل على الطبيعة. ولكنه يقول أيضاً إن العدد يدل على الخواص. وهكذا يستشهد بسفيروس الحكيم، الذي، كما يظن، يؤكد رأيه، كما يقول هو نفسه في الرسالة التي كتبها بنفسه وبعض أساقفة الشرق إلى الأساقفة القديسين: كما تعلمون أنتم أيضاً، فإن البطريرك سفيروس، مثلنا، ميز الجوهر والأقنوم، وعرّف الأول بأنه يدل على الطبيعة المشتركة لكل الذين يشتركون فيها، والثاني بأنه يدل على الخواص التي تميز كل واحد عن الآخر. ولكن، كما يقول هو نفسه، فإن الجوهر والأقنوم هما الشيء نفسه، لأن الجوهر هو الأقنوم نفسه، والأقنوم هو الجوهر نفسه. وهكذا

as indicative of the community * but the latter as indicative of the property. For that reason, we set out only this short selection of the many passages as a reminder for you. Now, if certain parties elaborate upon these quotations, asserting that the properties they recognize as hypostases also, are one thing, and the characteristic properties of those hypostases are another thing, and are fearful about the form of speech, let them tell us how the wise patriarch said that hypostasis is characteristic of a substrate, and let them admit hypostases of hypostases. To make the point clear for readers, we will quote expressly the very text of the doctor from the fourth chapter of the second book of the work *Against the Caesarean,* which contains the following: 'This, then, to sum up, is what we are saying: that substance is indicative of the community and the generic sense, whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate which we term also 'prosopon' when it exists in its own proper subsistence, whether it be simple or brought together into indivisible union by composition'. And again, he writes a few lines later concerning our same divinely inspired father: The same doctor instructs us again in what follows, by saying: 'But in that other there is a great and wide difference. For substance is indicative of the genus and the sense inclusive of many species, whereas hypostasis is a determination of some one species i.e. it is indicative of the prosopon which has by its property non-participation with the fellow-members of the genus, and embraces the substrate in its proper mark'.

**38/43** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 4 (*CSCO* 111, pp. 80,26 - 81,4; *112*, p. 63, 26-31) **44/50** Dam. Alex., *Ep. ad episc. Orientis* **45/50** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, p. 57, 14-20; *112*, p. 45, 22-29)



A, f. 57va

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Line 32: ܟ ܡܫܬܡܫ, cf. ch. 10, line 81 (ܡܫܬܡܫ).

Line 37: ܕܦܓܪ ..... ܡܘܡܐ, cf. ch. 11, line 26 (ܡܘܡܐ ..... ܕܐܝܬ).

Line 44: ܫܘܦܪ, cf. ch. 11, line 33 (ܫܘܦܪ).

Line 52: ܐܚܕ, cf. ch. 11, line 50 (ܐܚܕ ܕܓ). ܡܫܬܡܫ ,ܟ, cf. ch. 11, line 51 (ܡܫܬܡܫ).

When Damian says this and quotes these words, what are we to say, except that his heresy obtains all its supposed force, by mixing up and muddling the various senses through the similarity or sameness of the terms and words? For above, in the matters previously examined, the excellent fellow muddlingly mixes up the names and the properties and the hypostases, and defines them as mutually identical, compounding, so to say, a single cup of impious confusion; * whereas here he battles against the truth insatiably, and, as it were filled full with falsehood, tries by these absurd attacks, to decree with a general canon, as it were, that all indicators, signifiers and characterizers are the same as the indicated, signified and characterized. Otherwise, by what necessity of valid reasonings does he struggle to prove (if it so happens that the characteristic property is indicated by the hypostasis and the hypostasis is characterized by the property) that the hypostasis and its characteristic property are mutually identical, unless he reckons as absolutely identical all characterizers and characterized, indicators and indicated, and all signifiers and signified? For were he to posit as absolutely different from one another indicators and indicated, characterizers and characterized, and likewise signifiers and signified, his aim would have the opposite conclusion. He would be compelled to acknowledge that the characteristic properties of the hypostases are one thing, and the hypostases characterized by them another thing. But if, again, he defines some of the characterizers and characterized, signifiers and signified, and again, some indicators and indicated as being identical, but some as not being identical, it will thus be impossible for him to prove from the God-clad patriarch's speaking of the hypostasis as 'characterizing the property', that the hypostasis is the characteristic property (even were one to grant him that the hypostasis is indicative of the characteristic property) until he gives a grounding to this



f. 57vb

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A flor. II from L. 62 on

from other demonstrations. For on conceding that some indicators and indicated are different from one another, he would have good cause to learn that the ones under discussion are some of those that are different from one another. So, the upshot is that since it is his endeavour to prove (from the stated fact that the teacher of truth spoke of the hypostasis as characterizing the property) that the hypostasis is the characteristic property of the hypostasis, then he must acknowledge (as we said before), as mutually identical, indicators and indicated, characterizers and characterized, and likewise, signifiers and signified.

Therefore, let us investigate this matter before those others. Let us * clarify our understanding on this point with the help of the fathers' words and thoughts. BASIL, then wise in things divine, wrote in the *Refutation*, instructing us as follows: 'Ingenerate', if it is a name, is not a substance, for names are indicative of substances, and are not themselves substance. Again, in the first book *Against Eunomius* he also says the following: Amongst the names used of God, then, some are indicative of what belongs with God but some, on the contrary, of what does not belong with him. From both these an impression, so to say, of God is created for us: from the denial of things inappropriate to him and from the acknowledgement of things belonging with him. And later on, again: We call God 'good', 'just', 'creator' and 'judge' and everything else of this kind. As, then, in the former case the expressions indicated a denial and negation of what is alien to God, so

**95/97** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* IV (*PG* 29, 681 C); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 22, 115-116 **98/103** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 10 (*PG* 29, 533C; *SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 204); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 22, 63-67 **103/107** Ibid. (*PG* 29, 536B; *SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 206); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 22, 81-85



f. 58ra

A flor. I for lines 101-103 and from l. 104 on (without XYZ from l. 110 on) flor. II up to l. 97

Lines 102-103: ..... , cf. Book II, ch. 22, line 129 ( ).

Line 109: , cf. Book II, ch. 22, line 73 ( ).

Line 110: , cf. Book II, ch. 22, lines 88-89 ( ).

here they indicate the positing and the existence of what is God's own and viewed as fittingly belonging with him. In the letter, too, written to his brother Gregory *On Substance and Hypostasis*, he says: One who says 'man' has effected a vague understanding in the ear by the indefiniteness of the meaning, so that the nature is signified by the term whereas the reality itself, which subsists and is signified properly, is not indicated by the term. But one who says 'Paul' has shown that the nature subsists in the reality which is signified by the name. This then is the hypostasis: not the indefinite thought of the substance, which, as a result of the generality of the object indicated, obtains no stability; but that thought which presents and delimits the common and unbounded in some reality by means of the properties appearing on it; such a thing as Scripture is wont to do too in the narrative about Job and in many other places. For because it was about to relate Job's circumstances, it first recalled what was common and said '*man*', and immediately defined him in his particularity by the addition '*a certain*'. Yet with regard to the description of the substance, since that would bring no benefit * to the proposed aim of the discourse, it was silent, whereas it characterizes '*a certain*' by its own features stating the place and the features of his mode of life and all the externals which, being taken together, would distinguish him and set him apart from the general meaning.

In similar fashion, when corresponding with the town councillors of Neocaesarea, he wrote as follows: But if it is said: *Go and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost*, we should not think on that account that a single name has been entrusted

**108/126** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 38*, 3 (*PG* 32, 328AC; Forlin Patrucco, p. 180) **120/121** cf. Iob 1:1 **123/126** cf. Iob 1:1sq. **128/141** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 210*, 4 (*PG* 32, 773BC; Courtonne, II, pp. 193-194); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 21, 32-45 **128/129** Matth. 28:19



ܡܠܟܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ : ܐܝܬ ◁
ܕܝ ܐܡܪ ◁ ܐܢܫ ◁ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ◁ ܘܒܪܐ ◁ ◁ ◁

to us. For just as one who says *Paul and Silvanus and Timothy* has mentioned three names but linked them together with the word '*and*', so one who states the name of Father and Son and Holy Ghost, states three and connects them by the conjunction, teaching that under each name lies a proper meaning because the names are indicative of the realities. But nobody with even a slight share of intelligence doubts that the realities have full, proper being. Father and Son and Holy Ghost have the same nature and one Godhead but different names, which display to us definite and complete ideas. For it is impossible for a mind which has not been made aware of the properties of each, to perform an unconfused doxology to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

What is evident from these divinely inspired words of the doctors? For the teacher of truth stated expressly that the indicators are not the same as the indicated, by saying: for names are indicative of substances, and are not themselves substance. Are we not to understand this likewise through the subsequent words of the same doctor? Unless we witlessly assert that the names are identical both with what belongs with God and with what does not belong with him, on the ground that he called the names indicative of what belongs with God, and of what does not belong with him. Who will not

**131** et **132** I Thess. 1:1; II Thess. 1:1 **144/145** cf. supra, 96-97
**149/150** cf. supra, 99-100



ܥ ܘܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܥ
ܥ ܕܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ : ܐܢܐ ܟܡܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ : ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܥ
ܥ ܟܠ ܐܢܐ ܐܡ ܟܬܒ : ܐܐ ܐܡ ܟܠ ܐܝܢ ܕ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܥ
ܥ ܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܟܠܗ : ܕ ܟܠ ܐܝܢ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܟܬ ܐ ܥ
ܥ ܟ ܐܝܟ ܟܠܗ ܕ ܐ ܟ ܐ : ܕ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܥ
ܥ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ ܐ ܟ

turn with revulsion from people who impiously permit themselves to utter this rubbish? But what do we understand by impression of God in this passage? Basil says: From both these an impression, so to say, of God is created for us: from the denial of things inappropriate to him and from the acknowledgement of things belonging with him. Are we not to understand the small and modest imagery and knowledge we have about God? * I think, we know already that every right thinking person acknowledges this. Let sophists, then, accept that the signifiers and the characterizers are by no manner of means identical with the signified and characterized; if denial of things inappropriate to God and the acknowledgment of things belonging with him also stamp an impression of God in us, they are not the same as God. But he says again: So that the nature is signified by the term whereas the reality itself, which subsists and is signified properly, is not indicated by the term. But one who says 'Paul' has shown that the nature subsists in the reality which is signified by the name. Notice that the doctor says that the nature is signified by the term, and again that the reality is signified by the name. What, then, is this sophistical author to do? Will he reckon the nature and the reality as names, and satisfy himself richly with the nightmarish fantasy all this involves? Will he go on step by step and boldly decree that even the indications whereby Job is characterized are the same as Job, so that Job will be discovered by this remarkable expositor to be a country, a place, the features of his mode of life and all the externals which, taken together, distinguished him and set him apart from the general meaning of 'man'? For (as has previously been set out) the doctor expressly said, when he talked about divine Scripture: Yet with regard to the description of the substance, since that would bring no benefit to the proposed aim of the discourse, it was silent, whereas it characterizes '*a certain*' by its own features stating the place and the fea-

**152/153** cf. infra, 153-154 **153/155** cf. supra, 100-103 **160/162** cf. supra, 153-155 **163/166** cf. supra, 110-113 **167** cf. supra, 163-164 **168** cf. supra, 166 **174/176** cf. infra, 180-182 **177/182** cf. supra, 121-126



ومكن انك لمعم : حتوانكم بعبة لتعمم. ومكن
انك هنا لم حي ضمي امعلى انسكمة حكاحي
انعلاة. حكم ان ولحمعم ازكمم وانكم نفعك.
> ازمنا في حي معكم نعلنك. معنازكم انه من انحضع
> ومحلنك انعلكمة حي معكم لكم نعلنانك. ضن انه
> انعلاه بعبة : مكه انحضنازكم ضن انحلنك في معكم
> حضع حكم ÷ حم انحكم حي معكم حكلنك بعبة
حكماكم. ماضع انحضنازكم حي معكم. حكم مكمل نحكم 180
وكم حكلحكم عكمكم. نسعت لحكم ولمضنازكم
تقحكم : ومكلنكمكة نعضت حي ولايمكة ولحكمكة
انحكمي. ومكنازكم نحة فاحمكم نعضت : ازنع ضي
عنازكم انحتيانحضت حكمة بعبة : ضي حة ضي
مكمكمت لحمحت. بعبكم انعكنكم بعبة حي وكم 185
ازنكم كحضحم : ومزكلنكم ومنانحكم مكمكمت ومعنازكم
ازنكم : ومكمي ولم انحة حي لحة بعبكم مكمكمت
فاتعلمت ومزانمضم، حي عنازكم لحكم. حم ححكلكم
لحة بعبكم انحانحكم ضيحكم بعبة حكماكم : حة حكل
> حضحم بعلمكم بعبة ÷ مكم لحكمكمنحكم حي 190
> ازحضمكم : مكمي حي انحلنازكم حتحم لكم حتمكم : لحكم
> انحكلكم ضن انحضع عكمت. لحة انه مكم حم عنازكم

A flor. II up to l.170

Line 168: مكمنحكم, flor. II: مكمنحكم.

tures of his mode of life and all the externals which, being taken together, would distinguish him and set him apart from the general meaning.

And again, in the later passage too, he spoke of the names as indicative of the realities and taught us that the realities have full, proper being. Will he be saying that the names have full and proper being, because they are indicative of the realities? But let us also consider the immediate continuation of the passage: Father and Son and Holy Ghost have the same nature and one Godhead but different names which display to us definite and complete ideas. Must not this sly fellow, who propounds to us such impious and irrational rubbish, have lost his wits here too, when he professes that the names which show us definite and complete ideas are * definite and complete ideas?

Besides this, it is pertinent for us to look also at the opinion expressed by GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN on the subject. He wrote in the oration *On Gregory of Nyssa*, speaking as follows about the holy martyrs: Let us pay this tribute to their exploits: that we too become crowned, and inheritors of the same glory; both the glory they have from us and that which is reserved for them in heaven, glory whose memorials and certain small marks are the things seen.

He also said in the oration *On the Lights*: *We have one God: the Father, from whom is all; one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom is all;* and one Holy Ghost, in whom is all; 'from whom', 'through whom' and 'in whom' not dividing off natures (for neither the prepositions 'from',

**184/185** cf. supra, 135-137 **187/189** cf. supra, 137-139 **197/200** Greg. Naz., *Or. 11*, 4 (*PG* 35, 836D - 837A; *SChr.*, vol. 405, p. 338) **201/209** Greg. Naz., *Or. 39*, 12 (*PG* 36, 348AB; *SChr.*, vol. 358, pp. 172-174) **201/202** I Cor. 8:6



f. 58vb

A flor. I (without X) from l. 215 on flor. II from l. 203 to l. 207

Line 216: ..., WYZ: ....
Line 218: ..., Y: ....

In harmony with Basil the Great, this preacher, too, of plainly-expressed theology, Basil's intellectual partner and peer, here sets forth the difference between characterizers and characterized, saying, as he does, at one point that the things seen are memorials and certain small marks of the glory reserved in heaven; and, at another point, that the prepositions and the positions of the names * characterize the properties of a single unconfused nature; and not only this, but also, by naming fathers, mothers, brothers and places as indications of the men, Gregory recognizes as a former mark the form of the

'through' and 'in', nor the positions of the names could change) but characterizing the properties of a single unconfused nature. And this is evident from what are brought together again into one, if what is in the same apostle is not read carelessly by anyone: *From him and through him and in him are all things; to him be glory for ever and ever, Amen.*

Besides this, he also spoke as follows in the oration *On the Love of Poverty*, writing: But you are witnesses also of the suffering. The harsh and pitiable spectacle is set before your eyes, incredible save to those who know: men dead and yet alive, mutilated in most of the limbs of the body, almost unrecognizable for who they formerly were or where they come from. No, rather they are the wretched remnants of sometime men; who tell their fathers, mothers, brothers and places as indications of who they are: 'I am so and so's son, so and so is my mother, such and such is my name, and you were once my friend and acquaintance'. And why do they do this? Because they cannot be recognized by their former mark.

**208/209** Rom. 11:36 **211/220** Greg. Naz., *Or. 14*, 9-10 (*PG* 35, 868C - 869A) **224/225** cf. supra, 199-200 **226/227** cf. supra, 204-206 **228/229** cf. supra, 216-217 **229** cf. supra, 219-220





A flor. I (without X) up to l. 223

Line 219: ﻢﻠﻌﻣ, YZ: ﻢﻠﻌﻣ.

Line 222: ﺎﻫﺪﻠﻟ ﻢﻠﻌﻣ, WYZ: ﺎﻫﺪﻠﻟ ﻢﻠﻌﻣ.

prosopon ravaged by suffering, because the hypostasis whose mark it was remains preserved.

Led by the same Spirit, wise GREGORY OF NYSSA, too, wrote in the first book *Against Eunomius* (whose beginning runs: There is a limit to him who *strives lawfully*): But I say, we ought to pay close attention to the question whether it is the natural relationship which introduces the employment of these names. For he must be saying this: that affinity of substance enters along with affinity of names. For he is not saying that mere names on their own, separated from the meaning of the objects indicated have any mutual relationship and affinity; no, we distinguish affinity and alien-ness of appellations by the meanings signified by the words. Therefore, if he acknowledges a natural relationship between Father and Son, let us leave the appellations and scrutinize the force of the things indicated.

And in the second book *Against Eunomius*: In the same way here too (when offspring and creature are mentioned together) in passing from the expressions to the meanings we do not envisage each of the names as containing the same understanding. And again in the book *Against* the

**234** II Tim. 2:5 **234/243** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (*PG* 45, 596CD; Jaeger II, pp. 33,25 - 34,8); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 12, 140-149 **244/247** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 2 (*PG* 45, 656A; Jaeger II, p. 86, 6-9)



AB from ܡܬܒܥ (l. 248) on flor. I (without X) from l. 251 to l. 261

Line 250: ܡܬܚܙܐ, B: ܡܐܬܚܙܐ.
Lines 250-251: ܐܚܝܢ ..... ܐ, cf. ch. 19, lines 333-334.
Line 251: ܐܦ, B om. ܐܝ, WZ: ܐܝܢ.
Line 254: ܟܬܒܝܢ ܒܗ, cf. Book II, ch. 12, line 157 (ܟܬܒܝܢ). ܫܡܥ, cf. Book II, ch. 12, line 157 (ܫܡܥ).
Lines 255-256: ܡܥܢܝ ..... ܠܐ ܐܢ, Book II, ch. 12, lines 158-159 and W: ܐܠ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܥܢܝ ܕܒ ܐ : ܕܡܠܐ ܕܡܫܡܥ ܕܫܡܥ ܕܒܗ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܗ ܟܬܒܝܢ.
Line 256: ܟܬܒܐ, YZ: ܟܬܒܐ.
Line 257: ܐܢܐ, cf. Book II, ch. 12, line 161 and W (ܐܢܐ).
Line 259: ܡܥܢܝ, Z: ܡܥܢܝ.
Line 261: ܒܬܒܥܢܝ, Z: ܒܬܒܥܢܝ.
Line 264: ܒܚܢܝ, B: ܒܚܢ.

same wicked *Eunomius' Statement* (whose beginning runs: The faith of Christians): For one who says 'sky' has brought the mind of his auditor to the created thing signified by this term, and one who mentions man or any other living thing by name immediately impresses his auditor with the appearance of the living thing. All the other things, too, are likewise depicted, through the names imposed on them, in the heart of one who has received through the ear the appellation imposed on the reality.

Let us contemplate, as best we can, the truth of these words by the doctor. For the instructor in truth says: passing from the expressions to the meanings. And again he wrote: For one who says 'sky' has brought the mind of his auditor to the created thing signified by this term. And again: For he is not saying * that mere names on their own, separated from the meaning of the objects indicated have any mutual relationship and affinity; no, we distinguish affinity and alien-ness of appellations by the meanings signified by the words. Therefore, if he acknowledges a natural relationship between Father and Son, let us leave the appellations and scrutinize the force of the things indicated.

He has clearly shown that the indicators and signifiers are one thing, and the indicated and signified are another thing. Otherwise, let this sophistical expositor deign to say that someone passes from the same thing to the same thing, or that the term which indicates the sky is itself the sky, and that words and

**249/254** Greg. Nyss., *Refut. Conf. Eunomii* (*PG* 45, 473A; Jaeger II, p. 318, 8-15); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 22, 405-408 **256/257** cf. supra, 245-246 **257/259** cf. supra, 249-250 **259/264** cf. supra, 237-243



AB flor. I (without X) from l. 266 to l. 273

Line 266: ܐܡܐ, Z: ܐܬ.
Line 268: ܡܫܬܐܠ, B add. ܡܢ ܟ.
Line 269: ܬܡܫܟ, WYZ: ܬܡܫܟ.
Line 279: ܟܪܝܐܐ, A: ܟܪܝܐܐ.
Line 283: ܒܡܐ, B: ܫ ܒܡܐ.

terms are identical with what they signify, when the doctor very clearly exclaimed that mere names, separated from the meaning of the objects indicated, do not have mutual relationship; no, we distinguish affinity and alien-ness of the appellations by the meanings signified by the words; and, let us leave the appellations and scrutinize the force of the things indicated. For how could the names be separated from the meaning of the objects indicated, if they are themselves the objects indicated? In what way, on hearing let us leave the appellations and scrutinize the force of the things indicated, can we reckon the appellations identical with the objects indicated? We do not have an answer at all to that. No, anyone who undertakes to teach wondrous novelties must confirm his opinions with proofs himself!

A lucid demonstration, too, of the questions at issue, from the teaching of proven CYRIL, shall join these. He spoke in the following manner in the very title of the second chapter of the *Thesaurus:* That uncreatedness is not substance but is indicative of a substance. Again, moreover, in the third chapter he said: If uncreatedness and un-subjected-ness *et cetera* alike indicate substance, and the indicated are not the same as the indicators; then substance and uncreatedness will not be the same thing, just as, also, the indicated is not the same thing as the indicator. He wrote similar things, too, in the 19th chapter, saying as follows: It would be right to keep silent and make no response to such a foolish construction of argument, * neverthe-

**271/274** cf. supra, 259-262 **274/275** et **277/278** cf. supra, 263-264 **286/287** Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. II (*PG* 75, 28B) **287/291** Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. III (*PG* 75, 36C) **292/298** Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. XIX (*PG* 75, 321BC); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 22, 540-545



AB flor. I from l. 306 on (without X for lines 306-307)

Line 291: ܟܬܝܒܐ, A: ܟܬܝܒܐ.
Line 306: ܟܬܒܘܬܐ, B: ܟܬܒܘܬܐ.
Line 308: ܐ, cf. ch. 10, lines 162-163 (ܕܐ ܐ).
Line 310: ܟܬܝܒܐ, Y: ܟܬܝܒܐ.

less let us ask those who say things like this whether the names imposed in their proper sense on realities do not indicate their substances, although they are something other than they. For the name 'man' too, indicates man's nature but is something other than it. For man is a visible reality, whereas the name applied to him is audible only. Moreover, he says in the 34th chapter: *My children, with whom I am in travail afresh until Christ be depicted in you.* If, through the Spirit alone, Christ is being depicted in us and sets in us his own marks, so to say, depicting afresh man's nature with the beauty of the Godhead, then Christ's Spirit, who is like him depicted in us, is God.

In the first chapter, also, of the second book of the *Exposition of John's Gospel* we will hear how he teaches us the same things and says: But because, in having gone astray through the Devil's deceits, he despised the Creator, and, by trampling on the law which had been defined, he pained his benefactor, the grace bestowed on him was claimed back. Then, as soon as he who had been made for life, heard, *You are dust, and to dust you shall return*, the likeness to God began to be contaminated by the sin which had entered in, and the marks were no longer bright in him but dim, so to say, and obscure, because of the trans-

**299/303** Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. XXXIV (*PG* 75, 609A) **299/300** Gal. 4:19 **306/313** Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, II, 1 (*PG* 73, 205A; Pusey, I, p. 183) **310** Gen. 3:19



AB flor. I up to L. 328

Line 317: ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܒܥ, cf. Book II, ch. 22, line 575 (ܥܠ ܕܡܬܒܥ ܒܪܝܬܐ).

Line 321: ܒܟ, cf. Book II, ch. 22, line 579 (ܒܟ ܒܟ).

Line 323: ܥܠ, B and flor. I: ܒܠܡ.

Lines 325-326: ܒܡܠܟܐ ..... ,ܡܫܩܠܐ, cf. infra, line 367 (,ܡܫܩܠܐ).

Line 326: ܕܫܥܐ, XZ: ܕܫܥܐ.

Line 327: ܕܒܫ, cf. infra, line 368 (ܒܫ).

Line 335: ܒܪܐ, B: ܒܪܐ.

gression of the commandment. And later: It must be understood that we speak of man's spirit as the offspring of the Spirit, not as if man's spirit were from the Spirit by nature (for that is impossible!) but by a first, and more ancient, principle, on the one hand: because when non-existent, man's spirit was summoned into existence by him; and, then by a second principle in the dispensation, because man's spirit was transformed Godwards through the Spirit's depicting his marks in us and refashioning our understanding in his own character, so to say.

In the second chapter of the same second book, he again says: For by debasing him, is not what belongs to the Father dishonoured in the Son, and do we not dishonour the marks of the begetter? Again, moreover, in the fifth chapter of the third book: We speak of the Son as 'the Father's image', and say that what is other than himself is sealed in him, * so that he should not be thought of as his own image. But you, wrongly thrusting aside our reasoning on these matters, are not ashamed of applying to him only likeness in respect of activity. According to your argument, then, surely, the Son will be God only in the marks, and not at all by nature: by the fact, indeed, that he only resembles, and is being well fashioned into the likeness of his begetter.

Wise Cyril has indisputably shown, as we have seen with the help of so many texts, that indicators and characterizers are one thing, whereas the indicated and characterized are another thing. For he taught us well when he said expressly: Uncreatedness (which is the same as saying 'un-made-ness') is not substance but is indicative of a substance; and, the indicated are not the same as the indicators; and also, the name 'man' indicates man's nature but is some-

**313/320** Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, II, 1 (*PG* 73, 245B; Pusey, I, p. 220) **322/323** Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, II, 2 (*PG* 73, 265D; Pusey, I, pp. 240-241) **324/331** Cyr. Alex., *Comment. in Ioh.*, III, 5 (*PG* 73, 485D - 488A; Pusey, I, p. 445) **335/337** cf. supra, 286-287 **337/338** cf. supra, 288-289 **338/339** cf. supra, 296-297



AB

Line 342: ܐܚܕܐ, B: ܐܚܕܐ.

Line 352: ܡܠܐ, B: ܡܥܕܐ.

thing other than it; as well as, Christ is being depicted in us and sets in us his own marks, depicting afresh man's nature with the beauty of the Godhead.

What, therefore, does this good fellow think the Saviour's natural marks are? Substance or substances? For it follows of necessity that those who absolutely identify the characterizers and the characterized, must avow one of these absurdities. Therefore, casting aside, as at once impious and witless, such an idea, and adhering to the correct intention of the doctor, let us reckon the marks to be certain divine impressions, so to say, and images, by which our nature is being adorned. For this is also disclosed by what the same doctor says again at one point: The marks were no longer bright in him but dim, so to say, and obscure, because of the transgression of the commandment. At another point: By a second principle in the dispensation because man's spirit was transformed God-wards through the Spirit's depicting his marks in us and refashioning our understanding in his own character, so to say. And again: We dishonour the marks of the begetter by debasing him. It is worthwhile our scrutinizing carefully the words, so that he should not be thought of as his own image, and, according to your argument, then, surely, the Son will be God only in the marks.

**339/341** cf. supra, 300-302 **350/352** cf. supra, 311-313 **352/355** cf. supra, 317-320 **355/356** cf. supra, 322-323 **357** cf. supra, 326 **357/358** cf. supra, 328-329



AB

Line 367: ,ܡܫܩܠܘܢ, cf. supra, lines 325-326 (ܒܗ ,ܡܫܩܠܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ).

Line 368: ܡܢܐ, cf. supra, line 327 (ܐܢܐ).

Line 374: ܓܕܝܡ, B: ܒܗ ܓܕܝܡ.

Line 379: ܐܚܕܝܢ, B: ܐܚܕܝܡ.

Line 385: ܡܠܐ, B: ܡܥܒܕ.

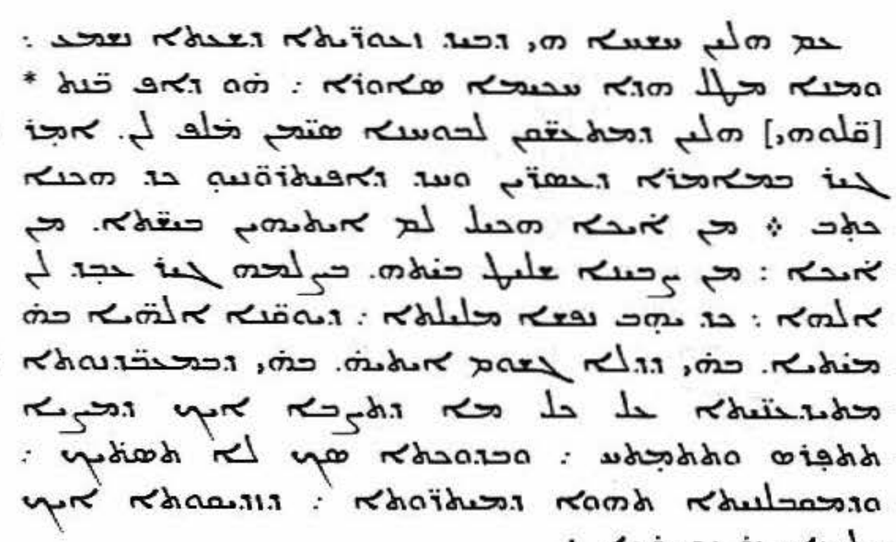
Besides these passages a brief attention as well now to what wise SEVERUS too * (whose misrepresented statements were also set down for examination) teaches us, will be useful. In his *21st Cathedral Sermon* he wrote as follows: Where, then, do evils come from? Whence do they arise? From free-will. For God made us in his image, by bestowing a rational soul which brings in it the divine marks by its being incorporeal; because, in mental activities, it reaches out and extends, as much as it can, towards everything it desires, and is quite unbounded by place and is capable of virtues such as righteousness and the rest.

Notice, the teacher of truth said that our soul is rich and distinguished by the divine marks. What, then, do these instructors in novel doctrines teach us to think? That the human soul is its being incorporeal, its reaching out and extension in mental activities, its total unboundedness by place and its capacity for virtues? Should we not rightly incur much ridicule and be convicted of rushing into error of our own free will, were we to assent to such irrational blather?

It remains for us to point to famous THEODOSIUS' view on this subject and in this way finally reach the plainly-expressed teaching now under examination, by our God-clad father Severus.

**362/367** Sev. Ant., *Hom. cath. 21* (*PO* 37, pp. 70,32 - 72,2 [71,30 - 73,2])





AB flor. I from l. 392 to l. 399

Line 389: ܪܝܥܐ, B: ܪܝܪܐ.
Line 395: ,ܟܕ, flor. I: ,ܟܕܐ.
Line 396: ܪܟ̈ܐ, Y: ܪܟ̈ܝ.
Line 398: ܪܚܝ̈ܕܐ, B: ܪܚܝ̈ܕܐ, W: ܪܚ̈ܕܐ.
Line 410: ܘܡܒܪܝܐ, B: ܡܒܪܝܐ.

He, who truly rose up like an apostle, in our times, as head of the orthodox Church, wrote, then, in the discourse *On Theology* he composed against the polytheists, as follows: Now the holy and consubstantial Trinity is in its hypostases, separate and unconfused, but of one substance, nature, indivisible Godhead, sovereignty, glory, eternity, power, activity, knowledge, adoration and the other attributes which God has by nature. Now the property of the Father is fatherhood and existing ingenerately; the property of the Son is sonship and being begotten by the Father; and the property of the Holy Ghost is the fact that he was not begotten but proceeds, without beginning and eternally, from the Father. For by means of these properties the unconfusedness of the three prosopa (i.e. hypostases) is characterized and signified. Whereas all the other things, as we have said before, * which characterize the Godhead, are common to them, are co-equal in honour and indivisible, and prove that we have put our faith in one God, who exists and is known in one substance and three hypostases.

Let us observe here too the harmony between this divinely inspired father and the rest of the doctors. For, unless we choose to misunderstand his words, we learn with clarity that neither the characteristic properties of the nature, nor those of the prosopa, can be the same things as the nature or the hypostases. For, setting

**381/394** Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 1 (*OLA* 56, pp. 152-153, ll. 116-130 [pp. 225-226, ll. 115-126])



AB

Line 412: ܪܝܐܪܐ, B: ܪܝܪܐ.

Line 423: ܐܠܗܐ, cf. infra, line 438 (ܐܠܗ).

Line 425: ܒܬܘܠܗܐ, B: ܒܬܘܠܗܐ. ܕܐ ܐܒ, cf. infra, line 441 (ܐܒ ܐܚ).

Line 428: ܐܘܩܢܐ, B: ܐܘܩܥܐ.

Line 435: ܒܬܫ, B: ܒܬܫ.

out for us the teaching on these matters, he says: Now the property of the Father is fatherhood and existing ingenerately; the property of the Son is sonship and being begotten by the Father; and the property of the Holy Ghost is the fact that he was not begotten but proceeds, without beginning and eternally, from the Father. For by means of these properties the unconfusedness of the three prosopa (i.e. hypostases) is characterized and signified. Whereas all the other things, as we have said before, which characterize the Godhead, are common to them, are co-equal in honour and indivisible.

How, then, will this pioneer of novel teaching interpret these words? Will he say that fatherhood and existing ingenerately, sonship and being begotten by the Father, and again, that not being begotten but proceeding without beginning and eternally from the Father, because they characterize the unconfusedness of the hypostases are the unconfusedness of the hypostases themselves? Or that the hypostases themselves are the unconfusedness of the

**400/408** cf. supra, 385-392



ﻫ ﻟ ﺃ ﺍﻟﻬﺎ ﺍﻧ ﺍﻧﺘﺎ ﺑﺮﺻﻮﻫﺎ : ﻫﺬﺍﻫﻮﻫ ﻟﺎ
ﻫ ﻟﻠﻬﺎ. ﻫﺎﻟﻬﺎ ﺍﻧﺘﺎ ﺗﺎﻫﺎ : ﻫﻫ، ﺍﻫﻲ ﺑﺮﻟﺎ ﻟﻠﻪ.
ﻫ ﻫﺎﻟﻬﺎ ﺍﺗﻮﻫﺎ ﻫﺎﻫﺎ : ﻫ، ﺍﻟﺎ ﻟﻬﻠﻪ ﺑﺮﻟﺎ ﺍﻟﻌﻮﻫ
ﻫ ﺍﻟﺎ ﻫﻮﻫﺎ ﻫﻬﻠﻬﺘﻬﻠﻪ ﻫﻲ ﺑﺮﻟﺎ. ﺗﻪ ﺍﻟﻠﻬﺎ ﻟﺎﺓ
ﻫ ﻫﻠﻬﺎ : ﻟﺎ ﻫﺘﻬﻠﻬﺎ ﺍﻟﻠﻠﻬﺘﻮ ﻓﻮﻫﻮﻫﺎ ﻫﻫ ﺗﻠﻪ
ﻫ ﻫﻠﻬﺘﻪ ﻫﻠﻬﻠﻪ ﻫﻬﻬﺎﻫﻪ. ﻫﻠﻪ ﺍﻫ ﻫﻠﻬﻪ ﻫﻮﻫﻠﻬﻠﻪ
ﻫ ﻫﻮﻫﺎ ﺍﻫﻬﻪ ﻫﻮﻫﺎ ﺍﻫﻬﻪ ﻟﻠﻬﻬﻠﻪ : ﻫﻮﻫﻠﻪ
ﻫ ﻫﻠﻬﻪ ﻟﻬﻮ ﻫﻮﻫﻪ ﻫﻠﻬﻮﻫ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻬﻪﻫﻠﻬﻠﻪ ÷

ﻫﻮﻫﻪ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻬﻬﻠﻪ ﻫﻪ ﻫﻬﻪﻫﻪ
ﺍﻫﻠﻬﻠﻪ ﻫﻠﻬﻪ. ﻫﻮﻫ ﻫﻮﻫ ﺍﻫﻬﻬﻠﻪ ﻫﻬ، ﺍﻟﻪ
ﻫﻬﻠﻬﻬﻠﻪ : ﻫﻬﻬﻮ ﻫﻬ ﺍ،ﻫﻬ ﻫ. ﻫﻬ، ﻫﻬﻠﻬﻬ
ﻟﻬﻮﺍﻫ ﻫﻠﻠ ﻫﻮﻫ : ﻫﻬﻬﻮ ﺍ،ﻫ ﻟﻪ ﻫﻬ، ﻫ. ﻫﻬ، : ﺍﺍﻫ
ﻫ ﻫﻠﻬﻪ ﻫﻮﻫ ﺍﻫﻬﻪ ﺍﻫﻬﻪ : ﺍﻫﻠﻪ ﺍﺍﻫﻪ ﻫ ﻫﻠﻪ

AB

Line 438: ﻫﻠﻪ, cf. supra, line 423 (ﻫﻮﻫﻠﻪ).
Line 441: ﻫﻮﻫ ﻫﻠﻪ, cf. supra, line 425 (ﻫﻪﻫ ﺍﻫ).
Line 447: ﻫﻬﻠﻪ, B: ﻫﻬﻠﻪ.

I think, that like should be judged by like and what is obscure should be proved * by what are known (if I may put it so); nor should we take an analogy from things utterly remote from one another, in the case of things in dispute. Therefore this excellent fellow must first understand that if he does not reckon the characteristic properties of the Godhead as identical with the Godhead, as a consequence the whole canon he has laid down (that characterizers and characterized are identical) will collapse. Next he must understand too, that just as the characteristic properties of the Godhead are other than the Godhead, so likewise those of the hypostases are other than the hypostases.

Yet, if perhaps, (and being consistent with himself) he were also to acknowledge as substance the characteristic properties of the substance, let him learn the conflict with, and clear opposition he has here too, to the God-clad fathers. For we shall give a lucid demonstration of the point from them.

Wise BASIL, then, spoke in his first book *Against Eunomius* as follows: It would be pleasant for me, then, to ask him whether he preserves this goodwill alike towards all the things said about God, or only with regard to this word? For if he regards nothing at all by mental invention lest he be thought to adorn God with human appellations, he will acknowledge what are spoken of God to be, all alike, substance. How, then, can it fail to be ludicrous to declare that creativity is substance, or providence, again, and fore-knowledge likewise, and, in a word, to posit every activity as substance? And if all these tend towards one meaning, all the terms must have the same potential as one another, as in the case

**445/468** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 8 (*PG* 29, 528B - 529A; *SChr.*, vol. 299, pp. 194-196)



f. 60va

AB

Line 468: ...., B: ....

of those with many names: for example, when we call the same person 'Simon', 'Cephas' and 'Peter'. So someone who has heard of the immutability of God will be led towards ingeneracy; one who has heard of his being without parts will be brought to his creativity. What could be more absurd than this confusion, when someone legislates against common usage and the teaching of the Spirit by removing the meaning of each term? Despite the fact that when we hear about God that *he made all things in Wisdom*, we learn his creative skill; when that *he opens his hand and satisfies the desire of every living thing*, the providence which is throughout; when that * *he made darkness his hiding-place*, we are instructed in the invisibility of his nature; when, again, it is said in the *persona* of God, *I am and have not changed*, we learn the eternal sameness and immutability of the substance. How, then, can it not be plain insanity to say that its proper meaning does not underlie each term, but to decree, against actuality, that all the terms have the same potential?

He wrote in the same way in the second book, as follows: 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 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 take them

**460/461** Ps. 103:24 **461/462** Ps. 144:16 **463** Ps. 17:12 **465** cf. Mal. 3:6 **469/477** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 29 (*PG* 29, 640BC; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 124); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 6, 341-348



f. 60vb

AB W from l. 512 on

Line 509: ܟܬܒܝܢ, B: ܟܬܒ̈ܐ.

Line 514: ܠܐ ,ܡ, cf. Book II, ch. 6, line 355 (ܠܐ). ܠܥܒܕ, A: ܠܥܒ̈ܕ.

Line 515: ܠܐ, A: ܠ; cf. Book II, ch. 6, line 356 (ܠܐ).

Line 516: ܢܫܬܥ, B: ܣܪ ܢܫܬܥ.

Line 517: ܚܦܛܠܝ, B: ܣܪ ܚܦܛܠܝ.

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 meanings of each of the names.

GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN, too, indeed, in the *First Oration on the Son* pokes fun at such witlessness and says: Or thus again: what do you mean by 'the ingenerate' and 'the generate'? If you mean ingeneracy and generacy – no, these are not the same thing; but if you mean those who have these things, why should they not be the same thing? Because also unwisdom and wisdom are not the same thing as each other, but are with the man himself. Neither do they divide the substance off, but are divided off with the substance. Or are immortality, freedom from evil and immutability God's substance? But, if so, there are many substances of God and not one.

Wise CYRIL, as we quoted a little earlier, wrote similar things in the third chapter of the *Thesaurus*, teaching us in the following fashion: If uncreatedness and un-subjected-ness *et cetera* alike indicate substance, and the indicated are not the same as the indicators; then substance and uncreatedness will not be the same thing, just as, also, the indicated is not the same thing as the indicator.

**479/487** Greg. Naz., *Or. 29*, 10 (*PG* 36, 88AB; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 198); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 6, 265-268 **490/493** cf. supra, 287-291



AB W up to l. 521 flor. I from l. 524 to l. 529

Line 518: ـــحلم, W: حلم.
Line 524: ـــحنم, cf. Book II, ch. 6, line 35 (ـــحنم).
Line 526: ـــحلم هنـ; flor. I: ـــحلـ.
Line 528: ,ـــحلـ, flor. I: ـــحلـ.
Line 529: ـــحلـ, flor. I: ـــحلـ.
Line 536: ـــحـعقـ, cf. ch. 11, line 372 (ـــحـعقـ).

He instructs us similarly, indeed, in the 31st chapter, also by saying: * If whatever belongs solely to God must also be his substance, he will be composed for us out of many substances. For there are many things which belong by nature solely to him but to no other existing thing. For 'King', 'Lord', 'immortal', 'imperishable', 'invisible' and, besides these, a host of other things, are said of him by the divine Scriptures. So, if everything belonging to him is placed in the order of substance, how can the simple fail to be composite — which it is absurd for us to think? Therefore the word 'ingeneracy', indicating something belonging to him, is not substance and it is futile to say that God has his being by his ingeneracy.

Accurate SEVERUS, in the 27th chapter of the discourse *Against Julian's Additions*, says: For mortality and immortality (or imperishability) are not substances but features belonging with the substance. That is why we believe that God has immortality. Yet he does not have this immortality as his substance; no, he is something other in substance, but his natural feature is his endlessness and imperishability.

And in the *Third Letter to Sergius the Grammarian* he wrote as follows: What, then, will you say, my admirable fellow? Is goodness in

**495/504** Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. XXXI (*PG* 75, 444BC) **506/510** Sev. Ant., *C. Add. Iul.*, 27 (*CSCO* 295, p. 84, 1-6; *296*, p. 70, 24-30) **512/517** Sev. Ant., *Epp. ad Serg. Gramm.*, 3 (*CSCO* 119, p. 174, 2-8; *120*, p. 133, 12-16)



f. 61ra

AB flor. I from l. 556 to l. 562

Line 540: ⟨ⲙⲁ⟩, B om.
Line 543: ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ², B: ⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩϥⲉ.
Line 554: ⲛⲓⲁⲛⲟⲙⲁ, B: ⲛⲓⲛⲟⲙⲁ.
Line 559: ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ, WX: ⲛⲁ ⲙⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ.
Line 563: ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲙ, B: ⲟⲩⲛⲓⲙ.

this way a property of God, just as laughter is a property of man or neighing of a horse? Therefore, say first what God is in substance and in this way we shall recognize what his property, in the full sense of the term, is. For it is obvious that substance is something other than property, since a property appears upon substances.

By these words the pillars of the Church have clearly cried aloud that it is beyond all insanity and witlessness to speak of the properties, whereby the substance of the Godhead is characterized, as substance. Therefore, this accurate dialectician ought to prove lucidly and beyond doubt, through the fathers' testimonies: not that the divinely inspired fathers * did call the hypostases simply 'properties' (for this we too acknowledge and never will deny) but that they thought that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the characteristic properties – ingeneracy, I mean, generacy and procession.

However, perhaps, battling again on behalf of his doctrines and helplessly employing the same circuitous dodges, he will say that he recognizes no difference in meaning at all between 'hypostasis' and 'characteristic property of the hypostasis', but that one and the same thing is indicated by these expressions; even though he acknowledges that the hypostasis is 'characterized by' the property according to a wordy and roundabout way of speaking. In answer to him we too will say: 'No, my sagacious friend! Since the truth of the realities rises up against your utterances, your pronouncement of unproven words is totally inane'. For wise GREGORY OF NYSSA answered Eunomius, who made similar thoughtless pronouncements: Every argument, so long as it is asserted by

**539/542** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (*PG* 45, 320D - 321A; Jaeger I, p. 94, 9-14)



ܟܬܒ : ܡܠܝ ܡܠܐ ܒܫܒܥ ܟܬܒ ܡܚܬ <
ܐܝܟ : ܡܚܠܦܢܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܡܚܬܡܟ ܟܬܒ <
: ܟܐܦܐ ܡܠܝ ,ܒܫܒܥ ܟܬܒ ܡܚܬ <
.ܒܟܬܒ ܒܫܒܥ ,ܐ ܟܬܒ : ܒܫܒܥ ܟܬܒ <
ܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܒܫܒܥ ܐܝܟ ܦܬܒ : ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܟܬܒ <
ܡ

authority without proof, is old wives' prattle, having no power to prove thereby the point at issue when no support for the statements made is introduced either from the divine words or from human reasonings.

Nevertheless, tell us why, with respect to the Godhead, you think that the characteristic properties are only indicative of the Godhead and are not, moreover, the Godhead itself; whereas, with respect to the hypostases, that the characteristic properties are not only indicative of the hypostases and prosopa, but you reckon them as being both hypostases and prosopa.



ﻭﺍﻧﺘﻢ ﻟﻢ ﺗﺜﺒﺘﻮﺍ ﺍﻟﺜﺒﻮﺗﻴﺔ : ﺍﻭ
ﺍﻟﺜﺒﻮﺗﻴﺔ ﺍﻧﻤﺎ ﺍﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻭﻫﻲ : ﺍﻻ ﺍﻥ ﺍﻟﻄﺒﻊ ﻭﺍﺣﺪ
ﻟﻢ : ﻟﻤﺎ ﺍﻭ، ﺍﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻣﺘﻐﺎﻳﺮﺓ ﺍﻭ، ﺍﻟﻄﺒﻴﻌﺔ : ﻭﺍﺣﺪ،
ﺍﻣﺎﻟﻜﻢ ﻣﺎﻡ ﻣﻠﻜﻴﺘﻪﻡ ﻭﻟﻢ ﺗﻘﻢ ﻗﻠﻢ ﻭﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ : 595
ﻭﻟﻢ ﺗﻜﻦ ﻏﻴﺮﻫﻢ ﻟﻬﻢ ﻟﻢ ﻭﻟﻢ ﺍﻟﻄﺒﻴﻌﺔ
ﻭﺍﻟﻄﺒﻴﻌﺔ ❊

ﻓﺎﺫﻛﺮﻭﺍ ﻟﻲ. ﻟﻤﺎﺫﺍ ﻟﻢ ﻭﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ
ﻣﺘﻐﺎﻳﺮﺓ : ﻣﺘﻐﺎﻳﺮﺓ ﻟﻤﺎ ﺍﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻭﻟﻪ ﻫﻮ
ﺍﻡ، ﻭﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻭﻟﻄﺒﻴﻊ ﻭﺍﺣﺪ : ﻟﻪ ﻣﺎﻫﻴﺔ ﺍﻥ 600
ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻣﺘﻐﺎﻳﺮﺓ : ﻟﻪ ﻟﻤﺎ ﺍﻟﻄﺒﻴﻌﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ
ﻭﺍﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻭﻟﻄﺒﻴﻊ : ﻭﻟﻢ ﻭﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻭﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ ﻟﻬﻢ
ﻭﻫﻮ ﻭﻟﻪ.

AB

Line 602: ﻭﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ. B: ﻭﻟﻘﻨﻮﻡ.

*Concerning the fact that it is impossible, even in the case of creatures, to profess either the characteristic properties of the substance, or those of the hypostases, as being substances or hypostases. And clear demonstration which proves that we do not, by refusing to think of the characteristic properties of the hypostases as hypostases, profess an accident or something imperfect in the Holy Trinity; whereas those who define the hypostases as ingeneracy, generacy and procession are obliged to think of the hypostases as imperfect, or, rather, to deny them completely.*

Or demonstrate clearly, in the case of some * existing things, that the characteristic properties are identical with what is characterized by them, so that, as a result of study as to whether we may say that of these others, we may imagine what it would mean for us to reckon the characteristic properties of the substance as identical with the substance itself, and likewise those of the hypostases with the hypostases themselves, in the case of the divine mystery.

What will you say? Will you grant that the characteristic properties of human nature are human nature itself (and likewise in the case of the rest of the creatures)? Or that the properties of each one (for example Job's or Elkanah's) – that these very properties are Job and Elkanah? No, the divinely inspired fathers do not teach us that nor does the nature of the realities itself disclose it to us?

Listen to what proven CYRIL, most accurate of the doctors, said on these matters. He wrote in the 31st chapter of the *Thesaurus* in

**21** cf. Iob 1:1 cf. I Reg. 1:1



ܕܒܫܘܩܝܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܦ : ܕܐܝܬ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܝܢ
.ܕܠܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܢ ܕܐܝܢܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܢ : ܕܐܝܢܐ
ܐܠ ,ܟܕ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܐܠ : ܕܐܡܪܬ ܒܪܝܬ ܡܫܟܚܐ
ܕܠܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܢܐ ܕܒܫܘܩܝܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܟܕ :
ܕܒܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܒܐܝܢ ܕܒܫܘܩܝܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ
ܕܒܐܝܢ ܕܒܐܝܢ ܕܒܐܝܢ ܐܠ ܕܐܝܢ ܐܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ
ܕܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕ

combating the Arians, as follows: If the term 'ingeneracy', which indicates the fact of not being begotten, is indicative of God's substance, what will prevent us from saying that laughter, too, which belongs to man's nature, is his substance; that the horse's neighing likewise is its substance; and that all those things which properly belong to existents, are to be called their substance? But if the property of each one is not itself substance, but belongs to the substance (like laughter to man and neighing to the horse) ingeneracy will not be substance, because it does not indicate what God is by nature, but the way in which he is and how his property is in relation to those others. Another answer: Ingeneracy will be predicated of God's substance as an inseparable, as colour is, too, of every body. But substances are not signified by what belong inseparably, but by those things that they are themselves. Just as one would not know what a swan or snow is by nature, were one to learn only that these are white. For whiteness will not be reckoned as substance but as one of the things belonging to the substance.

Famous SEVERUS too, nurtured in those irreproachable doctrines, writes * in the *First Letter to Sergius the Grammarian*, as follows: To say that Immanuel is composed of two properties or two activities is foolish and ignorant. For do we, because reasoning is a property of rational soul, whereas blackness or whiteness, it may be, is a

**27/42** Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus*, ass. XXXI (*PG* 75, 445BC) **45/58** Sev. Ant., *Epp. ad Serg. Gramm.*, 1 (*CSCO* 119, pp. 86,7 - 87,1; *120*, p. 63, 12-26)



AB

Line 24: ܟܬܫܝܐ, B: ܟܬܝܫܐ.
Line 36: ܟܝܢܐ, B: ܕܐܗܐ.
Line 37: ܐܝܠܝܬܐ, B: ܐܝܟܝܬܐ.
Line 44: ܟܝܢܐ, B: ܟܝܟܐ.

property of body, on that account say of the man himself that he is composed of reasoning, whiteness (or blackness). No, no sane person says that; but he will say that man subsists of the natures themselves, body and soul, to which the things stated attach, on which they appear and in accordance with which they naturally exist without separation. But in another way: must it not be ludicrous to speak of two properties or two activities? For there are many properties of each nature and not merely two. For example manhood's palpability, visibility, mortality, being subject to hunger, thirst and to other things likewise; whereas of God's nature there are a multitude of properties: invisibility, impalpability, being before the worlds and infinity.

The fathers' words have clearly proved that it is not possible, even in the case of created nature, to call the natural properties 'substances': because wise Cyril, on the one hand, gave the ruling that neither man's laughter nor the horse's neighing, nor again the whiteness of swan and snow, are their substances at all; whereas

that neither man's laughter nor the horse's neighing, nor again the whiteness of swan and snow, are their substances at all; whereas our holy father, Severus, called 'reasoning' a property of man's rational soul but blackness or whiteness a property of man's body, and, again, palpability, visibility, mortality, being subject to hunger, thirst and the like, properties of his manhood. Will anyone, in fact, ever approach such utter lunacy as madly to think and say that soul itself is reasoning; or to define the substance of man himself as palpability or visibility or mortality or being subject to hunger, thirst and the like?



ونعم لم لا تقل بحكمة: حكمة الذي قبلها قبلها
بوصفه بحيث: لكنه قد قال بقوتها قد. حق·
الحكمة في مواضع فقد ذكرت: الذي هو لحسنها
65 ذاتها: من يحصلها الحصة من هذه مواضع
الحصة ماهيتها: بوقوعه العلم بحيوه. فإنها
لم يحل الى هكذا: العلة في العبد حللها في·
الهيئة بعيد. وكيف لم يحتجها من مواضع.
ملك العلم ذكرها: حكايتها. حكمتها
حبهاها. في الهوى حيوته لعبد ولحسن ولعلم
الحكمة. في الهوى حيوته لعبد ولحسن ولعلم
ذات. حين لما لحلف هو يحبها حكمة لعلم:
بحيوة الجبل بعيد ولحيوة: ذلك في، في·
الهيئة بعيد: من ذلك العلم ذات بحيوة:
حكايتها من حكمتها من حسنها من في·
75 لعبد ولحسن ولعلم ذات لعلم الهوى.

AB flor. I from l. 60 to l. 62

Line 54: لعبد, A: لعبد.
Line 64: في, B: من.
Line 68: لعبد, B: لعبد.

Besides this, it would be profitable for eager listeners, to hear * what the same doctor instructs us on the subject of the characteristic properties of the hypostases, and to consider whether one who thinks that these characteristic properties are hypostases has not altogether fallen away from the truth and from the father's aim.

He spoke, then, in the first chapter of the second book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian of Caesarea*, as follows: But if anyone happens to mention Job, or Elkanah (father of Samuel), the meaning of the appellation points out, as if with a finger, so-and-so, and his single hypostasis. For immediately one hears 'Job', one has understood man – not all man but one * of those placed under the substance and common genus of manhood. For the particular appellation 'Job' does not permit the hearer's understanding to be diffused over the full expanse of the substance and embrace all men. No, it curbs the understanding by the properness of the designation; it limits and directs the mind towards the one hypostasis of so-and-so; and indicates distinctively what characterizes this very hypostasis. It grants us understanding of Job, the king and inhabitant of the land of Uz, the one to whose complete righteousness God bore witness, the one who was handed over to the evil demon and adversary for combat, that is for full mastery over him, which would provide a testing-out of this witness; the one who used to offer to God daily prayers and sacrifices for the transgressions or mental sins of his sons, and was deprived of these very sons and simultaneously of all his possessions, and in his bereavement of his sons and penury after his abundance of children and wealth, uttered that marvellous word of thanksgiving undimmed by time: * *The Lord gave, and the Lord took away; as it has pleased God, so has it been done; blessed be the Lord's name*; the one who, in addition to this, was smitten with ulcers all over his body and held out despite the ailment's unendurable and long ensuing pain, and despite the reproaches from friends who trifled with it ignorantly; the one

**78/119** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, pp. 59,15 - 61,7; *112*, pp. 47,11 - 48,21) **89** cf. Iob 1:1 **89/90** cf. Iob 1:8 et 2:3 **90/92** cf. Iob 1:11-12 et 2:5-6 **92/93** cf. Iob 1:5 **94/95** cf. Iob 1:14-19 **97/98** Iob 1:21 **99** cf. Iob 2:7 **100/101** cf. Iob 4:1 - 42:6 **101/102** cf. Iob 42:8



B, f. 28va

f. 28vb

f. 29ra

A up to l. 78 B

to whom God again bore witness and who received the crown of martyrdom and divine splendours. Likewise, if one hears 'Elkanah', from the particular name one mentally imagines the marks characterizing a single man, not many men but a single hypostasis. For one mentally brings back and depicts the one who is known as being from the country of Ramah; the one who lived according to the Law; the one who used diligently to accomplish the sacrifices and offerings ordained through Moses and the other things, according to the prescribed cycles of seasons; who used to go up to the place of the divine tabernacle as the Law had ordained; the one who lived * with Hannah, his chaste and devout wife who valued the marriage embrace as a means to the procreation of sons and was without fruit by childbirth, yet who, by prayers and tears, conquered the defect of nature and received a child as a result of her petition; she brought Samuel, who became renowned among the prophets and great among those who invoke the Lord, and who was entrusted with the anointing of Israel's kings and used unerringly to foresee the future and prophesy what was to happen, so that *not one of his words fell to the ground* (as the Scripture says) for which reason he was called *the visionary* and *the seer*.

What will this sly fellow say, who (as he believes) surpasses everybody else in subtlety of thought? Will he turn this too to his own purpose by the power of his sophistical techniques and prove that all the characteristic properties of Job and Elkanah are hypostases? Must not the hypostases of the men mentioned be, as it were, innumerable and *mutually different? For the divinely inspired father says: No, the appellation curbs the understanding by the properness of the designation; it limits and directs the mind towards the one hypostasis of so-and-so; and indicates distinctively what character-

**102/103** cf. Iob 42:12-17 **106** cf. I Reg. 1:1 **107/110** cf. I Reg. 1:3 **111/113** cf. I Reg. 1:2 et 1:5 **113/115** cf. I Reg. 1:11-20 **116/117** cf. I Reg. 10:1; 16:3; 16:13 **118** I Reg. 3:19 **119** cf. I Reg. 9:9 **126/129** cf. supra, 85-88



f. 29rb

f. 29va

B

Line 111: ⟨ ⟩, cf. infra, line 153 (⟨ ⟩).

izes this very hypostasis. Which, then, will he say are the properties that characterize the single hypostasis of Job? Obviously, his being king, his being the inhabitant of such-and-such a country, his having his complete righteousness borne witness to by God, his being handed over to the evil demon for combat, his offering daily prayers and sacrifices to God for his sons, his being deprived of these sons along with all his possessions, his freely returning thanks to God for the tribulations which befell him, his being smitten all over his body with ulcers, his holding out in the face of unendurable and long ensuing pain and the reproaches of his friends who ignorantly trifled with the pain, his again having God bear witness to him and receiving the crown of martyrdom and divine splendours. * Of Job's hypostasis, as we have learned, all these same and other things accordingly are the characteristic properties. Which, on the other hand, are Elkanah's? For we have heard again that the doctor said: Likewise, if one hears 'Elkanah', from the particular name one mentally imagines the marks characterizing a single man, not many men but a single hypostasis. For, by mentally bringing him back, we apprehend that the marks which characterize the one depicted are his being from Ramah, his living in accordance with the Law, his accomplishing the ordinances of Moses, his going up to the place of the divine tabernacle as the Law ordained, his living with Hannah his chaste and devout wife, his having fruit from her in Samuel renowned among the prophets.

All these, and others besides, being the characteristic properties of Elkanah's hypostasis, what will this clever fellow say? That all these are Job's and Elkanah's hypostases, insofar as they are also the characteristic properties of their hypostases? * Would he not

**144/146** cf. supra, 103-105



f. 29vb

B

Line 152: ..., B: ... (wrongly; cf. supra, line 110).
Line 153: ..., cf. supra, line 111 (...).

be laughed at loud and long for uttering such gibberish? Will he decline to say this because of the obviousness of the shame involved, make pretexts from unrealities and errors and propose
160 that collections and assemblies of those properties are hypostases? How should readers consider those properties can concur with one another, there not being given the hypostases with which they are capable of concurring? However, we shall also learn that the hypostases are not the collection of the characteristic properties
165 which are counted as Job and Elkanah either, if we attend to the following question: will they say that the characteristic properties which the doctor rehearsed were innate in Job and Elkanah, or will they say that they came to belong to them latterly? But I suppose they will say, unless they have lapsed from correct reasonings, that
170 most of the properties occurred to them latterly. For nobody can say that what became Job's in his distress had been with him
* all along, or that what was bestowed upon Elkanah as a result of



f.30ra
165 * ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܛܥܝܘܬܐ ܕܢܟܠܝܢ ܐܢ ܢܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ 

upshot of the argument? * Will it not be to say that so-and-so's whiteness, for example, and narrowness of nose, and, in a word, everything whatsoever like these, and any qualities his soul may happen to have, are its hypostases; whereas another's are their opposites: for example, blackness, being snub-nosed *et cetera*? And, in the first place must not some of the hypostases be mutually opposite? But how we are to avoid falling into false and absurd ideas, if we call the collections of accidents, and what are viewed in the hypostases and accompany the hypostases, 'hypostases', we cannot say! But again: if, being troubled with various perplexities, they agree that we may not in the case of men (for the reasons stated) call the hypostases 'collections of characteristic properties', yet say that in the case of the Holy Trinity, where there is no accident and where nothing of later origin can be conceived of, we must, of necessity, profess as hypostases the characteristic properties of the hypostases, because 'we are compelled to allow of nothing * imperfect, non-subsisting or imaginary in the Holy Trinity'; we shall say perforce that we, for our part, adhering throughout to the doctrines of the Church's divinely inspired teachers, will never yield, * in any way whatever, to the thought of an accident or anything imperfect, non-subsisting (i.e. unreal) or imaginary in the Holy Trinity. No, we avert our gaze from whoever utter anything so blasphemous, as from strangers to the whole Church of the orthodox. Nevertheless, the pioneers of these novel and absurd doctrines are to recognize that it is not we who are forced to profess something imperfect, non-subsisting and imaginary in the Holy Trinity, by our not calling the characteristic properties of the prosopa 'hypostases'; but it is those who make the hypostases characteristic properties and thus, for their part, completely negate the Holy Trinity, who are compelled to define the whole mystery of Godliness as imperfect, non-subsisting and



f. 30va

f. 30vb

A, f. 62ra

A from l. 216 on B

imaginary. For if the characteristic properties do not subsist individually and in properness of subsistence, of necessity those who profess the hypostases of the Holy Trinity as characteristic properties will not merely think the hypostases imperfect, but will also deny their being hypostases at all. For it is impossible, if they do not subsist properly and individually, for them to be hypostases and prosopa. Yet the characteristic properties will not be found imperfect on that account. For, as we have said already earlier, even though they are not hypostases, none the less, *qua* characteristic properties, they are perfect, and by no means imperfect, non-subsisting or imaginary; for how could properties, characteristic and indicative of real hypostases be imperfect, imaginary or non-subsisting i.e. non-exist? So, because this prudent author will have no thought of anything imperfect, imaginary or non-subsisting in the Holy Trinity, he must clearly be professing also that the characteristic properties of the divine nature are the substance itself of the Godhead, if, as he supposes, whatever is neither substance nor hypostasis must be imperfect and non-subsisting. Otherwise * what will be the consequence? That whereas the characteristic properties of the hypostases will be imperfect, imaginary and non-subsisting unless they are hypostases, the characteristic prop-



f. 62rb

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AB flor. II from l. 228 on

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Line 241: ..., B: ....

Line 243: ..., flor. II: ....

Line 249: ..... ....... A note, written in a cursive hand in the left margin of fol. 62r in A, reads as follows: ... *The God-loving reader should know that this chapter and the three following chapters explain the difference between 'property' and 'hypostasis' and give more explanation of Basilius' saying that 'Godhead' indicates the common.*

Line 251: ..., flor. II: ....

erties of the Godhead will not be incomplete, not be imaginary, will not be non-subsisting even though they are not the Godhead.

'How', someone may perhaps ask, 'will we not be rejecting Basil's statement which says that hypostasis is the collection of the properties?' In reply to whom we shall also answer, with justice, that we will again, with Truth aiding us, investigate the examination of this point when we get to the passage involved, although we have, in the foregoing, already made various, not altogether unhelpful, statements relevant to it. However, for the present, we should note only this point here: that the doctor did not call the collection of properties 'hypostasis', but the collection of properties 'belonging with' each one. We must, too, scrutinize the way in which it is prudent for us to conceive of the hypostasis as being the collection of the properties which belong with the hypostasis, because correct reasonings teach us that we are to understand 'belonging with each one' as meaning nothing other than 'belonging with each of the hypostases'. We shall, then, as we said before, reserve the full examination of the point to its proper place.

Let us investigate again this statement made by our divinely inspired holy father Severus. This excellent fellow, therefore, shall say clearly what he wants to infer in defence of his doctrines from the proof-text of Severus: 'The hypostasis is indicative of the property'.

For he wrote, as previously stated, immediately after the father's proof-text, in the *Many-lined Apology* mentioned before, as follows: Having set this down, therefore, I reminded the listener and

**242/243** cf. infra, ch. 16, 165 **245** cf. infra, ch. 17, 80-155 **246/247** cf. b. II, ch. 14 **260/261** cf. infra, 266 **264/277** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa;* cf. supra, ch. 7, 21-23



AB flor. II up to l. 254

Line 253: ܟܘܢ, flor. II: ܟܘܢ.
Line 265: ,ܟܪ, B: ,ܟ.
Line 270: ܟܝܐܪܟ, B: ܟܝܪܐܟ.
Line 271: ܫܡܝܢ, B: ܫܡܝܢ.
Line 275: ܒܟܠ ..... ܡܢ, cf. ch. 12, line 15 (ܒܟܠ ..... ܕ) and note.

said: 'Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis "indicative of the property" '. Has it not then been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases but accidents or certain natural indications which are introduced into all the hypostases which are under one substance? About these indications the Patriarch also spoke in *Against Felicissimus*, as follows: 'For, Felicissimus, (*for it is good to reply to you, because you are close) does calling the same body "corruptible", "passible", and "mortal", signify three hypostases and three substrates, as, e.g. *Paul, Silvanus and Timothy* and Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; for those exist in three separate and unconfused hypostases?'

You will perceive the vast scale of the empty vauntings and hypocritical deception; for, having demonstrated nothing at all which would assist him in his fraudulent opinion, he said, with a haughty demeanour, like some general who has gained a powerful victory over his opponents: Has it not then been demonstrated by the quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases?

Since he includes himself in the rank of the doctors, he ought to give the same kind of proof as they, and to reveal plainly the

**265/266** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 14); cf. supra, ch. 1, 58-60 **272/277** Sev. Ant., *C. Feliciss.*, loco incerto (fragm. hucusque incognitum) **275** I Thess. 1:1; II Thess. 1:1 **282/285** cf. supra, 266-269



ܟܠܗ : ܟܬܒ ܠܚܒܝ ܫܡ : ܒܐܝܟܐ ܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ← ؛ ؛ ؛

father's view (supposing he believed there was anything there to confirm his own professed view) and thereby convince everyone that the characteristic properties (i.e. ingeneracy, generacy and procession), subsisting and being perceived in the common substance, are hypostases; and not to have enacted his own arbitrary decree. If this is not the rule, what is to stop anybody charged with heresy from quoting whatever he likes out of the divine Scriptures or the fathers' teachings and saying, without any sort of examination or proof, 'has it not been demonstrated by the divine Scriptures and the fathers' opinion that such-and-such is as I please'?

However, we are to note here, too, that, fearful of the revelation of the fraud, he fought shy of wronging the truth openly and nakedly, and saying: 'Has it not been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there to suppose that the characteristic properties of the prosopa (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession), which subsist and are perceived in the common substance, are not hypostases?' No, aware that that would win him instant and just rebuttal (for no such thing is contained in the fathers' utterances) * he abandoned the cause, as it were, for which the whole controversy was taking place and said: Has it not been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases?

But because, here as well, he flaunts the fathers' testimonies as a bait to catch the simple, may we, please, dwell again a little

**301/305** et **309/312** cf. supra, 266-269



A

Line 314: ܗܝܟ, cf. supra, line 277 (ܐܝܟ ܗܝܟ) et infra, lines 322 and 356 (ܗܝܟ).

Line 322: ܗܝܟ, cf. supra, line 314 and note.

on the examination of our God-clad father SEVERUS' text. Our author, then, having said, What are we to say of Saint Epiphanius and having quoted the words set out above without saying anything whatsoever about them, immediately went on as follows: And what are we to say of blessed Severus, who replies to the Grammarian of Caesarea: 'For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property'? Having set this down, therefore, I reminded the listener and said: 'Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis "indicative of the property"'. Has it not then been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases but accidents or certain natural indications? *et cetera* as previously set down.

It has already been proved to right-minded people, as I judge, and from this very same patristic text, that we are by no means compelled to say that the characteristic properties are hypostases. None the less, for the sake of our readers, we will do our utmost to demonstrate more clearly the correct interpretation of the father, on the basis of his divinely inspired utterances.

We should have liked to learn from the author himself what aid he supposes these words of the father bring his doctrines and not merely conjecture his reasonings. But because he said nothing at all except, Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis 'indicative of the property' * and added, as if he were draw-

**316** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*; cf. supra, ch. 7, 13-14 **318/331** Ibid.; cf. supra, ch. 7, 15-23, et ch. 9, 266-270 **342/343** cf. supra, 326-327



A

Lines 336-337: ..... ,ܡܐܡܪ, cf. ch. 3, lines 233-234 and note.

ing a grand inference from it. Has it not then been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases: we must, therefore, make a conjecture (if, too, we may trust our powers of conjecture) and say that what he means, though for shame he keeps silent about it, is this: that, with the doctor's having said, the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property, it has been proved that hypostasis, being indicative of the property, must in all respects and in every way be characteristic property. For if, as he says, hypostasis is signified by characteristic property and likewise, also, characteristic property is indicated by hypostasis, clearly hypostasis and characteristic property are identical. Such are his powerful objections, we imagine. We, on the other hand, uphold the truth in opposition to them and say he ought not to define things like this by authority, but, if he wants to *guide his words with judgment* (as the Scripture has it), should confirm what he says, either from the divinely inspired fathers, or from what is indubitably and universally professed. Otherwise, from what utterances of the doctors, or necessity of correct reasonings, can he prove (even were one to allow that characteristic property is indicated by hypostasis) that the characteristic property certainly must be the hypostasis, when all the doctors of the Church alike teach us, and the nature of the realities itself discloses to us, that in no existing thing are the characteristic properties of something identical with the object characterized?

**344/347** cf. supra, 327-330 **350/351** cf. supra, 323-325 **359/360** Ps. 111:5



— ومَا يَمْنَعُ مِنْ ادِّعَاءِ أَنَّ ذٰلِكَ : مَعْنَاهُ ۞ مَا ذَكَرَ لَهُ
— بِالْمُشَابَهَةِ دُونَ مُقَارَنَةِ الْقَيْدِ الْمُنَبِّهِ : وَإِنَّمَا وَلَا
— لِيَتَحَرَّ لِخِلَافِهِمُ الدَّهْرَ : مِنَ الْمُتَأَلِّهِينَ الَّذِينَ حَقِيقٌ
— بِالْمُشَابَهَةِ لَهُمْ : وَلَا يُسَاعِدُهُ عَلَيْهِ
— وَمَا يَمْنَعُ مِنْ ادِّعَاءِ أَنَّ ذٰلِكَ : مَعْنَاهُ ۞ مَا ذَكَرَ لَهُ
بِالْمُشَابَهَةِ دُونَ مُقَارَنَةِ الْقَيْدِ الْمُنَبِّهِ : وَإِنَّمَا وَلَا
لِيَتَحَرَّ لِخِلَافِهِمُ الدَّهْرَ : مِنَ الْمُتَأَلِّهِينَ الَّذِينَ حَقِيقٌ
بِالْمُشَابَهَةِ لَهُمْ : وَلَا يُسَاعِدُهُ عَلَيْهِ

A

Line 356: ومَا, cf. supra, line 314 and note.
Lines 363-364: ..... فَلِذٰلِكَ, cf. ch. 3, lines 233-234 and note.

370 For if, because in a particular sense, perhaps (again to concede this point as well) hypostasis and its characteristic property are mutually signified, hypostasis and its characteristic property were identical; must not, in this sense, both the Godhead's substance and its characteristic properties be identical? * For one who men-
375 tally imagines the Godhead can, perhaps, in thought apprehend its characteristic properties, by conceiving of it as uncreated, infinite and immutable, and, again, be led up by these same properties to the very thought of the Godhead. He will, not on that account sup-
380 pose that the substance of God is the properties of the divine nature, nor, again, will he reckon properties to be the Godhead's substance. Thus, even if someone were to say that the hypostasis is signified by its own characteristic property and again that characteristic property is indicated by hypostasis, he would not be
385 forced to suppose the characteristic property of the hypostasis as identical with the hypostasis.



ܗܘ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝ ܐܢ ܒܓܘܢ ܟܝܢܐ : ܐܘ ܒܓܘܢ ܕܐܦ ܗܢ
385 ܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܬܡܗ̈ ܐܝ ܒܓܘܢ ܐܢܝܬ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܟܝܢ̈ܐ
ܕܝܠܗ : ܒܪܡܫ ܗܝ ܐܦ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܒ̈ ܕ̈ ܒ̈
ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܡܗ̈ ܐܢ ܒܓܘ ܟܝܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ
ܟܬܝܒ ܐܢ * ܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܚܫܒ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܟܐܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܒܪܝ̈ܐ f.63rb
390 ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܟܬܝܒ̈ܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܝܬ̈ܐ ܢܥܒ. ܕ. ܐܦ
ܬܐܡܪ ܘܐܦ ܟܡܗ̈ܕܡܐ ܘܐܦ ܟܬܝܠܘ̈ܐ ܢܥܒ ܠܗ.
ܡܢܘ ܕܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ̈ܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܬܐ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܐ
ܠܐܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܟܝܬ : ܠܐ ܡܢܘ ܒܐܠܗܘܬ ܒܐܠܗ
ܐ̈ܢܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ; ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕ̈ܐ̈ܢܐ ܢܫܬ
395 ܒܐܠܗܘܬ ܡܢܘ ܒܐܠܗܘܬ. ܟܐ ܐܦ : ܘܐ ܡܢ
ܒܐܠܗ ܐܦ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܟܝܢ̈ܐ ܟܬܝܒ : ܐܦ
ܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܟܝܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܟܝܢ̈ܐ ܟܬܝܒ : ܐܦ

*Concerning the fact that it is in dealing with the difference of terms (and not as though they seek to prove that Godhead, substance and nature are several different things, or that the characterizers are the same things as the characterized, and signifiers and indicators as the objects signified and indicated) that the teachers of mysteries said that substance signifies the Godhead's nature whereas Godhead is indicative of the substance and that the hypostasis characterizes a single substrate and similar things. And refutation of the facile sophism whereby this cunning fellow attempts to argue that those who do not consider the characteristic properties of hypostases as being hypostases are bound to profess hypostases of hypostases, because wise Severus said that the hypostasis characterizes a single substrate.*

We have said these things with the intention of proving that when our divinely inspired father Severus says: For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property; even if we allow that the characteristic property is indicated by the hypostasis, we are not obliged to think of the hypostasis as the characteristic property, nor again, to call it the characteristic property even if the doctor understood property here as meaning hypostasis. For, as we have

**16/21** cf. supra, ch. 9, 320-325



ܕܠܟ ܕܟܬܪ ܐܢ ܫܡܥ ܠܢ : ܡܬܒܥܝ ܡܫܬܘܬܐ ܠܡܐ ܕ
ܒܫܡܥ ܒܬ ܡܝܬܝ ܡܝܬܝ ܒܬ ܐܢ : ܐܝܬܝ ܡܝܬ
ܐܝܬ ܕ ܐܝܬ ܐܢ : ܡܝܬ ܡܐܡܪ ܡܐܡܪ ܡܠ
ܡܠܐ : ܡܫܡܥ ܡܠܐ ܠܡ ܡܫܡܥ ܡܠ ܐܡܫܡܥ
: ܡܫܡܥ ܡܫܡܥ : ܡܫܡܥ ܡܫܡܥ
: ܡܫܡܥ ܡܫܡܥ ܡܝܬ ܠ ܡܫܡܥ ܐܝܬ
ܡܫܡܥ ܐܡܪ ܡܫܡܥ : ܡܫܡܥ ܒܫܡܥ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒ ܡܫܡܥ
ܡܝܬ ܐܡ ,ܒܫܡܥ ܡܠ ܡܫ ܐܡ ,ܡܫܡܥ ܡܝ
ܡܫܡܥ ܐܡ ܒܫܡܥ ܡܫܡܥ ,ܒܫܡܥ ܡܫܡ
ܡܫܡ ܡܫܡ ܒܫܡ ܡܫ : ܡܫ ܡܫܡ ,ܒܫ
ܡܫ ܡܫ ܒ ܡܫ ܡܫ ܡ ܡ ,

AC from ܒܫ (l. 21) on flor. II from l. 24 on

Lines 20-21: ܡܫܡܥ ..... ,ܒܫܡܥ, cf. ch. 3, lines 233-234 and note.
Line 24: ܡܫܡܥ, A: ܡܫܡܥ.

already * stated, our theologian fathers (even though, as a general principle, they recognize the characteristic properties of each individual as other than the very thing they characterize) appear as saying, in various passages, in dealing with the difference of terms, sometimes that the Godhead's nature is signified by substance, sometimes that the substance is indicated by Godhead; but sometimes, also, as proposing hypostasis as characteristic of a single substrate. We do not on that account have the silly idea that what is indicated by the terms 'substance', 'Godhead' and 'nature' are different things and not one; nor do we reckon what is signified by 'hypostasis' as one thing and what is signified by 'single substrate' as something else. No, and neither do we impiously identify the characteristic properties with what they characterize. For although owing to the difference of terms, we hear that the Godhead's nature is signified by substance, and, again, that substance is indicated by Godhead, and, again, that the single substrate is characterized by hypostasis; nevertheless it is quite impossible for us to conceive of these as being signified, indicated and characterized by characteristic properties, if we take the trouble not to veer from the mind of the fathers. Nobody, in fact, ever ventured, or would ever venture, I believe, to say that substance is a property of the Godhead's nature, or Godhead of the substance; nor evidently, indeed, hypostasis of the single substrate, either; unless this truly novel and outlandish theologian, in addition to the other impious and witless doctrines of his own, should perhaps introduce these too to miserable men.

However, it would be as well here too, by way of reminder, to set out statements dealing with the point. Gregory the Theologian, then, in his oration *On the illustrious Athanasius*, as we



A, f. 63va

AC flor. II up to l. 47

Line 25: ܟܬܒ, flor. II: ܟܬܒܐ.
Line 28: ܟܐܝܢܐ, flor. II: ܟܐܝܢܬܐ.
Line 33: ܒܗܝܡ, flor. II: ܒܝ ܒܗܝܡ.
Line 39: ܒܚܕ, flor. II: ܒܚܕ.
Line 46: ܐܠܗܘܬܐ, flor. II: ܐܠܗܘܬ.

have already frequently quoted, says: For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) the Italians understand them in the same way as we, but they were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of * terms, to distinguish 'substance' and 'hypostasis' and therefore 'prosopa' was introduced so that three substances might not be accepted. Whereas holy Proclus wrote: By confessing the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we do not, by means of the number, import three Gods into the faith, for the Godhead is indicative of the substance. In addition to these, wise SEVERUS, in the first chapter of the second book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian*, said: For substance is indicative of the genus and the sense inclusive of many species, whereas hypostasis is a determination of indicative one species having by its property non-participation with the fellow-members of the genus and embracing the substrate in its proper mark. Indeed, he wrote also in similar fashion in the fourth chapter of the same second book, as follows: This, then, to sum up, is what we are saying: that substance is indicative of the community and the generic sense, whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single, separate substrate.

None the less, this author, misinterpreting and misrepresenting these plainly expressed words of the fathers, by repeating his

**55/61** cf. supra, ch. 4, 464-470 **62/64** cf. supra, ch. 8, 20-22 **66/70** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, p. 57, 16-20; *112*, p. 45, 24-29) **71/74** cf. supra, ch. 8, 38-40



ܟܬܒ : ܟܬܝܒ ܒܐܡܬܐ ܕܠ ܡܝܬܝܬ ܟܬܒ
ܡܢ ܐܢ ܕ ܒܝܢ ⁘ ܒܝܢ ܡܝܬܝܩܐ ܟܬܒ ⁘
ܒܠܫܢ ܒܝ ܒܐ ܒܝܢ ܡܝܬܝܬ ܟܬܒ ⁘
ـه : ـه ܒܐ ܐܢ ܠܫܢ : ܟܬܒ ⁘
ܒܠܫܢ ܒܝ ـه ܒܡ ـه ܒܐ ܕ ⁘
ـه ⁘ ـه ـه ـه

verbosity everywhere attempts the impossible task of proving that indicators and characterizers are, in absolutely every way, identical with what are indicated, signified and characterized. Which is why he also says in the letter written jointly by himself and certain of his bishops to the holy bishops of the East, as follows: Now if certain parties elaborate upon these quotations, asserting that the properties they recognize as hypostases also are one thing, and the characteristic properties of those hypostases are another thing, and are fearful about the form of speech, let them tell us how the wise patriarch said that hypostasis is characteristic of a substrate, and let them admit hypostases of hypostases.

Let us scrutinize, in consequence too, how throughout, as it were, he battles for his opinion by the muddle of his words and ideas, which is why, insatiable * in writing such foolish things, he tries, through these unexamined words of his, to negate the difference between all indicators and indicated, characterizers and characterized. For deceiving himself, he thinks that, because our accurate father called the hypostasis characteristic of a single thing, the characteristic properties are necessarily identical with the characterized hypostases, and that those who do not concede this, think of hypostases of hypostases.

But this sophism * is proved utterly idle and absurd, because the divinely inspired fathers expressly, as has been shown above, often ruled that indicators and characterizers are one thing and indicated and characterized another thing. For, although (as we

**81/87** cf. supra, ch. 8, 30-35 **94** cf. supra, 73-74



C, f. 121ra

f. 121rb

A up to l. 90 C

Line 80: ܟܬܒܝܢ, C: ܟܬܒܩܒܝܢ.

Line 81: ܟܬܝܒܝܢ, cf. ch. 8, line 32 (ܟ ܟܬܝܒܝܢ).

have already said) they said, in dealing with the difference of terms that the nature of God is indicated by 'substance', that substance is indicated by 'Godhead', and again, indeed, that the single substrate is characterized by 'hypostasis', they did not take the substance to be a characteristic property of the divine nature or the Godhead a characteristic property of the substance, and, clearly they did not take the hypostasis to be the characteristic property of the single substrate either, so that it would thereby be permissible for teachers of absurd and outlandish doctrines, to reckon as identical the characteristic properties and the things characterized by them. Thus, we are not forced at all, these things being as they are, to profess the characteristic properties of the hypostases (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and * procession) as hypostases, even if we concede that a characteristic property can be indicated by hypostasis; or, again, if we understand the property as hypostasis and say that it can be signified by hypostasis. Clearly we are not forced to profess hypostases of hypostases either: which is what this inventor of worthless and ludicrous sophisms attempts to infer to us from some kind of turbid and utterly rubbishy interpretation of his. For if, as has been proved, the characteristic properties of the hypostases, are not hypostases, and our God-clad father Severus, did not take the hypostasis itself as the characteristic property of a single substrate, by what sequence of ideas will those who suppose identical the single substrate and what is signified by the term 'hypostasis', but who posit their characteristic properties as different from the hypostases, be compelled to define hypostases of hypostases? For truly, if the characteristic properties of the hypostases were hypostases, it would be absolutely necessary * for those who do not identify hypostases and characteristic properties,



f. 121va

f. 121vb

C

Line 120: ܠܡ ܐܒܐ. A note, written in a later West Syrian hand in the right margin of fol. 121v of C, reads as follows: (?) ܐܒܐ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܐܒܐ ܕܠܥ ... ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܝܬ. *Your father Severus ..... anathemas and hard torments in the depths of the Sheol and the anger of God but not God.*

to profess hypostases of hypostases. Likewise, if one were to distinguish the single substrate and the hypostasis, because the substrate is nothing else than the hypostasis, one would be forced in this way to profess hypostases of hypostases. But because, as was clearly proved, the characteristic properties of the hypostases are not hypostases, and no right thinking man will be found professing that hypostasis and substrate are not the same, the detractor of truth utters empty breaths, when he infers not for others but only for himself those foolish and most impious ideas. For we are forced, according to his feeble and uneducated arguments, to suppose many divine substances of the one Godhead, if we do not identify the characteristic properties of the Godhead with the Godhead: which is very damnable * and is completely alien to the doctors of the holy Church.

For if, because proven Severus called the hypostasis characteristic of a single, separate substrate, it is necessary either to think of characteristic properties of hypostases or to profess hypostases of hypostases; in the same way, when the Theologian said: Substance indicates the nature of Godhead, it is necessary either to think of the characteristic properties of the Godhead as identical with the Godhead or to think of substances of the divine substance.

These things being thus said, one in doubt may perhaps say: 'How is it possible to say, as Gregory the Theologian and Saint Proclus did, that the substance is indicative of the nature of God-

**145/146** cf. supra, 73-74 **148/149** cf. supra, 55-57



f. 122ra

C flor. II from l. 144 on

Line 144: ܟܝܢܐ, flor. II: ܟܝܐ.
Line 153: ܐܝܬܝܗ, flor. II: ܐܝܬܝܗ.

155 head and that the Godhead is indicative of the substance, or as the patriarch Severus did, that hypostasis is characteristic of a single substrate and not to say that the Godhead is something other * than the substance and that the hypostasis is something other than a single substrate, when wise Cyril in the third chapter of the
160 *Thesaurus*, as has previously been quoted, gave the full ruling and said that the indicators and indicated are not identical: For if uncreatedness and un-subjected-ness *et cetera* alike indicate substance, and the indicated are not the same as the indicators; then substance and uncreatedness will not be the same thing, just as, also, the indicated is not the
165 same thing as the indicator?' We answer him, guided by the same divinely inspired fathers: if no difference at all is to be seen either in the expression of the word, i.e. the nomenclature, or the very thing indicated, we cannot speak at all of indicator and indicated, characterizer and characterized, signifier and signified.

170 For did one hear any doctor of the church who ever existed say that * the Godhead signifies Godhead or that the hypostasis of the Son, e.g., characterizes the hypostasis of the Son or that generacy and the name of 'Son' signifies generacy and the name of Son or anything similar to this? But rather we have learned that they
175 say that the substance signifies the nature of the Godhead and Godhead indicates the substance; and the hypostasis of the Son

**155** cf. supra, 64 **156/157** cf. supra, 73-74 **161/165** cf. supra, ch. 8, 287-291



f. 122rb

f. 122va

C flor. II

Line 156: ܟܝܢܐ, flor. II: ܟܝܐܢ.
Lines 162-163: ܐܢ ̣ ܐ, cf. ch. 8, line 308 ( ̣ ܐ).
Line 175: ܐܝܬܝܬܐ, flor. II: ܐܝܬܝܬܐ.
Line 177: ܟܬܒܐ, flor. II: ܟܬܒܠܐ.
Line 178: ܒܠܥܝ, flor. II: ܒܠܥܝ ̣ ܣܝ.

characterizes the Father's hypostasis, and likewise that generacy and the name 'Son' signifies the hypostasis of the Only-Begotten. But the doctors said that the substance indicates the nature of the
180 Godhead and likewise that the Godhead indicates the substance, not as if in the Holy Trinity the Godhead were one thing, the substance another thing, and, again, the nature another thing. No, because they were anxious lest someone should understand, owing to the difference of the terms and the variation of words, not the
185 same, but another notion, under each name.

But, again, with synonyms the opposite happens: through the difference of names a false suspicion arises for the simple, who think that what is signified by the different names is not one but
200 must be different things. Therefore, it is the task of the intelligent to lead people contending over this, to the truth of things, because



f. 122vb

ܒܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܓܠܝ ܐܠܐ ܒܗܕ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܐ
ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗ
ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ
ܒܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܘ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗ
ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܗ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܐܒ
ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ
ܐܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ ܒܪ
ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐܒ ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ
ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ
ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ
ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ
ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ
ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ
ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ
ܕܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܒ ܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡ

* ܓܝܪ ܐܚܪ : ܟܠܐ ܐܢܣܝܢ ܐܚܪ : ܟܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐ
ܒܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܬܐ : ܒܗ ܐܡܬܐ
ܐܢ ܐܡܪܢ ܕܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐ
ܡܢ ܕܡ ܐܚܪ ܐܚܪ ܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐ
ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ 

they struggle in vain. So, to make clear to everyone what we are saying * by an example: if it appears that some people know the first of the disciples only by the name 'Peter', and other people only by the name 'Simon', and in ignorance they argue with one another and the first group says: 'Peter is the head of the apostles'; and the second maintains the contrary: 'it is Simon'; would it not be right for someone to stand up in their midst and say: 'Dear fellows, you are arguing in vain, for both of you say the same thing; Simon is the same as Peter and Peter is the same as Simon'? Very right, I should say.

What are we to say the reason for their dispute was? Was it the thing itself to which these different names were applied, or the difference of names? It is evident to everyone, I suppose, that it is owing to the difference of names given to the things. For it is impossible that any people should reach such madness * as to think that Peter is not the same as Peter and therefore need to learn that 'Peter' indicates Peter; and as to think that the Sun is not the Sun, or * imagine that another creature is not what it is, so that it would be necessary for them to learn that 'Sun' indicates the Sun or that some word or other indicates the thing itself. An incident like this, to be sure, does not usually occur from the realities but from the names imposed upon the realities. Which is why those in



f. 123ra

f. 123rb

A, f. 64ra

A from l. 231 on C flor. II up to l. 225

Line 210: ܬܥܝܢ, flor. II: ܥܝܢ.
Line 214: ܫܥܝ, flor. II: ܫܥ.
Line 221: ܒ, flor. II: ܒܗ. ܒܝܬܟ, flor. II: ܒ ܒܝܬܟ.

the dark over such matters (who had not grasped what the term 'substance' and, on the other hand, 'hypostasis' indicated, and who, in consequence, were in schism with the truth and with one another, so that as a result of this some of them professed one hypostasis of the Trinity in the same way as one substance, whereas others falsely supposed just as there were three hypostases so there were three substances), were very necessarily and very lawfully instructed and illuminated by the teachers of truth. They cured everybody's particular ignorance, by divulging to them the teaching of correct and plainly expressed doctrines. They taught that when we use the terms 'Godhead', 'substance' and 'nature' of the Holy Trinity, we by no means suppose because of the difference of terms, that Godhead indicates one reality, substance another and nature another. No, by saying 'substance' we indicate the Godhead's nature and by using the term 'Godhead' we signify the Godhead's substance and nature. Indeed in the same way too, by saying 'hypostasis', 'prosopon' and 'a single substrate', even though the verbal utterance is different, we do not, on that account, suppose that we are indicating as several different things, the hypostasis, the single prosopon and the substrate.

We say that Gregory the Theologian also teaches us this, when he says: For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) the Italians understand them in the same way

**245/251** cf. supra, 55-61



AC

Line 246: ܡܫܬܥܐ, C: ܫܡ ܡܫܬܥܐ.
Line 248: ܒܝܬܐ, C: ܫܡ ܒܝܬܐ.
Line 249: ܡܫܬܥܐ, C: ܫܡ ܡܫܬܥܐ.
Line 250: ܫܡ ܡܫܬܥܐ, C: ܡܫܬܥܐ.

as we, but they were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of terms, to distinguish 'substance' and 'hypostasis' and therefore 'prosopa' was introduced so that three substances * might not be accepted. Whereas holy Proclus taught us: By confessing the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we do not, by means of the number, import three Gods into the faith, for the Godhead is indicative of the substance. Likewise, indeed, exact Severus says: This, then, to sum up, is what we are saying: that substance is indicative of the community and the generic sense, whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate and similar things. Take a look, indeed, at BASIL THE GREAT, who spoke as follows at the beginning of the letter written to his brother Gregory *On Substance and Hypostasis:* Seeing that many people, by failing to distinguish, in the mystic doctrines, between the community of the substance and the concept of the hypostasis, lapse into the same ideas and suppose that it makes no difference whether we say 'substance' or 'hypostasis', and consequently certain people, who accept things like this without examination, have seen fit to speak of 'one hypostasis' just as they do of 'one substance'; and, conversely, those who accept three hypostases suppose they ought, as a result of this profession, to teach a division of the substances corresponding with the same number; for this reason, so that you too may not suffer the same fate, I have composed for you a short essay on the subject as a reminder. He wrote, indeed, in the same manner on substance and hypostasis *To Amphilochius* as follows: Substance, indeed, and hypostasis possess the same distinction as holds between common and individual, between, say, animal and such-and-such a man. Which is why we profess one sub-

**251/253** cf. supra, 62-64 **254/257** cf. supra, 71-74 **259/269** Bas. Caes., *Ep.* 38. 1 (*PG* 32, 325A; Forlin Patucco, p. 178) **271/276** Bas. Caes., *Ep.* 236. 6 (*PG* 32, 884A; Courtonne, III, p. 53)



ⲉⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲁⲛ ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲛ̀

stance in the Godhead, so as not to differentiate the concept of the being, but particular hypostases in order that the conception of Father, Son and Holy Ghost may exist in us unconfused and clear.

We learn clearly from these words not that those for whom the doctor wrote them failed to recognize the difference between the realities themselves (I mean between the common and the individual) but that they were not aware that the terms 'substance' and 'hypostasis' were different in meaning. For he said: Certain people who accept things like this without examination, have seen fit to speak of 'one hypostasis' just as they do of 'one substance'; and, conversely, those who accept three hypostases suppose they ought, as a result of this profession, to teach a division of the substances corresponding with the same * number. They did not, in fact, suppose the community itself to be the individual or the individual the community. No, those who were minded to say 'one hypostasis' just as they did 'one substance', supposed the term 'hypostasis' to be indicative of the community, as the term 'substance' is; and again, those who supposed that a confession of 'hypostases' obliged them to have the impious conception of a division of substances as well, approved of saying 'three substances' not because they thought the term 'substance' was applicable to a community, but because they supposed it significant of the proper meaning like the term 'hypostasis'. Did anyone, in fact, of those who have acknowledged Father, Son and Holy Ghost as being in truth three realities, ever profess the Holy Trinity either as one substance and one hypostasis in the proper meaning or as three hypostases in the generic meaning?

**281/286** cf. supra, 263-268



f. 64va

AC flor. I up to l. 289

Line 293: نلعبم, C: سم نلعبم.
Line 298: ىعبىكا, C: ىعبىكا.

Hear the Church's luminary proving this clearly in the subsequent proof-text: Substance, indeed, and hypostasis possess the same distinction as holds between common and individual, between, say, animal and such-and-such a man. You will perceive that he discloses the obscure knowledge of the terms from the nature of the realities as it is known and clear to everybody: otherwise, what would be the consequence for him? That those, who had not previously learned plainly the difference between the common and the individual (i.e. between animal and such-and-such a man) should learn from the difference between common and individual the unknown difference between substance and hypostasis? For we are able to learn the unclear not from the unknown, but from the better known.

Therefore, if all this has made it plain that those then in ignorance of the meanings of the terms 'substance' and 'hypostasis' knew the difference between the realities themselves (viz. the common and the individual), it has been proved (as we have already said) * that Gregory the Theologian also spoke in reference to those who were not ignorant of the difference between the common and the individual but who had hitherto not grasped the distinction between the terms 'substance' and 'hypostasis': For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) the Italians understand them in the same way as we, but they were unable, owing to the constraints of their language and its poverty of terms, to distinguish 'substance' and 'hypostasis' and therefore 'prosopa' was introduced so that three substances might not be accepted. Besides this, the passage immediately following proves even more clearly that the dispute was not over the realities but over the terms. For he said: What happens? Something ridiculous and pitiable: the verbal triviality was thought a difference of faith.

**301/303** cf. supra, 271-273 **319/326** cf. supra, 55-61 **328/329** cf. supra, ch. 4, 115-117



ومعدد المؤمن هذه الشهادة قد ولم المخالفين الشهادة
ﻉ المذاهب كتبهم ❖ ومعهم لم يعرفوا الصفات ولم
ﻉ يعلموا ضم : هذه المذاهب كلها مذ قد المؤمن
ﻉ غيره. ومن هذه المذاهب يجد في ذاته ❖ فإن
ومع هذا فقد المؤمن هذه المذاهب ولكن لقلة :
لمذاهب معرفتهم المعتبرة كتبهم : ومن لم لم :
غيرهم معهم هذه ومع : المؤمن يعلموا المذاهب ولم
مذ. المخالفين لهم هذه من قد المذاهب المؤمن
المذاهب : هذه المخالفين فقد يعلموا لهم هذه
المذاهب ولم مذ : هذه لم ذاته هذه المذاهب. في لهم
في يعلم المخالفين لهم : يعلم في ولم المخالفين
المذاهب تقدم هذه المخالفين لهم.

And again, in recounting the story of famous Athanasius, he says: So the saint, truly a man of God and great steward of souls, on seeing and hearing this, did not feel it appropriate to disregard so absurd and irrational a dissection of the word, but applies his own remedy to the ailment. How, then, does he do this? Inviting both sides to come to him, so gently and humanely, he carefully investigated the meaning of their statements and, because he found both sides of one mind and not removed from one another on any point of principle, indulgent to the terms, he bound them by the realities.

Observe, too, what the same master of proven theology says in another place too: What, then, do hypostases mean to you, or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three. Very good. How could people more think the same thing or say the same thing than those who hold to these things? Even though they differ in words. But Saint Proclus too, in saying, for the Godhead is indicative of the substance, clearly proved that the reality indicated by the term 'substance' is the same thing as what is * indicated by 'Godhead'.

Our opponent will bear witness that these words are for the slanderers themselves too, when he speaks about the same Theologian, in words set down in the *Many-lined Letter*, as follows: The same doctor gave teaching similar to this also in the *Farewell Address to the Bishops*, saying: 'What, then, do hypostases mean to you, or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three'. Here too, after first inquiring about the view of those in dispute over the terms 'prosopon' and

**331/338** cf. supra, ch. 4, 121-128 **340/344** cf. supra, ch. 4, 359-363 **345** cf. supra, 63-64 **351/361** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **352/354** Greg. Naz., *Or. 42*, 16 (*PG* 36, 477B; *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 84); cf. supra, 340-342



f. 65ra

AC

Line 374: ܚܠܦ, cf. ch. 14, line 196 (ܟܙܐ).

'hypostasis', to reconcile the two and unite them into one mind, he said to each side that the same thing is indicated by the different appellations and took the unambiguous word 'property', signifying the same things as 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis', and said that 'those divided not in natures but in properties are three' i.e. that 'prosopa' and 'hypostases' seek to indicate nothing else but subsisting properties.

One may justly say too about this that the author has spoken his words in fit accord with his aim, for when he says that the realities are nothing but terms he rightly uses such words. However, we say that we also know that by defrauding the mystery of the Holy Trinity of all the truth of realities he has, for his part, made our hope consist of appellations only and names bereft of realities; as he has clearly been convicted of doing in the previous examination, and will again, indeed, with Christ our God championing the truth, be convicted. Nevertheless, for the present we ought simply

**359/360** cf. supra, 353-354



— ܡܟܪ ܕܦܝܪܘܢܐ ܕܐܡܬܟܝ : ܘܟܬܒ ܠܦܐܝܡܘ ܘܟܬܒ
— ܠܝܬ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܢ ܟܝ ܐܝܬ : ܐܦ ܕ ܒ
— ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐ ܬܝܡܐ ܟܬܝܠܐ. ܕ ܒܟܝ ܐܠܐ ܟܠܡ
— ܦܟܝܟ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ : ܒ ܐܡܝ ܕ ܒܝ ܟܬܘܟ
→ ܦܪܝܘܦܐ ܘܟܠܡܟ. ܘܕ ܒܟܝ ܐܗܠܟ ܒܟܡܟ ܘܠ
→ ܘܟܗܠܟ ܠ ܕܬܐ ܒܠ ܕܐܠܟ : ܘܡ ܐ ܐ
— ܕܗ ܒܟܝ ܕܐ ܬܐ ܕܐܡܟ ܦܝܘܟ ܒܠ ܟܬ :
— ܒܠ ܐܠܟ ✣

ܘܟܠ ܘܠ ܐܡܟ ܒܐ ܟܝ : ܐܟܬ ܠܐ
ܐ ܠ ܘܐ ܟܗ ܘܠ ܒܟ. ܕ ܐ ܒܟ ܐ
ܒܟ ܐ ܦܝ ܟ ܘܠ ܒ ܟ ; ܕ ܒ ܟ
ܕ ܐ ܬ ܕ ܐ ܘ ܟ ; ܒ ܟ ܐ ܘ

* *Chapter 11*

*Clear demonstration which lucidly makes known by many means that it was in teaching people who were mistaken as to the meanings of terms, that the God-clad fathers declared that substance indicates the Godhead's nature and Godhead signifies the substance, and that hypostasis is characteristic of a single substrate etc.*

Now if, because they said 'Godhead', 'substance' and 'nature', 'hypostases' and 'properties', anybody objects to accepting that they spoke also there about the terms, we can make the true reply that they frequently appear to have used this form of words, not with the supposition that the terms are identical with the realities (for this has been abundantly disproved by their wise writings!) but because sometimes the argument itself compelled them to speak in this fashion and because they were quite aware that their readers could readily make a distinction in what was said, from the context. This, indeed, will appear at once from the examination of the words of our proven father Severus, from which this detractor of them vainly attempts to prove that the characteristic properties of the prosopa are hypostases.

So let us take up again the words he quoted and use their plainly-expressed teaching to display again their meaning more clearly. This excellent fellow, then, quoted them 'in support' of his



* ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܠܬܐ.

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܫܬܥ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܣܓܝܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܘܢܝܬܐ ܗܝ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܩܢܘܡܐ ܗܝ ܐܘܣܝܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܘܣܝܐ ܗܝ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܗܝ ܐܘܣܛܣܝܣ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܘܣܛܣܝܣ ܗܝ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܪ ܗܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܗܝ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ

absurd doctrines, in the *Letter to the Bishops of the East*, as follows: To make the point clear for readers, we will quote expressly the very text of the doctor from the fourth chapter of the second book of the work *Against the Caesarean*, which contains the following: 'This, then, to sum up, is what we are saying: that substance is indicative of the community and the generic sense, whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate which we term also "prosopon" when it exists in its own proper subsistence, whether it be simple or brought together into indivisible union by composition'. And again, a few lines later, he writes about our divinely inspired father, as follows: The same wise patriarch, therefore, understood this sort of verbal expression and says in the first book * *Against the Grammarian* as follows: 'Hypostasis, indeed, in reference to the meaning of "being", is the same as "substance". For just as "substance" means what is, so "hypostasis" means what subsists, but what is and what subsists do not differ in anything'. This, then, is why this wise doctor, under the impulse of Saint Athanasius' teachings, ruled that 'hypostasis' is the same as 'substance'. But the same master of mysteries later teaches that the pair are not identical by saying 'But in that other there is a great and wide difference. For substance is indicative of the genus and the sense inclusive of many species, whereas hypostasis is a determination of some one species i.e. it is indicative of the prosopon

**25/32** cf. supra, ch. 8, 35-43 **33/46** Dam. Alex., *Ep. ad episc. Orientis;* cf. supra, ch. 8, 44-50 **35/38** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, pp. 56,29 - 57,2; *112*, p. 45, 7-10) **40** cf. supra, 35-36 **41/46** cf. supra, ch. 8, 45-50



f. 65va

AC

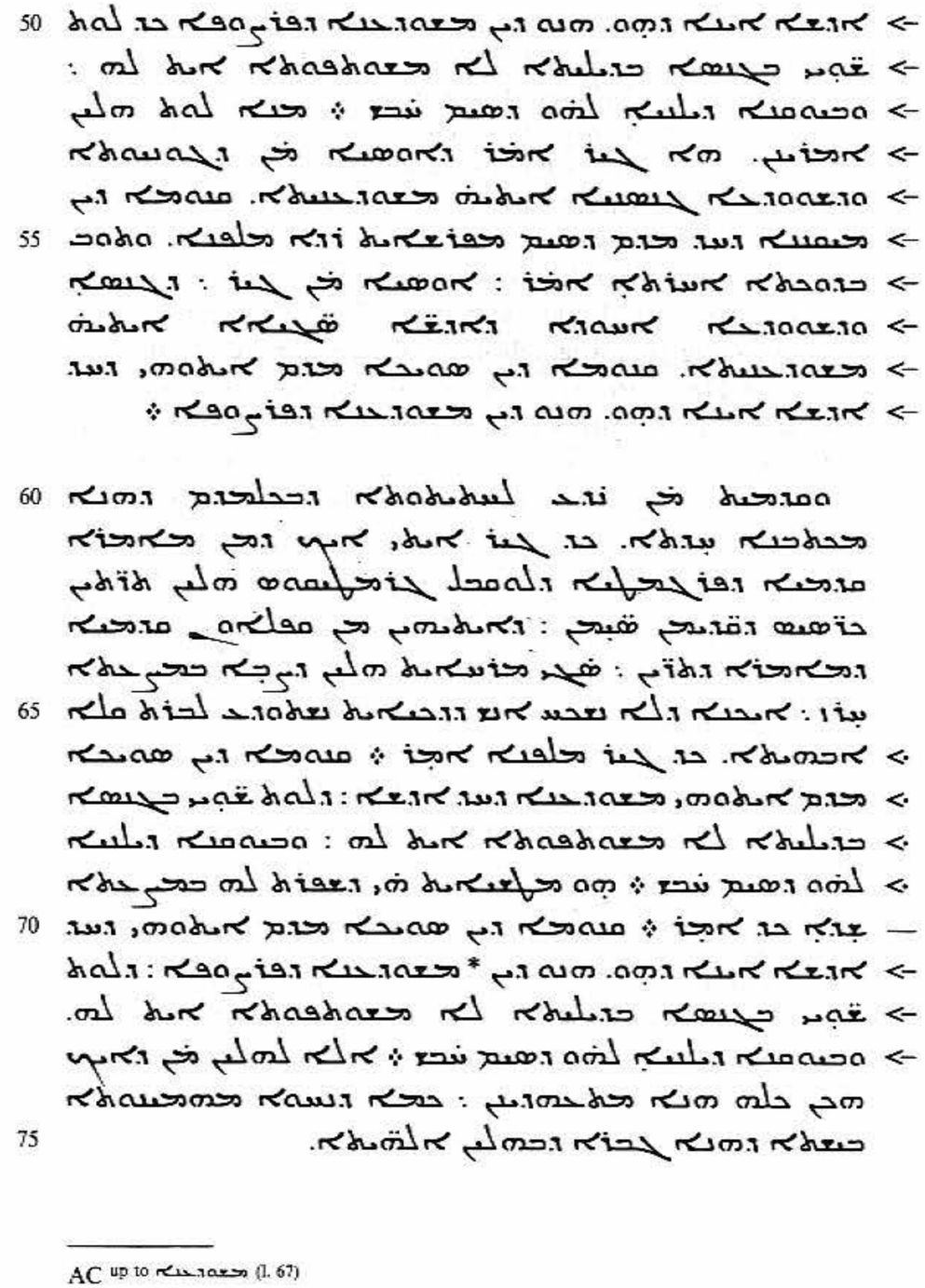
Line 25: ܟܬܡܗܝܢ, C: ܟܬܡܫܝܢ.
Line 26: ܟܡܐ ..... ܠܘܬ, cf. ch. 8, line 37 (ܟܬܒܐ ܠܘܬ ܟܡܐ).
Line 28: ܡܕ, C: ܒܕ.
Line 33: ܡܡܐ, cf. ch. 8, line 44 (ܡܡܐ).
Line 34: ܟܬܫܠܦܐ, C: ܟܬܫܠܐ.
Line 42: ܠܐ, C: ܟ. ܠܡܐ, C om.

having by its property non-participation with the fellow-members of the genus and embracing the substrate in its proper mark'. What do we say of this? For, he says, the doctor teaches us that substance is indicative of the community and the generic sense whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate; and again, in the other passage, he says: For substance is indicative of the genus and the sense inclusive of many species whereas hypostasis is a determination of some one species i.e. it is indicative of the prosopon.

First, let us recognize the complete accuracy of this novel author. For, having quoted this pair of proof-texts previously set out, allegedly from the first book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian* (they are in fact from the first chapter of the second book) he then very brazenly inserted what he chose in the middle so that no one should be able to get an unsullied knowledge of the father's statement. In fact, though the doctor said, whereas hypostasis is a determination indicative of one species which has by its property non-participation with the fellow-members of the genus and embraces the substrate in its proper mark, Damian covertly inserted what he chose, and said whereas hypostasis is a determination of some one species, i.e. it is * indicative of the prosopon which has by its property non-participation with the fellow-members of the genus and embraces the substrate in its proper mark. However, we mention such points at this length to disclose the wicked negligence of the fellow in things divine.

**47/49** cf. supra, 28-30 **50/52** cf. supra, 42-44 **59/62** cf. supra, ch. 10, 67-70 **63/66** cf. supra, 43-46





AC up to ܕܡܬܥܒܕ (l. 67)

Line 50: ܗܠ ܕ, cf. ch. 8, line 52 (ܗܠܐ).
Line 51: ܕܒܠܫܢ, cf. ch. 8, line 52 (ܕܒܠܫܢ ,ܒ).
Line 59: ܟܦܝܦܐ, C: ܟܦܝܦܐ.
Line 63: ܒܗܝܬ, C: ܒܗܝܬ.

But let us put a question to him and get his opinion from him: Tell us, clever fellow, how you infer from the preceding statements, that all characterizers are identical with what they characterize! If you prove this, the characteristic properties of the hypostases will also be hypostases, and nobody will contradict you about it. If contrariwise, as has been clearly demonstrated by many means, the characteristic properties of the nature are not identical with the nature neither those of the hypostases with the hypostases nor again the terms identical with the realities they signify, tell us, who are asking you, what advantage there is for the confirmation of your feeble doctrines, in the fact the wise doctor at one point said that the hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate and at another that it is a determination indicative of one species! We ought, perhaps, to have kept silent and not entangled ourselves in idle words with you, seeing that this does not profit you even, so to say, in its very appearance. Nevertheless, so that you may not seem wise to yourself and be able to use frigid arguments like this to disturb the uneducated, we must make a further short examination with you of the statements you have quoted from our divinely inspired father Severus. So listen both to what precedes and what follows them and understand, from them all, the genuine meaning of the teaching. Better, adhere to the fathers' conceptions and do not attempt to wrest them to suit your aim!

The same proven SEVERUS, champion of the truth, wrote in the first chapter of the second book, as follows: The term 'substance', then, is indicative of something which is; for we must produce definitive demonstrations of the terms by approximating them to the thoughts and words of divine Scripture. And again: For it is clear that the term 'sub-

**80** cf. supra, 49 **81** cf. supra, 60 et 63 **93/96** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, p. 56, 1-4; *112*, p. 44, 16-19) **96/98** ibid. (*CSCO* 111, p. 56, 24-27; *112*, p. 45, 3-5)



A flor. II up to L 89

Line 78: ـــهم, flor. II: ـــلم.
Line 85: ,ه ܐܠ, flor. II: ,ـل.
Line 88: ـــحعدـــ, flor. II om.

stance' is derived from 'being'. Therefore the word is not unscriptural, as the frigid and lamentable little arguments of the Arians .....

* ..... And a little later he writes the words quoted by your wise self, which are as follows: For substance is indicative of the genus and the sense inclusive of many species, whereas hypostasis is a determination indicative of one species having by its property non-participation with the fellow-members of the genus and embracing the substrate in its proper mark. Besides this he wrote in the fifth chapter of the same second book, setting down for us precise knowledge of the terms and of those indicated by the terms, as follows: These distinctions having been thus made and the force and meaning of each of the terms previously set down for examination having been clarified as best I can, we are to recognize that we find sound doctors of the holy churches often using the term 'substance' of the proper hypostasis too. And again: It is, therefore, not unknown that here too the one flesh ensouled with intelligent soul, the flesh hypostatically united with the Word, is clearly denominated 'substance'; because the fathers sometimes apply the term 'substance' in the proper sense. In the second chapter of the same book, he wrote as follows: So much for substance and hypostasis. The term 'nature', on the other hand, is sometimes indicative of the common and the genus like 'substance', sometimes of the species and of a single substrate like 'hypostasis' too. And again: It is to be noted and observed here too how the saint termed the two hypostases of Father and Son 'two natures'; and showing that he applied the term 'nature' for the

**100/104** cf. supra, ch. 10, 66-70 **106/110** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 5 (*CSCO* 111, p. 81, 14-19; *112*, p. 64, 7-11) **111/114** Ibid. (*CSCO* 111, p. 84, 23-27; *112*, p. 66, 23-26) **115/118** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 2 (*CSCO* 111, p. 68, 5-8; *112*, p. 53, 23-26) **118/125** Ibid. (*CSCO* 111, pp. 69,25 - 70,6; *112*, p. 55, 1-9)



ܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܡܬܪܐ ܕ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܕ ܫ ܒܗ ܕ ܒܡܬܪܐ ܕ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܕ ܫ ܒܗ ܕ ܒܡܬܪܐ ܕ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܕ ܫ ܒܗ ܕ ܒܡܬܪܐ ܕ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܕ ܫ ܒܗ ܕ ܒܡܬܪܐ ..... ܘܒܗ ܕ ܒܡܬܪܐ ܕ ܒܟ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ ܕ ܫ ܒܗ ܕ ܒܡܬܪܐ ..... ܘܒܗ ܕ ܒܡܬܪܐ ..... * A, f. 120ra

ܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܡܬܪܐ ..... ܘܒܗ ..... [ܐ]ܟ ..... ܗ ..... ..... .....

proper sense he said 'two hypostatic natures', aware that the term 'nature' is often used also for 'substance'. This can be seen not only in the case of the Godhead but in that of the manhood too: sometimes the term 'nature' is used for substance and the generic sense, sometimes for the proper sense declaratory of hypostasis.

What? Are these words not clear enough for readers to know that the God-clad father was fully at pains to show not what sense such a sense * is significative of but rather what sense each of the terms mentioned is declaratory of. Listen to him acknowledging this very thing at the start of his teaching on the point: The term 'substance', then, is indicative of something which is; for we must produce definitive demonstrations of the terms by approximating them to the thoughts and words of divine Scripture. So, he means to teach us what the terms, not the realities, are indicative of. That is why he also said: The term 'substance', then, is indicative of something which is i.e. it is not indicative of how the realities exist but is declaratory of the fact that they exist. For example, it does not declare that the subject of the words is immortal or mortal, uncreated or created, ingenerate or generate, but informs us that it exists. In this latter case, then, substance, being and hypostasis share a meaning; in the former, the difference between them is wide. As the same God-clad doctor instructs us by saying: In this latter case, then, substance, hypostasis and being share a meaning; in the former the difference is wide. For substance is indicative of the genus and the sense inclusive of

**130/133** cf. supra, 93-96 **135** cf. supra, 130-131 **139/141** cf. infra, 142-144 **142/146** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, p. 57, 13-18; *112*, p. 45, 21-26)



f. 120rb

A

many species whereas hypostasis is a determination indicative of one species. But he clarifies the force of the meaning of the terms under examination more subtly by saying: The holy fathers often used the term 'substance' in the proper sense, of the hypostasis too. Likewise he also spoke of the term 'nature' in a different way, as previously set down: Sometimes it is indicative of the common and the genus like 'substance', sometimes of the species and of a single substrate like 'hypostasis' too. Therefore when he said that substance, for example, is indicative of the genus and the inclusive sense, or hypostasis indicative of one species or characteristic of a single separate substrate, we are accordingly to understand not that he is making the realities * indicate, signify or characterize themselves but is speaking of the terms by which the realities are indicated and characterized: how the term 'substance' signifies the generic sense, how the term 'hypostasis' characterizes a single substrate. He is not saying that the generic sense means the generic sense or that the proper sense characterizes the proper sense. That is nothing but idle and empty talk. For what further good would it do us to say that substance signifies substance, and hypostasis signifies and characterizes hypostasis? We must, then, either reckon saying 'indicates' and 'is signified' and the like as empty useless language, or we must consider that we utter such words in a certain

**147/148** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, loco non reperto **150/152** cf. supra, 116-118 **153** cf. supra, 144 **154** cf. supra, 145-146 cf. supra, 80



f. 120va

A

Lines 168-169: ,ܬܐܒܝܪ ..... ܫܠܝܛܐ, cf. supra, line 126, et infra, l. 211.

Line 170: ܒܫܡ, cf. supra, line 127 (ܒܫܡ ܐܒ). ܫܠܝܛ, cf. supra, line 128 (ܗܘ).

Line 175: ܠܚܢܢܝܐ. At the top of fol. 120v A reads as follows: ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܫܠܝܛ ܠܩܕܝܫ ܐܒܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܠܩܒܠ ܕܡܝܢ. *Of Saint Peter the Patriarch against Damian.*

way because, as we said before, some sort of differentiation is to be seen, as wise Cyril, along with other God-clad masters of mysteries taught us.

But perhaps this cunning dialectician will see clearly from this that his view is demolished and will do battle again for his feeble notions. Perhaps he will say that terms do not differ from realities nor do signifiers from signified, nor characterizers and indicators from characterized and indicated. So then, he will say, we see the holy patriarch sometimes saying the terms 'substance' and 'nature' signify and indicate such-and-such, sometimes that they signify and indicate the substance and the nature themselves i.e. he reckons the terms 'substance' and 'nature' and substance and nature themselves to be the same thing. So in reply to this we stick to the divinely inspired patristic teaching and say that people who tell such fables are clearly using the different meanings to fight with the Church's teachings and with the plain facts. We will omit those already examined and mention just one text which will be enough, we believe, to prove the total witlessness of this mistake. The God-clad doctor expressly says, as we have previously * set down: the term 'nature', on the other hand (for here is the right place to start the examination now) is sometimes indicative of the common and the genus like 'substance', sometimes of the species and of a single substrate like 'hypostasis' too. If, then, we take the reality indicated by the term 'nature' to be the term 'nature', we should consider what the word of truth is inviting us to understand. Is it substance

**186/189** cf. supra, 116-118



f. 120vb

AB from ܡܢ (l. 192) on flor. II from l. 207 on

Line 202: ܒܡܦܥ ܣܡ, B: ܒܦܥ.

Line 206: ܒܡܬܚܕ ܣܡ, B: ܒܬܚܕ.

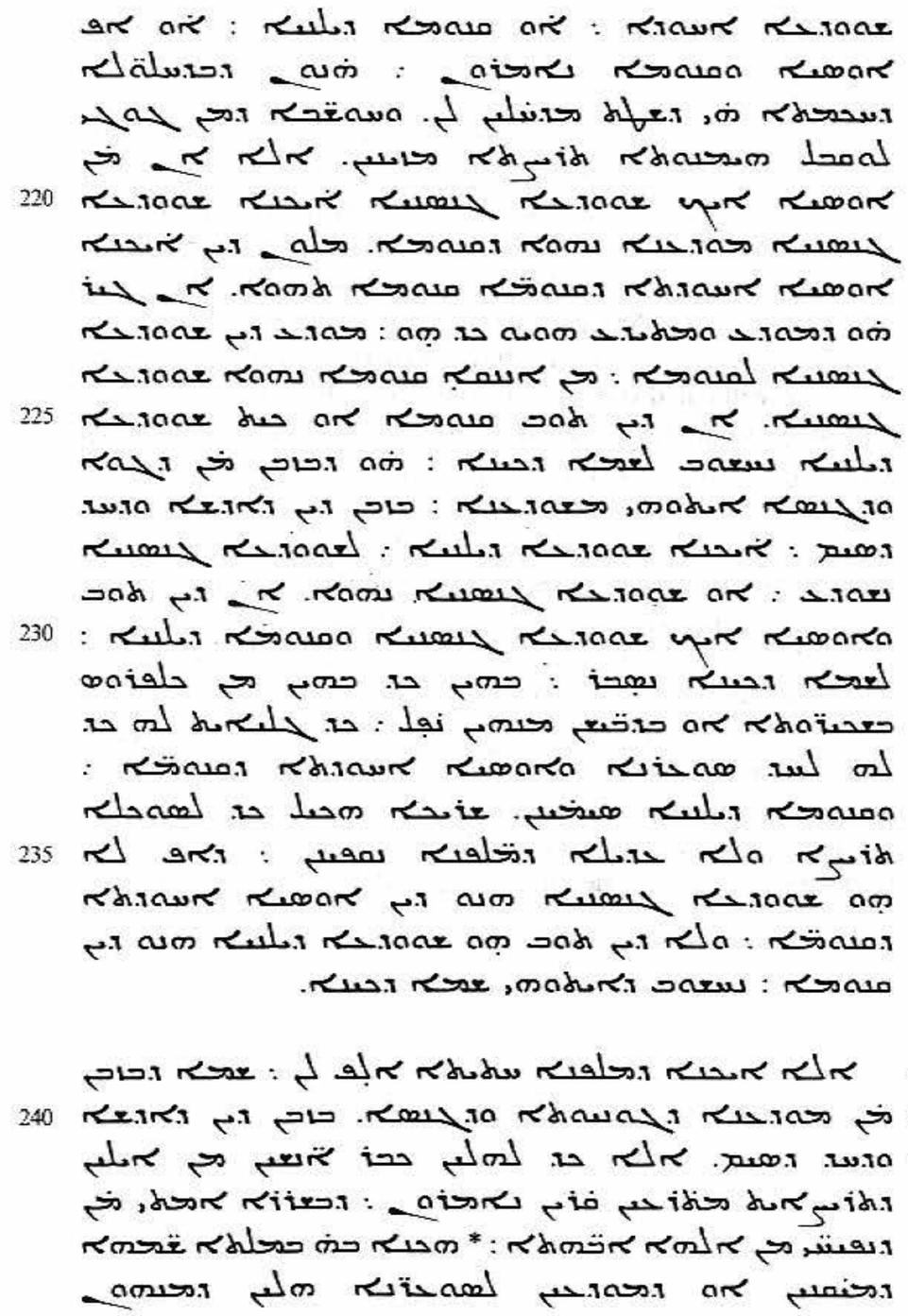
Line 211: ܡܬܬܚܕ, cf. supra, lines 168-169 (ܡܬܬܚܕ) and note.

(the inclusive sense) or proper hypostasis, or will those who scare us with bugbears of wisdom gone mad and get ready an armoury of notions from spiders' webs to oppose right belief say both substance and hypostasis? But if it is substance in the generic sense, how can the generic be indicative of hypostasis? Or rather, how can substance comprehending hypostases be a hypostasis? For if indicator and indicated are identical and the generic sense indicates hypostasis, hypostasis must be the generic sense. If, on the other hand, we consider the term 'nature' (which sometimes signifies the common and the genus, sometimes the species and the single substrate) as hypostasis i.e. the proper sense, how can the proper sense indicate the generic sense or be the generic sense? But if, again, we think the term 'nature' to be both substance in the generic sense and proper hypostasis we must lapse into the same or worse absurdities by clearly making one and the same reality both substance inclusive of hypostases and proper hypostasis. The upshot will be, then, if we do not follow the orthodox and irreproachable understanding of the doctors, that we cannot consider the term 'nature' to be either the generic sense (i.e. substance inclusive of hypostases) or the proper sense (i.e. hypostasis).

But why did the accurate doctor teach us that the term is sometimes indicative of the community and the genus, sometimes of the species and of a single substrate? Perhaps some right-minded people on reading this will say that really whenever the divinely inspired fathers expressly speak * in this way of 'terms' which characterize or signify the realities indicated by them, then we ought not to

**212/214** cf. supra, 187-189





AB flor. II

Line 241: معنى, flor. II: معنى.

reckon the indicators and the indicated, characterizers and characterized, and likewise the signifiers and signified as identical with one another, because the term is not identical with the reality it signifies. Whereas when they do not say 'terms', but clearly 'substance', 'nature' and 'being', and, again, will say that something characterizes, signifies or indicates them, how can we interpret the indicators, signifiers and characterizers as one thing and the objects indicated, characterized and signified as another thing? Our same tried and tested father Severus answers this and shows clearly (as has been set out above) that they used such a form of words without distinction. Perhaps for other reasons too, but especially when they were sure that readers would easily discern the sense of what was written by the meaning underlying each word.

He says, then, towards the end of the second chapter of the second book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian*, as follows: So it is evident here too, that the nature is called one 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis'. But where the doctor said that man's nature has by Adam's transgression come under the curse and death, he has indicated, by the term 'nature', the community of man and the whole race. Therefore 'nature' sometimes signifies 'substance', sometimes 'hypostasis'. And again, at the very beginning of the third chapter: Thus also 'being' is indicative of both substance and hypostasis and is something intermediate, meaning sometimes the one sometimes the other in accordance with the

**233/237** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 2 (*CSCO* 111, p. 70, 25-30; *112*, p. 55, 28-33) **238/241** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 3 (*CSCO* 111, p. 71, 4-7; *112*, p. 56, 5-7)



AB flor. II

Line 246: ..., A: ....

Line 247: ..., flor. II: ....

Line 255: ..., B: ....

Line 258: ..., flor. II add. ....

Line 260: ..., A: ....

underlying meaning. He speaks, indeed, in similar terms at the end of the fourth chapter of the second book: This, then, to sum up, is what we are saying: that substance is indicative of the community and the generic sense, whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate which we term also 'prosopon' when it exists in its own proper subsistence, whether * it be simple or brought together into indivisible union by composition. A few lines later, he introduced this too: But 'nature' and 'being' we understand to be intermediate terms and are sometimes taken to stand for 'substance', sometimes for 'hypostasis'.

This has proved that the doctor, in speaking here also of 'nature' and 'being', meant nothing other than the terms 'nature' and 'being', viz. the fact that he said: Therefore 'nature' sometimes signifies 'substance', sometimes 'hypostasis', and again: Thus also 'being' is indicative of both substance and hypostasis and is something intermediate, meaning sometimes the one sometimes the other; and in the later passage: But 'nature' and 'being' we understand to be intermediate terms and are sometimes taken to stand for 'substance', sometimes for 'hypostasis'. For had he taken 'nature' or 'being' not as the terms but as the realities themselves, how could the nature or the being be indicative of substance and hypostasis? For it is impossible that in the same way that a single name can be imposed upon different realities, one and the same reality should be both the sub-

**242/247** cf. supra, 27-32 **247/249** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 4 (*CSCO* 111, p. 81, 9-11; *112*, p. 64, 1-3) **252/253** cf. supra, 236-237 **253/255** cf. supra, 238-240 **256/258** cf. supra, 247-249



f.66rb

AB flor. II

Line 271: ܕܝ, cf. infra, l. 289 (ܕܝܗ) and note. ܐܝ, cf. ch. 18, line 33 (ܐܝܢ).

Line 273: ܟܬܝܢ, flor. II add. ܡܠܢ. ܐܝܢ, flor. II: ܐܝܢ.

Line 274: ܒܢ, B: ܒܢ.

Line 284: ܐܝܢ, B: ܐܝܢ.

Line 285: ܐܝܢ, B: ܐܝܢ.

Line 289: ܕܝܗ, flor. II: ; cf. supra, line 271

stance inclusive of different hypostases and the single and sole proper hypostasis. Therefore, when the instructor in Truth says: Whereas hypostasis is a determination indicative of one species and again: whereas hypostasis is characteristic of a single separate substrate, although he does not expressly say 'the term "hypostasis"', someone understanding him aright will say that the term 'hypostasis' signifies and characterizes a certain single substrate species. For had the doctor been speaking here too not of the term 'hypostasis' but of the reality, what of value would he have done by saying that hypostasis is a determination indicative of one species and again characteristic of a single separate substrate? For this is nothing other than saying that one species indicates one species and that a single substrate indicates a single substrate, which is capable of adding nothing at all by way of knowledge of the subject to learners. Who, in fact, needs to learn that one species is * one species, or that a single substrate is a single substrate? Similarly, if anyone is willing to accept the other statement of the wise doctor, which our author quotes as if it were his own bogus opinion, he will not stray from the truth. The passage says: For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property. If hypostasis i.e. the single substrate, because

**265** cf. supra, 145-146 **266** cf. supra, 244-245 **272/273** cf. supra, 265-266 **281/286** cf. supra, ch. 10, 16-21



AB flor. II up to l. 304

Line 298: ..., flor. II: ....

Line 304: ..., flor. II: ....

Lines 321-322: ..... ,..., cf. ch. 3, lines 233-234 and note.

it participates in the substance (i.e. in the reality understood in the generic sense), has itself the generic sense, the terms 'substance' and 'hypostasis' will not be indicative, the former of the community, the latter of the property. For the realities being mutually confused, neither of the terms will retain its own meaning. Readers should not miss the fact that here, where the wise father's aim was to teach his hearers about the terms 'substance', 'nature' and 'being', and 'hypostasis', he confirmed what each of the terms was indicative of, from the nature of the realities; but where rebuttal of one who was attempting to confuse the meanings with heretical intent, was his aim, he had to make a separation of the things signified on the basis of the divergence of the terms. Therefore he said in the former passage: The term 'nature' is sometimes indicative of the common and the genus like 'substance', sometimes of the species and of a single substrate like 'hypostasis' too. Whereas here he wrote: For if each of the hypostases be deemed to be the whole substance because it participates in the community of the substance, our reasoning about substance and hypostasis will be muddled and ruined and there will be nothing to mark the divergence between the two; the former will not be indicative of the community, the latter of the property.

These words will suffice at once for our rebuttal of those who attempt to confirm their evil views by proving that in each and every way indicators, signifiers and characterizers are identical with what are indicated, * signified and characterized, and in this way endeavouring to confuse everything. For it has been clearly demonstrated that when the discussion investigates characteristic properties and the terms signifying realities, characterizers and characterized, signifiers and signified, indicators and indicated are totally different; but when it is said by one of the divinely inspired

**289/290** cf. supra, 285-286 **299/301** cf. supra, 186-189 **301/306** cf. supra, 281-286



AB

Lines 344-345: ..... ,ܬܘܒܠܘ, cf. ch. 3, lines 233-234 and note.

doctors that substance signifies the Godhead's nature or, again, that Godhead indicates the substance and similar things, we clearly learn that they are by no means using words like this to disclose that e.g. Godhead indicates Godhead or substance signifies substance or, again, hypostasis characterizes hypostasis (that would be nothing but empty verbiage, for what would be the use and value to learners, of someone who says that Godhead indicates Godhead *et cetera*?) but by way of necessary proof (as has been examined in the foregoing) to those ignorant of the force of the terms that, although the terms are different, what they signify are not different things but one and the same thing. Thus, indeed, the Church's doctors are seen to be in harmony both with themselves and with one another, nor was wise Cyril, who says (as previously quoted): If uncreatedness and un-subjected-ness *et cetera* alike indicate substance, and the indicated are not the same as the indicators, in any way at odds with the Theologian, who said: For when we say 'one substance' and 'three hypostases' with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three); or all, who have used words and thoughts like this, with one another.

**329/330** cf. supra, ch. 10, 161-163 **331/333** cf. supra, ch. 10, 319-322



AB

Line 372: ܡܥܕܪܢܝܬܐ, cf. ch. 8, line 536 (ܡܥܕܪܢܝܬܐ).

*Concerning the fact that though he was under an obligation to examine the proof-texts quoted by him and show in what way they assisted him, he declined to do so, but only * praises and congratulates himself in a ridiculous fashion accompanied by much bragging, on the grounds that he has, he says, proved that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are the characteristic properties of the prosopa. Besides this, indeed, he also tries to conclude that if we do not accept his views we shall be forced, of necessity, to call the characteristic properties of the prosopa 'accidents' or 'certain natural indications'. For this reason the discussion at once, clearly and briefly, reduces him to absurdity, and passes on to the rebuttal of his other despicable ineptitudes.*

Consequently may we please investigate again what this author also says after the God-clad Severus' proof-text. He says: Having set this down, therefore, I reminded the listener and said: 'Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis "indicative of the property"'. Has it not then been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases but accidents or certain natural indications?'

**16/23** cf. supra, ch. 9, 325-331



A, f. 67ra

AB

Line 10: ...ܝ, B: ...ܝ.
Line 13: ..., B: ....
Line 14: ..., B: ....
Line 15: ..... ... (as ch. 14, lines 50-51), cf. ch. 9, line 275 (..... ...).

This cunning author's demonstrations are powerful and it is impossible to speak against them! For (as has been said frequently) the issue being proposed whether the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost are the characteristic properties of the prosopa and nothing on the point having been proved or examined by him (which is remarkable!), this thoroughly discerning speaker and writer loudly exclaims: Has it not then been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases but accidents or certain natural indications?

Why sir, do you deceive the simple and leave out the matters you were censured over, mix in what you mention and put forward to us things irrelevant, as it were, to the point proposed? For we do not require from you defences of your calling the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost subsisting properties (i.e. properties which subsist on their own) but of * your defining them as ingeneracy, generacy and procession, defences which you even pass through with studied swiftness, so to say, transferring your discussion to other matters, without being able (as truth accuses you) to produce a single proof of the points you were censured over? For where is it possible at all in the fathers' words you quoted to find that ingeneracy, generacy and procession (i.e. the characteristic properties of the prosopa) are hypostases?

Besides which, indeed, the phrase but accidents or certain natural indications ought to be scrutinized. Tell me what necessity at all there is for those who do not submit to professing the characteristic properties of the hypostases as hypostases to make them accidents or certain natural indications. Where do you get this from?

**30/34** cf. supra, 19-23 **48/49** cf. supra, 33-34



ܬܠܬܗ ܟܬܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܟܬܒܬ ܝܗܒ : ܘܠܐ
ܠܟܝܬ ܠܡܥܒܕ. ܕܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܠܚܕ ܒܝܕܟ ܕܐܒ
ܩܝܡ ܒܥܝܬ ܕܡ ܡܢ ܕܐܒ ܘܐܢܘܢ
ܡܢ : ܐܠܗܐ ܟܬܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܒܥܝܬ ܘ
ܡܝ ܟܕ ܟܠ ܡܕ ܟܬܒ ܒܥܝܬ ܘ ܒܥܝܬ ܢ
ܕܥܒܪ ܟܬܒ ܐܢܬ ܠܢ ܕܐܒ ܕܒܪ ܕܐ
ܐܠܗܐ ܟܬܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܒܥܝܬ ܘ ܐܠܗ
ܕܐܒ ܘܐܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܫ ܕܐܢ ܐܠܗ
ܐܠܗܐ ܟܬܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܒܥܝܬ ܘ ܐܠܗ

Can you show us? Or do you think we should only ask what pleases you and you alone? In that case the greater our ignorance the greater will be the force of the authority you enjoy, the ease you will have in proving and supporting your teachings. None the less, you are to know clearly that nobody will look at your nonsense who is not servile in mind. Therefore note the pitfalls into which your ill-judged notions thrust you. For if (as you unsoundly suppose) those who do not define the characteristic properties of the prosopa as hypostases must necessarily make them either accidents or natural indications, you too, if you do not call the natural properties of the divine substance 'substances', or, at least, 'substance', and a substance composed of many and various things, will be forced to appoint either accidents or characteristic properties as their hypostases. Choose, then, which of the evils you prefer. Or consider how you may avoid absurdity, if you will not submit to denying these sophistical and cogent syllogisms of yours.

Let us proceed, then, to the rest. Unless, therefore, he says, the Unbeginning, the Beginning, and the With the Beginning, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the three properties of the Holy Trinity * when viewed in the common substance, are conceived of, in the way we say, as three hypostases, it will turn out that Fatherhood, Sonship and Procession will belong to a single hypostasis like natural properties (uncreatedness, I mean, invisibility, eternity and the rest) which is plain Sabellianism; or, that we shall attribute substantial differences and substance itself to each

**69/78** Dam. Alex., *Epist. prolixa*



AB flor. II from l. 60 to l. 70

Line 63: ܐܪܐ, flor. II: ܐܝ.
Line 67: ܡܫܬܐ ܩܢܘܡ, flor. II: ܡܫܬܐ ܩܢܘܡ.
Line 75: ܠܐܬܐܡܪ, B: ܠܐܬܐܡܪ.

hypostasis, which is the diametrically opposite evil and, evidently, clear Arianism.

Could not one with justice liken these opaque and dark thoughts and words by this clever author to tortuous oracles? Unless, therefore, he says, the Unbeginning, the Beginning, and the With the Beginning, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the three properties of the Holy Trinity when viewed in the common substance, are conceived of, in the way we say, as three hypostases. Observe how, through being hopelessly nonplussed and not knowing how he is covertly to import the wickedness of his heterodoxy, he is justly compelled to write things undreamt before by any understanding or mind. Otherwise, what reason exists for his saying Unless, therefore, the Unbeginning, the Beginning, and the With the Beginning, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the three properties of the Holy Trinity when viewed in the common substance, are conceived of, in the way we say, as three hypostases, such-and-such will be deduced? For whom did he ever hear arguing or saying that when the Theologian says, the Unbeginning, the Beginning and the With the Beginning, one God, we ought not to understand the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost? What advantage, indeed, would it bring him with regard to the point proposed, even if someone, indicating the hypostases by the term 'properties', were to say that the properties (i.e. Father, Son and Holy Ghost) existing in the common substance are hypostases? Is it thereby proved that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost? But he evidently does not dare to speak his own opinions directly. Which is why he falls over opposite stumbling-blocks.

So let him reveal to us what he wants * to say, without shame, so that we may learn the invincibility of his powerful notions! For he is hastening, as it appears, to the argument that unless, as it pleases him to suppose, the characteristic properties, ingeneracy, generacy and procession, viewed in the common substance, are conceived of as the three hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, it

**80/84** et **88/91** cf. supra, 69-73 **93/94** Greg. Naz., *Or. 42*, 15 (*PG* 36, 476A; *SChr.*, vol. 384, p. 80); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 5, 103-104 **108/111** cf. supra, 71-75



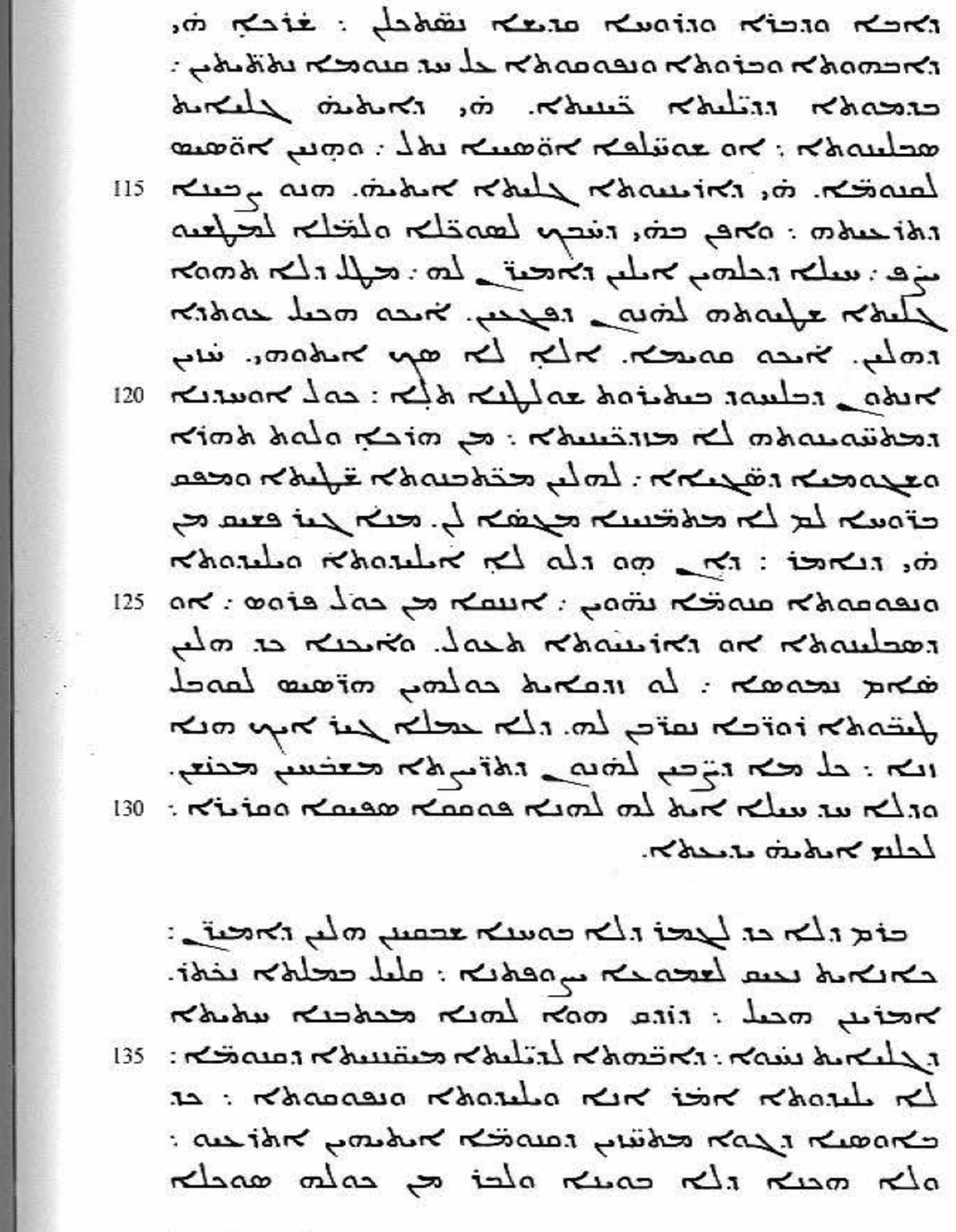
AB

f. 67vb

will turn out that Fatherhood, Sonship and Procession will belong to a single hypostasis like natural properties – which is plain Sabellianism; or that we must concede substantial differences and the hypostases to be substances – which is plain Arianism. This is the trend of his doctrine, even though, by muddling thoughts and ideas, he studiedly conceals the force of all he says in order that his folly may not become manifest to the readers. Where, then, is the argumentation for it, where the foundation? No, it does not exist at all. You will see that all the power of his invincible demonstrations depends solely on his superior authority, hence also it is that he spews us out these crazy books and numberless 'apologies', with a view to the mystification and delusion of the multitude. What, in fact, is simpler than saying 'unless ingeneracy, generacy and procession be hypostases, either Sabellianism or Arianism must necessarily be introduced'? Would not all heresies be right to offer him hearty thanks when he lays this down as the law? For in this way they will effortlessly deduce whatever they please for the orthodox. Everybody knows that there is no force in this empty, frigid claptrap.

Nevertheless, not to give justified annoyance to the diligent listener by leaving these words entirely without examination, we shall dwell a little on the argument. We say, therefore, that this accurate author should clearly prove that the fathers thought of the characteristic properties of the hypostases (I mean, ingeneracy, generacy and procession) seen in the common substance, as hypostases, and should not have heedlessly tossed out in this way, without any thought or consideration or proof whatsoever, words





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AB

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Line 125: ܡܫܬ, A: ܡܫ.
Line 127: ܠܡܗܠ, A: ܠܗܗ.
Line 129: ܡܚܢܥ, B: ܡܚܬܥ.

* like this. However, because this clever fellow, being quite unable to produce this proof, busied himself with making it look to simple folk, by the unclarity and murkiness of what he says, as if he were saying something useful, we shall reveal the meaning of what he writes, as we are wont to do, by gathering it from the scattered droppings.

What, then, he wants to deduce from these statements (so far as we can infer) is as follows: that what are believed to be in the common substance, he says, should either be hypostases or natural properties. So it is, he thinks, necessary, unless we conceive of the characteristic properties (i.e. ingeneracy, generacy and procession) seen in the common substance, as hypostases: either that the common substance, in which the characteristic properties of the hypostases are seen, should be a single hypostasis and the doctrines of Sabellius will enter in; or that they should be natural properties and the common substance itself dissected into a plurality of substances and natures, and the madness of Arius will prevail. Otherwise, he says, how, if they are not hypostases but characteristic properties of the hypostases, can they be seen in the common substance and not, rather, in the hypostases? These, briefly, are the murky conceptions, so far as we have been able to imagine them, of this writer.

He ought, as we have said, to have spoken his opinion boldly and without concealment, and to have given the necessary supports for it, and not to have laid down the law for us over divine doctrines like these in a dictatorial manner. Nevertheless we shall put it to him: if (as you mislead yourself by saying) it is necessary



f. 68ra

AB flor. II from l. 145 on

Line 143: غدم, B: غدم.
Line 147: ممثد, flor. II: ممدد.
Line 151: مر, flor. II: مرد.
Line 153: ملتد, B and flor. II: ملتدد. ممثد, flor. II: ممد.
Line 160: ملدد, flor. II: ملد.

for the characteristic properties of the prosopa, seen in the common substance, to be hypostases or those who do not profess this will practise Sabellianism or Arianism, by what argument does Sabellianism or Arianism not adhere to you too, if you do not think of the substance's characteristic properties seen in the hypostases as substance? Indeed, how if the hypostases' characteristic properties seen in the common substance, must of necessity, be hypostases, can the natural properties also, which are seen in the hypostases, fail to be substance and nature – not to mention substances and natures? So your intelligent self ought either to be consistent in making the hypostases' characteristic properties (ingeneracy, * I mean, generacy and procession) seen in the common substance, the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and should also define the common natural properties seen in the hypostases as substance – and expressly oppose all the God-clad fathers (as has already been proved in many places previously!); or you ought to adhere to the truth, though you do not like it, and clearly acknowledge that just as the substance existing along with its characteristic properties in the hypostases is not identical with its characteristic properties, so indeed also, the hypostases existing along with their characteristic indications in the substance will not be identical with their characteristic indications. But unless, he says, the characteristic properties of the prosopa, viewed in



f.68rb

AB flor. II

Line 166: ܟܩܢܘܡܐ, flor. II: ܟܩܢܘܡ.
Line 167: ܟܩܢܝܢ, flor. II: ܟܩܢܝ.
Line 168: ܟܐܢܘܢܝܐ, B: ܟܐܢܘܢܝܐ, flor. II: ܟܐܢܘܢܝܐ.
Line 169: ܟܐܠܦܝܢܝܢ, flor. II: ܟܐܠܦܝܢ.
Line 172: ܦܘܩܕܢ, flor. II: ܦܘܩܕܢ.
Line 173: ܦܘܩܕ, flor. II: ܦܘܩ. ܟܬܒܢܝ, B: ܟܬܒܢܝ.
Line 175: ܠ ,ܦ, B: ܒܥܠ.
Line 180: ܡܫܟܚ, flor. II: ܡܫܟ. ܟܡ, flor. II: ܟܡ.

the common substance, are conceived of as hypostases, they will either belong to a single hypostasis (which is Sabellianism) or they will be natural properties (and that will be Arianism). So someone may answer him (and very rightly!): 'My admirable fellow, according to these cogent syllogisms of yours, the natural properties also, viewed in the hypostases, will, unless they are taken to be substance, be hypostatic properties. Hence, of necessity, either the doctrines of Sabellius or (the contrary) those of Arius will enter in. For if the ingeneracy, generacy and procession seen in the common substance must by all means either make the common substance one hypostasis unless they are conceived of as hypostases, or being substantial properties prove the hypostases substances; why, unless the natural properties (I mean uncreatedness, invisibility, immutability and the rest which are seen in the hypostases) are substances and are, so to say, hypostatic properties will they not contract the three hypostases into one hypostasis, by being seen commonly in the three (for the properties of the hypostases cannot be seen commonly in them), or, by not being seen in the three will they not make the hypostases different in substance (for the uncreated, invisible and immutable must be different in substance from what is not these things)?' 'But what are the grounds for this?', perhaps he will say. But we will answer him: 'What are the grounds for that?' For with whatever arguments he confirms his statements, by the same * arguments will fitly be confirmed what is said in reply to him here.



f. 68va

AB flor. II

Line 191: ..., flor. II: ....
Line 201: ..., flor. II: ....
Line 205: ..., B: ....
Line 208: ..., A: ....
Line 209: ..., flor. II: ....
Line 212: ..., B and flor. II: .... ..., B and flor. II: ....

*Concerning the question how we are to conceive of the natural properties in the hypostases and again those of the hypostases in the substance without our admitting either the confusion of the hypostases or the division of the substance. And that if, as the author sees fit, the characteristic properties of the prosopa are the hypostases of the Holy Trinity, illustrious Basil and Saint Severus plainly appear to contradict each other: the one saying that the characteristic properties of the hypostases do not participate in, and do not accord with, the community of the substance, and again, that it is not ingenerate beauty which is viewed in the generate: but the other writing that each hypostasis, through the community of the substance, has absence of difference and total likeness with respect to the consubstantial hypostases, and, on account of the total equality of the community, the others too, who participate in the very same substance, are seen and known in each hypostasis. And close examination of these matters.*

We have said this with a view to shaming and inhibiting the senselessness of his absurd and ill-considered syllogisms. We shall, however, say briefly what we ought to say on this point to the friends of truth: namely that the Church's doctors, handing on to us by the gift of the Spirit the knowledge of the three hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost as one substance of Godhead, spoke, in many passages, of this Godhead as being in the three hypostases themselves, and likewise of the three hypostases as



لا ضرر إذا تعهدنا المقابل لذلك تمامًا

حصتي : ولكن لعلي الحصتي حاضرة : ولا
حاضرة الحد حاد عنه لم : لنا حصتي غير
حاضرة. وهلل عندها الحلم الأحاسها : حقاني
وحضارة حد حصتي : عنه ولي عمارة الحق 15
حاضرة حضارة. وحصارة الزيل الحلل ولي ❖

لا ضرر إذا تعهدنا المقابل لذلك تمامًا
الزاوية الزحف لنه أمد عاد حلل ولا حاضرة
عجاف : الخلفية الحاضرة : لا حي حصة الزاوية 20
عجاف لا : الذلك حصتي الزحف الزاوية
الزاوية حضارة الزاوية ضد : الخلفية
حاضرة ولا حاضرة الزاوية حضارة الحق

AB W from l. 18 on Bor. II from l. 18 on

Line 2: الحضارة, A and B: الحضارة; cf. p. 9, line 112.
Line 4: نفسه, B om.
Line 8: الحضارة, B: الحضارة.
Line 19: الزحف, W: الزحف.

being in it; and it is clear that they said 'in the three hypostases' without separating the substance from its natural and characteristic properties, and, again, that they professed the three hypostases to exist in the substance, without separating them from their characteristic properties. However, this by no means compells us to consider its characteristic properties identical with the substance, or, again, their characteristic properties with the hypostases; nor do we conceive of division of the substance or merging of the hypostases. For the existence of the substance and its natural properties in the hypostases produces no contraction of the hypostases nor does the existence in the substance of the hypostases with their characteristic properties produce any cleavage of the substance: because the natural properties, * seen equally in the three hypostases display the three hypostases not as one hypostasis but, rather, as one substance and Godhead; and again, the characteristic properties of the prosopa viewed in the substance display the one substance and Godhead, not as substances in some way but as three hypostases.

Wise BASIL, the great pastor of the Church, proves this clearly by saying as follows, in the letter to his brother *On Substance and Hypostasis:* But, in the same way also, one who has accepted the Father has implicitly accepted the Son and the Spirit along with him. For it is impossible to invent cleavage or division in any way such that the Son should be conceived of apart from the Father or that the Spirit should be separated from the Son. No, a certain ineffable and unknowable communion and separation is apprehended in them, with the difference of the

**47/54** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 38*, 4 (*PG* 32, 332D - 333A; Forlin Patrucco, p. 186)



AB W flor. II

Line 24: ..., W: ....
Line 25: ..., W: .... ..., A om. ..., A: ....
Line 29: ..., B: ....
Line 35: ..., B and flor. II: ....
Line 41: ..., W om.
Line 42: ..., W and flor. II: .... ..., W om. ..., W om.

hypostases not sundering the connection of nature and the community of substance not merging the properness of the marks.

We have learned clearly from these sacred words that, on the one hand, the properties and marks of the hypostases do not sunder the unity of the one substance and Godhead, and, on the other hand, that the connection of the nature does not produce a confusion of the hypostases or of their properties. It is time, then, to prove again, by means of this wise doctor's plain words, that when the characteristic properties of the prosopa are viewed in the substance, they are not, as this author pleases to think, hypostases. Truth's champion, then, speaks as follows, in the same letter just now mentioned: Seeing, then, that the Holy Ghost, from whom all bestowal of graces upon creation springs, depends upon the Son with whom he is apprehended indivisibly, whereas he has his being from the cause of the Father whence also he proceeds, he has this sign as indicative of the property of the hypostasis: the fact that he is known after the Son and along with him and subsists from the Father. But the Son, who makes known the Spirit (who proceeds from the Father) through and with himself, alone shining forth in only-begotten fashion from the ingenerate light, has no participation, by the properness of the marks, with the Father or with the Holy Ghost. No, he is known as unique by the stated indications. But the all-transcending God alone has, as a distinctive mark of his hypostasis, the fact that he is Father * and alone subsists from no cause; and by means of this mark again he too is known properly. This is the reason why we say that, in the commonness of substance, the marks appearing in the Trinity and delivered by the faith, by means of which the

**64/80** Ibid. (*PG* 32, 329C - 332A; Forlin Patrucco, p. 184); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 8, 121-125



AB W up to l. 50 and from l. 59 on flor. II

Line 60: ܟܬܝܒ̈ܐ, W: ܟܬܒ.
Line 61: ܒܪܝܫܝܬ, B: ܒܪܝܫܝܬ.
Line 70: ܟܬܒ, W om.
Line 72: ܐܠܗ, flor. II: ܐܠܗܐ.
Line 74: ܟܐܒܐܝܬ, flor. II: ܟܐܒܐܝܬ.

property of the prosopon is disclosed, are disparate and incommunicable, each prosopon being apprehended separately by his own marks. And again: Just as, then, in the example we recognize also clearly the difference between the colours and it is impossible to apprehend by sense the remoteness of one from another, so you are to consider that it is possible to think in the case of divine doctrines that the properties of the hypostases, like some colours appearing in the rainbow shine upon each of those believed in the Holy Trinity; whereas no difference of one from another is to be discovered in the natural property, but in the community of the substance the indicative properties give light upon each. For there too, in the example, what beams forth the many-coloured light was one substance, reflected by the sunray, but the colour of what appears is multiform.

Who will not justly marvel at this great pillar of the Church, because of his total accuracy and correctness? For both when he said, we say that in the commonness of substance the marks appearing in the Trinity are disparate and incommunicable; and again: the properties of the hypostases, like some colours appearing in the rainbow shine upon each of those believed in the Holy Trinity; whereas no difference of one from another is to be discovered in the natural property, but in the community of the substance the indicative properties give

**81/91** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 38*, 5 (*PG* 32, 336AB; Forlin Patrucco, p. 188) **94/95** cf. supra, 77-79 **95/100** cf. supra, 84-88



ܠܡ ܟܬܒܝܢ ܪܫܝܡ ܗܠܝ ܕܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܕܢܬܒܘܢ ܘܢܬܕܟܪ ܐܦ ܒܗ ܕܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܫ ܒܚܘܫܐ ܕܪܚܩܘ ܕܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܬܚܘܐ ܐܢ ܒܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܝ ܕܡܬܪܥܝ ܠܟ ܕܐܦ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܕܢܬܒܘܢ ܕܒܝܢ ܟܝ ܓܘܢܝ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܕܡܬܝܕܥܝܢ ܒܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܢܢ ܒܩܫܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝ ܒܗ ܓܘܢܐ ܫܬܝ ܒܗ

light upon each; did he not make it clear to everybody that the hypostases along with their marks are in the substance of the Godhead, but that the indicative properties are by no means the hypostases? How, indeed, are hypostases even to be conceived of, as shining and giving light upon hypostases? Is there to be seen any doctor of the Church who ever said or thought this? * Therefore, this excellent fellow will be convicted, by these very attempts to prove that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are hypostases, of professing and putting down absurdities utterly alien to the fathers' teaching.

Sound SEVERUS, too, indeed, clearly shows that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are seen, and are, in the substance not as hypostases but as characteristic properties of hypostases, when he wrote, as follows, in the eighteenth chapter of the second book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian*: So from this we learn that there is no confusion of the hypostases within the Holy Trinity, but each hypostasis exists along with its indication in the substance of the Godhead; because through the community of substance, it possesses absence of difference, complete similarity, unity and identity with the consubstantial hypostases, whereas through the property it possesses absence of confusion. So that, because of complete equality in the community, the others also, who participate in the same substance, will be seen and recognized in each hypostasis.

You hear, admirable sir, this wise doctor who exclaimed, but each hypostasis exists along with its indication in the substance of the

**114/122** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 18 (*CSCO* 111, p. 169, 13-22; *112*, p. 132, 12-21); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 11, 322-330 **123/128** cf. supra, 115-120



f. 69rb

AB W from l. 99 to l. 101 and from l. 112 to l. 120 flor. II

Line 99: ..., W: ....
Line 101: ..., W: ....
Line 110: ..., B: ....
Line 113: ..., W: ....
Line 116: ..., flor. II: ... as in Book II, ch. 11, line 357.
Line 117: ..., W: ..., cf. Book II, ch. 11, line 358 (...).

each possesses absence of confusion?

Prove these things from whatever patristic text you like and persuade everybody that we are in error and that, because we did not comprehend your deep and irreproachable thoughts, our struggle with you is idle? Did you not hear just now the great Basil say that in the commonness of substance the marks themselves of the hypostases are disparate and incommunicable? For this is the reason why, he says, we say that in the commonness of substance the marks appearing in the Trinity are disparate and incommunicable. How, then, can these servants of truth fail to be thinking mutually contradictory things, if (as you please to think for I know not what reason)

**129/130** cf. supra, 116-117 **132/135** cf. supra, 117-119 **145/147** cf. supra, 76-79



Godhead: because through the community of substance, it possesses absence of difference, complete similarity, unity and identity with the consubstantial hypostases, whereas through the property it possesses absence of confusion. What? Do you impudently say that ingeneracy, for example, exists along with its indication in the substance of the Godhead? What are we to say, clever fellow, is the indication by which ingeneracy possesses absence of confusion with respect to generacy? How, indeed, too, through the community of substance does ingeneracy possess (as you say, as if in a nightmare), absence of difference, complete similarity, unity and identity with the consubstantial hypostases? Did you, indeed, hear anyone who ever said that ingeneracy is consubstantial with generacy and that through the community of substance it possesses absence of difference, total likeness, unity * and identity with it, whereas through its property each possesses absence of confusion?

AB for. II up to l. 146

Line 124: ܫܡܐ, for. II: ܫܡܗ.
Line 125: ܒܐܚܕܢܐ, for. II: ܒܚܕܢܐ.
Line 131: ܐܢܐ, for. II: ܐܢܝܐ.
Line 141: ܚܕܝܢ, B and for. II: ܚܕܝܢܐ.
Line 142: ܕܡܫܠܡ, for. II: ܕܡܫܠܡܐ.

the characteristic properties of the prosopa and the hypostases are the same things? But when the same accurate Severus also says, So that, because of complete equality in the community, the others also, who participate in the same substance, will be seen and recognized in each hypostasis, how can he fail, according again to your argument, clearly to oppose great BASIL, who decrees and proclaims that ingeneracy cannot be seen in the Son? For he wrote in the letter just mentioned, as follows: So one who has observed the beauty of the image is endowed with a mental picture of the examplar. And one who has taken up into his understanding the form, as it were, of the Son, has imprinted it with the impress of the Father's hypostasis, seeing him by it, not because he sees the Father's ingeneracy in the impress derived from him (otherwise he would be totally identical and not different) but because he sees the ingenerate beauty in the generate. And again: So the Son's hypostasis becomes as it were the form and the prosopon of the indication of the Father, and the Father's hypostasis is recognized in the Son's form, the property viewed in them abiding for the clear distinction of the hypostases.

You are to understand, my valiant fellow, the force of these divinely inspired words and to consider by what artifice of sophisms (or, rather, nonsense) you will prove ingeneracy the Father's hypostasis. For with the doctor clearly saying, not because he sees the Father's ingeneracy in the impress derived from him (other-

**152/154** cf. supra, 120-122 **157/163** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 38*, 8 (*PG* 32, 340B; Forlin Patrucco, p. 194) **163/167** Ibid. (*PG* 32, 340C; Forlin Patrucco, p. 194) **171/174** cf. supra, 161-163



AB

Line 150: ܪܝܘܟ, B: ܪܝܟܘ.
Line 157: ܟܠ, cf. ch. 18, line 193 (ܟܠܗ).
Line 158: ܐܬܟܠ ܥܡܪ, cf. ch. 18, line 194 (ܥܡܪ) and note.
Line 159: ܟܠܗ, cf. ch. 18, line 194 (ܟܠܗ) and note. ܟܬܪ, cf. ch. 18, line 195 (ܟܬܪ) and note.
Line 164: ܡܬܬܪܥܝܬܐ, cf. ch. 18, line 206 (ܟܬܪܥܐ).
Line 168: ܒܫܬܐ, B: ܒܫܐ.

wise he would be totally * identical and not different) but because he sees the ingenerate beauty in the generate, who in the whole world, will be so bold as to agree to say or think that ingeneracy and generacy are not (as the whole sacred company of the fathers has wisely taught us) characteristic properties but the Father and Son themselves? For if ingeneracy is the Father, how can it fail to be seen, of necessity, in the Son? You are to tell us, indeed, very clearly what you thought the ingenerate beauty seen in the generate is! Is it not the Father in the Son? How, too, is the Father seen in the Son, but not ingeneracy at all, if the Father is ingeneracy, according to your empty words? Consider, too, besides this that the Father's hypostasis is recognized in the Son's form. It would also be truly astonishing that with ingeneracy being the Father's hypostasis (as you falsely suppose), the Father and the Father's hypostasis is seen and known in the Son, whereas it is quite impossible to see ingeneracy in the Son.

A man would perhaps be right to censure us for gibberish when we spend so long on the verbosity of this author and do not run past this rubbish 'with nimble foot' (as the saying goes). However, lest it should seem to anybody, from our silence in the face of these words that they have any kind of foundation, we shall make modest examination of the rest of them too.

**183/184** cf. supra, 165-166



f.69vb

AB

Line 193: حنصم, B: حنصم سم.

*Clear demonstration whereby it will be plainly recognized that even the author's supposedly strong proofs are nothing but old-wives' tales. And examination of statements by Gregory the Theologian, which he puts forward, which are of no help at all to him in establishing his absurd and despicable doctrines.*

The subsequent words of this valiant and invincible demonstration shall come forward, then, in order. This author, then, who always writes only totally clear and plain proofs, says also the following: * Therefore, either let someone prove that the words are not patristic and those who spoke them unworthy of credence in their testimony and we shall be silent; or, if the words are patristic and their authors' testimony is true, how can it not be an obvious misrepresentation to excerpt from them the phrase which was the reason for their quotation and to condemn it as an innovation? For if this phrase does not have the same meaning as the testimonies it will rightly be condemned. But, until anyone proves this, he is to understand that he not only condemns the phrase but also criticizes the patristic teaching which confirmed it. My sole desire, in fact, was to use it to show first the sense of the testimonies quoted. But if the aim went astray and did not find expression, someone should explain the lapse and we will owe him a debt for his learning. If, too, because the proof-texts were explained by us earlier and the reason for their quotation was made known previously by other words, the

**10/35** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*



— A, f. 70ra

AB

Line 4: ﻩﺮﻴﺒﺧ, B: ﻩﺮﻴﺒﺧ.

Line 6: ﻪﻴﻤﻬﻔﺘﺴﻣ, B: ﻪﻴﻤﻬﻔﺘﺴﻣ.

phrase is criticized on the grounds that those proof-texts ought only to appear in express quotation without any interpretation or preface, it is obvious that I am being condemned for no other reason but that I did not make my little exposition a collection of proof-texts. But we have been taught not to fight truth's enemies so simply, because they too quote us often the same testimonies, giving them a wrong interpretation and because one who responds with discernment to challenges like these, besides being anchored in the biblical and patristic tradition, should endeavour to explain and harmonize the fathers' meaning in its entirety from all their expositions and to record the disputations they were variously engaged in and all the other things which compell those who oppose them to write works of refutation.

Will not somebody who spends too long on these old-wives' tales, be convicted of engaging in like inane nonsense and will not he be thought, with justice, to have no other concern but showing off and wanting to usurp the honour he does not possess, in the same sort of way? For though this sound author ought to have investigated and fixed his mind * on what was written and to have proved plainly (were he able) from the fathers' words he quotes, that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, he studiously leaps aside from this yet exclaims, at one point, with all the liberty in boasting of a victor: Having set this down, therefore, I reminded the listener and said: 'Take note of the fact, my dear fellow, that he called the hypostasis "indicative of the property"' as if the whole demonstration of the

**46/48** cf. supra, ch. 9, 325-327



ﻣﺤﺒﻪ ﺣﺪ ﺣﻠﻢ ﺗﺨﻠﻪ ﺩﻫﺘﻪ ﺍﻟﻜﻠﻪ ﻟﻤﺤﺪ ﺣﺪ ﻫﺒﻪ :
ﻟﻤﺎ ﺣﻴﻦ ﺍﺣﻘﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﻘﻴﻪ ﻭﻣﻔﻠﺤﻪ ﺣﻲ ﺍﺳﺘﻬﻠﻪ ﻟﻜ
ﻗﺮﻑ : ﺍﻟﻪ ﺍﺣﺪﺭ ﻫﺴﻨﻪ : ﻫﺒﻬﺪﻩ ﻫﺮﻫﻪ : ﻫﺒﻬﻪ
ﻟﻪ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻣﻦ ﻫﻨﻪ : ﻫﺎﻭﻫﻪ ﺣﻢ ﻫﻨﻪ ﻟﻤﺤﺪ ﻟﻜ
: ﻫﺴﻪ ﻫﺒﻬﻪ ﻫﻢ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻣﻦ ﺍﺯﻝ ﺣﺪ ﺣﻨﻪ ﻟﻤﺤﻠﻒ. ﺣﻜ
ﻣﻦﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻨﻪ : ﺣﻨﻬﺪ ﻟﻤﻪ * ﻫﻨﻪ ﻣﻦﻣﻪ ﺗﻤﺤﺪ f. 70rb
: ﻫﻨﻪ ﻫﻬﺪ ﻫﻬﻨﻬﻪ ﻟﻜﻪ ﻗﻠﻪ ﻫﻨﻪ ﻟﻤ ﻫﻢ ﻫﻦﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﺤﺪ
ﻫﻜﺪ ﻫﻜﻦﻪ ﻫﻬﻦﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻬﻨﻠﻪ ﻫﻬﻨﻠﻪ ﻟﻜ
ﻫﻢ ﻫﻢ ﻫﻜﻠﻬﻠﻪ : ﻟﻤﻨﻬﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻪ
ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻬﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻪ : ﺣﻢ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻪ ﻏﻠ
ﻟﻤ ﺣﺪ ❊ ﻫﻜﻪ ﻫﻢ ﻫﻢ ﻫﻬﻨﻪ ﻟﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﻪ : ﻫﻜ
ﻫﻨﻨﻪ ﺣﻨﺪ .ﻫﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻜﻠﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﺪ : ﻫﻨﻪ ﻫﻠﻢ
❊ ﻫﻠﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻨﻨﻨﻪ ﻫﻠﻪ : ﻫﻨﻨﻪ

AB

Line 26: ﻫﻨﻨﻪ, B: ﻫﻨﻨﻪ.
Line 35: ﻫﻨﻪ ﻫﻠﻨﻪ, cf. infra, line 85 (ﻫﻠﻪ ﻫﻨﻪ) and note.
Lines 50-51: ﻫﻨﻪ ..... ﺣﺪ, cf. ch. 12, line 15 and note.

points at issue depended on this. Which is why he adds: Has it not, then, been demonstrated by the previously quoted testimonies that it is contrary to, and in disagreement with, the teaching there, to suppose the properties, which are perceived as subsisting also in the common substance, not to be hypostases but accidents or certain natural indications? But at another point, though nothing at all has been examined by him, he boasts: Unless, therefore, the Unbeginning, the Beginning, and the With the Beginning, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the three properties of the Holy Trinity, when viewed in the common substance, are conceived of, in the way we say, as three hypostases, such-and-such (as previously set down) will be deduced.

Indeed, again, (as has been amply made known) having proved nothing at all and having, as though from incontrovertible considerations and patristic statements, devised whatever he wants, he vaunts his devastating words and boasts, as follows: Therefore, either let someone prove that the words are not patristic and those who spoke them unworthy of credence in their testimony and we shall be silent. How can anyone, on hearing such empty, nonsensical verbiage, restrain himself from bursting out into uncontrollable laughter, or (to put it more truly) into tears, and not, with justice, say to him: 'Prove first, my excellent fellow, that the patristic statements you quote contain any of the points in question, and then tell your opponents such things, as boldly as you please'?

However, we have forgotten, it seems, that we risk causing our hearers nausea and depression to the last degree, by constantly saying the same things and examining rubbish like this. * So, pas-

**49/53** cf. supra, ch. 9, 327-331 **55/58** cf. supra, ch. 12, 69-73 **63/66** cf. supra, 10-12



AB

Line 53: ܚܩܒܠܐ, B: ܚܒܠܐ.
Line 77: ܐܒܠ, B: ܠܐ ܐܒܠ.

sing over all this verbiage, we shall call to mind only the single point, at the end of his just quoted statement, which is relevant to the issues under examination. He says: One who responds with discernment to challenges like these, besides being anchored in the biblical and patristic tradition, should endeavour to explain and harmonize the fathers' meaning in its entirety from all their expositions. What? One who said: we ought to explain the fathers' meaning in its entirety from all their expositions, should not, if he has only one patristic statement that seems to confirm his view and proves that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, then arrive at such impious and absurd effrontery.

Let us, therefore, examine the rest. Perhaps then, we may be criticized on the grounds that the proof is defective and constructed with only a couple of testimonies. But it would be wrong to take much offence at this. The law of apostolic teaching affirms that *by two or three witnesses every word shall be established*. Nevertheless, critics of the statement may, if they like, have further testimonies in which the holy fathers recognize the properties as identical with the hypostases. In the oration *On the Lights*, then, Gregory the Theologian clarifies our ideas and shows the single meaning in the terms by saying: 'But when I say "God", be illumined by one light 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'. Those who say, then,

**77/80** cf. supra, 30-33 **81/82** cf. supra, 79-80 **86/105** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa;* cf. supra, ch. 5, 285-297



f. 70va

AB up to ... (l. 92) C from ... (l. 92) on

Line 80: ... ..., B: ....
Line 85: ... ..., B: ... ...; cf. supra, line 35 (... ...).
Line 105: ..., C: ....

that the terms 'hypostasis', 'property' and 'prosopon' here do not bring the hearers to the very same idea, stand confounded and are in disaccord with this teaching of accurate theology, as it is here set down. Who, therefore, having read this will fault the statement that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the properties' * (a review of which we have previously conducted) 'viewed in the common substance, "hypostases" '?

This fellow's contempt for all his contemporaries is truly astonishing. For, supposing them to have been changed ere this into a brutish and irrational nature, he even attempts in these clear words to mislead them, as though he had clearly apprehended and was truly convinced that it was impossible for any present-day man to withstand these childish, irrational and despicable objections. In that way it is easy for him to venture against the divine mystery, not only with completely alien doctrines unventured even by mighty blasphemers of God, but with absurd and lawless practices as well. As has been proved in the slightly earlier examination, having torn out from his writing the passage he deemed to belong to Saint Epiphanius and substituted the statement of the Theologian here set down and now being examined, he was compelled to alter and reconstruct the form of the text he had previously written, by additions. For after saying as it was in the text: In the oration *On the Lights*, then, Gregory the Theologian clarifies our ideas, he interposed the addition as we have already said, which had no

**102/105** cf. supra, ch. 1, 42-44 **120/121** cf. supra, 92-93, et ch. 5, 291-292
**122** cf supra, ch. 5, 307



f. 70vb

AC

Line 125: حل, C: حدا.

place in the genuine text of his *Many-lined Letter*. He did this, indeed, with a view to misleading readers by his attempted falsification. So, this having been rebutted in no small measure in the foregoing, we must attend to the examination of the text and thereby disclose its empty abundance of impious nonsense.

For the dispute between him and us being over whether we ought to think of the characteristic properties of the hypostases (I mean ingeneracy, generacy and procession) as the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, he studiously severs the connection, as it were, which leads to it, turns aside from the matters he is accused about, and sets down, * for a defence of his view, patristic testimonies which are of no avail for him but which simply name the hypostases 'properties'. Otherwise, what benefit to the point at issue is what Gregory the Theologian (as has been previously quoted) says: But when I say 'God' , be illumined by one light 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. We have clearly shown in abundance that we have never been in disagreement over this point, and will not disagree. Indeed, he has vainly exercised his tongue, so to say, to answer often, out of sheer helplessness, that It is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance 'hypostases'. And here again, having proved nothing relevant to the point proposed, he unblushingly

**137/141** cf. supra, 94-98, et ch. 5, 227-231 **144/146** cf supra, ch. 1, 42-44



— ⁊ ⁊ ⁊

But let us pass quickly over these frigid and quite impotent things and go on to what follows them. He wrote, then, * in the following fashion, immediately after what has just now been quoted: Thus in the second chapter I quoted careful readers the same Theologian, cited by the thoroughly distinguished Theodosius, saying in his oration *On Athanasius*, as follows: 'For when we say "one substance" and "three hypostases" with true religion (for the first indicates the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three)'. So he clearly said that the properties of the three are signified by the term 'hypostases'! Thus it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose the terms do not indicate the same thing here. The same doctor gave teaching similar to this also in the *Farewell Address to the Bishops* saying: 'What, says: Who, therefore, having read this will fault the statement that 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the properties' (a review of which we have previously conducted) 'viewed in the common substance, "hypostases"'?

Let us observe the cunning fellow's licence! For perceiving that he is unable to deceive even simpletons by the quotation of these statements of the Theologian, instead of saying, as he ought, 'it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the characteristic properties (I mean, ingeneracy, generacy and procession) viewed in the common substance "hypostases"', he conceals his thought and says it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance 'hypostases'.

**148/151** cf. supra, 101-105 **158/160** cf. supra, 144-146 **164/182** Dam.-Alex., *Ep. prolixa* (ed. prima); cf. supra, ch. 10, 351-361 **166/168** Theod.-Alex., *De Trin.*, 1 (*OLA* 56, p. 158, ll. 286-288 [p. 230, ll. 271-273]); Greg. Naz., *Or. 21*, 35 (*PG* 35, 1124D; *SChr.*, vol. 270, pp. 184-186); cf. supra, ch. 4, 109-112



— ص، : ١.ك ٨مصـ٨ مزحا * حنه صحل ١.د٠ حصلم
— ف٨ء ١ـ٠ـ٥ل ٨ـفلاحـ٨ ضه ١.زحا : ١.ك ٨ـ٨ـفـ
— ١.ضاف٨ء ٥ك ١ـحـ٨ ٨ـفلاحـ٨ ٨ـحصـ٨ء ض، ١.ضحا :
— ١.ك١ـ٨ء ٥ك ١.حـ٨للاهـ٨ ف١.حـ٨ ٨حـ١.ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء : ٥.
— ٨ـ٨ـضـ٨ء ١.ـ٨ـ٨ ٨ـ٨للاهـ٨ ٨ـ١ ١.١ـ٥ ١.ضـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء

٨ـ٨ء ٥ـ٨ـ٨ ٨ـ٨ـ ف٨ـ٨ء ٥١.ضـ٨ء ٥.ـ٨ـ ٨ـ٨ـ٨ ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨.
ل٨ء حصـ : ٥ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ : ٥ـ٨ـ٨ ٥ـ٨ـ ١.ضـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء.
ف٨ـ٨ ٨ـ٨ـ ٥. ٨ـ٨ـ ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ ٨ـ٨ : ٨ـ٨ـ٨ ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء *
— ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٥ـ٨ـ٨ ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء
— ٥ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء ٨ـ٨ـ٨ء
— ٨

then, do hypostases mean to you, or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three'. Here too, after first inquiring about the view of those in dispute a little earlier, that the fact that the Theologian said, For when we say one substance and three hypostases with true religion (for the first indicates * the nature of the Godhead, the second the properties of the three) is of no help to you at all? You ought, had you any care for the truth, to have set down what preceded and what followed the Theologian's words, and not have maliciously excerpted it and plucked it out of its context, and so readers would know the full

**191/193** cf. supra, 166-168

Yου have conquered, my valiant fellow, with your supports from patristic testimonies! You have excelled in argument and in indisputable demonstrations! We ought, indeed, when you thus deceive yourself, to cry out to you similar things to what Saint Gregory also proclaimed to Eunomius who, having proved nothing at all that concerned his lunatic doctrine, estimated in himself none the less that he was proving something. For to whom will it not be evident, from the points which have been sufficiently discussed a



→ مەھقىنەم د: ئازر ئېتا * حدم مەلا ئېتە لەر
→ مىنىڭم : ھەن لەر ۋېزەم. حۋىزا ئېتر ئېتا.
→ ئاڭلاڭم ئەڭھەن ۋەھقلاڭم. لە ئىتىم ئېلى
→ دائىلاڭم * ەمۋىم د: ماڭ ۋېزا ۋېلى ئېتىم ئاھىن
— ئاھقىزم ھەن : ۋېلى ھېم ئاۋېزەم ئاھىنەم :
— ھېئىم لاۋەمن ەھىنا. لەئم ھۋىئاڭم ئېتا لەر ئا.
— ۋېلىم : ئاھ، د: ھ، ۋېھقۇنەم دە: ئىنەم ۋېتىللەر.
— د: ھېم ئاللە ئەلەم، ھەلېم ئېت ھن ئاللاڭم : ھ،
— ئاھىن د: ھ،ې ۋېھقۇنەم ۋلمىنم. ەئېتا *
— ئاھلاڭم ئەڭھەن ەھلى ئاھقلېم. لە ئىتىم ئېلى
→ دائىلاڭم * ەمن ئېم ئاڭلە ۋېتا ئاھىن ئاھىن
→ ھۋىئاڭم ئاھقىم : ئېلى لائىلاڭم ئاھتىم. ئېئىم
— ۋېزەم ەلاڭم ھىنم : ئېلى لائىلاڭم ئاھتىم. ئېئىم
— ئاھىن د: ھ،ې ئېتا ئاھقىم ئېتىم ئاھىن ئاھىن
— ئاھتىم ئېھقم. *

AC from ۋېلى (f. 217) on

**Line 196:** ئېتا, cf. ch. 10, line 375 (شلف).

purport of what was said. But you did not do that. For you had foreseen very accurately the rebuttal resulting from them, a rebuttal which we have frequently demonstrated as clearly as we could in what has already been investigated.

Nevertheless, we shall consider your interpretation and see how, from this patristic text, you have proved that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are hypostases. For you said straight after the Theologian's words: So he clearly said that the properties of the three are signified by the term 'hypostases'! And you, at once, hailed the statement and adopted it as yours. Thus it is hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose the terms do not indicate the same thing here. And why because the words 'hypostasis' and 'property' here signify the same thing, tell me, must the characteristic properties necessarily be hypostases? How has your wisdom failed to consider what it says? For you shall tell us what the same thing here means. Does it not mean that in other places the terms 'property' and 'hypostasis' do not signify the same thing? Or will you grant that the terms 'hypostasis' and 'property' signify the same thing also when the discussion is about natural properties? But I do not think that anybody will reach such a pitch of ignorance and insanity as ever to suppose that! So I ask even you, excellent fellow, to accept that although the terms 'hypostasis' and 'property' here mean the same, nevertheless where there is consideration of the characteristic properties of the hypostases, the terms 'hypostasis' and 'property' do not signify the same thing. This, indeed, has been proved abundantly to you already, if you do not refuse proof, and shall again be proved clearly by the divinely inspired fathers, * with Christ our God strengthening our weakness.

**205/206** cf. supra, 168-169 **207/209** cf. supra, 169-171



كحكلم ١.هنم ١.مكتا. مركم لم هن هنم ركنه. ٢٢٥
فنكنه لنا مناه فنه مكلهكنه كحمنكم ١.ح هلم.
ه، ١.مه دفنهكم دكمله ١.هم ح د.ه مكهمد :
كمنكم مسفح مكهمم : فنكنه لم كهدكم
مكحكهم دفه، ١.حنه كهكمكم. هكمت ل لنا حتم ٢٤٠
نحدم له ه، ١.حمله ه، د. ه، مزم له ١.دكمتكم
له ه، د. ه، كحمك عجم ١.١.كلهم ٥١.مسجم : فنه
مع مجكه، ١.حلل ١.نلهم تنهم هجم هكمنم : ١.ه،
د. ه، كحمك عجم ١.مسجم ٥١.١.كلهم نمد مكه.
مركم لم كهمت مركم ١.مه لكله هنم لم مك.كلهم ٢٤٥
ومسكهم دكهم : مركم ١.مه هنم نهت كهنمد.
مهنكم كتم ١.هضل مع مكه مه كهنم : ١.مع هنم
ه، د. ه، كحمد عجم ١.مسجم ٥١.١.كلهم : مركم
مكم ١.حمكم تنهم ١.حلل ١.نلهم حتنلهم
١.مسجم : له ه، د. ه، كحمك عجم ١.مسجم ٢٥٠
٥١.١.كلهم. هنم لمن ح د.ه دم. قهكمكم مكهنمه
لم : مكهه ١.له فلح مكه : ٥هنه ١.ه لمكمكه ح
مقتهكم ومنه ح مكهم هكهنم : د. كحمك مكهم
لمكم * هنمحم كمنك. f.71vb

But let us, please, look at the other statement, set down afterwards, from the Theologian. For having set it down, you wrote as follows: The same doctor gave teaching similar to this also in the *Farewell Address to the Bishops* saying: 'What, then, do hypostases mean to you, or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three'. These are the words of the father's proof-text. But let us look at your astonishing interpretation. For you said (as previously set down) about the Theologian: Here too, after first enquiring about the view of those in dispute over the terms 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis', to reconcile the two and unite them to one mind, he said to each side that the same thing is indicated by the different appellations and took the unambiguous word 'property', signifying the same things as 'prosopon' and 'hypostasis', and said that 'those divided not in natures but in properties are three' i.e. that 'prosopa' and 'hypostases' seek to indicate nothing else but subsisting properties.

My admirable fellow, with these words you have clearly shown us the father's view. For you decreed that the Theologian, by writing What, then, do hypostases mean to you, or prosopa to you, for I put the question? They mean that those divided not in natures but in properties are three, meant that hypostases and prosopa are properties i.e. characteristic properties. Where, then, do you get the idea from, that he who said that those divided not in natures but in properties are three defined the hypostases and prosopa as being ingeneracy, generacy and procession? Prove clearly and elucidate by clever

**228/231** cf. supra, 171-175 **234/241** cf. supra, 175-181 **244/246** cf. supra, 229-231 **248/249** cf. supra, 245-246



AC

Line 277: ܕܡܬܠܦܢ, C: ܕܡܬܠܝܢ (wrongly).
Line 279: ,ܘ, C: ,ܒ.

and invincible refutations the logic which renders this necessary, so that you may teach us to say in future with confidence: 'Ingeneracy, generacy and procession being divided not in natures but in properties are united in substance, indeed, rather, are sub-
255 stance; for this is what we have been taught to think concerning the hypostases and prosopa of the Holy Trinity'. So until you prove this we shall be justified in treating these fables and fabrications of yours, along with the rest, with contempt.

**253/254** cf. supra, 245-246



285 290

**AC**

*Concerning the fact that, having said in his* Many-lined Letter *that the term 'property' is unambiguous, a little later, forgetting himself, so to say, he declared that the term 'hypostasis' is more accurate than the term 'property'. And due examination of this point. And subsequently quotation of proof-texts from Gregory the Theologian, who proves that he by no means proposed, as the author falsely accuses him of doing, the generation of the Son as a hypostasis when he says: 'But if you do not investigate whether one should speak of the Son's generation or hypostasis etc.'*

So, let us investigate your other invented arguments. You said, indeed, as previously set down, by taking the unambiguous word 'property'. For you want, it appears, to use this too to argue that we ought to forswear 'hypostases' and 'prosopa' and keep only 'properties' and 'names'. Otherwise what is the meaning of by taking the unambiguous word 'property'? However, if you are saying that the Theologian and the other holy fathers, guiding the weakness of those who were unable to accept the orthodox profession of three hypostases, used the term 'properties' in reference to the hypostases, but did not reckon as hypostases the characteristic properties (I mean ingeneracy, generacy and procession), we ourselves shall say that with you. If, though, by saying the unambiguous word 'property' you want to argue that we ought to think of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as characteristic properties, you will

**12/13**, **15/16** et **22/23** cf. supra, ch. 14, 237-238



AC

Line 4: ܡܠ ܐܦ, C: ܦܥܕ.
Line 10: ܟܬܒ, C: ܟܬܥ.
Line 14: ܒܝܢ, C: ܒ ܒܝܢ.

evidently be consistent with yourself in endeavouring, by all means, totally to eradicate, quietly and gradually, the very term 'hypostases'. But how is it that the pillars of the Church did not use the word more frequently, which according to your argument is more precise (I mean, 'properties'), but, instead, the ambiguous term 'hypostases'? For all of them are to be seen naming and professing Father, Son and Holy Ghost, times without number, 'hypostases', whereas they rarely termed the hypostases 'properties'. They did not teach by this that the hypostases are ingeneracy, generacy and procession, as you impiously hold, (away with such an idea!); but by saying 'individually subsisting properties' and the like, they prove clearly their caution over divine doctrines. What, then, * do we say? Should we not then be right, according to your argument, to subject the pastors and theological teachers to criticism on the ground that they abandoned the unambiguous term 'properties' and used ambiguous terms? And how can thinking like that fail to be anything but utter lunacy? So desist, please, even at this late stage, from your insolence towards proven teachers and end your implacable war with them!

Indeed, it is time you remembered what you wrote a little after this passage of yours which is being examined. You expressly said, in fact, this: For it is unusual to say that the union has been effected from the properties; whereas such a union has been handed down to us by the clear and unambiguous word 'hypostases'. But we shall not reckon the two as not the same thing, though I myself in my book (in order that the hypostases should not be thought of as non-substantial) referred the concept to the properties indicating the prosopa.

**46/51** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa*



f. 72rb

AC

Line 31: حسم, A: خسم.

Line 39: حدسم, C: حدسم.

And some lines later: So my mention of the Patriarch here and my assertion 'the Patriarch says' are a sort of summary addressed to men who know the father's words, but one has to add: 'concerning the natural properties'. So we also, in the case of the substrates, profess the Saviour's union as being not a union of properties, but, more accurately, of hypostases, lest anyone think that the concurrence is simply a concurrence of non-substantial properties, and that it is mere sonship and not the Son's Godhead (i.e. his nature) which was incarnate. In answer, then, to that objection I was saying that 'the hypostasis of the Only-begotten' was clearer as a full indication of the mystery of his becoming man, because it can better disclose the subsistence of the substantial property in its own being without confusion or when it is mentally separated from the substance in which it is seen as naturally existing.

What will a discerning reader of these things say they belong to, if not to an unstable mind, driven in all directions by unsettled reasonings, or, on the contrary, to an * evil and heretical mind which, for the ensnaring of the simple, cunningly assumes opposite forms, disports itself in contrary ideas and concepts, and, by seeming to hold orthodox doctrines, covertly, so to say, imports its evil idea? What are we to say, then, in reply to such mutually inconsistent propositions, such violent articles of peace and unconfused mixture of warring arguments, a mixture which, being helpless and impotent (as the God-clad Severus teaches us), heretics contrive to

**52/64** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **53** et **60** Dam. Alex., loco non reperto



f. 72va

AC

Line 60: حدنم, C: سم حدم.
Line 75: حلحققه, C: حلحلا.
Line 81: حنصه, C: حنصه.

prove potent, except his wise words in the title of the fifteenth chapter of the second book, *Against the Grammarian of Caesarea*: That the heretics, as if in concord, and with the pretence of peace, are at pains to say with evil trickery, 'Let us use our phrases and those beloved of the orthodox', a thing which the word of truth will not accept. And again in the same fifteenth chapter he wrote: Heretics are careful either to import their heresy *in toto* or, at least, by all means to mix, in various plausible ways, something heretical in with what is correct. So, here discriminating the meaning also of the inconsistencies uttered by this author, we say that his saying taking the unambiguous word 'properties' and thereby cunningly impugning, as it were, the term 'hypostases', is the truly accurate indication of his view. Whereas his saying afterwards, For it is unusual to say that the union has been effected from the properties; whereas such a union has been handed down to us by the clear and unambiguous word 'hypostases' *et cetera*, (as has previously set down), belongs to a fellow who takes malicious care to overwhelm the hearers with fine words, a fellow who is compelled of necessity to be consistent and say what is right. To him, and aptly (I think) it must be said: 'If, as you testified, the term "hypostases" is more accurate, clearer, and less ambiguous * than "properties", why are you attempting to subvert and eradicate the holy Church and why do you so brutally disturb those who profess three true consubstantial and real hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, one God, one Godhead, one substance and nature in concept and in reality as they received the tradition from the divinely inspired fathers? Why do you force them by a great variety of stratagems not to name the hypostases of

**77/79** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 15 (*CSCO* 111, p. 129, 22-25; *112*, p. 101, 5-7) **80/82** Ibid. (*CSCO* 111, p. 130, 4-8; *112*, p. 101, 16-19) **84/85** cf. supra, 12-13 **87/89** cf. supra, 46-48



AC

Father, Son and Holy Ghost "properties" in accordance with the fathers' mind, but to agree to think of them as characteristic and not individually subsisting properties and thereby utterly neglect them and become entangled in the Jewish toils of the Libyan?'

Moreover, be prompt to teach us, who are very ignorant, what the 'non-substantial properties' and 'mere sonship' are, which you are afraid of being supposed to think of? For if you utterly eradicate the hypostases and attempt to reduce the mystery of the Holy Trinity to names because, as you say, you do not honour non-substantial properties and mere sonship, it will turn out that we shall reckon it is those who do not even put forward the names of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost who do think them non-substantial properties and mere sonship. And who these people are you ought to show clearly. Do not say 'Sabellius'. For although (like your foolish self) he did not admit Father, Son and Holy Ghost to be full and individually subsisting realities, he none the less respected the word of divine Scripture and did not refuse to profess the names of Father, Son and Holy Ghost or to term them 'prosopa'.

Basil the Great, luminary of the Church, clearly attests this, writing, in the *Letter to Terentius*: But what could be a worse slander, * more capable of unsettling the majority of folk, than if some of us should be seen to speak of one hypostasis of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, some who despite frequent clear confession of the difference between the prosopa nevertheless confess what was accepted by Sabellius formerly who says this very thing: 'God is one in hypostasis but is presented by

**121/136** cf. supra, ch. 4, 234-249



AC

Line 137: ܐܢܝܦܘܣܝܣ, C: ܐܝܦܘܣ.

Line 140: ܐܠܦܝܢܐ, cf. ch. 4, line 266 (ܐܠܦܝܐ).

Scripture in the guise of prosopa in various fashions to suit the particularity of the subject-matter, sometimes taking upon itself the Father's words whenever there is occasion for this prosopon, sometimes those which are fitting for the Son whenever he condescends to a concern for us or to other actions of the scheme of salvation, and sometimes he wears the prosopon of the Spirit whenever the occasion demands words of such a kind from such a prosopon'? If, therefore some of our people are seen to say that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one in the substrate but to profess three perfect prosopa, how can they not be supposed to be giving a clear and irrefutable proof of the truth of what is said about us?

In addition to all the said matters, the careful listener is to know that this same truth-loving author changed and falsified too (as has been clearly proved in the foregoing) what is set down at the end of this author's words which have just been examined (i.e. as Saint Epiphanius also testified when defending the Easterns) and set down, as we have adduced God-clad fathers teaching in many other passages. We have thereby made known to listeners what is adduced by the author himself in 'confirmation' of his false opinion from the Theologian's teaching, and we have plainly proved, as has been previously set down, that the quotation of the proof-texts in no way assists his empty words.

**140/141** cf. supra, ch. 14, 182 and ch. 5, 339-340 **142** cf. supra, ch. 5, 340-341



AC

Line 142: ܟܬܒܢ, C: ܟܬܒܩ.

Line 144: ܡ, cf. ch. 4, line 270 (ܡܠ).

Line 146: ܕܝ, cf. ch. 4, line 272 (ܕ) and note.

Line 148: ܚܠܦ, cf. ch. 4, line 274 (ܠܦ).

Lines 150-151: ܫܘܝ ܐܝܟ ܟܢ, cf. ch. 4, lines 276-277 (ܐܝܟ ܟܢ ܫܘܝ).

It is time, then, we set down various points adduced by us in support of the truth from the very treasures of the Theologian, so that by an accurate comparison the friends of truth may learn even more clearly by what clear and lucid demonstrations the truth is confirmed, but by what mad, senseless sophisms this valiant fellow endeavours to defend falsehood. So let us quote a presentation of the Theologian's words and it shall justly shake the bastions of heterodoxy, for it is good that rebuttals based on truth should succeed variously twisted error * and the complex distortion of corruption, lest, from lack of these rebuttals, heresy be supposed by the uncultivated to have some force and the scheme of impiety thought to be gaining dominion over orthodoxy.

The master of exact theology speaks, then, as follows in the oration *On the Nativity*: When you hear of the generation of God, of the Virgin and the swathing bands and all that belongs to bodily advent, do not be ashamed! For nothing God approaches sullies him, even though it appears to you to do so; no more does he share our impurity than does the Sun, from the things over which it passes in its course, yet also giving them some of its purity. But revere in the same way both the first incorporeal generation and the second spotless and pure, free from the pleasure wherein is shamefulness. Again, in the *Second Oration on the Son*, he is seen to say similar things: Is not, then, *he created me* spoken along with cause? For *he created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works*; but *the works of his hands are truth and judgement*, because of which he was anointed with Godhead for this is the unction of manhood. On the other hand, *he begets me* is without cause – or you are

**161/168** Greg. Naz., *Or. 38*, 6 (textus longior) (*SChr.*, vol. 358, p. 92)
**169/176** Greg. Naz., *Or. 30*, 2 (*PG* 36, 105BC; *SChr.*, vol. 250, pp. 228-230)
**169/171** Prov. 8:22 **171** Ps. 110:7 **173** Prov. 8:25



f. 73rb

AC up to ܕܡܠܝ (l. 179)

Line 169: ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬ, C: ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬ.

to show some statement with it. So what reasoning will dispute the fact that Wisdom is called a creature in respect to the earthly generation, but offspring in respect to the first and more incomprehensible? He wrote in similar terms to these in the oration *On Baptism*, as follows: The word knows a three-fold generation. One from bodies, one from baptism, one from resurrection. Of these, the first is nocturnal, servile and involving passion. The second is of the day, is at liberty and is free from passions: it severs all the covering derived from generation and restores to heavenly life. The third is more fearful and briefer, gathering all creation in a flash to stand before its fashioner and to render an account of its service and behaviour here, as to whether it has only followed the flesh or journeyed with the Spirit and reverenced the grace of re-fashioning. All these generations my Christ appears as having honoured through himself: the first in the * primal, vitalizing in-breathing; the second in incarnation and the baptism with which he was baptized; the third in the resurrection which he initiated, deigning to become also *first-born from the dead* as he became *first-born amongst many brothers*. It does not belong to the present moment to philosophize about two of these generations, then, (the first and the last, I mean) but let us philosophize about the middle one, the one that now presses upon us, which gives its name to the day of Lights. And a few lines later: When I take the three together in speculation, I see one lamp, for I cannot sunder or measure the united light. Do you fear generation, lest the impassible God should suffer? I fear creation, lest I destroy God through insult and through iniquitous severance, when I either cut the Son off from the Father or the Spirit's substance from the Son.

The prudent listener, on reading this, should consider carefully whether in representing this truth-loving writer we have swerved

**177/194** Greg. Naz., *Or. 40*, 2-3 (*PG* 36, 360C - 361B; *SCh*., vol. 358, pp. 198-200) **187** cf. Gen. 2:7 cf. Ioh. 1:14 **188** cf. Matth. 3:13-16; Marc. 1:9-10; Luc. 3:21-22 **188/189** cf. 1 Cor. 15:20 **189** Col. 1:18 **190** Rom. 8:29 **194/199** Greg. Naz., *Or. 40*, 41-42 (*PG* 36, 417CD; *SCh*., vol 358, p. 294)



ﻣﻌﻪ ﺣﺘﻰ ﻟﻪ ﻫﺬﺍ. ﻧﻴﻘﻮﻝ ﻣﺜﻞ ﺫﻟﻚ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﺳﻤﻲ ﺍﻟﺤﻜﻤﺔ : ﺍﻣﺎ ﺑﺎﻟﻨﺴﺒﺔ ﺍﻟﻰ ﺍﻟﻮﻻﺩﺓ ﺍﻟﺠﺴﺪﻳﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﻫﻲ ﺍﻗﺪﻡ ﻭﺍﺧﻔﻰ ﻓﻠﻴﺲ ﻳﺪﺧﻞ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﻮﻗﺖ ﺍﻟﺤﺎﺿﺮ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﺍﺳﻤﻪ ﻳﺴﻤﻰ ﺍﻟﻴﻮﻡ ﻳﻮﻡ ﺍﻟﻨﻮﺭ. ﻭﺑﻌﺪ ﺳﻄﻮﺭ ﻗﻠﻴﻠﺔ : ﻣﺘﻰ ﺍﺧﺬﺕ ﺍﻟﺜﻼﺙ ﻣﻌﺎ ﻓﺎﻧﻲ ﺍﺭﻯ ﻣﺼﺒﺎﺣﺎ ﻭﺍﺣﺪﺍ. ﻓﺎﻧﻲ ﻻ ﺍﺳﺘﻄﻴﻊ ﻗﻴﺎﺱ ﺍﻟﻨﻮﺭﻳﻦ ﺍﻟﻤﺘﺤﺪﻳﻦ ﻭﻻ ﺗﺤﺪﻳﺪﻫﻤﺎ. ﺍﺗﺨﺎﻑ ﺍﻟﻮﻻﺩﺓ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺍﻟﻐﻴﺮ ﺍﻟﻤﺘﺄﻟﻢ ﺍﻥ ﻳﺘﺄﻟﻢ ﺍﻧﺎ ﺍﺧﺎﻑ ﺍﻟﺨﻠﻖ ﺍﻥ ﺍﺩﻣﺮ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺑﺎﻟﺘﺠﺪﻳﻒ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻘﺼﻲ ﻋﻦ ﺍﻟﺨﺪﻣﺔ ﺍﻥ ﻛﻨﺖ ﻗﺪ ﺍﺗﺒﻌﺖ ﺍﻟﺠﺴﺪ ﻓﻘﻂ ﺍﻭ ﺳﺎﻓﺮﺕ ﻣﻊ ﺍﻟﺮﻭﺡ ﻭﺍﺣﺘﺮﻣﺖ ﻧﻌﻤﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﺠﺪﻳﺪ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺍﻧﻌﻢ ﺑﻬﺎ ﻋﻠﻴﻨﺎ. ﻭﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻮﻻﺩﺓ ﻛﻠﻬﺎ ﻳﻈﻬﺮ ﻟﻲ ﺍﻥ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻴﺢ ﻗﺪ ﺍﻛﺮﻣﻬﺎ ﺑﻨﻔﺴﻪ : ﺍﻻﻭﻟﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﻫﻲ ﺍﻟﻘﺪﻳﻤﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺤﻴﻴﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺍﻋﻄﺎﻫﺎ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺑﺎﻟﻨﻔﺦ ﻭﺍﻟﺜﺎﻧﻴﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺍﻧﺘﺠﺖ ﺍﻟﺠﺴﺪ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻌﻤﻮﺩﻳﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺍﻋﻄﻴﺖ ﻟﻲ ﻭﺍﻟﺜﺎﻟﺜﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺍﺑﺘﺪﺃ ﺑﻬﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻻﻣﻮﺍﺕ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺍﺭﺗﻀﻰ ﺍﻥ ﻳﺼﻴﺮ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻳﻀﺎ ﺑﻜﺮﺍ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻻﻣﻮﺍﺕ ﻭﺍﻥ ﻳﺼﻴﺮ ﺍﻳﻀﺎ ﺑﻜﺮﺍ ﺑﻴﻦ ﺍﺧﻮﺓ ﻛﺜﻴﺮﻳﻦ. ﻭﻟﻴﺲ ﻳﺪﺧﻞ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﻮﻗﺖ ﺍﻟﺤﺎﺿﺮ ﺍﻥ ﺍﺗﻜﻠﻢ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻫﺬﻩ ﺍﻟﻮﻻﺩﺓ ﺍﻟﺜﻼﺙ ﻭﻟﻜﻦ ﺍﺭﻳﺪ ﺍﻥ ﺍﺗﻜﻠﻢ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻮﺳﻄﻰ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺗﻀﻐﻄﻨﺎ ﺍﻟﺘﻲ ﺗﻌﻄﻲ ﺍﺳﻤﻬﺎ ﻟﻠﻴﻮﻡ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻳﺪﻋﻰ ﻳﻮﻡ ﺍﻟﻨﻮﺭ. ﻭﺍﻧﺎ ﺍﺭﻯ ﻣﺼﺒﺎﺣﺎ ﻭﺍﺣﺪﺍ ﻓﺎﻧﻲ ﻻ ﺍﺳﺘﻄﻴﻊ ﻗﻴﺎﺱ ﺍﻟﻨﻮﺭ ﺍﻟﻤﺘﺤﺪ ﻭﻻ ﺗﺤﺪﻳﺪﻩ

from the proposed aim and have appeared to be going far off the finishing-post, as the saying goes. For it has been proved by these divinely inspired and undisputed words that it is impossible for those who call generacy a hypostasis not to accept opinions which, in the magnitude of their impiety, outdo, as it were, all the madness of all the heretics who have ever existed. For besides the wicked blasphemies against the Holy Trinity he is convicted of affirming Nestorius' (to say nothing more for the moment!), he who has such pernicious views and has heard the doctor who clearly proclaims: But revere in the same way both the first incorporeal generation and the second spotless and pure, and again: So what reasoning will dispute the fact that Wisdom is called a creature in respect to the earthly generation, but offspring in respect to the first and more incomprehensible? Did not the teacher of truth name here as the first generation the one from God the Father but the second the one from the Holy Virgin? How, then, can those who reckon these two generations 'hypostases' fail to be found in agreement with Nestorius and those of his ilk * who opposed the truth and those who fought for it, especially wise Cyril? Let this advocate and supporter of I know not how many despicable heresies, say! It will not be out of place to set down some passages of his own, relevant to the present subject and making a complete mockery of his fickle doctrine. They are set down, indeed, in his *Enthronement Sermon* (whose beginning is: Those ablaze with warm love for the noble faith) as follows: Hence the Virgin is believed to be 'Theotocos' in the full sense of the word and in reality. Had mere man been born (as those who begrudge our redemption and negate the incarnate dispensation assert)

**211/212** cf. supra, 166-167 **212/215** cf. supra, 174-176 **226/238** Dam. Alex., *Serm. incathedr.* (aliunde incogn.) et *Ep. synod.* (Chabot, IV, pp. 358-359; *II*, pp. 326-327)



من الثالوث المحيي. فما الذي يمنع إذن من أن نسمي الابن الوحيد الجنس الإلهي الذي ولد من الآب قبل الدهور، ولكن أيضا الذي ولد من العذراء في الأزمنة الأخيرة؟ ألم يسم المعلم الحق الجيل الأول الذي من الآب، والجيل الثاني الذي من العذراء؟ فكيف يمكن إذن أن لا يوجد في الأقنومين اتفاق مع نسطور وأتباعه الذين قاوموا الحق وقاوموه؟ فليقل هذا المحامي والمدافع عن الهرطقات الكثيرة والمتنوعة، ما شاء أن يقول، ولنضع نحن بعض الأقوال من كتاباته التي تتعلق بالموضوع الحاضر وتسخر من تقلبه الكاذب. إنها مدونة في كتابه الذي يسمى عظة التنصيب (وبدايتها: فليتوقد المحبون بالحرارة من أجل الإيمان النبيل) وهي على النحو التالي: لذلك يؤمن بالعذراء على أنها والدة الإله بالمعنى الحقيقي للكلمة، إذا لم يكن الإنسان الذي ولد من المرأة قد ولد إلا من الروح القدس فقط، ولم يكن قد تشكل في أحشاء العذراء بالطريقة التي يتشكل بها الأطفال الآخرون، ولم يكن قد أخذ منها جسدا مشتركا مع جسدها، ولم يكن قد ولد منها بالطريقة التي يولد بها الأطفال الآخرون، ولم يكن قد رضع ثديها، ولم يكن قد نما بالطريقة التي ينمو بها الأطفال الآخرون، ولم يكن قد تغذى بالطعام الذي يتغذى به الأطفال الآخرون، ولم يكن قد تدرب بالطريقة التي يتدرب بها الأطفال الآخرون، ولم يكن قد تعلم بالطريقة التي يتعلم

how was it that the bearer was kept a virgin after the birth? Confessing, therefore, two generations of the one Son, the first eternally from his Father before all worlds, in which generation he has no mother, the second with his flesh, in the last times, without intercourse, from the Virgin Mary, in which the same Son is without father, we do not say 'two Christs' or 'two Sons' or 'two natures' or 'two activities' but one Son, one incarnate nature of the Word, one hypostasis, one prosopon and one activity. This passage he repeated unaltered in the *Synodical Epistle* he sent to our holy father James and to all the holy and devout bishops, priests and deacons of the East etc.

We should note as carefully as possible the meaning of his words. For here he himself too has clearly stated that he professes two generations of the one Son. He must, then, as a consequence of, I think, unavoidable reasonings, either reject the novel impiety which lawlessly proposes ingeneracy and generacy as hypostases and say two generations of the one Son, and think, with true religion, of one incarnate nature and hypostasis; or, he must reckon ingeneracy and generacy as hypostases, be self-consistent and state unhesitatingly: Confessing, therefore, two generations and two hypostases of the one Son, the first eternally from his Father before all worlds, in which generation he has no mother, the second * with his flesh, in the last times, without intercourse, from the Virgin Mary, in which the same Son is without father, we do not say 'two Christs' or 'two Sons' or 'two natures' or 'two activities' but one Son, one incarnate

**247/253** cf. supra, 229-236



ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܠܕ ܒܬܘܠܝܘܬܗ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܝܠܕܝ ܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܒܗ ܝܠܕܬܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܒܐܚܪܝ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܗ ܝܠܕܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܚܕ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܘ ܬܪܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܘ ܬܪܝܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܬܪܝܢ ܦܥܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܬܬܪ ܚܕ ܐܘ ܦܪܣܘܦ ܚܕ ܐܘ ܦܥܠܐ ܚܕ ܗܢܐ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܣܘܢܗܕܝܩܝܢ ܕܫܕܪ ܠܘܬ ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܚܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܟܠ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܚܣܝܕܐ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܘܩܫܝܫܐ ܘܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܚܐ ܕܡܥܪܒܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܗ ܐܡܪ ܘܫܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܒܘܢܢ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܬܪܝܢ ܝܠܕܝ ܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܡܚܫܒ ܐܘ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܡܬ

nature of the Word, one hypostasis, one prosopon and one activity. But even so, he will not agree with himself. For how can he who professes the one Son as two hypostases say, we do not say 'two Christs' or 'two Sons' or 'two natures' or 'two activities' but one Son, one incarnate nature of the Word, one hypostasis, one prosopon and one activity. You will see the inconsistency and disharmony of confused thoughts and concepts; what, then, are we to suppose the sly sophist thinks? Is it his earlier statements or these latter full, as they are, of absurd lunacy? However, if the earlier, where he also clearly proposed two generations but one hypostasis of the Son, he can, then by means .....

* ..... proclaims his feebleness even if those who help it with crafty argumentation are skilled and cunning. So first let us make a reply to this despotic opposition to correct teachings, a reply similar to wise Severus's of old to the Grammarian of Caesarea, who through the apparent homonymy was attempting to obfuscate and muddle the understanding of the meanings of 'hypostasis' and 'substance inclusive of the hypostases': the reply that because the hypostases were termed 'properties' they have by no means therefore become characteristic properties. Indeed, later on we shall examine the meaning of those words too. For this excellent fellow said: For if one does not take such words in this way one will not think either that a prosopon is the same as a hypostasis because Basil professed the prosopon as being in the hypostasis. 'Why', someone might say to him, 'because on hearing God-clad Basil say: We must acknowledge

**255/258** cf. supra, 251-253 **274/276** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **277/278** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 210*, 5 (*PG* 32, 776C; Courtonne, II, p. 196); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 14, 47-48

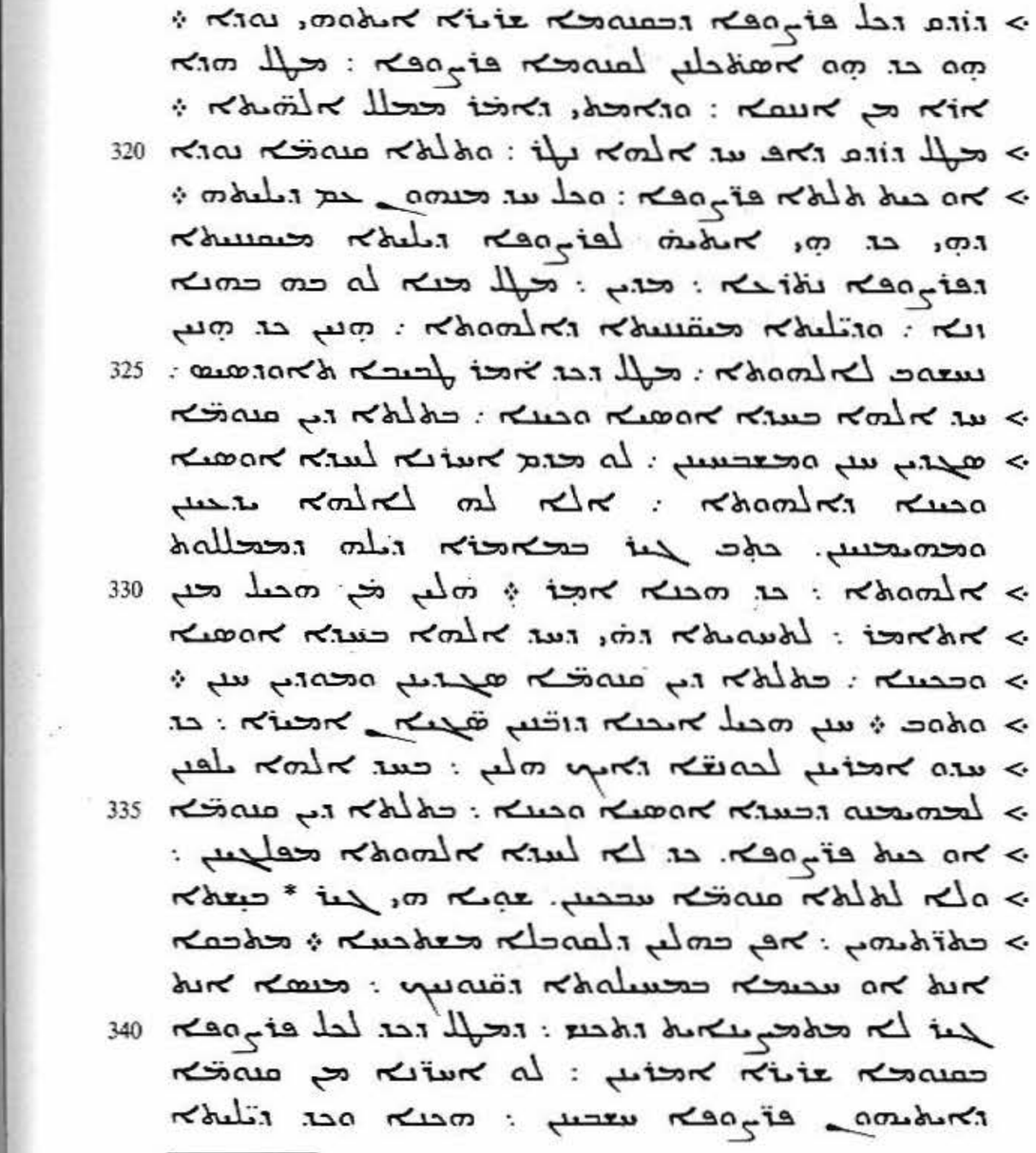


ܐܠܐ ܕ ܟܝ ܡܢ ܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܕܐܚܕ ܒܗ. ܡܢ
ܕܠܐ ܐܠܐ. ܐܚܪܢܝܬ ܡܢ ܦܪܘܨܘܦ ܡܢ
ܕܐܚܕ ܒܒܠܡ ܠܡܥܒܕ. ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ
ܚܙܐ ܟܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ : ܟ, ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܚܣܝܣ
ܒܢܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܚܕ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ : ܕܐܚܕ
ܐܠܐ ܕ ܐܠܐ : ܡܢ ܟܝ ܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܕܐܚܕ
ܐܚܪܢܝܬ ܡܢ ܦܪܘܨܘܦ ܡܢ ܕܐܚܕ : ܐܚܕ
ܫܡ ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܕܐܚܕ ܠܫܚܠ ܕܐܚܕ
ܚܠܦ ܐܚܕ : ܐܠܐ ܢܚܙ ܚܙܐ ܟܝ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
ܗܘ ܕܐܚܕ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܚܕ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
ܐܚܕ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܚܕ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
ܐܚܪܢܝܬ ܡܢ ܦܪܘܨܘܦ ܡܢ ܕܐܚܕ : ܐܚܕ
ܕ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܚܕ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܚܕ
ܐܚ

each prosopon as existing in true hypostasis, we understand the hypostasis as the same as prosopon, is it necessary also, when the
280 Theologian said: Because we must preserve one God and profess three hypostases or prosopa and each of them along with its property, to think the prosopa the same as the characteristic properties of the prosopa?' In that case, why, similarly, should we not reckon the characteristic properties of the Godhead the same as the Godhead,
285 because, with the famous THEODOSIUS declaring: We worship and glorify one God in one substance and nature but in three hypostases, we acknowledge and believe the one substance and nature of the Godhead to be nothing other than God himself? For he wrote in his discourse *On Theology* as follows: So these things were said by us in
290 proof of the fact that we worship and acknowledge one God, in one substance and nature but in three hypostases. And again: So, as has often been said, bidding farewell to deductions like this we have learned to believe one God in one substance and nature but in three hypostases or prosopa, not dividing the one Godhead or merging the three hypostases
295 for * the evil involved in both is equal even though it is to be found in opposites. You will observe, wise sir, the feebleness of your criteria, for you are attempting to draw the impossible inference: that because by speaking of each prosopon in true hypostasis, we reckon prosopa as not other than hypostases, so also by speaking
300 of 'characteristic properties of hypostases' or of 'hypostases with

**280/281** Greg. Naz., *Or.* 20, 6 (*PG* 35, 1072D; *SChr.*, vol. 270, p. 70) **285/286** cf. infra, 290-291 **289/291** Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 1 (*OLA* 56, p. 159, ll. 319-321 [p. 231, ll. 302-304]) **291/296** Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 5 (*OLA* 56, p. 172, ll. 51-56 [p. 242, ll. 54-58]) **298** cf. supra, 278





A flor. I for lines 320-321 and 330-332 flor. II up to l. 329 and from l. 338 on

Line 325: ܐܡܪܘܢ, flor. II: ܐܡܪ.
Line 328: ܒܚܕ, flor. II: ܒܡ ܒܚܕ.
Line 330: ܠܗܘ, flor. I add. ܐܠܗ.
Lines 330-331: ܐܢܐ ܗܘ, flor. I: ܗܘ ܐܢܐ
Line 331: ܐܠܗܘܬܐ, flor. I: ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܕܐܠ.
Line 332: ܒܡ ܦܪܕܟ, flor. I: ܒܫܥܬܟ.
Line 342: ܒܥܠ, flor. II: ܒܡ ܒܥܠ.

properties' we are thinking that the characteristic properties must be the same as the hypostases. How, then, according to these rules, by your calling God in one substance and nature and not reckoning God as one thing and the substance and nature as another, will you not be compelled of necessity to define the substance and nature as the same as its characteristic properties? But in another way, on what principle in your self-deception, do you not pay attention to what is being said, and especially when you have so much surpassed (as you believe) everybody of this generation, in keenness of intellect? Or do you not realise that the consequence of your spurious assertions must be that all the things existing in men (to say nothing now about other things) and which are spoken of as belonging with men and to men, will be the same as the men? For if it is true to say of men too, that each prosopon exists in true hypostasis and is the same as the hypostasis, evidently everything existing in men or belonging with men or to men, will be the same as the men, if (as you argue) the characteristic properties of the hypostases are the same as the hypostases because when Basil the Great said each prosopon exists in true hypostasis we understood prosopon as the same as hypostasis. But, if this is true, we must be the same not only as the accidents in us but also as all the things which are said to belong with us and to us from outside. But the wise listener will judge if this is not beyond any sort of impious absurdity and witlessness whatever. Perhaps, ashamed at the absurdities you are forced to infer, you will say we ought not to apply these reasonings to created things. In that case, clearly repudiate, too, calling the characteristic properties of hypostases, 'hypostases', in the case of created things, and then you will

**303** cf. supra, 293 **314/315** et **319** cf. supra, 278



A flor. II up to l. 350. and from l. 358 to l. 369

Line 364: ܐܬܬܝܗܒ, flor. II: ܬܝܗܒ.

plainly * recognize that it is unsafe to think in this way of the Holy
330 Trinity. For all the God-clad doctors when giving teaching about the characteristic properties of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity used the human condition to illustrate it. However, we will investigate your other statement, my admirable fellow. For you said, as previously set down, the following also, about the same Theolo-
335 gian: And again, in a later passage he called the Son's generation a hypostasis, thus: 'But if you do not investigate, whether we should speak of the Son's generation or hypostasis or whatever else which one may find fuller in sense than these.' Whence, admirable sir, can you prove from this that the doctor here thought of generacy as a hypostasis?
340 Indeed, rather, how will you not be again invoking support for the truth against yourself? Is it not clear from this that the Theologian (who did not presume like you) warned us by these words not to investigate how the Son is begotten of the Father? For had the doctor not been speaking about not investigating how we ought to
345 say that the Son is, exists, shines forth, dawns or has his natural being from the Father by generation (for we find these expressions used variously by the doctor) he would not have added, after speaking of generation and hypostasis: or whatever else which one may find fuller in sense than these. For he could not, in discoursing
350 particularly about the Only-begotten Son and God the Word from God the Father (or, rather, of the things said about him), possibly have had occasion to say or whatever else which one may find fuller in sense than these. For no Christian thinking man can ever dare imagine anything fuller in sense than God the Word, or reckon his

**335/338** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* cf. supra, 337-338 **336/338** cf. infra, 359-361 **348/349**



f. 74va

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Line 383: ܐܝܟܢܐ, cf. infra, line 409 (ܐܝܟܢܐ) and note. ܠܐ ܐܢ, cf. infra, line 409 (ܐܢ) and note.

hypostasis not one reality but various realities so as to say fittingly of it than these and fuller in sense.

But for elucidation and confirmation of what is said it will be useful to listen in full to the Theologian's words, which are as follows: But if * you do not investigate, whether we should speak of the Son's generation or hypostasis or whatever else which one may find fuller in sense than these (for what is to be thought and said overcomes my tongue), do not investigate the procession of the Spirit either. It will be enough for me that I hear 'the Son' and 'from the Father' and that whatever the Father is yet the Son is and nothing beyond this will I investigate, lest the same thing happen to me as to words which, on being shouted frequently, fall utterly away, or as to a gaze extended towards the Sun's ray; for the more accurately a man seeks to see, the more will he be damaged in his perception, and will be deprived of the faculty of seeing because what is seen overcomes the gaze by its abundance, if it desires to see all and not in so far as it is safe. You hear of generation; do not investigate how! You hear of the Spirit who proceeds from the Father; do not investigate how! But if you do investigate the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession, I too will investigate the coupling of your soul and your body.

My admirable fellow, you observe that the doctor testifies to not investigating how the Son exists from the Father by generation: But if you do not investigate, whether we should speak of the Son's

**356** cf. supra, 349 **359/374** Greg. Naz., *Or. 20*, 10-11 (*PG* 35, 1077AC; *SChr.*, vol. 270, pp. 78-80) **377/378** cf. supra, 359-360



405

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Line 409: ܐܝܬܝܗ (as infra, lines 428 and 457), cf. supra, line 383 (ܐܝܬܝܗ). ܐܢ²(as infra, line 457), cf. supra, line 383 (ܐܢ ܐܢ).

Line 421: ܚܕܝ, cf. infra, line 432 (ܚܕܝ).

generation or hypostasis. That is: if you do not investigate how he exists generately, neither are you to investigate the Spirit's procession i.e. neither are you to investigate how the Spirit exists proceedingly. Notice how he puts the point more clearly when he gives the teaching: You hear of generation; do not investigate how! You hear of the Spirit who proceeds from the Father; do not investigate how! But if you do investigate the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession, I too will investigate the coupling of your soul and your body.

He says similar things in the *First Oration on the Son*: How, then, was he begotten? It would have been no great generation had it been comprehended by you, you who do not even know your own generation. And again: Let God's generation be honoured with silence. It is a great thing for you to learn that he was begotten, but how, not even the angels are able to conceive of, not to mention our granting that you might understand. You want me to show you how? As knows .....

* ..... My good fellow, you hear the divinely inspired father proclaim: The one who has a different fleshly generation has also a different spiritual generation. How, then, if we think of generation as a hypostasis, shall we not be giving the Son both a fleshly hypostasis and also another spiritual one? How, indeed, can we make a transition to the very next passage? For having taken up to start with the Son's generation he later passed on to discuss the Father and said: Or rather, the one whose existence is not the same has also a different generation. Is it not because not only the generation of him

**382/385** cf. supra, 370-374 **386/389** Greg. Naz., *Or. 29*, 8 (*PG 36*, 84A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 190) **389/392** Ibid. (*PG* 36, 84C; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 192) **394/395** Greg. Naz., *Or. 29*, 4 (*PG* 36, 77D - 80A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 184) **400/401** Ibid. (*PG* 36, 80A; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 184)



ܐܢ ܕܚܡܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܡ ܘܐ ܣ ܟܬܒܘ ܐܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕ
ܪܘܚܐ ܟܬܒܢܝܐ ܠ ܐܢ : ܐܢܬܠ ,ܡܘܠܕܢ ܪܒܝܢ
,ܡܘܠܕܢ ܐܢܬ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܐ ܡܦܩ ܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܕ ܐܡ .ܚܡܬ ܪܘ
ܪܒܝܢ ,ܟ ܐܢܝܬ ܒܪ ܪܒܝܢ ,ܐܦ .ܚܡܬ ܪܘ
ܠ ܪܒܝܢ : ܟܬܒܘ ܠ ܐܢ ܚܕ ܣ ܒܪ ܪܝ ܕ
ܠ ܪܒܝܢ : ܟܬ ܟ ܡܢ ܪܘ ܪܘ ܐܢ ܚܕ .ܚܡܬ ܕ
ܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܪܒ ܟܬܒܘ ܐܢ ܚܡܬ ܪ ܟ .ܚܡܬ ܕ
ܟܦܝܪ ܟܬܒ ܐܢ ܚܡܬ ܪ ܐ : ܪܘ ܕ
ܣ ܟܦܝܪ

ܣ ܒܪ ܪ ܚ ܪܒܪ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒܬ ܠ ܟܬ
ܟ ܟܬܒ ܐܢ ܟ .ܐܢܬ ܚ ܐܢ ܟ ܕ
ܟ ܐ : ܐ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܐ : ܐ ܟ ܕ
ܚ ܟ ܐ : ܒ ܪ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܕ
ܐ ..... ܚ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܕ

ܐ ..... * flor. II, f. 154vb
: ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ

who was begotten but also that of him who begat can be, and be spoken of, in certain different senses? For after alluding perhaps to this he said: But if you do not investigate, whether we should speak of the Son's generation or hypostasis or whatever else which one may find fuller in sense than these. For knowing, as has been said, that the Father's generation too is spoken of he is also careful that total accuracy should rebut what has been said; and he says: whether we should speak of the Son's generation or hypostasis or whatever else which one may find fuller in sense than these – * as light, it may be, or radiance or as substantial, or something fuller in sense than these. Observe him explaining in the words set down that it is the Father's generation also which is being spoken of, for he says: But they are different things, I think: willing and will, generating and generation, speaking and speech – unless we are drunk. The former are the moving, the latter as it were the motion itself. So what is willed is not the will's (for that by no means follows!) nor is the generated the generation's, nor the heard the expression's; but they are the willer's, the begetter's and the speaker's.

God-clad BASIL, also, makes this clear by writing as follows in the discourse he composed on *In the beginning was the Word*: So he said 'Word' in order to disclose to you the Father's impassible generation, to give you a full theology of the Son's being, and to show you thereby the non-temporal connexion of Father and Son.

**404/406** et **408/410** cf. supra, 359-361 **411** cf. supra, 410 **413/419** Greg. Naz., *Or. 29*, 6 (*PG* 36, 81B; *SChr.*, vol. 250, p. 188) **421** Ioh. 1:1 **421/424** Bas. Caes., *In illud : In principio erat Verbum*, 3 (*PG* 31, 477C)



f. 155ra

flor. I from l. 474 on flor. II

Line 457: ܗܘܝܢ, cf. supra, line 409 and note. ܐܝ², cf. supra, line 409 and note.

Line 474: ܡܬܐܠܗܝܢ, flor. I: ܡܬܐܠܗ.

Line 475: ܡܬܠܐ, flor. I: ܡܠܐ.

Line 476: ܠܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܫܬܘܝܐ, flor. I: ܟܠܐ ܒܪܡܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

Line 477: ܐܝܬ, flor. I: ܐܠ.

What are we to say to these people when they um-and-ah pompously, raise their eyebrows and assert that ingeneracy and generacy are hypostases? Are they not ashamed of being compelled to ascribe to the Father ingeneracy as a single proper and unshared hypostasis and generation as another, so to say, common hypostasis of Father and Son, or do they deign to think the Father's generation one thing and that of the Son another thing? In that case, there would be two hypostases of the Father (unless they also define ingeneracy as being generation) and one of the Son. But were they to call ingeneracy 'generation', the right would be conferred on them of calling the generation of the Son 'ingeneracy', of calling the Father 'Son' and the Son 'Father' and all would be muddled and confused. Sabellius would win and would rule in the triumphs of this new, powerful writer who champions him and hastens like a soldier to take us prisoner at every turn of the argument.....

* ..... For how, when they look at the words of the doctors now set down here with honesty and without obfuscation, will they not be persuaded that generation is not a hypostasis? The Father's generation is spoken of in the sense that he begat and was not begotten; the Son's in the sense that he was begotten and did not beget.....

* ..... and generacy they define as hypostases him who begat and him who was begotten i.e. those who have ingeneracy and generacy, not at all as hypostases but rather as substances or nothing at all – which they frequently endeavour to think. Because, as



..... * W, f. 28rb

..... * A, f. 76ra

A from l. 500 on flor. I from l. 494 to l. 499 flor. II up to l. 493

Lines 494-499: ..... : This passage in flor. I is headed: *Of Saint Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, from chapter fifteen of the third book against Damian.*

heathen polytheism.

But, perhaps, to establish their own follies, and attack the fathers' teaching, they will say that if ingeneracy and generacy are not the same thing in nature, the properties will be different in substance. Whom we answer: Clever sirs, your battle is not against us here but, clearly, with the Theologian, who plainly said that he who begat and he who was begotten (i.e. those who have ingeneracy and generacy) are the same, whereas ingeneracy and generacy are not the same thing. But otherwise, too, it has escaped their clever selves that things viewed externally in the substance and the hypostases are not called mutually consubstantial or different in substance. The hypostases themselves, indeed, and not the things viewed as with the hypostases, are consubstantial or different in substance. For how can things which do not in any way

everybody knows, he who begat and he who was begotten (i.e. those who have ingeneracy and generacy) are neither natural properties, nor again (as has been proved already by the fathers' words set down) are they ingeneracy and generacy. For we clearly heard the doctor proclaim that he who begat and he who was begotten are the same as those who have ingeneracy and generacy, whereas ingeneracy and generacy are not the same thing. But those who profess ingeneracy and generacy as hypostases accordingly deny their identity in nature. Because he who begat and he who was begotten (i.e. who have ingeneracy and generacy) are the same in nature; whereas the teacher of truth defined ingeneracy and generacy as not the same thing. Clearly in addition to the Libyan's godlessness there will accrue to them as well impious Eunomius' curtailment and division of the Godhead and the establishment of heathen polytheism.

**454/456**, **458/461** et **470/472** cf. Greg. Naz., *Or. 29*, 10 (*PG* 36, 85D - 88B; *SChr.*, vol. 250, pp. 196-198): cf. supra, ch. 8, 479-487



كلل بمحدم لمحمعه معهم لحلم : ولم بملهم
تحملهم : ولم هنه بمحدم بمد حد تكم بمتحمهم
ولم بمحمه : لم ملمنهم ولمنهم
بمحمهمو : هنه بمحلم نهنه بمحلم : بمه حمه هنه
لم ملمنهم ولمنهم. بحدم لمه
لحلمه لحلهم بمحمه : لمنه هم بمحلم نهنه بمحلم
نهنه بمحلم نهمه لم ملمنهم ولمنهم : هنه د
هنه بمحلم نهمه لم ملمنهم ولمنهم : لم هـ، د، هـ، :
دهمم لم لمحمعه هنه لملم ملمنهم ولمنهم
معتم حمنم : ممنه لمهـ، د، هـ، لمحلم حمحم. حكمل
لمنهم بمحلم نهنه بمحلم : نهنه لمهـ، بمحه لم
بمحلمنهم ولمنهم : حمحم هنه د، هنه : لم ملمنهم
لم هـ، د، هـ، حلهم بمحمهم : ولم ملمنهم
معتم حمنم : تهنه حمنمهم بمه بمتمحه حمنمهم
لمنهم حمهمحم. هنه لمه معتم : نلم ولم لمنهم
معتم حمنم : بمه تهنه حمنمهم بمه بمتمحه
حمنمهم بمحمهم. بمحمم لمه ولم لمحمهم لمنهم :

participate in the substance * or cannot ever be substance, be mutually consubstantial or different in substance? 'But ingeneracy and generacy participate in the substance and therefore are substance too', he may say. Very good. Let these admirable fellows prove only this, then, from the Church's theologians and doctors, and we will give up the battle with them without delay, and we shall offer them many thanks for setting us right! However, if they cannot prove it, everybody is to recognize that the whole business of these new-fangled authors is nothing but deception.



f.76rb

535 ܟܬܘܒܐ ܕܡܢܗܘ : * ܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܬܘܒ
ܟܬܒ : ܫܒܘܚ ܟܢܘܢ ܐܒ ܒܪܝܫܐ ܟܢܘܢ ܠܥܠ
ܢܫܬ. ܐܠܐ ܟܬܘܒ ܠܟ ܟܢܘܢ ܠܟ ܠܡܢܗ
ܕܠܡܢܗ : ܘܟܠ ܡܐ ܐܒ ܟܢܘܢ ܒܪܝܫܐ. ܐܠ
ܥܒܕ. ܡܐ ܫܒܚ ܠܗ : ܟ ܬܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܟܬܠ
ܒܪܝܫܐ ܫܒܚ ܘܢ ܐܟܢ : ܘܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܡܢ ܐܠܗܘܬ ܒܐ : ܘܫܒܚ ܐܟܢ ܟܠ
ܐܠܗܝ ܢܐ ܠܟ. ܐ ܐ ܐܡܐ ܫܒ ܠ
ܟܬܒ : ܐܢ ܟܬ ܒܪܝܫ ܒܐ ܠܟ ܟܢ :
ܕܠܟ ܟܒܐ ܐܡܐ ܫܒ ܬܒܐ ܬܐ.

*Concerning the fact that in attempting to prove by texts he quotes from Saints Amphilochius, Damasus and John of Jerusalem that the characteristic properties of the hypostases are hypostases,*

*he shows himself plainly to be falsifying truth and incapable of disclosing any valid defence at all for his absurd doctrines from what the doctors said. For, by simply denominating the hypostases 'properties', they did not at the same time define them as being ingeneracy, generacy and procession.*

It is time, in addition to this, to proceed to the subsequent words by this clever author. He wrote, then, straight after commentary and a 'clarification' of the Theologian's words, as follows: Hence wise Amphilochius, roused, yet, rather, instructed by, the Holy Ghost, gives, in the third book *On the Holy Ghost*, a tradition similar to the foregoing and accompanies it with a statement to the effect that the terms 'hypostases' and 'properties' indicate the same things; which passage I also set down in the discourse. He said the following: 'But we do not call those three hypostases and three properties "substances" or "natures", nor "three powers", for the three hypostases have one substance and nature and the three properties have one power'. Thus the father! But if someone were to say that the terms are not set down in direct connection, let him distinguish their different meanings and tell us what the statement then amounts to. For we cannot now speak on these points in detail, but shall simply set down the

**13/35** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **18/21** Amphil. Icon., *De Spir. Sancto* (hucusque incognitum), 3



ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܢ ܬܠܐ ܩܠܡ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢ : ܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܠܡ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܗܠܝ ܐܦ ܒܗ ܕ

fathers' words. For holy Damasus too, * bishop of Rome, in his *Third Oration against the Arians* pronounced a blessing on those who think of the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, as three subsisting prosopa, saying as follows: 'Blessed is he who confesses one Godhead and that all the Godhead's fullness belongs to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Blessed is he who confesses that the properties of the names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are three subsisting prosopa'. Therefore it is not only hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose that the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are not three subsisting prosopa, but it is also foreign to the foregoing blessing.

And how can anyone, obliged to say the same things many times, not perhaps seem to some people to be talking too much? But what else is one to say, in answer to a person who repeats the same useless and inane nonsense, save what he has already said frequently? So now too we shall say the same things to this clever author (who is at great pains to stop his ears) and shall shout out the more, proclaiming loudly: 'My excellent fellow, we have no quarrel at all with those who term the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost "properties", but with you rather, who impiously make the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost nothing but names and ingeneracy, generacy and procession'. So why, as if you were unconsciously self-deceived and labouring vainly under doubt and uncertainty, do you make yourself wretched with so many circuitous arguments and repetitions, and why, like people who think in their dreams that they are enjoying pleasures and suddenly exchange the seeming pleasure for pain, do you pretend, whenever you find any sort of mention of the term 'properties' to

**28/32** Damas. p., *Or. 3 contra Arianos* (hucusque incognita); cf. supra, ch. 4, 490-492



ܐ ܕܒܫ ܐ ܕܡܬܟ ܐ ܕܡܬܟ ܐ ܕܡܬܟ

exult and make merry in defiance of truth? You make use of extraordinary (indeed, rather, puerile) leapings and dancings, as if you had defeated your opponents; and why do you write down your cry of triumph (but it is rather, the frigid expression of defeat) with all your usual bad manners, and say: It is hazardous * and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose it wrong to call the properties viewed in the common substance 'hypostases'? For how can you also prove from this just quoted testimony of Saint Amphilochius that ingeneracy, generacy and procession are hypostases? Is it because the hypostases are termed 'properties'? In that case, it is time you defined the characteristic properties of the substances as hypostases, because the hypostases and the natural and characteristic indications of the substance are also termed 'properties'. Who would be wrong to doze off, when trying to rebut such gibberish?

He says: Thus the father! But if someone were to say that the terms are not set down in direct connection, let him distinguish their different meanings and tell us what the statement then amounts to. For we cannot now speak on these points in detail, but shall simply set down the fathers' words. You see the force of the invincible arguments – indeed, rather, how impossible it is to oppose them and to attack them! But if someone were to say that the terms are not set down in direct connection, let him distinguish their different meanings and tell us what the statement then amounts to. My excellent friend, we shall answer you yet again: no orthodox man will ever argue with someone who terms the hypostases 'properties'. However, when you profess the hypostases as not simply 'properties' but as 'characteristic properties of the prosopa' (I mean as ingeneracy, generacy and procession), you should not utter the words in such a covert fashion, nor

**57/59** cf. supra, ch. 14, 158-160 **68/72** cf. supra, 21-25 **74/76** cf. supra, 68-70



ܘܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܟܕܢ ܗܘ ܐܒܐ : ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܒܫܘܠܡ ܐܬܪ ܕܡܠܬܐ : ܐܠܐ ܢܦܪܫ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ 

should you despatch those you ought to rebut to procure rebuttals, but should plainly show what the statement amounts to if ingeneracy, generacy and procession are not hypostases. But I cannot now, he says, speak on these points in detail. Is there anybody who will not be justly astounded at the order and connectedness of this author in every particular? For if, at the time a support for what he wrote is required by people who are trusted by him to judge and correct it, he cannot, as he says, prove it in detail, let him tell us clearly, when he will be able to do so? Yet, besides this, let us note that he did not speak in detail, even when he wrote the very words which are part, he said, of a careful work of persuasion and apologia. For he said, as previously set down: * For I cannot now speak on these points in detail, but we shall simply set down the fathers' words.

What are the following words? For holy Damasus too, bishop of Rome, in his *Third Oration against the Arians* pronounced a blessing on those who think of the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, as three subsisting prosopa, saying as follows: 'Blessed he is who confesses one Godhead and that all the Godhead's fullness belongs to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Blessed is he who confesses that the properties of the names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are three subsisting prosopa'. Having set this down and made a sudden leap as it were, away from any sort of examination or explanation, he proclaimed the same passage again to us and said the following: Therefore it is not only hazardous and at odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose that the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are not three subsisting prosopa, but it is also foreign to the

**84/85** cf. supra, 23-24 **93/94** cf. supra, 23-25 **95/102** cf. supra, 25-32
**105/108** cf. supra, 32-35



f. 77ra

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Line 98: ܗܕܐ ܡܠܐ, cf. supra, line 25 (ܡܠܝܢ).
Line 99: ܐܢܐ, cf. supra, line 25 (ܐܢܝ).

foregoing blessing. Is there anybody who, on reading the rich quan-
tity of all these and the like proof-texts, will not be justifiably
much more astonished at the education of this clever author, when
he apprehends that his saying, therefore it is not only hazardous and at
odds with the fathers' teaching to suppose that the properties of the
Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are not three subsisting prosopa, but
it is also foreign to the foregoing blessing is not too small but abun-
dantly enough for the full and necessary proof of the issues in
question? So we shall answer the speaker of such drivel: My dear
fellow, we ourselves have already said how we understood the
words of Saint Damascus set down, conceding that he said them in
this way, when we quoted them in the foregoing. But please may
we ask you why, though the proof-text says that the properties of the
names of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost are three subsisting
prosopa, you said, both in what precedes the proof-text and what
follows the proof-text, instead of the properties of the names of the

**111/114** cf. supra, 32-35 **120/122** cf. supra, 100-102 **123/124** cf. supra, 120-121 **124/125** cf. supra, 97-98 et 106-107 **136/137** cf. supra, ch. 4, 113



prosopa, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, ‹the properties of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost,› instead of the proof-text, which follows the names of the properties? ‹Or› is it because you have given grounds for a suspicion that you are apprehensive about the words you quoted. We urge the prudent reader, then, to judge whether you honestly believed that, with our disagreement with you being about the hypostases and their characteristic properties, it was right for you to create ‹supports› for the things on which you are censured, by means of people who never agreed at all to profess Father, Son and Holy Ghost as three hypostases? Nevertheless, let this too be granted, if you like, that you created them fittingly: how, then, do you prove from this text that Father, Son and Holy Ghost are ingeneracy, generacy and procession? For someone will say, (indeed with justice) that even if the Italians (it may be out of simplicity or the

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constraints of their language and its poverty of terms) instead of saying 'the properties or hypostases of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost', called the properties of the names 'subsisting prosopa', they did not therefore think that Father, Son and Holy Ghost were the characteristic properties viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession. So, here too, my clever fellow, you are caught out making idle, and in truth, totally inane boasts, when you contend in this irrational way for doctrines which are novel and are yours alone, when you defame the divinely inspired fathers with these slanders and attempt to embellish your heterodoxy with them.

So, let us again take up the conclusion of this cunning author's doughty proof, at the point where, deceiving himself, he believes he has shown that the hypostases of Father, Son and Holy Ghost are the characteristic properties viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession. He says, then, following on the words previously set down, as follows: Saint John, who was bishop of Jerusalem, is like him in saying, in the *Exposition of the Faith* he wrote, as follows: 'We believe that the Holy and adorable Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, is one Godhead or substance, for we understand that each of the things is the same in the three hypostases or properties'. * Let us, then, observe the form of periphrasis. The father, having said that the Godhead or substance is one, added, as the reason for his statement, 'for we understand that each of the things is the same'. He used the same form of periphrasis when he said with a direct connection of 'hypostasis' and 'property': 'in the three hypostases or properties'. Because here also he understands that each of the things is the same. That sage in divinity, Basil, was also

**152/179** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **153/156** Ioh. Hieros., *Expos. fid.* (Caspari, p. 185 [186]) **158/159** cf. supra, 155-156 **161** cf. supra, 156



ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܬܪܝܐܕ ܡܪܝ ܐܒ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܝܫ ܕܢܫܬܒܚ ܘܢܬܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܥܕܢ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܕ ܐܘ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܒܬܠܬ ܩܢܘܡ̈ܐ ܐܘ ܒܬܠܬ ܐܝܟ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܒ ܘܒܪ ܘܪܘܚ ܩܕܝܫ ܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܬ ܩܢܘܡ̈ܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܟ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܘ ܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܗܝ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘ ܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܗܝ ܕ

an instructor in such a tradition when, in writing to his brother Gregory *On the difference between substance and hypostasis*, he said: 'For if we have allowed that the hypostasis is the collection of properties belonging with each'. And again the same author says in the second book *Against Eunomius*: 'It is clear, then, from what has been said, that also in the case of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the names do not display substances but are indicative of properties'. Likewise, also, in the sermon *On the Faith* he writes: '"Son" – not an acquisition; "Maker" – not a work; "Creator" – not a creature. He is all those same things that the Father is. "Son", I said, and "Father". Save me only those properties'. One could set down many such passages but I omit them because of their length. For I have put the same texts with a further investigation in various chapters of this treatise. But let us proceed with an examination of the rest of the words and let us take note of them, lest any concept or thought unknown to the holy fathers is concealed there. For by these passages it has now been proved that to name the subsisting properties 'hypostases' is patristic.

Who will not pity the wretched dupes of this writer? Or rather, who will not with justice bewail the wretchedness of one who persists so long in this obvious and ludicrous rubbish for the sake of being thought something by ordinary people and who barters all his hope in God for this abominable and very despicable reputation, or (to put it more truly) who on account of the fear of being shamed before a few unlearned people * will bring on himself

**164/166** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 38*, 6 (*PG* 32, 336C; Forlin Patrucco, p. 190) **167/169** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 5 (*PG* 29, 580C; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 22); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 13, 9-11 **170/173** Bas. Caes., *De fide*, 2 (*PG* 31, 465D - 468A)



A W from l. 181 to l. 183

Line 180: ..., cf. ch. 17, line 14 (...).
Line 181: ..., W: .... ..., W: ....
Line 182: ... ..., W om. ..., W: ....
Line 183: ..... ..., W: ...

eternal shame and punishment. Let us hear what he says, using, as
he does, the same enticements to the simple: Saint John, who was
bishop of Jerusalem, is like him in saying, in the *Exposition of the Faith*
he wrote, as follows: 'We believe that the Holy and adorable Trinity of
Father, Son and Holy Ghost, is one Godhead or substance, for we under-
stand that each of the things is the same in the three hypostases or prop-
erties'. Let him show us clearly anyone anywhere who will argue
against this! Or how anyone who counts it a great thing to be a
Christian, on hearing that the Godhead or substance is one, will
not suppose the Godhead and the substance of the Godhead to be
the same thing? Which of us has ever seen someone arguing or
saying that when someone says (like Gregory the Theologian or
some other divinely inspired teacher) 'properties or hypostases'
or the like, he will not be applying the term 'properties' to the
hypostases, with true religion, as this teacher does too? For this
cunning fellow is not to suppose that because we do not think of
the characteristic properties of the prosopa (viz. ingeneracy, gen-
eracy and procession) as hypostases, we have *ipso facto* rejected
entirely the idea of naming the hypostases in accordance with
the correct understanding of the fathers, 'properties'; as he has
rejected the true profession itself of hypostases, although for per-
suasive deception he forces their name upon his lips. As for us,
adhering to the fathers' definitions, we acknowledge that when the
fathers say 'properties or hypostases' we are to understand nothing
else but that the terms 'hypostasis' and 'property' mean the same
thing. But when we find the term 'properties' applied to the indi-
cations of the hypostases, we recognize, by this term, not the
hypostases themselves but their characterizing impressions viz.
ingeneracy, generacy and procession. When, again, we hear that
the fathers name the marks of the divine nature 'properties', * we

188/193 cf. supra, 152-156



* لهوم دهج. حدم لهٔ ذ. حكوهه حمه ذ. حمه f.77vb
— حقزلم ا.لد فيلم هنه نعدد ÷ ا.مهر وحم لمحلهوم،
— ممهد ط.همم هن ا.حمهنهلد لمعممهم وهم : ذ.
— حمنحم ا.همحنهم هن ا.حلد لم وحم هنه ÷
← ا.لهلهنهم ط.همم وهلهنهم ا.همح نا.حم نانهمم
← ط.همم : همم لمحمنهم مه حمه لمهنهم حمهحمهد
← حلهلهم ممنحم مه حمه ا.تلهم ÷ ومحمه هن ا.لهمل
: ا.همهنهم هن حمه ا.تلهم ÷ ومحمه هن ا.لهمل
همم : ا.حقهنهم ممهلمه. لهحم ا.مله نتهم. هلا لهٔ
ا.تلهم مه حمه ممنحم همهنه مقمهم : لم حمهد
همهم : لم مله ذ. لم حمهد حمهد همهحمهد
ما.لهلهم حمهقهلهد. همحه، ا.ه ا.لهد همتا.هم ا.ممنحم
ا.همد وحم همحم ا.لهتهم حمحمهد : لم لمهم
لمهنحم هن وحم همحم : همهم لهتوهمم حمتهلم
ا.مله : لم همهلهنهم همحنه مهلهنهم ومهممهم

by no means mentally apprehend the hypostases or, again, their characteristic properties (viz. ingeneracy, generacy and procession) but understand the common and natural properties of the three hypostases (viz. invisibility, immutability, infinity and the like); and we do not, because these different meanings are signified by the one term 'properties', foolishly suppose that the things signified by the same term are one and the same.

But why, excellent author and so boastful of your intelligence, why in contriving to muddle everything absurdly, do you, whenever you happen to read the term 'property' bring it in recklessly to 'prove' that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are ingeneracy, generacy and procession? Will nothing stop you, not even the laughter and derision of discriminating and knowledgeable readers of your writings? Or do you not know what the God-clad father SEVERUS said about the Grammarian of Caesarea who recklessly attacked the term 'nature' (as you too do, 'properties'), as if he were making merry over something amusing, in the 31st chapter of the third book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian*, as follows: But this foolish ignoramus, like a greedy hound ever drawn on by the smell of meat, is enticed towards the term, 'nature', and, greedily

**235/239** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, III, 31 (*CSCO* 101, p. 116, 13-19; *102*, p. 84, 17-21)



f. 78ra

AB from ܗܕܐ (l. 247) on

Line 253: ܟܬܒܬܐ, A: ܟܬܒܬܐ.
Line 256: ܟܬܒ, A: ܟܬ.
Line 257: ܟܬܒ, B: ܟܬܒ.
Line 261: ܫܒܫܒܬܐ, B: ܫܒܫܒܬܐ (wrongly).

seizing upon the fact that the doctor said 'confirming the nature of the resurrected body', he supposed that this suffices him to divide the one Christ into two natures after the union. Again, he speaks as follows in
240 the 40th chapter of the same third book: Why, then, you ignorant fellow, do you go around collecting words idly, extracts from other people, and if you find the holy fathers anywhere using 'natures' in the plural, you immediately exult like a proverbial puffed-up, avaricious harlot, as though the orthodox deny that Christ is from two natures?

**237/238** Bas. Caes., *De ieiun. hom. 1*, 9 (*PG* 31, 177D - 180A) **240/244** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, III, 40 (*CSCO* 101, p. 264, 19-25; *102*, p. 194, 29-33)



AB

Line 262: ܟܬܒ, A: ܟܬܒ.
Line 264: ܟܬܒܝܢ, B: ܟܬܒܝܢ.
Line 271: ܐܡܬܝܗܝܡ, B: ܐܡܬܝܗܝܡ.

*Examination of the testimonies from Saint Basil on which this excellent fellow prides himself as perfectly proving that the hypostases of the Holy Trinity are either some sort of collections of properties or are ingeneracy, generacy and procession. And rebuttal of the aspersion on the doctor from many brilliant and divinely inspired words of his.*

At this point let us also investigate Basil the Great's words. This excellent fellow, indeed, wrote, having set down these things, as follows: That sage in divinity, Basil, was also an instructor in such a tradition when, in writing to his brother Gregory *On the difference between substance and hypostasis*, he said: 'For if we have allowed that the hypostasis is the collection of properties belonging with each'. And again the same author says in the second book *Against Eunomius*: 'It is clear, then, from what has been said, that also in the case of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the names do not display substances but are indicative of properties'. Likewise, also, in the sermon *On the Faith* he writes: '"Son" – not an acquisition; "Maker" – not a work; "Creator" – not a creature. He is all those same things that the Father is. "Son", I said, and "Father". Save me only those properties'. Having quoted this he added, without anything intervening: One could set down many

**10/20** cf. supra, ch. 16, 162-173 **21/28** cf. supra, ch. 16, 173-179



AB

Line 2: ܫܠܫܐ, B: ܐܫܠܫܐ.
Line 6: ܫܡܥܢܐ, B: ܫܡܥܝܢܐ.
Lines 9-10: ܕܡ ܫܒܫܐ, cf. ch. 16, line 175 (ܫܒܫܐ).
Line 11: ܐܝܟܢܝܬ, B: ܐܝܟܢܝܬ.
Line 14: ܐܦ ܕ, B om. ܠܥܠܡ ܡܝܬܐ, cf. ch. 16, line 180 (ܡܝܬܐ).
Line 21: ܒܚܕܝܪ, A: ܒܚܕܠܝܪ (wrongly).

such passages but I omit them because of their length. For I have put the same texts with a further investigation in various chapters of this treatise. But let us proceed with an examination of the rest of the words and let us take note of them, lest any concept or thought unknown to the holy fathers is concealed there. For by these passages it has now been proved that to name the subsisting properties 'hypostases' is patristic.

Everybody knows that with these he has brought to an end all his 'powerful supports' from such patristic statements as he deems prove that the hypostases are ingeneracy, generacy and procession; even though, as is his wont, he irrelevantly said: One could set down many such passages but I omit them because of their length and specially by adding a few lines later: For by these passages it has now been proved * that to name the subsisting properties 'hypostases' is patristic.

However, the wise listener should consider how this cunning author, knowing the feebleness of his so-called demonstration, has not ventured, even after all this quotation of proof-texts, to say: 'By these passages it has now been proved that to name the characteristic properties (I mean ingeneracy, generacy and procession) "hypostases" is patristic'. For this (as has been said thousands upon thousands of times) is the chief issue in dispute between him and us. But he said: For by these passages it has now been proved that to name the subsisting properties 'hypostases' is patristic: about which we have evidently never been in dispute with

**32/33** cf. supra, 21-22 **34/36** et **44/46** cf. supra, 26-28



AB up to ܐܢ (l. 40)

Line 38: ܡܫܬܥ, cf. infra, line 49 (ܐܢܐ).

Line 49: ܐܢܐ, cf. supra, line 38 (ܡܫܬܥ).

him. So, leaving aside the quotation here from God-clad Basil which says: It is clear, then, from what has been said, that also in the case of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, the names do not display substances but are indicative of properties, on the ground that it contributes nothing to the point and has been very sufficiently discussed in the foregoing, let us proceed with examining again, by the aid of Christ our God, what seems to have in it something for his defence i.e. the point about the collection of properties belonging with each. For is any examination necessary of the fact that the same Basil the Great again said: 'Son', I said, and 'Father'. Save me only those properties when no one of sound views refuses to name the properties 'hypostases'? To be sure, if the divinely inspired and accurate father had not said belonging with each and thereby clearly shown that he recognized that the hypostasis is an individually subsisting reality (i.e. with the properties which particularly belong to it being viewed in it) it might have looked as if this excellent fellow was justified in making the father's proof-text a defence for his doctrine; but it would not look so to those who examine the matter more fully. For how could anyone who supposes * that only the ingeneracy, e.g., perceived in the common substance, is a hypostasis, be permitted to call a hypostasis a collection of properties? For if a hypostasis is a collection of properties it must be a collection of at least two or more, whereas ingeneracy, for example, or generacy or procession is one property; consequently he who calls ingeneracy, generacy or procession 'hypostases' cannot call a hypostasis a collection of properties if he wants to obey the order of things. Therefore, either he is clearly to say that he does not reckon as hypostasis only the ingeneracy per-

**48/50** cf. supra, 14-17 **54/55** cf. supra, 13 **56/57** cf. supra, 19-20
**59** cf. supra, 54-55 **67/68** et **72** cf. supra, 54



ﻣﺘﻠﻢ ﻛﻬﻮﻧﻪ. ﻛﺪﻩ ﻣﻦ، ﺍﻟﺦ ﻟﻴﻪ ﻟﻜﻠﻤﺔ ﻣﻌﻠﻮﻣﺔ ◆ ﻭﺍﻟﺬ ﻣﻬﻴﺌﻬﻠﻪ ﻣﻤﺘﺎﺯ ◆ ﻟﻜﻦ ﻭﺣﺪ ﻫﻲ ﻭﻟﻪ ◆ ﺍﻣﺘﺎﺯ : ﻣﺎﺯﻟﻪ ﻫﻲ ﻣﺘﺎﺯ ﻣﺎﺋﻴﺔ ﻣﻴﺌﻬﻠﻪ ◆ ﻣﺘﻘﻬﻠﻪ ﻛﻤﻨﻪ ﻏﻤﻜﻢ : ﻣﻠﻜﻪ ﺍﻟﻠﻐﺔ ﻣﻴﺌﻬﻠﻪ ◆ ﻛﺘﻮﻧﻨﻪ ﻫ ﻣﻴﻪ ﻫﻲ ﺍﻟﻜﻪ ﻛﺘﻪ ﻛﻠﻪ ﻟﻤﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﻴﻪ : ﻣﻘﻪ ﻣﻌﻤﻴﻠﻪ ﻛﻤﻠﻪ ﺍﻟﻰ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻛﻬﻮﻧﻪ ﻣﻴﻪ ﻟﻪ ﻟﻜﻪ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻟﻪ ﻟﻠ

ceived in the common substance (and his whole design against the truth collapses immediately) or, reckoning as hypostasis the ingeneracy perceived, as he says, in the common substance, let him learn that he is convicted, here too, of having used inappropriate and utterly incongruous testimony.

But perhaps he will say that the holy Basil called the hypostasis not only the collection of properties belonging with each, but also each one's indicative note. For he does not stop quoting this in many passages both in his many-groans-inducing book and in this *Many-lined Apology*. He wrote in chapter nine of his book as follows: Saint Basil, then, giving a sort of definition of 'hypostasis' called it 'the collection of properties' or 'each one's indicative note'. And again in what follows the passage of his *Many-lined Letter* we have just examined, he is seen to say: For we, listening to the magisterial word of teaching which defines 'hypostasis' as 'each one's indicative note' or 'the collection of properties' or 'the subsisting property', and 'substance' as 'the material substrate', affirm we believe this: that one of them is the shared in, whereas the other is the sharer, i.e. one is common, whereas the other is proper.

First let us note that, though the father's statement contains 'the collection of properties belonging with each', this truth-loving writer studiously cuts out the phrase belonging with each from the wording, * so that a hypostasis will necessarily be thought of (as he wants) as only a collection of properties. But later, feeling the justice of the objections to him he cautiously said:

**81** cf. supra, 54-55 **81/82** cf. infra, 86 et 89 **85/86** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 19); cf. infra, 100-102 cf. supra, ch. 16, 165 **86** Bas. Caes., loco non reperto **88/93** Dam. Alex., *Ep. prolixa* **90/91** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 4 (*PG* 29, 577C; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 20); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 8, 24 **95** cf. supra, ch. 16, 165-166 **96** cf. supra, 86 et 90



AB from ... (l. 101) on

Lines 91-92: ... ..., cf. infra, lines 107-108.

Line 106: ..., A: ....

Saint Basil, then, giving a sort of definition of 'hypostasis' called it 'the collection of properties' or 'each one's indicative note' or 'the subsisting property'. We shall, then, ask why he is at pains to distinguish in this way and say, the collection of properties *or* each one's indicative note *or* the subsisting property, if he thinks of hypostasis as being the collection of properties, each one's indicative note, the subsisting property! And let him clearly show how again (as we have already said) he is able to define as hypostasis both only ingeneracy and the collection of properties. Moreover, indeed, the reader should consider whether anybody can conceive of the collection of properties as a single substrate subsisting particularly and individually.

But let this excellent fellow pass on to teach what he thinks God-clad Basil means by 'each' with whom belongs the collection of properties and whose is the indicative note. However, he promptly answers this with what he said in chapter twelve of his notorious book. For, wise Basil said in the second book *Against Eunomius*: 'Peter's, Paul's and, in a word, all men's names are different, but there is one substance of all of them. For which reason, in the majority of respects we are identical with one another, but only in the properties appearing as belonging with each are we different from one another. So titles are not indicative of substances, but of the properties which characterize each one.' Having said this, he wrote as follows: If Peter, Paul and, as it were, those names which are names in the full sense,

**100/102** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 9 (n° 19) **103/104** cf. supra, 100-102
**116/122** Dam. Alex., *Adv. Trith.*, 12 **117/122** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 4 (*PG*



AB W from l. 126 to l. 132

Lines 107-108: ..... , cf. supra, lines 91-92.

Line 126: , Book II, ch. 8, line 18 and W: .

Lines 130-131: , cf. Book II, ch. 8, line 22 ( ).

Line 131: , Book II, ch. 8, line 22 and W: ...

do not disclose the substance but the collection of properties belonging
with the substance, nevertheless, then, by the naming of the names in the
full sense, there enters the mind at the same time an indication also
of that substance which the properties subsisting in it characterize as a
hypostatic being.

You will discern the * respect of this expositor of divine doc-
trines for divine doctrines; you will see the reverence of this advo-
cate of the fathers for the fathers! For Basil the Great having
spoken of the collection of the properties as belonging with each,
and again of each one's indicative note and having thereby shown
that he does not speak of the collection of the properties or the
indicative note as being itself the hypostasis, but rather that the
substrate is (the properties evidently viewed in it), Damian called
the hypostasis a collection of properties in many places, very stud-
iedly omitting (as has been demonstrated) belonging with each;
collection belonging with the substance instead of belonging with each,
so that the hypostasis alone is thought of as a collection of proper-
ties and 'each one' as the substance. Let this wise man tell us
how each is to be conceived of without the acknowledgement of
hypostas*es* and prosop*a*, with which also the collections of proper-
ties are and exist; for 'each' or 'every' is not used of a single item.
But it has already been proved to men of sound sense that Basil,
the great champion of truth, reckoned as hypostasis neither the
collection of properties nor a single property alone, but rather the
substrate itself in which are viewed, as has been said, the proper-
ties belonging with it. It has been proved by the fact that he said
the properties belonging with each and again, each one's indicative note.
Otherwise, let some one demonstrate that he ever called the hyposta-
sis a collection of properties or indicative note without always

**132** cf. supra, 95 **133** cf. supra, 86 **137** cf. supra, 86 et 90 **138** cf. supra, 96 **140** cf. supra, 124-125 cf. supra, 132 **143** cf. supra, 140 **151** cf. supra, 132-133



— ܗܝܢ ܕ ܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܫܡܐ ܠܡܬܝܕܥ ܒܗ ܐ ܕܝܢ
— ܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܓܢܝܣ ܗ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐ ܒܥܩܡ
— ܫܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܐ ܠܡܠܐ ܕܐ ܡܫܡܗ ܕܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐ
— ܫ ܐ ܕ ܡ ܫܟܝܢܐ ܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐ ܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐ ܟܬ ✣

ܫܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܦ ܐ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ

adding with each one or of each. Or again, let it be proved out of the divinely inspired words of his peers as fathers and theologians.

BASIL wrote, then, in the first book *Against Eunomius* as follows: 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 come out to the opposite conclusion. For if ingeneracy follows God, it evidently follows him externally; now what is outside God is not his substance 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 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 instead 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 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

**157/184** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 5 (*PG* 29, 517B - 520B; *SChr.*, vol. 299, pp. 176-180); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 9, 263-291



ܟܬܒ ܘܥܕ ܠ ܟ ܒܟܠܡܐ ܠܐ : ܟܬܒܬ ܟܬܒ
ܟܘܬܟ ܒܥܟ ܟܐ ܕ ܐ ,ܟ ܬܐ ܠ ܐ ,ܟ
ܟܡܒܟ : ܟܐ ܟ ܒܐ ,ܟܐ ܐܐ ,ܟ
165 .ܒܟ ܐ ܟܡ ܟ ,ܟ

ܕ ܘܟ ܐ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ

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him, since no external accompaniment can separate the affinity of substance between Father and Son. But now by adding 'but rather ingeneracy 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 blasphemy 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 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?

We have already shown clearly, when we elsewhere examined the foregoing statement of the doctor according to our modest capacity, that the property (viz. ingeneracy) is by no means the Father whom it follows but is quite other than he; just as that which follows is other than the one it follows. Having answered for ourselves, and refuted out of the fathers' words also, all that the wise in their own eyes are muttering under their teeth (not frankly, but for the deception of wretched men), we ought not, I think, to prolong the examination by saying the same things again, because it is easier for the one who wants to, to read the texts and make searching investigation of * the solution to possible objections from supporters of untruth. Nevertheless, because the impiety, though everywhere rebutted, does not desist from using the same

**185** cf. supra, b. II, ch. 9, 292-324



f. 79vb

A W from l. 192 to l. 198

Line 187: ܫܘܝܬܐ, cf. Book II, ch. 9, line 304 (ܫܘܝܐ).

Line 193: ܕ, Book II, ch. 9, line 310 and W om.

Lines 195-196: ܐܦ ܐܓ, cf. Book II, ch. 9, line 313 (ܐܓ ܐܦ).

Line 196: ܡܨܝܢܘ, cf. infra, line 274 (ܡܨܝܢ).

round of arguments and from attempting to dignify the ugliness of false teaching, it will perhaps be useful, at this point too, to give the listener a brief reminder, for safety's sake, and thus move the discussion on to other words of the God-clad father.

So let the friend of truth observe that Basil the Great was here in dispute with impure Eunomius over God the Father and particularly because he had said (with reference to the villain): Having declared that 'if he is not prior to himself nor is there another to be prior to him, ingeneracy must follow him'. For Eunomius by no means admitted saying this of the Son or the Holy Ghost. How, indeed, could Eunomius have said that when he made those mentioned, creatures and subject to time? Therefore, it is plain that finding a strong defence of the truth in the exposition by the heretic, he proved that ingeneracy ('agenneton' here means this) is not the Father, but that it follows the Father externally, and that it is entirely other than the Father. He says, then: For if ingeneracy follows God, it evidently follows him externally; now what is outside God is not his substance. And again: 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?

But we must take note of another passage: 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 addition has been tossed in from heretical thought. If, then, his initial statement (i.e. that ingeneracy follows God) is a consequence of the truth of the realities but what follows must be different from what is followed, how can the ingeneracy which follows fail to be different from the Father

**205/206** cf. supra, 157-158 **213/215** cf. supra, 160-162 **215/217** cf. supra, 182-184 **218/222** cf. supra, 178-180 **222** cf. supra, 158 et 160



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whom it follows? Ingeneracy will, surely, not be perceived as the Father's hypostasis but as the Father's characteristic property.

* He also proves this in the second book *Against* the same evil *Eunomius*, by saying: But he here transfers the antithesis between the properties to the substance 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. But one will, from the above, learn also the difference between the meanings. It is said that God *dwells in light* and that he *decks himself in light*, but nowhere does the Scripture say that he dwells in his own ingeneracy or that he has it for his covering. And again: But with regard to God's appearing to be composite unless ingeneracy and light are taken to be the same thing, we can say that if we took ingeneracy as part of the substance his argument (being that what is compounded of different things is composite) would have some ground. But if we assert God's substance to be light, life or goodness, if all of him, whatever he is, is life, all of him is light and all of him is goodness, and the ingeneracy follows the life, how can the simple in substance not be incomposite?

Here too, be it noted, when Eunomius denies his thesis in a different way and brazenly attempts to prove the opposite, that ingeneracy does not follow God but is God's substance, the doctor

**228/237** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 28-29 (*PG* 29, 637C - 640A; *SChr.*, vol. 305, pp. 120-122); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 10, 49-55 **235** I Tim. 6:16 **236** Ps. 103:2 **237/245** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 29 (*PG* 29, 640B; *SChr.*, vol. 305, p. 122); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 6, 331-338



f. 80ra

A flor. I from l. 262 to l. 266

Line 247: ܟܬܝܒ, cf. Book II, ch. 10, line 54 (ܟܬܝܒ ܗܝ).
Lines 263-264: ܟܠܗ ܡܠܬܐ ..... ܒܪܝܬ ܐܦ ܡܠܬ, flor. I om.
Line 265: ܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܬ, cf. infra, line 286 (ܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܝܬ).

courageously rebuts him by proving plainly that ingeneracy is not the light (likewise, indeed, not the life or the goodness) but follows the light. For how, he says in the passage just examined, 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? For when Eunomius was saying, that if the light he acknowledges as Father is different from ingeneracy we must be making God composite, the doctor blocked the path to blasphemy by writing: 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 again: But if we assert God's substance to be light, life or goodness, if all of him, whatever he is, is life, all of him is light and all of him is goodness, and the ingeneracy follows the life, how can the simple in substance not be incomposite? Let us observe closely that having said in the above: For if ingeneracy follows God, it evidently follows him externally, and later: For how can God have the ingeneracy, which both follows him and does not follow him, the master of mysteries also endeavoured to draw Eunomius unwillingly to the soundness of the truth by the mad fellow's own confession and here expressed an argument based not on Eunomius' statement but clearly on his own teaching. He ruled that ingeneracy follows the life. If, however, anyone has reached such a pitch of contentiousness as to say that, because the doctor said that ingeneracy follows the life, he did not

**251/253** cf. supra, 182-184 **256/258** cf. supra, 232-234 **259/262** cf. supra, 241-245 **263/264** cf. supra, 160-161 **264/265** cf. supra, 166-167 **269** et **271** cf. supra, 261



ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܪܝܬܝܢ : ܐܝܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܪܝܬܝܢ
ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ : ܐܝܡܐ ܐܠܐ : ܒܪܝܬܘܬ ܐܡܪ ܕ
: ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܫܝ ܐܠܐ : ܕ
ܐܡܪ ܠܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܒܪܝܬܘܬ. ܐܫܬ ܕ ܐܡܪ
ܕ : ܡܢܐ ܕܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ، ܘ ܕ ، ܘ ✧ ܒܪܝܬ <
ܕܘ ܒ ܐܠܗ ܡܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ ، ܘ : ܐܡܪ ܐ <
ܕܘ : ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܕ ✧ ܐܡܪ ܐ <
ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܒܐ ܐܡ : ܐܝܡܐ ، ܡܘܗܒ ܐܝܫܪ <
ܕܐܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܐ ܒ ✧ ܕ ، ܐ ، ✧ ܐ ، ✧ ✧ ✧

mean that ingeneracy does not follow the Father but the substance inclusive of the hypostases, such a person must understand the feebleness of his sophism. For the contest here with Eunomius was only over the Father. For it was not because he thought of the substance in the generic meaning (of which he was entirely ignorant) or of the Son or the Holy Ghost, but only of God the Father, whom he also defined as 'he who is ingeneracy', that the wicked man said: if the light is something else beside the ingeneracy, God will necessarily be proved composite. But that the God-clad Basil too was talking about the same God the Father of whom Eunomius was speaking in the above-quoted passage, he himself showed both by saying that ingeneracy follows the life and again by immediately adding, how can the simple in substance not be incomposite? For he says: But if we assert God's substance to be light, life or goodness, if all of him, whatever he is, is life, all of him is light and all of him is goodness, * and the ingeneracy follows the life, how can the simple in substance not be incomposite? For we unhesitatingly call Father, Son and Holy Ghost 'life'. But when we understand that ingeneracy follows and is coupled with the life, we do not then affirm that the whole Trinity is thereby meant by us, but mean, as we have been taught, the hypostasis of God the Father alone. For the famous SEVERUS said in his *109th Cathedral Homily*: So when you mentally apprehend or imagine the Trinity, call the whole 'one God', not because you diffuse or merge the hypostases but because you recognize in the three one Godhead and the other indications of the common identity. But when you confine your view to the Father, or e.g. to the Son, or it may

**279/280** cf. supra, 230-232 **283/284** cf. infra, 287-288 **285/288** cf. supra, 241-245 **293/307** Sev. Ant., *Hom. cath. 109* (*PO* 25, pp. 747,6 [8] - 748,5 [9]); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 10, 163-177



ܕܐܒ ܪܟܒܢܐ ܪܟܒܐܢ ܕ ܪܥܒܐ : ܪܟ
.ܡܟܟܢܐ ܪܟܒܥܫܐ ܪܡ ܥܡܪ ܐܒ ܕܐ : ܪܥܒ
ܒܠ ܪܟ ܡܠ ܪܒܡ ܒܡ : ,ܡܒܪܥܠ ܟܢ ܪܟ ܠܠ
ܪܥܒܪ ܐܪ : ܪܟ ܐܒ ܟܢ ل .ܪܟܟ ܒܥܟܪ
ܕܐ ܪ ܟܡ ܠ ,ܡܟ : ܪܥܒ ܪܟܐܒ ,ܒ
ܠ ܪܟ : ܪܐܒ ܪܥܐ ܐܪ ܪܟ ܒܐ : ܪܒ
,ܡܒܡ ܪ ܐܒ ܐܒ ,ܡ ܠ : ܪ ܪܠ ܪܒܠ
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be, to the Holy Ghost, and use the invocation 'God' or *'He who is'* or 'Lord' or any other term common to the Holy Trinity, you are making a good invocation; but, let the property be coupled by you, and invoke God as Father who exists ingenerately and not from others, and likewise name the Son 'God', 'Lord', and *'He who is'* but who has been begotten eternally of the Father; and likewise extoll the Holy Ghost with the same equally honourable names: not as if he were not from another, or were begotten, but as proceeding from the Father. Let the properties remain unshaken from the common indications and names, and likewise let what is common remain inseparable from the properties.

Basil the Great wrote similarly, because he recognized that the life that ingeneracy follows is God the Father: But if we assert God's substance to be light, life or goodness, if all of him, whatever he is, is life, all of him is light and all of him is goodness, and the ingeneracy follows the life, how can the simple in substance not be incomposite? So the sophists should say how ingeneracy can fail to be other than God the Father. For if ingeneracy follows the life * whereas the doctor understood the life that ingeneracy follows to be God the

**298** et **302** cf. Ex. 3:14 **309/312** cf. supra, 241-245 **314** cf. supra, 311-312



A flor. I up to l. 341

Line 328: ܐܪܟܝܘܣܝܐ, W: ܐܪܟܝܘܣ.
Line 330: ܡܬܝܠܝܬ, flor. I: ܡܠܝܬ.
Line 331: ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, flor. I: ܡܝܬܘܗܝ.
Line 334: ܕܝܠ, Y: ܕܝܠܐ.
Line 335: ܐܠܗܘܬܐ, XZ: ܐܠܗܘܬ. ܕܡ, WXY om.
Line 339: ܕܡ, Book II, ch. 10, line 194 and WXY om.

Father, ingeneracy must be other than God the Father, because we have been taught that what follows is different from what it follows.

However, let us investigate the words How can the simple in substance not be incomposite? For the doctor said of Eunomius: But he here transfers the antithesis between the properties to the substance 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. And later: But with regard to God's appearing to be composite unless ingeneracy and light are taken to be the same thing, we can say that if we took ingeneracy as part of the substance his argument (being that what is compounded of different things is composite) would have some ground. But if we assert God's substance to be light, life or goodness, if all of him, whatever he is, is life, all of him is light and all of him is goodness, and the ingeneracy follows the life, how can the simple in substance not be incomposite? Then whom was Eunomius professing to be 'light', 'ingenerate', 'God' and 'simple in substance'? Everyone knows, I think: the Father alone. So of the same God the Father the wise theologian too said: How can the simple in substance not be incomposite? When he has completely controverted, indeed, rather, proved utterly impotent, the blasphemer's sophism, what do you desire, then, you cunning fellow? Will you shamelessly embrace the Jewish notions of the Libyan, defining Father, Son and Holy Ghost as not really three hypostases but one hypostasis named with three titles? Or, forbearing, for the deception and ensnaring of the simple, openly to avow these things, * will you allege against us some alien and utterly incongruous fictions marvel-

**317** cf. supra, 183-184 **318/319** cf. supra, 244-245 **319/323** cf. supra, 228-232 **323/331** cf. supra, 237-245 **334/335** cf. supra, 330-331



ingeneracy must be other than God the Father: ⟨ ⟩ because we have been taught that what follows is different from what it follows: ⟨ ⟩ However, let us investigate the words How can the simple in substance not be incomposite? For the doctor said of Eunomius: But he here transfers the antithesis between the properties to the substance 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. And later: But with regard to God's appearing to be composite unless ingeneracy and light are taken to be the same thing, we can say that if we took ingeneracy as part of the substance his argument (being that what is compounded of different things is composite) would have some ground. But if we assert God's substance to be light, life or goodness, if all of him, whatever he is, is life, all of him is light and all of him is goodness, and the ingeneracy follows the life, how can the simple in substance not be incomposite? Then whom was Eunomius professing to be 'light', 'ingenerate', 'God' and 'simple in substance'? Everyone knows, I think: the Father alone. So of the same God the Father the wise theologian too said: How can the simple in substance not be incomposite? When he has completely controverted, indeed, rather, proved utterly impotent, the blasphemer's sophism, what do you desire, then, you cunning fellow? Will you shamelessly embrace the Jewish notions of the Libyan, defining Father, Son and Holy Ghost as not really three hypostases but one hypostasis named with three titles? Or, forbearing, for the deception and ensnaring of the simple, openly to avow these things, * will you allege against us some alien and utterly incongruous fictions marvel-

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lously compounded of Jewish godlessness and pagan lunacy, thinking of Father, Son or Holy Ghost not as God but as followers who follow God externally? For if, the herald of truth says, ingenera-
345 acy follows God, it evidently follows him externally. How, then, can one who follows God externally, and is other than light, be God? For, as we have heard, the guide to divine mysteries said expressly: For how can the same thing follow God and be God, when it
350 is well-known to everybody that what follows is different from what it follows? And again: 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. So let the clever say either that ingeneracy is only the Father's characteristic property and is not the Father, or
355 professing it to be the Father, let them clearly say that the Father is not (or, to speak comprehensively, the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity are not) God (according to what has been said) at all, but followers who follow God externally, or are only names. For this, though covertly, is what the unsound author desires to claim
360 throughout his book.

Besides this, let us examine in due order other statements too of the divinely inspired father, which are set down in the first book *Against Eunomius* the impious, but will instruct us in the truth of sound doctrines. Why, then, he says, is it absurd for certain things even
365 about the God of all to be accepted in this way in accordance with inventive thought, and primarily this very thing which is the whole subject of our argument? For we find that 'ingeneracy' is used in no different way. We say, indeed, that the God of all is incorruptible and ingenerate, call-



ed ingenerate, Son or Holy Ghost not as God but as followers who
385 follow God externally? For if, the herald of truth says, ingenera- f.81ra
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one who follows God externally, and is other than light, be God?
For, as we have heard, the guide to divine mysteries said
expressly: For how can the same thing follow God and be God,
390 when it is well-known to everybody that what follows is different
from what it follows? And again: 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. So let the
clever say either that ingeneracy is only the Father's characteris-
395 tic property and is not the Father, or professing it to be the Father,
let them clearly say that the Father is not (or, to speak compre-
hensively, the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity are not) God
(according to what has been said) at all, but followers who follow
God externally, or are only names. For this, though covertly, is

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ing him by these names in accordance with various ideas. For when we survey the first world-eras and discover that God's life falls beyond all beginning, we call him ingenerate. When, on the other hand, we stretch our mind to future world-eras, we call him infinite and unlimited, not comprehended by any end whatsoever, incorruptible. * So, just as endlessness of life is called 'incorruptibility' so also its unbeginningness has been called 'ingeneracy' as we view the two things in him in accordance with inventive thought. What reasoning, then, will gainsay that each one of these terms too will be the result of inventive thought and an acknowledgement of whatever truly belongs to God. And later: Since, then, God's substance has been seen to be incomprehensible and ineffable to man's understanding, it remains to disclose, with regard to ingeneracy itself, what it is and how it is perceived in the God of all. We discover, then, in reasoning, that the idea of ingeneracy does not fall for us within the consideration of what he is but rather (I speak the expression under compulsion) of how he is. For our mind investigates whether *the God over all* has some cause prior to him and then, unable to think of one, names his unbeginningness of life 'ingeneracy'.

I do not think those who observe the exactness of these words of the Father can rightly fail to be surprised and highly astonished at the snarling of this author. For, drawn and dragged along with

**378/386** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 14-15 (*PG* 29, 545AB; *SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 224) **384/385** cf. Rom. 9:5



ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܝ

heretical perversity as with some harsh and irresistible force, he has arrived at so much brazenness as to despise even the common law fixed in man's nature. As Scripture has it: *Ephraim has waxed strong against his adversary, he has trampled on judgement, because he has begun to go after vanities*. Therefore, casting shame aside, he is contending against the clear definitions of the Spirit. For is there any pretext for his abominable opinion that the guide of sacred doctrines has not plucked out along with its very roots by this divinely inspired teaching? Let us observe, first, that he speaks here indeed of God the Father alone and the property viewed in him viz. ingeneracy. He says, in fact: Why, then, is it absurd for certain things even about the God of all to be accepted in this way in accordance with inventive thought, * and primarily this very thing which is the whole subject of our argument? For we find that 'ingeneracy' is used in no different way. We say, indeed, that the God of all is incorruptible and ingenerate, calling him by these names in accordance with various ideas. We have learned, I suppose, that by the God of all the doctor understood the Father. He says: We say, indeed, that the God of all is incorruptible and ingenerate. For though we believe that each hypostasis of the Holy Trinity is *agennetos* in the sense of uncreatedness, none the less, he did give us the tradition of not

**392/394** Os. 5:11 **400/406** cf. supra, 364-369 **407/408** cf. supra, 404-405



AB

Line 450: ܐܬܪܐ, B: ܒܐܬܪܐ.

Line 455: ܕܫܟܝܚ, B: ܠܐ ܕܫܟܝܚ.

Line 460: ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ, B: ܡܬܚܙܐ.

Line 461: ܐܓܝܢܝܬܐ. The following note is written in a *tabula ansata* in the right margin of both A and B: ܐܓܝܢܝܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܐܝܬ ܐܓܝܢܝܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ. ܐܝܬ ܐܓܝܢܝܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ. *The Greek ἀγένητον means 'unbegotten'; sometimes 'uncreated' or also 'unbegottenness'. Γενητόν is understood as 'begotten'; sometimes as 'created' or simply as 'begottenness'.*

confessing any but the Father as *agennetos* in virtue of being ingenerate (i.e. not having a cause of being). It was over this sense of *agennetos*, which signifies the fact that the God of all (i.e. the Father) is not from anything, that the God-clad fathers, as we have learned, had their whole battle against that Anomean, because he was struggling wrongly to claim by it the non-consubstantiality of Father and Son.

Listen to the wise doctor himself, who says of Eunomius in the first book *Against Eunomius:* He denies that ingeneracy is viewed 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. For this reason he entangles himself with the expression 'inventive thought', on the ground that it indicates nothing at all but only has subsistence in utterance, and he pretends that it is unsuitable to honour God by thoughts. The master of mysteries, having said this and duly discussed in thought, went on to say: Why, then, is it absurd for certain things even about the God of all to be accepted in this way in accordance with inventive thought, and primarily this very thing which is the whole subject of our argument? But also in the just recently quoted passage he reminds us of the point: For if, having said that ingeneracy follows him, he had let the argument rest here, he would have been unable to call 'ingeneracy' the substance of the God of

**419/426** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 5 (*PG* 29, 520C - 521A; *SChr.*, vol. 299, pp. 180-182) **427/430** cf. supra, 400-403 **431/436** cf. supra, 169-174



AB up to ܠ (l. 484) flor. I from l. 472 to l. 476

Line 472: ܟܬܥܡܪܐ; flor. I: ܟܬܥܡܪܐ ,ܒ.
Line 473: ܟܡܪ, flor. I: ܟܡ.
Line 474: ܐܠܗܐ, flor. I: ܟܥܒܕܐ. ܐܠܐ, W: ܐܠܐ ,ܒܐ.
Line 475: ܟܬܥܒܕ, flor. I: ܟܫܝܡ. ܐܠܐ², W: ܐܠܐ.
Line 476: ܟܡܥܡܟ, flor. I: ,ܡܡܒܟ ܟܡܥܡܟ.

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 substance between Father and Son. And again: 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. But a little later, after the words which have been set down for our examination, he wrote as follows: Then just as in the case of men, 'being from something' is not their substance, so neither is it possible in the case of the God of all, to call ingeneracy (which is equivalent to 'not being from anything') his substance. And later: For this is the notion of ingeneracy: his not having a beginning of his existence from elsewhere. But because ingeneracy is viewed only in the God of all, these people have seized this, in the most vicious of all ways, as a blasphemy against the Only-begotten.

It has been clearly demonstrated, and in as plain a way as possible, by this patristic instruction also, both that the doctor meant the Father by the God of all, and, again, that he indicated to us ingeneracy as being the property which is viewed only in the Father. What are we to say? For we ought, if we are ready, to investigate the truth of what is said, to accept from the outset what is said divinely, and by carefully tracing out its meaning we shall recognize that those who make the Father (viz. the God of all) ingeneracy, and thereby, for their part, remove him from any existence at all, are convicted of falling into the extreme of blasphemy. For how, if the hypostasis itself does not exist, can there be a mode of the hypostasis? See too, the prudence of the doctor here! And why do I say 'of the doctor'?

**436/438** cf. supra, 232-234 548A; *SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 226)
**440/443** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 15 (*PG* 29, 548C; *SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 228)
**443/447** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 16 (*PG* 29,



f.81vb

A

Lines 488-489: ܐܒܗܝܢ ܕܐ, cf. supra, lines 185-186 (ܐܡܪ ܒܗܠ ܐܒܗܝܢ).

460 See the compassion and the humanity of the Spirit speaking in him, the Spirit who foreseeing this mouthing of novelties against the Godhead, wisely manages, both through these and similar patristic statements, to shake corrupting blasphemy from its foundations and snatch the friends of truth from, as it were, the mouths of wild, savage beasts. For the doctor says: Why, then, is it absurd for certain things 465 even about the God * of all to be accepted in this way in accordance with inventive thought, and primarily this very thing which is the whole subject of our argument? For we find that 'ingeneracy' is used in no different way. We say, indeed, that the God of all is incorruptible and ingenerate, calling 470 him by these names in accordance with various ideas.

How, then, will our clever author contrive to wrest this to his point of view, and prove that the God of all is ingeneracy? For note: the master of mysteries said, that, with regard to the God of all, 'ingeneracy' is to be taken by way of inventive thought, like 475 'incorruptibility'. Then is the God of all himself too, to be understood by way of inventive thought if he is ingeneracy, as these careful expositors suppose? Is there anyone who will not detest this heretical impurity which the same wise instructor rebutted even more clearly by saying again: So, just as endlessness of life is 480 called 'incorruptibility' so also its unbeginningness has been called 'ingeneracy' as we view the two things in him in accordance with inventive thought. The wise listener is to observe that ingeneracy gives us only the notion that the God of all is without beginning. Therefore, the God of all must, I suppose, exist, and in this way 485 we shall understand, in due consequence the unbeginningness, and the unendingness of life as well. How, then, can it fail to be absurd and entirely foolish to suppose that the God of all is the

**465/470** cf. supra, 400-406 **479/482** cf. supra, 373-376



ونسطه برمنهم زنمس زحم حلل. هن زدز فزح ويم
لوزنه ومحم وزم ولمزنهه همم زلمحل
برلمنهم : مسحبره زفز. زحز ولم تنه قلم
برتمنهم زهتي ومله زززي لمم : زلم هي لزنمزم
حسلم هي تغنهمم سلمز. لتمحم زم زهزم :
برم زم ومحم زتنهم حتهم ومحزتهم سهلم.
برتز لمز ولمم * زحز ولمم حتهم : زمتم ولم
برلمم * زحز ولمم حتهم حتهم حبحهم زمتحم : f.82ra
ولمتزح هي وزم زهللهف ولم ولهم ولمهزمم لم.
ولمتزح هزحنمم : حتم حبحهم زمتحم ولمم هي
لمز ولمم زهتي لمز هي برمزمنهم ولمهزتم لم
ولمتزح برتز ولمم * زحز ولمم حتهم :

very unbeginningness which is viewed in him, if one does not also prate, somehow or other, about the endlessness of his life which he also is?

However, it is truly idle to do battle at immoderate length with such rubbish, seeing that it has been entirely eradicated, and dispelled once for all, rather, both by the very nature of the realities and (as we have said) by the fathers' teachings. We run the risk, it seems, of imitating people who draw weapons against the simply dead, those ravaged and slaughtered by others, of imitating people who count it no absurdity to smite miserable, putrefying corpses. Therefore, because * long ere now, indeed, the Church's pastors have vigorously smitten down with their divinely inspired teaching, as they would do ravaging wolves, those who spewed out these novel books to us, it will be thought superfluous to go on at length, particularly about such clear matters.

Yet it will be useful to assail the nonsense of our opponents which has long ere now been ridiculed to extinction, with heresy-destroying and divinely inspired utterances, lest, if these be missing, their rubbishy attacks on truth should seem to have any vital force. Therefore, let us look at the meaning of another statement by the same master of mysteries: Since, then, God's substance has been seen to be incomprehensible and ineffable to man's understanding, it remains to disclose, with regard to ingeneracy itself, what it is and how it is perceived in the God of all. You see the concord of the Spirit! The master of mysteries said here also that ingeneracy is perceived in the God of all. Let those who define the hypostasis of the God of

**508/511** cf. supra, 378-381



ܠ ܬܪ ܪܕ ܐܡܪ : ,ܡܐܟ ,ܡܠܟ ܪܫܟܬ ܪܥ
ܕ ܢ ܠ ,ܡܐܟ ܐܡ : ,ܡܫܝ ܪܟܠܥ ܠ ܬܐ
ܪܟ ܢ ܐ ܡ ܐ ܪ ܪ ܐ ܪ ܐ ܪ ܐ

all as ingeneracy tell us what coherent thought anybody could attach to saying that his hypostasis (indeed, rather, the God of all himself) is perceived in the God of all. However, we must consider another point as well: how the doctor, having said Since, then, God's substance has been seen to be incomprehensible and ineffable to man's understanding, added it remains to disclose, with regard to ingeneracy itself, what it is and how it is perceived in the God of all. For this suffices to prove clearly, to men of sound sense, the feebleness of the absurd doctrines: namely when that possessor of so much prudence in divine matters desired also to say (and, in addition, immediately after that exceedingly careful teaching whereby he proved the divine substance incomprehensible to human nature) that it remained to disclose, with regard to ingeneracy itself, what it was and how it was perceived in the God of all, if he was bent on professing that the God of all was ingeneracy. Has not the impiety been clearly rooted out, even by this brief utterance of the divinely inspired father? * Is it not the chief point of the blasphemy that he feels no shame at these rebuttals?

However, the rest of the proof-text will assault and buffet the heads of those who are unable to feel shame, and will, if it be possible, make even the hardened in insensitivity drop their gaze and hide. We discover, then, says truth's champion, in reasoning, that the idea of ingeneracy does not fall for us within the consideration of what he is but rather (I speak the expression under compulsion) of how he is. What does the father mean by but rather (I speak the expression under compulsion) of how he is? Is it not clear that on wrong-headed

**516** cf. supra, 511 **517/520** cf. supra, 508-511 **526/527** cf. supra, 519-520 **535/537** cf. supra, 381-384 **538/539** cf. supra, 537



f.82va

AB

Eunomius' attempting to prove ingeneracy a substance and thereby make Father and Son different in substance, the God-clad father said, 'I am so far removed from the idea of calling ingeneracy a substance, that, if compelled to do so, I will put it in the consideration of how he is'? Who, then, can be so far gone in madness as to identify the mode of a hypostasis with the hypostasis?



ܕܐܢ ܕܐ ܕܝܫܟ ܒܐܝܟܢܘܬ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܐ ܕ
ܕܒܐܢܝ ܒܝܢܝ ܕܝ ܕܐ : ܒܐܝܟܢܘܬ ܠܐ ܐܒܐ
: ܐܢ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܢ : ܐ ܚܫܒ ܒܐ ܕ
ܠܐ ܫܘܐܢ ܒܐܒܐ ܕ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܒܚܫ : ܕ ܕ ܐ ܐ ,ܐ ܕ
ܐ ܐ ,ܐ ܐ : ܒܐܐ ܐ
.ܐ ܐ

AB

*Concerning the fact that since hypostasis is indicative of subsisting which is the same as being and existing, whereas ingeneracy discloses only the mode of being of the substrate, ingeneracy cannot be the Father's hypostasis. But this is proved again also from the fact that wise Basil said that the Father possesses his fatherhood co-extensively with his eternity and that it is not ingeneracy but ingenerate beauty that is perceived in the offspring; along with this also that generation is not a denial of the ingeneracy of God.*

But how can ingeneracy be a hypostasis, if hypostasis indicates subsisting, which is the same as being and existing, whereas ingeneracy discloses only the mode of being of the substrate? Listen to our God-clad father SEVERUS * explaining the point to us very clearly and precisely in the first chapter of the second book of the treatise *Against the Grammarian:* Hypostasis, indeed, in reference to the meaning of 'being', is the same as substance. For just as substance indicates existing, so too hypostasis indicates subsisting. 'Existing' and 'subsisting', indeed, are indistinguishable. Thus the God of all is brought forward by Jeremiah the prophet as saying: *If they stood within my basis.* He who said *I am 'He who is'* himself said: *If they stood within my basis*, signifying that he both exists and has been subsisting perpetually and never either non-existing or non-subsisting, gathering together in

**15/25** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, pp. 56,29 - 57,11; *112*, p. 45, 7-19) **19/20** Ier. 23:22 **20** Ex. 3:14 **20/21** Ier. 23:22



لحا ١.تا: مسحكم في حتوا.ىلم كمؤلهم، ١.ف، ١.حمح : ف، ١.ف، تا: ب، كمؤلهم ١.ف، ١.كمؤلهم، وهلمه : لم علمتهلم ١.ي : حلصا لف، ١.كمؤلهم كمؤ ف، ١.ف، تا: ب، كمؤلهم ١.ف، ١.كمؤلهم، وهلمه : لم علمتهلم ١.ي : ١.ف، ١.كمؤلهم حلصا كمؤلهم، ف ١.معح كمؤلهم حتسلمهلم : لم حيلم ١.لم علمتهلم مسحكم ١.كحكم هممكم. حكمسكم ١.ي ماكم هتح : مح ف، ١.كمؤ سلحكم حمعلمح : ١.١حكمحكملم معح حكمتحسلهم كمؤلهم لم لكحكم كحصلهلم : ١.لكم هم لم علمتهلم كملم عملهم لم علمكم : حمن علمكم حكملم. معح ولم ١.ي ٥حف، ١.لم ٥ علمتهلم حملهم كمؤلهم ١.ف، ١.لم علمكم ❖

لحا ١.تا: مسحكم في حتوا.ىلم كمؤلهم، ١.ف، ١.حمح : لم علمتهلم ١.ي : حلصا لف، ١.كمؤلهم، وهلمه : لم علمتهلم ١.ي : حلصا لف، ١.كمؤلهم كمؤلهم، ف ١.معح كمؤلهم حتسلمهلم : لم حيلم ١.لم علمتهلم مسحكم ١.كحكم هممكم. حكمسكم ١.ي ماكم هتح : مح ف، ١.كمؤ سلحكم حمعلمح : ١.١حكمحكملم معح حكمتحسلهم كمؤلهم لم لكحكم كحصلهلم : ١.لكم هم لم علمتهلم كملم عملهم لم علمكم : حمن علمكم حكملم. معح ولم ١.ي ٥حف، ١.لم ٥ علمتهلم حملهم كمؤلهم ١.ف، ١.لم علمكم ❖

١.معسكم في لف، ١.حمح حتوا.ىلم كمؤلهم، ف، ١.ف، تا: ب، كمؤلهم ١.ف، ١.كمؤلهم، وهلمه : لم علمتهلم ١.ي : حلصا لف، ١.كمؤلهم كمؤلهم، ف ١.معح كمؤلهم حتسلمهلم : لم حيلم ١.لم علمتهلم مسحكم ١.كحكم هممكم. حكمسكم ١.ي ماكم هتح : مح ف، ١.كمؤ سلحكم حمعلمح : ١.١حكمحكملم معح حكمتحسلهم كمؤلهم لم لكحكم كحصلهلم : ١.لكم هم لم علمتهلم كملم عملهم لم علمكم : حمن علمكم حكملم. معح ولم ١.ي ٥حف، ١.لم ٥ علمتهلم حملهم كمؤلهم ١.ف، ١.لم علمكم ❖

A. f. 82vb

Line 23: كمؤلهم, cf. infra, line 44 (كمؤلهم). معلمو ١.هحتلهمتا. (كمؤلهم) and note.

himself all his eternal existence and subsistence. The word 'being' also is the same in meaning as 'existing' and 'subsisting', for there is no difference between existing, subsisting and being. He speaks again also as follows in the third chapter of the same book: Thus also 'being' is indicative of both substance and hypostasis and is something intermediate, meaning sometimes the one sometimes the other in accordance with the underlying meaning. Athanasius proves this also by a few words, when he writes as follows *To the Bishops of Africa*: 'For being is hypostasis and substance; for it is and exists.'

Let us examine attentively the meaning of these divinely spoken words. For we ought to aim at the most accurate comprehension possible of these texts and at fully grasping the fathers' thought. First, then, let us note here that in what was said a little earlier we proved that this doctor too understood the Father to be the God of all. For he said: Thus the God of all is brought forward by Jeremiah the prophet as saying: *If they stood within my basis*. He who said *I am 'He who is'* himself said: *If they stood within my basis*. Let us enquire, then, who it is who said *I am 'He who is'*, and thus we shall recognize who he understood to be the God of all. He wrote, then, a little earlier than the proof-text just cited from the first chapter, as follows: For this reason too, * the voice came to Moses from the person of God the Father and said *I am 'He who is'; thus shall you speak to the*

**26/31** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 3 (*CSCO* 111, p. 71, 4-10; *112*, p. 56, 5-10); cf. supra, ch. 11, 238-241 **30/31** Athan. Alex., *Ep. ad Afros episc.*, 4 (*PG* 26, 1036B) **37/39** cf. supra, 18-21 **40** Ex. 3:14 **43/45** Sev. Ant., *C. Imp. Gramm.*, II, 1 (*CSCO* 111, p. 56, 4-7; *112*, p. 44, 19-21) **44/45** Ex. 3:14



A flor. I from l. 49 on

Line 33: ܐܟܐ, cf. ch. 11, line 271 (ܐܟ).

Line 44: ܗܢ, cf. supra, line 23 (ܗܢܐ).

Line 45: ,ܐܡ ܐܝܟ, cf. infra, line 55 (ܐܝܟ) and note.

Line 49: ܗܘ ܠܐ, flor. I: ܠܡܐ ܗܘ ܠܐ. ܫܡ ܕܐ, flor. I: ܕ ܫܡ.

*children of Israel*: *I am has sent me to you.* Notice, *I am 'He who is'* is said to be from the person of God the Father. So, the doctor understood the God of all to be God the Father. For He who said *I am 'He who is'* himself said: *If they stood within my basis.* Subsequently, indeed, we are to recognize that hypostasis indicates subsisting, whereas existing and subsisting are indistinguishable. For the same master of mysteries instructed us, saying, as previously set down: Hypostasis, indeed, in reference to the meaning of 'being', is the same as substance i.e. not by being inclusive and belonging to the generic meaning but by pointing to the existing. Which is why he went on: For just as 'substance' indicates existing, so too 'hypostasis' indicates subsisting. 'Existing' and 'subsisting', indeed, are indistinguishable.

With this thus proved, let us go on to investigate the notion introduced to us by 'ingeneracy'. The very statement by Basil the Great set down for examination will show it us, then. For he says: We discover, then, in reasoning, that the idea of ingeneracy does not fall for us within the consideration of what he is but rather (I speak the expression under compulsion) of how he is. And a little later he said similarly: Then just as in the case of men, 'being from something' is not their substance, so neither is it possible in the case of the God of all, to call ingeneracy (which is equivalent to 'not being from anything') his substance. A person calling unbeginningness a substance does something similar to somebody who, being asked what Adam's substance and nature

**45/46** cf. supra, 43-44 **47/48** cf. supra, 38-39 **49/50** cf. supra, 17-18 **52/53** cf. supra, 15-16 **55/56** cf. supra, 16-18 **60/62** cf. supra, ch. 17, 535-537 **63/73** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* I, 15 (*PG* 29, 548AB; *SChr.*, vol. 299, p. 226); cf. supra, ch. 17, 440-443



ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܐܝ ܠܐ

were, should reply 'not being from the intercourse of man and woman but being formed by the hand of God'. 'But I am looking', the other will say, 'not for the mode of the hypostasis but for the material substrate itself of the man, which I am very far off learning from your answer'. This happens to us too * with the word 'ingeneracy', whereby we learn how God is rather, and not the nature itself.

GREGORY, too, Basil's brother, taught these sacred doctrines and taking up the same contests against Eunomius the intoxicated, wrote in his fifth book (its beginning runs, Because, he says, the word 'Lord'), as follows: Anyone, then, undertaking to give a definition of the existence of the one who is good and is ingenerate, would be useless if he spoke of the things viewed in him and said nothing of the substance itself which he had undertaken to explain with a definition. For existing ingenerately is one of the things viewed in *Him who is*, whereas the concept of existing is one thing and that of how it exists, another.

Wise CYRIL too will disclose to us his view of the matter and rebuke impudent nonsense. For he initiated the whole world under heaven into perfect ideas of theology, when he wrote in the second book of his treatise *To Hermias*: So if ingeneracy in God the Father indicates to us only the fact that he was not begotten, how can it have the force of a definition, since it shows us not what he is but that he is not thus? *B*. Perhaps you will say that he has not been begotten? *A*. Yes, I do.

Has it not become clear to everybody, through these previous quotations, that hypostasis indicates subsisting which is equivalent (as we have learned) to being and existing, whereas ingeneracy

**77/82** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 5 (*PG* 45, 764A; Jaeger II, p. 182, 7-13) **81** cf. Ex. 3:14 **86/89** Cyr. Alex., *De SS. Trin. Dial. II* (*PG* 75, 732B; *SChr.*, vol. 231, pp. 254-256)



f. 83rb

A

indicates not this at all, but only how he exists? But it is quite clear, as we have learned, that the concept of existing is one thing and that of how it exists, another. For our wise father Severus instructing us with plain accuracy on the subject of hypostasis, said, as previously set down at one point: Hypostasis, indeed, in reference to the meaning of 'being', is the same as substance. For just as substance indicates existing, so too 'hypostasis' indicates subsisting. 'Existing' and 'subsisting', indeed, * are indistinguishable. And elsewhere: The word 'being' also is the same in meaning as 'existing' and 'subsisting', for there is no difference between existing, subsisting and being.

The distinguished Basil taught about ingeneracy, as follows: We discover, then, in reasoning, that the idea of ingeneracy does not fall for us within the consideration of what he is but rather (I speak the expression under compulsion) of how he is. And again: This happens to us too with the word 'ingeneracy', whereby we learn how God is rather, and not the nature itself. Basil's brother said: For existing ingenerately is one of the things viewed in *Him who is*, whereas the concept of existing is one thing and that of how it exists, another. Wise Cyril wrote: So if ingeneracy in God the Father indicates to us only the fact that he was not begotten, how can it have the force of a definition, since it shows us not what he is but that he is not thus?

**94/95** cf. supra, 82 **97/100** cf. supra, 15-18 **100/102** cf. supra, 23-25 **104/106** cf. supra, 60-62 **106/108** cf. supra, 71-73 **108/110** cf. supra, 80-82 **110/113** cf. supra, 86-89



f.83va

A

Line 123: ܕܚ, cf. supra, line 70 and note.

Is there any reader of patristic and correct doctrines unused to spurning truth, who will not perceive the erroneous belief of this impudent and truly alien writer? Must not those who make ingeneracy a hypostasis also necessarily define ingeneracy as indicative of subsisting, which is the same thing as being and existing, but hypostasis too as indicative again of how he is, or (to speak more precisely) of how he is not? How can thinking like this fail of itself to become abominable to all not drunk with heretical insanity, by its alienation and complete estrangement not only from patristic teaching but from the very nature of the realities? For we cannot say by what order and sequence of concepts anyone can either call 'hypostasis' the ingeneracy which nowise exists with a proper basis nor yet * is indicative of subsisting (which is the same, as we have learned, as existing and being) but only of how he is not, or, contrariwise, can suppose the hypostasis which exists individually, properly and subsistingly, and is indicative of subsisting to be ingeneracy. Look at the accurate and prudent CYRIL, who confirms again what we said and speaks as follows in the second book, which we have mentioned, of the treatise *To Hermias*: For 'generacy' and 'ingeneracy' are not things existing individually and hypostatically, but they only bring us the meaning of having been begotten or not having been begotten. And a few lines later: 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 been begotten; it does not subsist on its own.

**133/135** Cyr. Alex., *De SS. Trin. Dial. II* (*PG* 75, 741AB; *SChr.*, vol. 231, p. 272); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 11, 134-137 **136/138** Ibid. (*PG* 75, 741D; *SChr.*, vol. 231, p. 274); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 11, 137-140



A flor. I for lines 156-159 and 159-162

Line 158: ܡܬܝܠܕ, cf. Book II, ch. 11, line 150 (ܡܬܝܠܕ).

These texts, then, having been examined, let us pass on to other
140 divinely inspired words of wise BASIL, whereby he demolishes, as if by these other words, the novel and deceitful insanity and despoils it utterly of its knavish trickery. He wrote, then, as follows, in the second book *Against Eunomius* the impure: But afterwards, in adherence to his blasphemies, he will say: 'The Father also was
145 not Father to begin with, but became so later'; and so, if it was good and fitting to God's goodness to be Father, why was what befits him not present to him in the beginning? For they must necessarily impute the defect itself either to ignorance of something better or to impotence: ignorance, if he discovered the good later; and impotence, if aware of and under-
150 standing it, he fell short of excellence. But if (which it is impermissible to say) it was not a noble thing for him to be Father, why did he change and choose the inferior? However, let the blasphemy recoil upon those who were its cause! The God of all, indeed, is Father eternally, never beginning to be Father. For he was not * prevented from the accomplishment
155 of his will by lack of power nor did he delay for the revolutions of eras so that, as with men and the rest of living beings, he should effect his aim after the completion of the age when capacity for begetting reaches him (for it belongs to madmen to think and utter these things), but he has his fatherhood (so to name it) co-extensive with his eternity. Therefore, the
160 Son, being before time, and ever existing, never began to exist, but from when there has existed the Father there has also existed the Son, and with the idea of the Father there immediately enters that of the Son. He speaks similarly in the letter to his brother Gregory *On Substance and Hypostasis*, as follows: So one who has observed the beauty of
165 the image is endowed with a mental picture of the exemplar. And one

**143/162** Bas. Caes., *Adv. Eun.* II, 11-12 (*PG 29*, 593AB; *SChr.*, vol. 305, pp. 44-46) **164/180** Bas. Caes., *Ep. 38*, 8 (*PG* 32, 340BC; Forlin Patrucco, p. 194); cf. supra, ch. 13, 157-163 et 163-167



ܕܢܦܫܗ ܕܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܒܟܠ : ܡܫܬܡܥ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܗ
ܒܣܦܪ ܡܡܪܝܐ ܕܐܝܣܛܪ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܒܣܦܪ ܕܡܠܟ ܒܝ ܫܡܥ
ܐܦ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܠܐ : ܒܣܦܪ ܕܡܪ ܒܝ ܕܟܬܒ
ܒܗ ܕܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܫܡܥ ܕܐܝܬ

who has taken up into his understanding the form, as it were, of the Son, has imprinted it with the impress of the Father's hypostasis, seeing him by it, not because he sees the Father's ingeneracy in the impress derived from him (otherwise he would be totally identical and not different) but because he sees the ingenerate beauty in the generate. For just as someone looking at a clear mirror observes the appearance of the form there created and is in possession of clear knowledge of the depicted face, so he who perceives the Son has obtained in his heart, through the knowledge of the Son, the image of the paternal hypostasis. For all things belonging to the Father are viewed in the Son and all things belonging to the Son belong to the Father. Because all the Son abides in the Father, and again, he has all the Father in himself. So the Son's hypostasis becomes as it were the form and the prosopon of the indication of the Father, and the Father's hypostasis is recognized in the Son's form, the property viewed in them abiding for the clear distinction of the hypostases.

By these words of the father we are taught again that when impious Eunomius uttered those, so to say, unspeakable blasphemies against even the God of all himself for the denigration of the Son's Godhead and eternity, and alleged that he who exists perpetually and non-temporally later * became Father, the master of mysteries rebuts his irreligion and shows that he is eternally Father just as he is eternally God. Hence, he defined God's fatherhood (i.e. the characteristic property of the Father's hypostasis) as being co-extensive with his eternity. For just as unbeginning ..... and when eternity .... the Father, unbeginning .... fatherhood

**189** cf. supra, 159



ܐܝܬ : ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܥܠ ܐܝܕ ܐܒܐ ܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ
ܕ ܠ ܐܡܠ ܐܝܬ ܕܪ ܐܝܬ ܕ : ܫܩܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܒܐ
ܕ ܐܝ . ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܒܐ ܐܡܪ : ܐܒ ܐܒܐ ܠܐ
ܐܝܬ : ܐ[ܝܬ] ܠܐ ,ܡܐܝܬ ܐܡ ܕ [ܐܡ] ܡܠ : ܐ
ܐܡ[ܐ] ܚܝ ܐܒ . ܐܝܬ ܐܒ ܠ[ܐ] ܐܒ ܐ ܐܒ
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ܐ ܕ : ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ,ܡ ܐ : ܐ ܐ
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ܐ ܐ * ܐ : ,ܡ ܐ ܐ f. 84rb
ܐ ܐ : ܐ ܐ ,ܡ ., ܐ ܐ
ܐ ... ܐ ..... ... ..... [ܐ]

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Line 194: ܐ (as infra, line 237), cf. ch. 13, line 158 (ܐ ). ܐ (as infra, line 237), cf. ch. 13, line 159 (ܐ).

Line 195: ܐ (as infra, line 238), cf. ch. 13, line 159 (ܐ).

Line 206: ܐ, cf. ch. 13, line 164 (ܐ).

belongs to him also as the characteristic property of the hypostasis. But if someone were to say that he is fatherhood, because he has fatherhood eternally, such a person must also profess him as being the characteristic properties of his nature. Since he is acknowledged by everyone to have these also eternally and not latterly. How, indeed, can he fitly be said to have his fatherhood co-extensive with his eternity, if his fatherhood is his hypostasis? Will it not be seen as the height of lunacy and absurdity to say that the Father has his hypostasis co-extensive with his eternity? For according to this folly the co-extensive with his eternity will be found to be entirely other than his very own hypostasis. However, this is really rubbish and the fictions of an aberrant mind.

But let us now examine the meaning also of the proof-text set down after. For the guide to truth expressly said there: And one who has taken up into his understanding the form, as it were, of the Son, has imprinted it with the impress of the Father's hypostasis, seeing him by it, not because he sees the Father's ingeneracy in the impress derived from him (otherwise he would be totally identical and not different). Are we not to say that those in any doubt whatsoever over these things must be devoid of sound sense and discretion but full of much impiety and impudence? For the famous doctor expressly said the Father's ingeneracy is not the hypostasis of the Father, by writing: Seeing him by it, * not because he sees the Father's ingeneracy in the impress derived from him (otherwise he would be totally identical and not different) but because he sees the ingenerate beauty in the generate.

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**196/197** cf. supra, 158-159 **199** cf. supra, 196-197 **204/209** cf. supra, 165-169 **213/216** cf. supra, 167-170



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Line 237: ܟܝܢ, cf. supra, line 194 and note. ܡܝܬ, cf. supra, line 194 and note.

Line 238: ܡܫܬܥ, cf. supra, line 195 and note.

You will observe that we see the Father, i.e. the ingenerate beauty, in the Son, i.e. the generate beauty, but not the Father's ingeneracy. What else, indeed, does he mean when he says: Seeing him by it, not because he sees the Father's ingeneracy in the impress derived from him (otherwise he would be totally identical and not different) but because he sees the ingenerate beauty in the generate? Will the falsifiers of truth understand the ingenerate beauty not as the Father, nor yet the generate beauty as the Son, but as something else? In that case, the matter is very arbitrary and senseless. How, then, can the Father's ingeneracy be the Father's hypostasis? For if the Father's hypostasis is the Father, yet whilst the Father is seen in the Son his ingeneracy is not seen, it is quite obvious that ingeneracy is not the Father (i.e. the Father's hypostasis) but has been proved to be, rather, his characteristic property. So let the madmen cease from their impudence towards such clear words and from disturbing the souls of the simple! For they have heard, if they will also understand, that the great Paul cries out: *The man who disturbs you shall bear the judgement, whoever he is*. That too applies to them. For the same warrior for truth said also in the address *To those who say the Son is unlike the Father*: '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 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? How, indeed, could the one who was begotten receive any of it? So, the doctor ruled that ingeneracy is a negation. For, he says, 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. But perhaps, our author

**217/218** cf. supra, 215-216 **219/224** cf. supra, 213-216 **233/234** Gal. 5:10 **236/243** Bas. Caes., *De eis qui dicunt Filium esse dissimilem Patri*, hucusque ineditum **244/246** cf. supra, 239-241



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ܟܕ ܫܪܝ ܒܝ ܟܬܝ : ܟܬܝ ܟܚܘܠܐ ܠܐ
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⟨ ܠܐ ⟨ ܡ ⟨ ܐܠ : ܫܐ ܡܢܝ ⟨ ܟܬܝ : ⟨ ܟܚܘܠܐ ⟨ ܠܐ
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will say: 'I am not saying that a negation is the substance'. Then let him say clearly that he professes God the Father i.e. his hypostasis as a negation. You will perceive the frenzy of the novel
250 doctrines. The God-clad father proclaims that ingeneracy is the negation of God the Father's being begotten. The novel theologian exclaims, in contradiction of these words, that ingeneracy is God the Father. In that case, God the Father too must be a negation. For if, according to Basil the Great, ingeneracy is a negation, but
255 according to this fellow it is God the Father, quite obviously God the Father is both ingeneracy and a negation, if we reckon as true both Damian's and the master of mysteries' doctrines. So the upshot will be that either we profess God the Father a negation (and in that case we shall not believe he is also a hypostasis, for a
260 negation cannot be a hypostasis) or justly thinking this impious and crazy, we shall have to reject in every way either the doctrines of the famous Basil or of the writer himself. What do the friends of truth want to condemn?

**250/251** cf. supra, 244-245



285 290 295

A flor. II from l. 284 to l. 293

Line 287: ... , flor. II: ... .
Line 292: ... , flor. II: ... .

*Examination of Saint Gregory of Nyssa's statement (parts of which we quoted in our* Joint Confession and Agreement *concerning the present affair) which the good Damian has shown he attacked in that previously mentioned* Festal Epistle. *And rebuttal of the same ludicrous blather against us in the same* Festal Epistle, *whereby he reveals himself to be an imitator of women of ill-fame by publicizing his revilings against us and as exceedingly ignorant in accusing us of ignorance because, he says, we did not know from what book we had quoted Saint Gregory's testimony.*

Here we shall move the examination on to words akin to those divinely inspired words of Saint Basil. For the wise instructor, his brother GREGORY, wrote in the first book *Against Eunomius* * as follows: I will take up and repeat the sentence of his which I set down at the beginning. 'We do not refuse', he says, 'also to call the Son, since he is begotten, "offspring", the begotten substance itself and the title "Son" laying claim to such a relationship of terms'. 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 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. But let us consider the reasoning on this point more studiously. He says that a substance has been begotten, and that the name of the substance which has been begotten is 'Son'. However, here the argument from our side rebuts the opposing argument on two grounds:

14/63 Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (*PG* 45, 589B - 592B; Jaeger II, p. 27,21 - 29,26); cf. supra, b. II, ch. 11, 270-274 et 208-214



ﻙ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺎﺋﺔ ﻟﻬﺎ ﻳﺴﺘﻬﺎﻡ ﺑﺘﻠﻚ ﻗﻠﺔ ﻟﻬﻨﺔ ﻣﻦ ﻳﻠﻬﻢ
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ﻳﻬﻨﻬﻢ * ﺑﺎﻟﻬﻪ ﻫﻨﻬﻢ : ﺩﻫﻴﻬﻴﻬﻪ ﻣﺎﺩﻫﻢ ﻣﺎﻟﻬﻢ A, f.85ra
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ﻳﻬﻨﻬﻢ، ﺩﻫﻢ : ﺑﻬﻪ ﻫﻴﻢ ﻳﻬﻴﺘ ﻟﻪ ﻫﻴﻬﻴﻬﻴﻞ. ﺩﺎ ﻟﻪ ﻫﻴﻢ ❊
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first, for the impudence of its knavery; secondly, for the feebleness of its attack upon us. For he is acting with malicious deceit in speaking of the generacy of the substance, in order to procure the mutual opposition of the substances sundered by generacy and ingeneracy into a difference of natures. The feebleness of the attempt is rebutted by the very means whereby the plot is set up. For one who says the substance has been begotten clearly defines 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 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 heart of 'has been begotten' and by the term 'substance'. The argument will become clearer to us by illustrations. The Lord said in the Gospel that when her labour is at hand a woman is in pain but afterwards rejoices in her happiness *that a man has been born into the world*. So, just as in this passage we have learned from * the

**42/44** cf. Ioh. 16:21



ܟ ܠܟܠܝܐ ܕܡܘܕܥܐ. ܡܢܐ ܒܟ ܠܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܣܛܢܐ ܕܥܠ ܚܠܬܗ.
ܟ ܒܝܢܬܐ ܕܝ ܠܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܡܘܕܥ ܚܠܦܠܗ ܒܟ ܐܢ
ܟ ܕܥܒܕ : ܕܐ ܠܐܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܕܥܐ ܒܝܢ. ܒܥܐ ܕܐܡܪ
ܟ ܡܬܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܬܐܡܪ ܕܡܛܠ : ܕܟܬܘܒܬܐ ܘܐ
ܟ ܠܐܢܘܬܐ : ܐܢܐ ܒܝܢܝܬܐ ܕܬܐ ܡܢܝ. ܚܕܝܬ ܕܝ
ܟ ܟܫܘܠܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ : ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܠܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܚܕܐ.
ܟ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܕܒܝܢܝܬܐ ܒܬܘܒ ܒܝܢ : ܕܚܕ ܒܝܢܝ ܒܥܐ
ܟ ܠܐܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܝܢ. ܒܥܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܢ
ܟ ܒܝܢܝ ܒܟ ܒܥܐ ܒܝܢ ܕܐ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܒ

open to them to carry over the ingenerate - generate distinction to the substance of Father and Son and simultaneously transfer the mutual conflict of the names to the realities. For with Eunomius having agreed that the substance was begotten (as the Gospel illustration too explains this sort of notion, an illustration by which, on learning that a man has been begotten we do not understand man and generation as meaning the same thing but have received the notion proper to each term) the heresy which teaches the otherness of substances through such words absolutely has no longer any room.

These words having been quoted and having very lucidly taught us the truth concerning the points at issue, how inconceivable it is that they should reckon it right to put together those additional words! And how (we blush at it!) shall we expect to make their meaning clearer by the quantity of them, were it not that liberty, so to call it, and much critical sense has become apparent in men of the present day with regard to divine teachings? It is that which forces us against our will to utter a good many nonsensical words in our modest endeavour to ensure that certain persons should not imagine the truth to be weak owing to our being too long silent in the face of them.

So, seeing we have a golden opportunity to examine the text just quoted, readers must know that whilst we were living in the East, and were about to make a quick journey to Arabia with a view to our examining with the good Damian his recently decreed doctrinal innovations, * all of us, who have been thought worthy by God's love to be set amongst the high priests, took a common decision, with regard to the security and trust of our brethren and fellow-believers. We decided to explain, in as small a text as



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Line 57: ..... , cf. Book II, ch. 11, line 234 ( ).

Line 63: , cf. infra, line 168 ( ).

possible and in their own divinely inspired words, the confession
we received from on high from the Church's pastors and doctors
on the issue posed. So after we had written it, and it had been
published everywhere and had been justly viewed by those not
immersed in the mire of wickedness as free from all taint of heresy
and as full as could be of patristic and irreproachable thought, he,
instead of being led to correction by the fathers' testimonies there
(as a scrupulous author ought, if he has any care at all for the
truth), on the contrary became furiously angry. Hoping by much
knavery to escape rebuttals and dupe the simple, he made pretence
(so severely wounded was he) of annually excerpting certain
phrases from that document of ours, gnawing them like mice, and
in appearance writing against them. Thereupon last year, the sev-
enth year I mean, being in residence in this big city, we pressed
him hard, begging and adjuring him both verbally and in writing
to get on quickly with a lawful assembly and defend to us in the
presence of suitable persons the points of doctrine we brought
against him. He refused, though, to participate in any way in
such a joint meeting, afraid lest his blighted blasphemy would be
clearly refuted before those expected to be present at the examí-
nation. To mislead the ingenuous, he got hold of one phrase from
the *Joint Confession* I have mentioned, wrenching it mischie-
vously from its context, and put it into his afore-mentioned
*Festal Letter* which was published at the time just stated: thus,
from then on, he disgorged his abominable and profane blather,
which, with God's power, we shall also examine very soon.
However, just recently * he composed yet another dreary *Festal*
*Letter*, omitting all the patristic passages set down in our *Con-*
*fession of Agreement* and taking only what we had quoted there
from the above proof-text of Saint Gregory, he presumptuously,



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clearly and in expressly precise terms opposed the fathers' thoughts and words.

115 It would be inopportune now to investigate these matters as they deserve, because we are getting on as fast as possible to the conclusion of this enterprise. Nevertheless, because he saw fit to attack the patristic teaching set down, whereby his book is rendered totally impotent, it will not perhaps be out of place to make 120 appropriate comments upon it with a view to reminding and reassuring readers, and to prove clearly that he did not, as certain persons suppose, pay heed to any correction whatsoever, but stuck so much the more to his first or to even worse blasphemies. These we must by all means test in the fire which consumes feeble and 125 vile matter: that is, in the sound words of divinely-inspired masters of mysteries, where the whole monstrous sham of doctrines reprobate is consumed and utterly destroyed.

What he said there with utter haughtiness against our expositions shall come into public view, and we will see their huge, irre-
130 sistible force. Omitting as much as possible of his foolish old-wives' babble, which imports nothing at all relevant and is enough to produce boredom and annoyance even in those who make great efforts to read it (as diligent readers of it will appreciate), we shall expressly inquire into this fellow's presumptuous misinterpre-
135 tation of the patristic proof-text quoted above and his advocacy of heretical opinion. For it is not our business to investigate absolutely all his baseless nonsense; but the business, rather, of people who enjoy dreams and fictions.



ﻣﺎﺫﺍ ﺍﺩﺍﺭ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﻤﻮﺿﻊ : ﺍﻟﻤﻬﻢ ﺍﻟﺠﻮﺍﺏ ﻟﻤﺎ ﻗﺎﻟﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﺨﺎﻟﻒ ﻭﺍﻟﺮﺩ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻨﺒﻴﻪ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺳﻘﻮﻁ ﻛﻼﻣﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺤﺬﻳﺮ ﻣﻨﻪ.

ﻭﻟﻜﻦ ﻟﻤﺎ ﺭﺃﻯ ﻓﻲ ﻫﺬﺍ ﺍﻟﻤﻮﺿﻊ : ﺍﻟﻤﻬﻢ ﺍﻟﺠﻮﺍﺏ ﻟﻤﺎ ﻗﺎﻟﻪ ﺍﻟﻤﺨﺎﻟﻒ ﻭﺍﻟﺮﺩ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻨﺒﻴﻪ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺳﻘﻮﻁ ﻛﻼﻣﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺤﺬﻳﺮ ﻣﻨ

He wrote, then, in the *Festal Letter* published just now in the
140 eighth year (whose beginning is * Seeing that you have blessed, heavenly wealth) after much extensive and abusive twaddle directed at us, by means of which, as he believes, he made the *Festal Letter* itself extremely respectable and brilliant, blathering as follows: For in support, as they suppose, of their evil doctrine they go a-begging
145 for patristic proof-texts which rebut both their ignorance and their blasphemy. So they then acted corruptly in that document and produced a proof-text from Gregory (the one time sainted bishop of Nyssa, who illuminated the whole world under the Sun with the radiance of his words) when he caught Eunomius the impious in the toils of his arguments in the
150 third book he wrote against that wicked man, as follows: 'So just as in this passage we have learned from the Gospel two distinct ideas: first, we have understood a generation by birth; secondly, the one who has come into existence by generation (for a man is not generation but by generation the man exists); so also here, since Eunomius has acknowledged that
155 the substance was begotten, we have learned by the word "begotten" the fact of being derived from something and by the word "substance" we have understood a substrate possessing a derived hypostasis'. And again: 'For with Eunomius having agreed that the substance was begotten (as the Gospel illustration too explains this sort of notion, an illustration by
160 which, on learning that a man has been begotten we do not understand man and generation as meaning the same thing but have received the notion proper to each term) the heresy which teaches the otherness of substances through such words absolutely has no longer any room.' The clever fellows having set this down and not knowing what was important
165 in it, added, 'What explanation does this need to prove that the begotten

**144/174** Dam. Alex., *Ep. fest. secunda* **150/157** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (*PG* 45, 592A; Jaeger II, p. 29, 4-12); cf. supra, 44-51 **158/163** Ibid. (*PG* 45, 592B; Jaeger II, p. 29, 19-26); cf. supra, 57-63 **165/166** Petr. Callinic., *Syndocticon*



145 f. 86ra

A

Line 168: ܐܠ, cf. supra, line 63 (ܠ).

and birth are not the same?' What are we to say to them? Back to carnalities with the carnal! Now is the hour for Elijah the Tishbite to cry to them as he cried to the Israelites of old who were defying God *How long will you limp on your two hams?* * Why do you belittle the divine generation? Why do you suppose you comprehend things incomprehensible? When you hear of God's birth, abandon all carnal imagination, if you take account of your salvation. Let God's birth be honoured by silence, for it is spoken humanly according to our frailty, but is to be understood divinely and in a way beyond thought.

This we have thus set down and the rest we shall set down, exposing the ludicrous feebleness of his positions and omitting, so far as we can, all the absurdity of his foolish and abusive words. On him, rather, we shall confer those gifts, or on those of his house who delight to wallow in such verbal pits like swine in putrid mire. For those who have been taught to honour temperance even in speech, ought, as far as possible, not to mention such things at all nor sully their readers' ears besides their own. Therefore, let him have the advantage in these and the like things, and let him fatten increasingly on insults; let him luxuriate in the power and victory he has in them. But we, who have learnt that it is more the way of women who are ashamed of being modest, to besmear the chaste with their obscenities, ought to despise these things, and not pay him back with similar, and as ludicrous, insults, and with shameful slanders and irrational calumnies. But quickly passing over all such things, we will direct the argument towards an examination of essentials. For on such things too we

**168/169** III Reg. 18:21 **185/187** cf. infra, 207



f. 86rb

A

have the same wise GREGORY who instructs us by his defence of his brother, Basil the Great, against Eunomius, the master and teacher of this writer, and says as follows in the eighth chapter of his *Refutation of Eunomius* the impious (its beginning runs: To want to help everybody was not, apparently): Therefore, the sequence of insulting and abusing is prevented from its further courses by patience. So that if anybody pays back insult with insult and abuse * with abuse, he must increase the outrage by nourishing it with things similar. Therefore, leaving aside all the intervening argument, which consists of insults, mockery, abuse and cavils, I shall hurry the discussion on to the examination of doctrines. But if anyone says I am refraining from abuse owing to a lack of requital in kind, let him observe himself how much proneness there is towards evil, slipping without occasion into sin of its own accord. And a few lines later: But I recollect that divine utterance which spoke prophetically those prophetic things about him, where he compares him with abusive women who load the modest with their own obscenities.

The doctor having spoken these things in a way befitting priests, it befits us too, contending, as we do, over realities rather than over those frigid and empty words which this excellent fellow is always concerned about, to yield him what he supposed he would be embellished by, but investigate the force of statements by him which seem to have something to them. So let us begin with the clever attacks of his *Festal Letter*, with the very grand and grievous transgression which he painstakingly charges us with, whereby he has clearly proved us (as readers will learn) not

**196/204** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (*PG* 45, 277BC; Jaeger I, p. 53, 6-17) **205/207** Ibid. (*PG* 45, 280C; Jaeger I, p. 55, 11-14) **206/207** Locum non invenimus



f. 86va

A

Line 204: ..., A: ... (wrongly).

to have read the divinely inspired books of the God-clad masters of mysteries at all, but to have borrowed them from others and gone a-begging for patristic proof-texts and set them down in the *Joint Confession of Agreement* we mentioned above. And so, having proved for the reassurance of the hearers that his cleverness is astray also here, we may proceed, with due order, in the discussion, to an examination of the teachings. For, on our quoting for examination, from the first book *Against Eunomius*, the statement by wise Gregory, Damian said, in the passage just set down: They produced a proof-text from Gregory (the one time sainted bishop of Nyssa, who illuminated the whole world under the Sun with the radiance of his words), when he caught Eunomius the impious in the toils of his arguments in the third book * he wrote against that wicked man, as follows. After proceeding a little further he added: But perhaps they will not forbear to attribute efflux and scission and the rest of the incidents attested in human birth, to the divine and incomprehensible birth, to

**219** cf. supra, 144-145 **225/230** cf. supra, 146-150 **230/243** Dam. Alex., *Ep. fest. secunda* **237/240** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (*PG* 45, 572B; Jaeger II, p. 3, 6-10) **242/243** Matth. 22:29



ܕܬܗܪܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܕ ܒܠܡܕ ܐܢܫ ܬܝܢ ܠܝܬ ܠܟܠܡܕ
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Line 259: ܐ ܒܗ ܡܐ ܒܡܐ ܡܩܒܠ ; cf. infra, lines 463, 477, 509 and 521.

You see the bold insolence of this ignorant wretch's attack; you will observe *the heart* seething with swinish rage, *which has brought forth from its abundance*, as the Lord says, these shocking things. Have not the words of this excellent fellow depicted for us clearly his turmoil and the habitual disposition of a soul brutalized by savagery? So much so that even successful artists will not boast of copying animal bodies any better.

For, let it be granted that we were in ordinary human error about the number of Gregory's books, could we not have had forgiveness, and especially when this offence will be attested as not having occurred through malice or heretical intention? But so great and harsh was the censure needed over this matter, that even those who made mistakes might be reproached by the Lord like the Jews and might hear, *You err because you know neither the Scriptures nor the power of God*. Fit words for priests who daily publicize their profound old age and white hairs, for the subversion and deception * of gentler folk! What, then, will this cunning fellow do after such a bitter onslaught, if it clearly appears that the fault lay with him rather than us? Will he not have to rule against himself and include his own insensate folly in the very same condemnations to which he would have subjected us? Will he not have to acknowledge (unless here too he violates truth and justice with a bold face) that it is not we, but he, who will be rebuked by the Lord with justice and will hear, *You err because you know neither the Scriptures nor the power of God*, like those Jews. Indeed more than they, so much the more brazenly than they does he attack Church and champion falsehood.

Therefore, SEVERUS the proven, the manifold advocate of truth, shall pour scorn on the ignorance on the part of this boastful writer

**245/246** cf. Matth. 12:34; Luc. 6:45 **257/258** et **267/268** Matth. 22:29



ܗܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܘܝܬ ܒܥܠܡ ܫܡ
ܕܫܘܝܢܐ ܕܫܟܚܬ ܕܠܒ ܒܥܠܡ ܡܠܝܐ : ܕܡܠܐ
ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢ ,ܡܐܝܟ ܟܡ ܐܢ : ܫܒܝܩܬ
ܕܡܢ ܕܠܟ ܒܟܪܝܬ ܠ ܐܢ : ܕܫܝܢ ܡܠܝ ܡܢ
ܕܫܘܝܢ ܟܡ ܡܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܕܡܠ ܕܫܘܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ : ܕܝܢ
ܠܡ ܕܐܢ ܐ ܠ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܠܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܐ ܐ 

in this matter also. For writing in the sixth chapter of the third book of the treatise *Against Felicissimus* he calls 'third' the book, which according to the opinion of this good fellow, he should have called the 'fifth' of wise Gregory's books *Against Eunomius*. Obviously, then, the doctor counted as 'first' the book (from which we quoted the proof-text) which this quick, scholarly writer named 'third'. The point will become clearer if the father's proof-text itself comes forward in evidence. He says, then: Similarly, he says these things also, expressing them in almost the same words, in the third book *Against Eunomius* (whose beginning goes: 'But concerning the statement of the Apostle Peter, it is time to examine more studiously what was said'): 'So that these things seem not to exist in the two on their own with any division: but by juncture with the Godhead, the temporal nature, being re-formed in accordance with the stronger nature, receives the Godhead's power, as one might say that the mixture makes into sea a drop of vinegar mingled with the ocean, so that the natural operation of the latter moisture no longer remains in the boundlessness of what contains it'.

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**280/290** Sev. Ant., *C. Feliciss.*, III, 6 (fragm. hucusque incognitum)
**284/290** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 3 (*PG* 45, 708C; Jaeger II, pp. 132,26 - 133,4) **292/302** Sev. Ant., *C. Feliciss.*, III, 10 (fragm. hucusque incognitum)
**298/302** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 4 (*PG* 45, 721A; Jaeger II, pp. 143,26 - 144,1) **300/301** Phil. 2:7



ܗܟܢܐ ܕܗ ܐܦ ܒܬܫܥ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܓܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܬܫܥ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܓܠܬܐ ܕ
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܒܬܫܥ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܓܠܬܐ ܕ

*himself* by those who noise abroad their own argument in opposition to our doctrines?' Here again, though the divinely inspired father, according to our author's aberrant wisdom, ought to have said 'sixth' he named it 'fourth', showing clearly that this treatise in ten books exists on its own and is not numbered with those other books.

Indeed, we will further explain the point in question again by setting down the beginnings and the order of these ten books: The beginning of the first book: There is a limit to the labours of those who *strive lawfully* in contests; the second: But it is time that the explanation of the offspring's nature; the third: But concerning the statement of the Apostle Peter, it is time to investigate more studiously; the fourth: But I feel that I have lingered on this passage beyond what is appropriate; the fifth: But because, he says, the word 'Lord'; the sixth: These, then, are Eunomius' strong points; the seventh: But he passes on to more elevated arguments; the eighth: But let us hold on to the previously established points; the ninth: But let us also approach the subsequent stage of the argument; the tenth: But let us see what follows the blasphemy.

Using this order our wise father Severus named the book whose beginning is, But concerning the statement of the Apostle Peter, as the 'third', as has been demonstrated by the words previously set down. Likewise, indeed, * he also called 'fourth' the book after this, whose beginning is, But I feel that I have lingered on this passage beyond what is appropriate. For in it, as enquirers may see, is the

**310** cf. II Tim. 2:5



≪ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܕܡܫܬܐ : ܒܝ ܡܢ ܕܫܠܡ ܕܫܡ ≪
ܠܐ ܢܩܠܒ ❊ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܡܪܝ
ܠܗܡ ܒܝ ܡܠܐ ܡܪܝ ܕܒ ܫܩܝܦ ܟܝܢ ܕܫܩܠ
ܘܡܬ ܫܩܠ ܡܪܝ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܟܝ ܐ ܗܘ ܠܗ :
ܕܒܐܟܝܢ ܕܡܠ ܫܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܠ ܫܡܗ :
ܠܐ ❊ ܠܗܘ ܡܐ ܕܐ ܕܡ ܟܬܒܐ ܫܐ ❊
ܫܐ ❊ ܡܪܝ ܢܫܐ ܠܠ ❊ ܕܐ ❊ ܫܐ ❊
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second proof-text set down above. Therefore, it is obvious that the book whose beginning is, There is a limit to those who *strive lawfully* and from which we ourselves set down the father's statement in what this good fellow calls a 'document', is the first; and not, as that totally accurate fellow supposes, the third. For our proven father Severus numbered from it and called one 'the third' but the other 'the fourth'. How, then, can there exist another 'third' after the one which, according to this excellent fellow, is the third? For there would exist (according to his wisdom) two third books, with one only existing in between; for between the one he calls 'third' and the one named by the God-clad patriarch 'third' there is one single book. For the beginning of the first (which he calls 'third') is: There is a limit to the labours of those who *strive lawfully* in contests; whereas that of the book after it is: But it is time that the explanation of the offspring's nature; and of the one set down immediately after this, the one which the God-clad doctor expressly called 'third': But concerning the statement of the Apostle Peter.

This, the one which the God-clad doctor expressly called 'third': But concerning the statement of the Apostle Peter.

The upshot, therefore, is that we are to understand either that this invincible fellow has lapsed from the truth here too, or that we are to be bold-faced and say that the oecumenical doctor, amongst whose disciples we are placed, did not know the order of the books mentioned. For it is impossible that there should be two 'third books' amongst the books duly set down in order and enumerated with each other. Either, then, the author must prove this sequence, previously set down, of wise Gregory's books erroneous and that the accurate Severus is here at fault; or let him learn, at this late stage, that he makes his home with the most wicked igno-

**326** et **337** cf. II Tim. 2:5



AB barely legible up to l. 360

Line 362: ܟܬܝܒ̈ܬ, B om.
Line 372: ܐ̱ܝ, B: ܠ̱ܐ.
Line 379: ܪ̈ܥܝܢ, B: ܪ̈ܥܝܐ.

rance, since he does not know the things he makes assertions about nor is he even able to comprehend the fact that he is ignorant, which is truly the worst of human evils.

* Leaving the other matters out of account, we shall prove to readers that SEVERUS, the proven teacher of truth, did not only use here the above-mentioned order of Saint Gregory's books, and we shall confirm what is said from the *Annotations* which he wrote with his own hand, annotations this good fellow quoted a proof-text from in the second chapter of his book. For he says in the 165th annotation, as follows: Just as, too, the economy of the incarnation is termed 'ministry', because the Only-begotten became obedient voluntarily to the Father, delineating to us the pattern of obedience, ministry and service by his dealings with men which (as we have often said) the doctors term *'the form of the slave'*. Gregory, wise in things divine, brother of Basil the Great and bishop of Nyssa, will confirm this in the second book *Against Eunomius*: 'Therefore he indicates by the word the fearful manifestations of the judge at the ends of the ages, when he will be seen no longer in *the form of the slave* but seated in grandeur on the throne of empire, worshipped by all the angels round him. For this reason, he who came once for all into the world and was made *first-born of the dead*, of his *brothers* and *of all Creation*, when he comes again into the world, he who (as prophecy says) *will judge the world in righteousness*, does not reject the title "first-born" which he accepted once for all *on our behalf* and the rest of the proof-text. Let the clever fellow

**361/375** Sev. Ant., *Annotationes (= Hypomnestica ad Caesariam ?)*, 165 (fragm. hucusque incognitum) **365** Phil. 2:7 **367/375** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 2 (*PG* 45, 633D - 636A: Jaeger II, pp. 67,25 - 68,8) **369** Phil. 2:7 **370** cf. Hebr. 1:6 **371/372** Col. 1:18 cf. Rom. 8:29 Col. 1:15 **373/374** Ps. 9:9; 95:13; 97:9; Act. 17:31



ܕܡܬܝ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ : ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܠ ܕܡܠܠܡ
ܟܬܒ ܢܒܐ : ܐܡܪ ܐ ܡܢ ܘ، ܘܐ ܐܠ ܢܒܐ ܟܬܒ
ܢܡܩܠ. ܘ، ܐܡܪ ܕܟܬܒ : ܡܡܠ ܘ، ܐܡܪ ܡܠ
ܬܠܬܐ.

385 ܐܠ ܐ ܐ * ܡܡܠ ܡܠܡ : ܡܠܡ ܐܡܪ f.87vb
ܕܡܪܝܬ ܕܡܝ ܟܬܒܘ ܐܡܪ ܐ ܕ
ܕܡܬܐ ܡܟܘ : ܕ ܬܡܡ ܠܡ ܐܡܪ ܟ
ܠܡ ܐܡ : ܕ ܡ ܬܘܡ ܘܠ ܕܡܐ ܬ
ܕܡ : ܕܡܡ ܐ ܡ ܘ ܠܐ ܡܡ
390 ܕܡܡܡ ܐ، ܡܡ : ܟܬ ܠ
ܕܡ ܬ ܐ ܡ ܘ
ܕ ܡ ܬ ܐ ܡ ܘ ܠ ܡ

investigate this present quotation from Saint Gregory the master of mysteries, and he will discover that it is contained in the book (with the beginning, But it is time that the explanation of the offspring's nature) which is set down immediately after the book he calls 'third', but we 'first'. Let this apparently all-surpassing recounter of wonders say how 'second', not 'fourth', can be after 'third' or 'third' not 'first', before 'second'! Or if he cannot prove this, let him * who brazenly and irrationally writes and speaks everything that comes into his head impudently say whom the Lord rebukes for being like Jews ignorant of the Scriptures and God's power, and who is obviously untaught and uneducated, not even touching the fathers' doctrines with his finger tips, so to say! Let him, indeed, listen again to what the God-clad doctor and destroyer of his witless blather says in the 166th annotation. For he wrote as follows: The brilliant speech about the ant which demolishes the arrogance of Eunomius who boasts that he knows what God's substance is and the nature of beings, by the same author from the eighth book *Against Eunomius*: 'So one who prides himself on having attained a knowledge of beings should explain to us the kind of nature the smallest of visible things has, so that he may assure us about the hidden by the known. Let him explain to us by reason what the ant's nature is' and the rest of the proof-text. Let this admirable fellow inquire and investigate again to see if he does not find it set down in the tenth book (according to his reckoning) whose beginning is: But let us hold on to the previously established points? Why, then, if this divinely

**390/396** Sev. Ant., *Annotationes (= Hypomnestica ad Caesariam ?)*, 166 (fragm. hucusque incognitum) **393/396** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 8 (*PG* 45, 828A; Jaeger II, pp. 238,19 - 239,2)



ܡܫܟܚܐ : ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܚܙܘܪܐ ܡܐܡܪ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܕܒܫܒܥܝܢ
ܒܗ ܐܦ ܡܐܢ ◇ ܡܛܝ ,ܡܬܟܬܒܐ ܐܦ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܡܐܟܣܝܡܐ <
ܕܒ ܒܫܘܫܦܐ ܒܗ ܐܦ ◇ ܡܢܐ ܠܡܐ ܡܢܐ ܒܫܘܫܦܐ ܕܡܐ <
.ܡܟܣܝܡ ܒܗ ܐܦ : ܡܢܐ ܕܒܫܒܥܝܢ ܒܗ ܒܣܝܡ ܐܦ ܕܐ
ܡܟܣܝܡ ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܦ ܠܡܐ ܡܟܣܝܡ
ܡܟܣܝܡ ܠܐ : ܡܢܐ ܐܦ ܓܝܪ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܐܦ : ܡܫܡ
ܠܡܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܦ ܡܟܣܝܡ : ܡܫܡ
ܡܟܣܝܡ : ܡܫܟܚ ܠ ܡܫܡ ܡܟܣܝܡ ܐܦ .ܡܒܫܒܥܝܢ
ܠܡ ܡܫܡ : ܡܢܐ ܠ ܡܒܫܒܥܝܢ ܡܫ * ܓܡܝܪ f.88ra
ܡܫ ܡܟܐ ܒܗ ܡܫ : ܠܡܐ ܠ ܡܐ ,ܡܫ ܐܡܪ : ܡܟܐ
.ܡܫܒܚ ܡܟܐ ܒܗ ܐܦ ,ܡܒܫܒܥܝܢ ܡܟܐ ܐܦ ܡܫ
ܡܟܐ ܡܫ ܒܗ ,ܡܒܫܒܥܝܢ ܡܟ ,ܡܫ ܐܡܪ ,ܡܟ ,ܡ
.ܡܟ ,ܡ ,ܡ ,ܡ

instructed father failed to call this book 'the tenth' and termed it 'the eighth', will not this arrogant superior to the fathers, obviously be saying that it is because Severus has not attained to an exactitude in these matters like his? But these things should be abandoned to their own discomfiture, since they will cause the readers uncontrollable laughter.

But we will say briefly how the occasion arose for this miserable author to load us foolishly and ignorantly with such reproaches and ignominy for using the introduction (set down above) to the proof-texts, following, as we did, our divinely inspired father Severus. Eunomius the impious blathered some inane absurdity against what the famous Basil wrote by inspiration from on high, after that great doctor's departure to be with God, and so wise Gregory, Basil's brother, wrote two books, * wreaking complete havoc, so to say, on that wicked man in each of them. When that presumptuous fellow wrote again against these also he instigated a third contest and struggle, as it were, through the ten books mentioned above. And so, when he begins the second of that earlier pair, he says: The first things in the contests with Eunomius have indeed already been accomplished sufficiently with God's help in the previous labours; whereas near the beginning of the first of those ten he wrote: So because Eunomius, though already twice overthrown in the previous discussion, does not yet permit truth to have its victory over falsehood but again struggles by literary production in the accustomed wrestling-booth of falsehood for a third time against true religion, strength-

**419/421** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* II (*PG* 45, 909A; Jaeger I, p. 226, 3-5)
**422/427** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* III, 1 (*PG* 45, 572B - 573A; Jaeger II, p. 3, 6-13)



AB

Line 445: ܪܝܥܪܠ, B: ܪܝܪܥܠ.
Line 446: ܒܥܠ, B: ܒܗ ܥܠ.
Line 461: ܐܬܒܝܐ, B: ܐܒܝܐ.
Line 463: ܟܬܒܟܬ, A: ܟܬܒܟܬ; cf. supra, line 259, and infra, lines 477, 509 and 521.

ening himself for contests on behalf of error, the word of truth must now stand up through us for the overthrow of falsehood. Will it not be obvious to all who have grasped the meaning of what is said in any way, that with Eunomius having written first against Basil the Great's book but later, also against those two books of wise Gregory, the champion of truth began a third treatise against him with these ten books? Very obvious, I think. But this fellow, knowing nothing of this at all, but priding himself on some alien and very exalted wisdom, supposed that these ten had to be numbered along with the two earlier books, as though there was a single undivided literary work: a treatise which consisted of both the two earlier and the ten. That is why he attacked us with these violent and harsh words and was hoist with his own petard, as the proverbial saying has it, so that the Psalmist's word may be aptly said of him: *He burrowed out a pit and digged it through and is fallen into the hole he made; his own effort shall rebound upon his head, and his wickedness upon his own pate.*

The friends of learning should not miss this either: the same instructor in truth * evidently wrote another book *Against Eunomius' Statement*, after these ten. It is the fourth in the order of the books, and they will also call it 'the fourth' when they give each of the earlier pair of books its proper place, making those ten 'the third' book, and this one 'the fourth'. So, lest we should appear to have made this up ourselves (just like this clever writer) SEVERUS, that

**439/441** Ps. 7:16-17



ܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܕ : ܟܬܒ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ
ܐ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܪܒ ܐܠܦܢ : ܡܢ ܟܠ ܗܢ ܕܝܕܥܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܓܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܓܠܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܦܣ ܒܡܕܡ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܒܣܝܡ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܦ ܠܗܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܚܟܝܡܐ ܓܪܝܓܘܪܝ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܒܣܝܡ

guide to the utterly true and inerrant pathway, shall confirm what is said by his writing as follows in the 101st *Hypomnesticon* to the first volume of what he wrote with his own hand *to Caesaria* (its beginning runs: Strategus the captain has sailed): Your God-loving Eminence should know that Gregory, wise in the Spirit, initially produced two volumes or books against Eunomius the blasphemer, in defence of what Saint Basil had said which had been written against by Eunomius; and these two books are not in the volume sent me by you. Now when Eunomius wrote also against what had been written by holy Gregory, he provided, as third in the order, those ten refutatory books against the wicked fellow which are set down in this volume; and thereafter he wrote, fourth in order, *Against Eunomius' Statement*, which is entitled 'fourth' in this volume; the blasphemous *Statement*, against which was written the literary work standing fourth in order, is set down at the end of the volume. So look for another volume which is not at fault. But if you cannot, write to me, since the work is hard to come by.

Will this clever fellow become conscious of his impudence and ignorance, and learn that he subjects us to so much savage ignominy in vain, for it may be he can have pardon for numbering those ten later-written books along with the two earlier works? For we find (to show him a defence which he will not know) our thrice-blessed

**452/464** Sev. Ant., *Hypomnestica ad Caesariam*, I, 101 (fragm. hucusque incognitum)



AB

Line 492: ܪܝܘܪܐ, B: ܪܝܪܐ.
Line 498: ܒܐܬܪܘܢ, B: ܒܬܪܘܢ.
Line 512: ܒܫܡ, B: ܒܫܡ.
Line 518: ,ܐܠܐ, B: ,ܟܝ.

father Theodosius doing so, in his discourse which was truly *On Theology*. * The pardon is specially fitting because apparently Theodosius was unaware of the whole history of Saint Gregory's literary activity and also of the usage of our father Severus, as it has been clearly demonstrated. Let him not pour out upon us again such a load of abuse and accusations so unsparingly and maliciously!

We have perhaps discussed these matters too much, though we are not unaware that people with pressing tasks ought not to be subjected to such investigations. They run the risk of dwelling too much upon these minutiae, and hence of losing sight of what is more important. But knowing, as we do, that many can be hurt not only by the important, but also by the seemingly trivial, we thought it could be germane to the purpose to have, here too, hewn down by Christ our God's aid this good fellow's arrogant boastings. But there was also another reason. We thought that the friends of truth, seeing his feebleness in extra-doctrinal matters and his great carelessness, and appreciating from the clearer matters what is capable of inflicting damage, would, instead of being anxious about truth as a result of his false and witless cavills, do the opposite: condemn falsehood and attach themselves wisely to the correctness of patristic doctrines. For the same Saint GREGORY OF NYSSA, whom we are presently discussing, said, in the seventh chapter of his *Refutation of Eunomius* (whose beginning goes:

**470** cf. Theod. Alex., *De Trin.*, 2 (*OLA* 56, p. 164, l. 136-137 [p. 235, l. 130])



f. 88vb *

AB

Line 519: ܫܡܥܘܢܝܐ, B: ܦܘܣܛܘܢܝܐ.
Line 523: ܪܥܝܢܗ, B: ܪܥܝܗܘ.
Line 526: ܚܣܝܪ, B: ܠܝܬ ܫܝ ܚܣܝܪ.
Line 535: ܡܚܫܒܬ, B: ܫܝ ܡܚܫܒܬ.
Line 542: ܒܬܫܡܫܐ, B: ܒܫܡܫ.

To want to help everybody was not apparently): But I will reserve the discussion of doctrines to its due time. But now for the present let us observe what truth the man, who makes the accusation at the beginning that he is hated by unbelievers for speaking the truth, uses. For it will not perhaps be beside the point to learn through his extra-doctrinal discussions his attitude to truth and use this as an example in dealing with the doctrinal also. *For he who is faithful in little will also be faithful in much, and he who is unrighteous in little will also be unrighteous in much.*

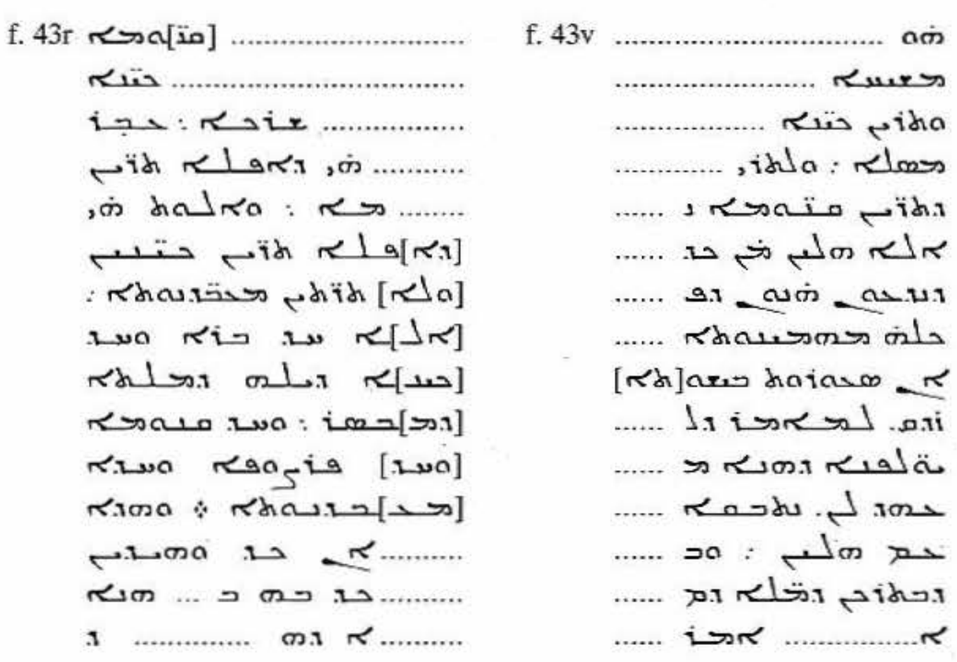
**493/500** Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eun.* I (*PG* 45, 268AB; Jaeger I, p. 42, 16-24)
**499/500** Luc. 16:10



**AB**

## APPENDIX I

### The fragments of Add. MS 14603, f. 43




The lines on f. 43r contain part of a text of Damian quoted in XV, 266-268 and 287-289 so that we can assume that the two fragments belong to chapter XV, in the lacuna between lines 301 and 302.

## APPENDIX II

### Addenda and corrigenda to volume I

p. V, penultimate line, instead of 'PO' read 'PTS'

p. VII, line 8, instead of '557/8 till 606/7' read '577/8 till 606/7'

pp. XXXII-XXXIV, the description of British Library Add. MS 7191 must be amplified and corrected by what is said above pp. VII-IX

pp. 14-23, the text there headed 'Part of an uncertain chapter' has now been identified: it constitutes lines 11-144 of Book III chapter III as presently edited. A few faults in the text and apparatus given in vol. I are here set right.

p. 61, last line, instead of '17ra' read '17rb'

p. 327, fifth from bottom line, instead of '243: ,ܡܐܗܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ' read '267: ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܐܗܝܢ '

p. 346, translation, lines 442-443, read: '... all the invented names by means of which the divine nature, as it is, abides without designation? ...'

ibid., line 2 from bottom, instead of 'locum non invenimus' read '*Ad Eust. de Sancta Trin.* (*PG* 32, 696A; *GNO*, III,1, p. 14, 7-8)'
We owe this twofold correction to Prof. B. Lourič of St. Petersburg

p. 356, line 3 from bottom, instead of '*Thesaurus*, ass. V (*PG* 75, 68B)' read '*Comment. in Ioh.*, XI, 7 (*PG* 74, 500B; Pusey, II, p. 681)'

p. 378, after CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, insert:

*Commentarii in Iohannem* (*CPG* 5208). *PG* 73, 9-1056; 74, 9-756. Ed. P.E. PUSEY, *S.P.N. Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini in D. Joannis evangelium*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1872 (Brussels, 1965).

| | |
|---|---|
| XI, 7 (74, 500B; t. II, p. 681) | XXII, 594-596, (598-600) |

p. 378, delete line 3 from the bottom

p. 379, line 17, instead of 'VII, 23-28' read 'VII, 23-38'

p. 381, after GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, insert:

*Ad Eustathium de Sancta Trinitate* (*CPG* 3137). *PG* 32, 683-696. Ed. Fridericus MUELLER, *Gregorii Nysseni opera dogmatica minora*, Pars I (*GNO* III,1), Leiden, 1958, pp. 3-16.

| | |
|---|---|
| 696A; p. 14, 7-8 | XXII, 442-443, (446-447) |

p. 382, delete line 11

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*Oratio 11 (Ad Gregorium Nyssenum)*. *PG* 35, 832-841. Ed. Marie-Ange CALVET-SÉBASTI, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 6-12* (*SChr.* 405), Paris, 1995, pp. 328-346.

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