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of Luke 15.8-10, and Western Parallels**



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Vigiliae Christianae, Vol. 43, No. 2. (Jun., 1989), pp. 166-187.

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**THE THEOTOKION 'Ο ΤΗΝ ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΕΝΗΝ; ITS
BACKGROUND IN PATRISTIC EXEGESIS OF LUKE 15.8-10,
AND WESTERN PARALLELS.¹**

BY

DANIEL SHEERIN

Ἄνθρωπε τὴν εὐλογημένην
καλέσας σου Μητέρα,
ἦλθες ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος ἐκουσίᾳ βουλή,
λάμπας ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ,
5 ἀναζητῆσαι θέλων τὸν Ἀδάμ,
λέγων τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις·
Συγχαρήτε μοι,
ὅτι εὗρέθη ἡ ἀπολυμένη δραχμή.
Ἄνθρωπε πάντα σοφῶς οἰκονομήσας
10 Θεός, δόξα σοι.

O you who called your Mother the Blessed One,
you came to the Passion by your willing design,
you shone on the Cross,
wishing to seek out Adam,
saying to the Angels:
“Rejoice with me,
for the Lost Drachma is found!”
O you who have disposed all things with wisdom,
O God, glory to you!

This is the theotokion associated with the *apolytikion anastasimon* (dismissal troparion of Saturday Vespers, also employed at Orthros and the Divine Liturgy on the following Sunday) of the second plagal (sixth) tone Ἀγγελικαὶ Δυνάμεις (“The Angelic Powers *etc.*”).² It is somewhat unusual among the dominical and ferial dismissal theotokia in that it is not addressed to the Theotokos. The other theotokia in this category not directly addressed to the Theotokos fall into two types:

I) compressed third-person narratives of easily identified events in the life of the Theotokos:

- 1) Ἀρχὴ σωτηρίας (The Annunciation)
 - 2) Τὸν ἄμνον καὶ ποιμένα (The Crucifixion)
- II) the following four which are addressed directly to Christ:
- 1) Ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς γεννηθεὶς ἐκ Παρθένου
 - 2) Ὁ ἐκ Παρθένου ἀνατεῖλας τῷ κόσμῳ
 - 3) Τὸν ξένον τῆς Παρθένου μυστήριον
 - 4) Εἰρήνευσον πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεοτόκου.

The theotokion Ὁ τὴν εὐλογημένην stands out even among these unusual theotokia because of the obscure, almost riddling quality of its text. This theotokion is, thus, an interesting composition in itself, and it has the added interest of being an outstanding example of the transmission in a highly compressed, regularly repeated liturgico-poetic form of the patristic exegesis of a relatively little commented upon text, Luke 15.8-10, the Parable of the Lost Drachma. The purpose of this study is to explicate the theotokion Ὁ τὴν εὐλογημένην both in terms of the gradual elaboration of meaning in its internal development and in terms of the fuller meaning attaching to it from its background in the patristic exegesis of Luke 15.8-10. Parallel developments in the Latin West, both in exegesis and liturgy, will be described, and the conclusion will discuss briefly their relationship to the Eastern phenomena discussed earlier.

The Theotokion Ὁ τὴν εὐλογημένην

If we examine the text of the theotokion, we observe within the narrow compass of a mono-stanzaic poem the posing of a metaphorical riddle and its gradual resolution through its being situated in a specific text of Scripture, and within a specific line of that text's exegetical tradition.

The opening address to Christ places Him in association with the Theotokos through allusion to Luke 1.42, Elizabeth's greeting to Mary, or, more probably, to Luke 1.28, where a widespread variant places the title εὐλογημένη in the greeting of Gabriel to Mary.³ Christ's Passion is at once introduced as being part of His ἐκουσία βουλή, a concept which the remainder of the poem elaborates. The riddling part of the poem begins with λάμψας ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ, as we try to imagine in what direction the choice of the verb λάμψας may be taking us. The following line, ἀναζητησαὶ θέλων τὸν Ἀδάμ points to a purpose, but again we wonder why the redemptive work should be described in terms of a quest. λέγων τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις prepares for what follows, the words Συγχαρήτέ μοι which

place us in the context of Luke 15, for these are the words addressed to friends and neighbors *both* by the shepherd on finding his lost sheep (v 6), *and* by the woman on the finding of her lost drachma (v 9). The cause for the rejoicing, εὐρέθη confirms the reference to Luke 15 (εὐρον in vv 6 and 9), and the following words ἡ ἀπολυμένη δραχμή specify the reference within the chapter, i.e. to the Parable of the Lost Drachma. The closing acclamation of the theotokion, borrowed from Ps 103.24 (ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε, πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας), substitutes οἰκονομήσας for ἐποίησας, replacing praise for creation with praise for re-creation, the economy of salvation, each the work of Divine Wisdom,⁴ referring back, perhaps, to ἐκουσία βουλή of line three, and ending the piece.

We are invited to view Christ's saving plan, His βουλή and οἰκονομία with specific focus on the Crucifixion in the light of the Parable of the Lost Drachma, and we are, thus, bidden, I think, to look to the exegesis of that parable for an appreciation of the full significance of the theotokion, as composed, at whatever date,⁵ and as received, i.e. the fuller understanding of it as it was heard chanted over the centuries.

Christian antiquity produced three basic lines of exegesis of the Parable of the Lost Drachma:⁶ ecclesiological, the woman of the parable as the Church (see Appendix I); ascetico-moral, the woman as the individual Christian (see Appendix II); and christological, the woman as Christ, the dominant tradition, and the one relevant to our enquiry.

The Christological Interpretation of Luke 15.8-10 in the East

The christological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma is first found in the East in Origen's Commentary on Romans. There, in connection with a passage paraphrased from Isaiah (65.1: "I was found by those who did not seek me, I appeared openly among those who did not ask for me"), Origen observes of the gentiles: "But they found the One they did not seek, because He sought them first. For He is the Good Shepherd, and he sought out the sheep which was lost, and He is Wisdom who sought the lost drachma, and found it with joy."⁷ The woman of the parable is, thus, Christ, more specifically, Christ as Divine Wisdom.

Ephraem Syrus seems to assume a developed christological interpretation. In one poem he identifies the woman of the Parable with Christ

and the lost drachma with human nature;⁸ in another, he cites the lamp as a symbol of Christ, the drachma symbolizing the image of God in Adam.⁹

The mainstream of the explicit christological tradition probably flows from Gregory the Theologian. In identical passages in two sermons, he assumes and adds detail to the interpretation adumbrated by Origen. In the course of upbraiding those who mistake Christ's condescension for a mere humiliation, he asks if they scorn Him because He was the Good Shepherd (with details from Luke 15.4-6), or "Because He lit a lamp, his flesh, and swept the house, cleansing the world of sin, and sought the drachma, the royal image buried by the passions, and summoned His friends, the Powers, at the finding of the drachma, and made them to be sharers of His joy whom He had made privy to His Economy."¹⁰ Thus, the woman is Christ (not here explicitly identified as Divine Wisdom); the lamp is His flesh; the house is the world; the sweeping is the cleansing it of sin; the drachma, stamped with the royal image, is mankind, created in the divine image, but buried under the passions; the neighbors are the angels, specifically the Δυνάμεις, (and we recall, in connection with the theotokion the Ἀγγελικαὶ Δυνάμεις at Christ's tomb in the apolytikion of Tone 6), angels who are specifically described as privy to Christ's economy.

Gregory's account of the parable provides us with almost all we need to explicate our theotokion: Christ, shining in the lamp of His flesh, seeking the lost drachma with the royal image, Adam, summoning the angels as the woman of the parable did her friends and neighbors, who, with us, praise Him for His Economy.

But a prominent detail of the theotokion remains unaccounted for, *sc* Christ's shining on the Cross. Why associate the quest with this instrument of salvation? For this we must look to the on-going elaboration of the christological exegesis of the Parable of the Lost Drachma. The version provided by Gregory the Theologian became or, at least, incorporates the version that became virtually canonical. It is in some cases merely alluded to or repeated with slight modification,¹¹ but minor variants occur, and the interpretation provided by Gregory was elaborated as interpretations of the remaining details of the Parable were supplied.

The fragment on Luke 15.8-10 assigned to Cyril of Alexandria¹² represents an important stage in the elaboration of this line of exegesis, whether through its influence or at least as anticipating themes which

were to undergo development later. The relationship of this text to Gregory the Theologian's exegesis is unclear; it agrees with his general interpretation, but adds the following details. The lost drachma is one of ten (ὁ δέκα), the perfect number. It shows that we were made in the image and likeness of God, for the drachma bears the royal features (χαρακτήρας). "We, fallen in a sense and lost, were found by Christ and conformed (μεμορφώμεθα) to Him by holiness and righteousness" (quoting 2 Cor 3.18, Gal 4.19). The woman is the Wisdom of God the Father, i.e. the Son, who found us "by the shining in our midst of the divine light and spiritual Morningstar (Ps 109.3), the rising Sun of Righteousness (Mal 4.2), and the dawning of the Day (2 Pet 1.19), as it is written ..." (with additional quotations of Is 62.1, Jn 8.12, 12.46), and this is a source of joy to the heavenly powers (ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσι).

Severus of Antioch uses the Parable of the Lost Drachma as an illustration in one of his homilies,¹³ repeating the by then traditional christological line. He adds the following details: the lamp is interpreted as Christ's flesh shining with purity and holiness *or* His commandments, and the drachma is specifically associated with the denarius of the tribute of Matthew 22.15-22 and parallels, which bears the royal ikon.

A dramatic increase in the details of the christological exegesis is found in the treatments of the Parable by Romanos the Melode in his kontakion "On the Resurrection of the Lord and on the Ten Drachmas"¹⁴ and in the pseudo-chrysostomian homily "On the Gospel according to Luke, on the Drachma, and on 'A certain man had two sons'."¹⁵ The precise relationship between these two works is problematic, as Grosdidier de Matons observed.¹⁶ I am inclined to Grosdidier de Matons' third option, i.e. that both treatments of the Parable are derived from a common source so far unknown; but no strict demonstration can be given for any theory of their relationship. It will be best to quote the treatments given by Romanos and by the Pseudo-Chrysostom in full.

The bulk of Romanos' kontakion (stanzas 5-20) is devoted to a vivid account of the Descent into Hades. Romanos uses an elaboration of the christological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma as the point of departure, to explain the sudden appearance of light in Hades, a convention of *descensus* accounts.¹⁷ In the first stanza he draws our attention to the Parable, urges its perhaps unguessed importance, and raises questions about its interpretation which he proceeds to answer in stanzas 2-5:

- 2] The number of the drachmas is clear to all, for there are ten in all which the Lord created when He made all things in wisdom (Ps 103.24).
The woman is, as Scripture says, the Excellence and Wisdom of the Creator, that is, Christ, the Wisdom and Power of God (1 Co 1.24).
There are ten drachmas: Principalities, Powers,
the Virtues and the Thrones,
Dominations, Angels and Archangels,
the Cherubim, and the Seraphim too, and the First-formed
whom He lost, and sought, and found as he lay fallen,
The Life and Resurrection.
- 3] Vanquished by His love, He came into the world to seek His creature gone astray,
He who is without beginning and ineffable, God's Son and our God,
wisely and divinely (for He is God) He searches for him.
And He is made flesh from the Mother whom He swept and sanctified,
and He puts forward His flesh as a lamp,
with the fire and oil
of divinity illumining all things,
for fire and clay make a lamp. So thus did He shed light,
as a lamp of divinity and incarnation, Christ,
The Life and Resurrection.
- 4] Then He ascended the Cross as a lamp on a lampstand, and from there He beheld
Adam, the First-formed, sitting in darkness and gloom,
and He hastens to journey to him, through the flesh, He who is inseparable
from the bosom of the Father (Jn 1.18), is unseparated, but fills all that
comes into being.
With Him He took gall, and vinegar too,
the nails and the lance,
that by the lance and the nails
He might inflict a sudden wound on Death, and by the gall embitter Hades
the Unjust,
who stood in His way, pierced with the sharpness drunk by
The life and Resurrection.
- 5] When, after the Crucifixion, the King went and descended to Hades,
His light appeared in the darkness and illumined the things below.
But the darkness had not power enough to contain Christ (Jn 1.5) even in
darkness...

The anonymous author of the pseudo-chrysostomian homily also uses the Parable of the Lost Drachma as a point of departure, in his case, to a discourse on the Parable of the Prodigal Son wherein he shows that the salvation extended to Adam in the Parable of the Lost Drachma is available to all. His treatment of the Parable of the Lost Drachma at the beginning of the homily runs as follows:

Again the side of Christ issues its unceasing, sweet stream of love. Again the illumining Wisdom of Christ lights a lamp, places it on the lampstand of the Cross, and illumines the entire world unto piety. It was this lamp the Wisdom of God did use, searching for the lost drachma, and when it was found He joined it to the nine angelic drachmas.

Beloved, we must declare who is the woman who had the ten drachmas. She is the Wisdom of God, who had ten drachmas. Which? Count them off: Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Thrones, Dominations, Cherubim, Seraphim, and Adam, the First-formed. It was this Adam-drachma, consumed by the Devil's malice, dragged down into this abyssmal life, and buried under the clamorous pleasures of sins, that the Wisdom of God came and found. How did He find it, beloved? He came from heaven, takes the earthenware lamp of the body, lights it with the fire of divinity, places it on the lamp-stand of the Cross, searches for the drachma, and shepherds it into the sheepfold and pasture of the angels.¹⁸

The features which these treatments join in adding to the christological exegesis of the parable are:

- 1) the ten drachmas are identified as the nine choirs of angels plus Adam;
- 2) the Woman's (Wisdom's) lamp with its light is the incarnational composite of an earthenware lamp = flesh (Romanos) or body (Ps-Chrysostom), plus the light of divinity;
- 3) the lighted lamp is placed upon the lampstand of the Cross. The two treatments differ in the following details:
 - 1) the order in which the choirs of angels are listed, a rather disordered list in Romanos, perhaps due to metrical exigency, and a well-ordered list in Pseudo-Chrysostom which follows the hierarchical order of the Pseudo-Dionysius¹⁹ with the single exception of the reversal of the order of Thrones and Dominations.
 - 2) Romanos interprets the swept house of the Parable as the Theotokos, an interpretation not found in any other version of the christological exegesis of the Parable.
 - 3) the component elements of the lighted lamp differ somewhat: in Romanos the lamp (= σάρξ) is of clay (πηλός), its light is the fire and oil of divinity (τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ τῆς θεότητος); in Pseudo-Chrysostom the lamp (= σῶμα) is earthenware (τὸν ὀστράκινον λύχνον) illumined by the light of divinity (τῷ φωτὶ τῆς θεότητος).²⁰
 - 4) In the account of the Pseudo-Chrysostom, the search is completed, and Wisdom shepherds the lost drachma into the sheepfold and pasture of the angels (εἰς τὴν αὐλήν καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων νομὴν ἐμάνδρευσε αὐτήν), a

reminiscence of the Parable of the Lost Sheep; in Romanos, the lost drachma is spied from the Cross, but the quest for it continues even into Hades.

5) We should note, apropos of the theotokion, Romanos' allusion to Ps 105.24 in stanza 2.2.

Many of these details recur and become, as we shall see, to a degree canonical in later versions of the christological exegesis.

Maximus Confessor provides a summary treatment of the Parable of the Lost Drachma in conjunction with the other parables of Luke 15 in his *Ambigua* on Gregory the Theologian's Or 38.²¹ He conflates several elements we have already seen. He knows Gregory the Theologian's version, of course, and elaborates it. The woman is the Logos as the Wisdom and Power of God the Father; the drachma is man, marked with the divine image and receptive of divine beauty, but the image has been buried by the passions, with its original beauty damaged (εἰκόνα συγχωσθεῖσαν τοῖς πάθεσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχικὸν κάλλος ἀχρειώσαντα).²² Maximus adds details about the composite nature of the lighted lamp (flesh + light of divinity), and applies to the ten drachmas the term δέκας, recalling the perfect number in the interpretation attributed to Cyril of Alexandria.

Euthymius Zigabenus²³ cites Gregory the Theologian as the source of the interpretation he offers, but he also provides variants and details of his own. The Woman is not the Wisdom of God, but the *Philanthropia* of God the Son. The Lost Drachma is human nature (τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως). The lamp is Christ's flesh, shining "not only with the flash of divinity, but also with the splendor of purity." The sweeping of the house is the cleansing of the habitation of men, the world, by dispelling the darkness of sin and removing the overlaid filth of the passions. The search for the drachma is Christ's going about to cities and villages and the mission of the disciples.

Theophylact of Achrida's version²⁴ is somewhat more traditional and comprehensive, but adds new details as well. The Woman is, again, the Wisdom and Power of God the Father, portrayed as having lost "one drachma of the reason-endowed creatures made after His image." The lighted lamp is a composite, flesh and divinity, "For as a lamp, made from earth (ἐκ γῆς ὄν), illumines things in darkness by means of the light which it receives, so also the flesh of the Lord, being of earth (γῆϊνος οὖσα), and like unto us, shone with the light of the divinity which had assumed it." The sweeping of the house is the cleansing of the world of

sin. The finding of the drachma, the royal image, is a source of joy to Christ and to the heavenly powers (ταῖς ἄνω δυνάμεσι) who are Christ's friends and neighbors, "friends because they do His will, and neighbors because they are incorporeal."

Finally, an anonymous fragment in the catena edited by Cramer, which immediately follows the excerpt from Gregory the Theologian cited above,²⁵ supplements the traditional exegesis in other ways:

"The lighted lamp is the word of teaching,²⁶ the sweeping is the cleansing of sins and the exclusion and expulsion of the evil demons, for these things, in a sense superimposed on the image did not permit it, upon inspection, to be seen as God's. Thus, once these were removed, the lost drachma was found by the woman, and she received it into the heavenly Jerusalem."

But to return to the theotokion with which we began. The elaboration of the christological exegesis of the Parable of the Lost Drachma enhances our understanding of the theotokion, how it was composed, i.e. elements of the traditional exegesis of Luke 15.8-10 incorporated into it, and how it was likely to have been received, i.e. elements of the elaborated exegesis recalled by it even if they were not explicitly incorporated into it or were added after the date of its composition.

The one detail, however, which is required to complete our explication of the theotokion comes from outside the mainstream of the exegesis of the Parable of the Lost Drachma, namely the situation of the Lamp on the Cross as on a lampstand, a detail peculiar to Romanos and the Pseudo-Chrysostom. This detail is extraneous to the Parable of the Lost Drachma, and is borrowed ultimately from the saying of Jesus in Matthew 5.14-16 and parallels (Mark 4.21, Luke 8.16, 11.33), that a lighted lamp is not placed under a cover, but upon a lampstand, to shed light on all in the house. The exegesis of these and other passages bearing on the motif of the Cross as a lampstand has been sketched in some detail by Aubineau.²⁷ A selective representation and supplement to the texts he has assembled will suffice here.

The lampstand of Mt 5.15 and parallels is identified with the Cross, as the lamp is identified with Christ, in a number of passages analagous, or possibly related to the christological exegesis of Luke 15.8-10.²⁸ But the Cross-as-lampstand motif is presented independently of or only marginally associated with the exegesis of Mt 5.15 *etc.* in texts bearing on the Crucifixion. Thus Asterius the Sophist, in a homily composed for Monday of Bright Week, declares that Christ "was extinguished on the Cross as a lamp on a lampstand (ὡς λύχνος ἐπὶ λυχνίαν), and rose from

the tomb like the sun.”²⁹ In another context, *sc* of a sermon for Pentecost, Basil of Seleucia provides the following in a series of *chairetismoi* addressed to the apostles: “Hail O Light of the World (Mt 5.14 *etc*), abiding in the East and yet everywhere illumining the blind, light burning immaterially, whose lamp is Christ, whose lampstand is the Cross, whose oil is the abundant supply of the Holy Spirit.”³⁰ Continuing in this tradition, with rather less precision, Romanos, in his *kon-takion* on the Adoration of the Cross, describes St. Helena longing to find “the lamp which leads to paradise,” *sc* the Cross.³¹

In connection with this text of Romanos, Grosdidier de Matons cites the pseudo-chrysostomian homily “On the Venerable Cross,”³² towards the beginning of which the anonymous author provides the following invitational: “... Come, O beloved ones, in a chorus of praise and celebration of faith, let us sing with the Prophet David: ‘The light of your countenance has been sealed upon us, O Lord.’ (Ps 4.7). Now what is this light but the Cross of our Lord, God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, by whom the world has been saved and believers set free from the captivity of Belial and the list of our sins torn up? The countenance of the Father is Christ; ‘He who sees me,’ He says, ‘sees the Father’ (Jn 14.9). But the light of the countenance, i.e. of the Lord, is the Cross, for on it, like a lamp on a lampstand, He shed light on the world...”³³

The Cross-as-lampstand was appropriated by Romanos, the author of the pseudo-chrysostomian homily on Luke 15, and the anonymous composer of the theotokion probably from texts like those just quoted, as a supplement to their explicit and implicit exegesis of the Parable of the Lost Drachma.

We now have before us, I think, all that we need to account for and explicate the treatment of the Parable of the Lost Drachma in our poem. Such texts as we have seen, whether through their direct influence, or, at least, as representing an on-going tradition of exegesis and symbolism, provide the frame of reference for the allusions of the poem, and an awareness of this tradition fills out, completes the poem’s meaning. The theotokion, in turn, is a narrow window which of necessity opens on the tradition, and it exemplifies the didactic and formative role of liturgical poetry, transmitting an encapsulated patristic tradition even to those who lacked the time or capacity to study the fathers themselves.³⁴

Western Parallels

Truly remarkable parallels occur in the Latin West, both in the christological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma and in the incorporation of that interpretation into liturgical texts. I will follow this catalogue of some of the parallels with a brief attempt to account for them.

Tertullian provides some basis for a christological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma in the way in which he deals with it and the Parable of the Lost Sheep in the *Adversus Marcionem*.³⁵ Here, in the course of his systematic refutation of Marcion on the basis of the heretic's own doctored version of the Gospel of Luke, Tertullian raises the question of who it was who looked for the Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma and found them, and answers that it is He to whom they belong, "He who once declared that he preferred a sinner's penance to a sinner's death (Ez 33.11)." Here we are far from a developed christological exegesis of the Parable, but this is a beginning.

Origen's hint at a christological interpretation of the Parable was made available in Rufinus' translation of the Commentary on Romans in 405-06.³⁶ A few years earlier (399/400), Rufinus had provided a translation of Gregory the Theologian's Oration 38, thus presenting the West with the developed christological exegesis of the Parable along with, it would appear, additional details interpolated by Rufinus.³⁷

In texts of Latin origin, the christological interpretation is implied in passing by Jerome in association with the other parables of Luke 15.³⁸ But it is made altogether explicit by Augustine in passages from two of his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, both preached in the year 412.³⁹ The first is a comment on Ps 103.24, a passage which, for this reason, bears a remarkable resemblance to our theotokion:

Didn't He seek them? Didn't He descend? Didn't the Word become flesh and dwell among us (Jn 1.14)? Didn't He light the lamp of His flesh when He hung on the Cross and look for the lost drachma? He looked for it and He found it, to the joy of His neighbors, that is, every spiritual creature which approaches to God. The drachma was found and the neighbors rejoice; human nature was found and the angels rejoice. It was found, and therefore they rejoice and say: "How magnificent are your works, O Lord! You have made all things in wisdom."⁴⁰

The second passage, on Ps 138.11f, moves from a general consideration of darkness and light to an application to the psalm text of an exegesis

of the Parable of the Lost Drachma which has remarkable coincidences with the elaborated christological interpretation in the East:

For it is night as long as this life goes on. How was the night illumined? Because Christ descended into the night. Christ took flesh from this world, and illumined our night for us. For the woman had lost the drachma, so she lights a lamp. The Wisdom of God had lost a drachma. What is the drachma? A coin, and on this was the image of our Emperor Himself (*cf* Mt 22.19f). For man was made in the image of God, and perished. And what did the wise woman do? She lit a lamp. A lamp is made from clay, but it has the light by which the drachma can be found. And so the lamp of Wisdom, the flesh of Christ, was made from clay, but it shines with His Word, and finds those who are lost.⁴¹

The christological interpretation recurs in scattered texts, in Verecundus of Junca's (*d*552) commentary on the Canticle of Deborah,⁴² and in Avitus of Vienne's (*dc*519) *De sententia Dei*.⁴³ But the most influential formulation of the christological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma in the West is that given by Gregory the Great in his thirty-fourth homily on the gospels, on Luke 15.1-10, which was to become the universal pericope for the Third Sunday after Pentecost or, later, the Third Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost in the Latin church.

The portion of Gregory's homily of particular interest is the following:

He who is signified by the shepherd [*sc* of Luke 15.4-7] is also signified by the woman. For He is God and also the Wisdom of God. And because an image is stamped on a drachma, the woman lost a drachma when man, who had been created in the image of God, departed from the likeness to his Creator through sin. But the woman lit a lamp, because the Wisdom of God appeared in humanity.

You see, a lamp is light in a clay vessel, but the light in the clay is divinity in flesh.⁴⁴ The Wisdom of God says about the clay vessel of His body: "My strength dried up like clay (Ps 21.16)," for since a clay vessel is made firm in fire, His strength dried up like clay, because He strengthened the flesh He had assumed for the glory of the Resurrection through the suffering of the Passion.

But after lighting the lamp He ransacked the house, because as soon as His divinity shone through His flesh, every human conscience was smitten. For the house is ransacked when the human conscience is shaken up by pondering on its guilt. This "ransacked" does not significantly disagree with "cleans," the word which is read in other texts,⁴⁵ because, of course, and evil mind cannot be cleansed of its vices unless it is first ransacked through fear. And so, when the house is ransacked, the drachma is found,

because when the human conscience is shaken up the image of his Creator is restored in man.

“And when she finds it, she calls together her neighbors and friends, saying: Rejoice with me, for I have found the drachma I had lost.” Who are her friends and neighbors but the heavenly powers mentioned earlier [sc as the 99 sheep of Luke 15.4]? They are nearer to heavenly Wisdom because they draw nigh to it through the grace of unremitting vision.

But in this connection we certainly must not neglect to mention why this woman through whom Wisdom is portrayed, is described as having had ten drachmas, of which she lost one, and then found it when she searched. You see, the Lord created the nature of angels and of men to know Him. Since He wanted that nature to endure eternally, He created it, clearly, in His own likeness. Now the woman had ten drachmas, because there are nine orders of angels, but to fill out the number of the elect, man was created as the tenth.⁴⁶ And not even after his sin was man lost to his Creator, because eternal Wisdom, shining with the light of the lamp through the wonders of His flesh, restored man.

But we have mentioned nine orders of angels, because, of course, we know on the testimony of Scripture that there are Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim...*etc.*⁴⁷

Gregory goes on with his celebrated and influential account of the nature and activities of angels (1249D-1255D), and devotes the rest of his homily to a discourse on penance.

Gregory the Great's treatment of the Parable became definitive in the West through its wide circulation. Much of Gregory's text was incorporated verbatim by the Venerable Bede in his commentary on Luke;⁴⁸ the homily was incorporated into the influential homiliary of Paul the Deacon for the Third Sunday after Pentecost;⁴⁹ and the influence of Gregory's exegesis of the Parable is discernable in many medieval commentaries, and in allusions to it.⁵⁰

In addition, the christological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma exercised an influence on scattered texts of the Western liturgies. It occurs in the form of a quotation from Avitus of Vienne in a preface of the Ambrosian liturgy for the feast of the Translation of St. Nazarius.⁵¹ In the Gallican tradition, it is alluded to, along with the Parable of the Lost Sheep, in a preface for the Paschal Vigil: “O night on which Hell was opened, night on which Adam was set free, night on which the lost drachma was found, night on which the lost sheep was borne on the shoulders of the Good Shepherd!”

Allusions to Luke 15.1-10 are found in three episcopal benedictions; the specific references to the Lost Drachma are the following:

in the *Benedictional of Adelmus* (sX) for the Third Sunday after Pentecost:⁵² “That the drachma which was lost by Adam’s sin in Paradise may be found by the mystery of the divine Incarnation, and that after your death the angels in heaven may rejoice over you, and you may exult in their company. Amen.”;

in the *Benedictional of Warmandus* (c969-c1014) as an optional daily benediction:⁵³ “That the drachma may portray a countenance of our Emperor, so luminous that He may know no sorrow in this age from the flock.”;

and in the *Benedictional of Braunschweig* (sXIII-XIV) for the Third Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost:⁵⁴ “That the eternal Wisdom of God may deign to preserve forever in you the tenth drachma which He deigned to restore through taking up flesh as if from the light of an earthen vessel. Amen.”

The christological interpretation of the Parable is implied in two sequences. The first, a sequence for the Nativity, probably from St. Gall, of the early tenth century, celebrates the Incarnation as the means whereby the Parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma are fulfilled:

6. Fallen man, the estranged sheep,
is recalled to eternal joy.
7. The heavenly squadrons of angels
rejoice on this day,
8. because the tenth drachma
was lost and has been found.⁵⁵

The second, by Gottschalk of Limburg (d1098), alludes to the parable, interweaving the drachma with the tribute coin of Mt 22.19f *etc* (recalling Augustine on Ps 138.11f), and the inscription placed by Pilate on the Cross:

- 9a. O blessed One, as you were made cursed for us,
for cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree (Gal 3.13),
you make us not cursed but blessed.
- 9b. We adore you, Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews;
inwardly, not outwardly, are we those Jews
who bear the title of your dominion.
- 10a. This inscription of the title,
has been inscribed on us by the Holy Spirit
with the sign of the Cross;
- 10b. do not allow it to be corrupted in us forever,
You, the end without end, Son of God the Father.

- 11a. This King's is the image and inscription;
 the coin is us, the drachma which you found.
- 11b. Examining it, the heavenly citizens
 of the Fatherland deign to acknowledge us
 as their fellow servants.⁵⁶

These Western parallels to the Eastern tradition of christological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma in exegesis, and the influence of that exegesis in liturgical texts, are striking. The question arises how to account for these parallels. Do we look for clear lines of influence from East to West (or West to East) leading to Western borrowing and adaptation of motifs from Greek texts or an interchange of motifs? Or do we view these parallels as the predictable consequences of the reflection on the Parable by religious thinkers possessed of a common habit of mind?

The question of the transmission of a fairly detailed christological exegesis of the Parable across geographical space or down through time is complicated by the possibility of the existence of an influential text, extant or lost, which I and others have failed to discover. Setting this imponderable aside, and considering the texts before us, we can see that occasions for an East-to-West influence were indeed there.

To take two of the more striking parallels: Augustine's treatments of the Parable share many details with the elaborated christological exegesis found in later Greek sources (presuming a later date for the pseudo-chrysostomian homily on Luke 15). Can his treatment be viewed, perhaps, as an elaboration of that found in Gregory the Theologian's Or 38? That work was available to Augustine in Latin translation. Rufinus had completed his translation of Gregory's sermons in 399 or 400, and Augustine quotes from that translation in 421;⁵⁷ the two sermons in which Augustine gives a christological treatment of the Parable date from 412. And yet, even if Rufinus' version of Or 38 was in Augustine's hands by 412, both of Augustine's treatments of the Parable clearly identify the woman as Sapientia, a precision not found in Gregory, and together they add details found only in later Greek texts.

Gregory the Great's handling of the Parable shows remarkable similarities to that found in Romanos and in the pseudo-chrysostomian homily. The Dialogist minimized his knowledge of Greek, and the real character of his contacts with Greek ecclesiastical culture remains something of a problem.⁵⁸ Even if Gregory knew no Greek, his *viva voce* con-

tacts, direct and indirect, with Greek culture must have been considerable, and a description of the christological treatment of the Parable of the Lost Drachma of the sort found in Romanos' *kontakion* and in the pseudo-chrysostomian homily might have come to his attention. But Gregory varies in minor and in significant details: the lampstand/Cross does not appear; he follows the Latin variant "evertit domum"; and makes the cleansing of the house the shaking-up of the human conscience, a detail suggestive of the ascetico-moral interpretation of the Parable, *etc.*

Of course neither Augustine nor Gregory was bound to follow a Greek model, however encountered, in every detail. They were surely free to omit details and to supply variations and additions to the tradition. And it is this very freedom, and the variability, however limited, of the tradition of the christological interpretation of the Parable that suggests that, failing the discovery of an hitherto unremarked upon text which might explain the phenomena, the East-West parallels in the christological interpretation of the Parable are more prudently explained by appeal to a common received tradition which emerges in the form of specific realizations which vary by degrees from one another in particular surviving texts, a tradition born of and interacting with the ongoing confrontation of a common mind-set with the scriptural text of the Parable of the Lost Drachma.

APPENDIX I: Instances of an ecclesiological interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma:

Ambrose, *Exp. Ev. sec. Luc.* 7.211 (CCSL 14.287): [woman] = Church, by implication [?], "imago Regis census ecclesiae est."

Anon. (Ps-Augustine), *Sermo Mai* 113 *De decem denariis* [sic] (PLS 2.1219): woman = a figure of Holy Church and "sancta lex"; denarii [drachmas] = charity (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Lot, Joseph, Moses, Joshua, David); lost coin = Adam; broom = penance; neighbors = seven churches of Apc 1.11; friends = faith, hope, charity.

Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermon* 169: *De muliere quae perdidit drachma* (CCSL 24B.1035-38): woman = church; lamp = inner gaze of the heart; house = blind Judaic house of ignorance; drachma = decalogue of the Law; friends and neighbors = gentile churches.

Quodvultdeus of Carthage, *De tempore barbarico* II.1.6 (CCSL 60.473) woman = [church, by implication].

Verecundus of Junca, *Super cantica*, Deb 14 (CCSL 93.186): provides christological interpretation, but adds: "But this interpretation is also somewhat apposite to the Church, which raised up the light of faith and sought out the lost people like the drachma."

Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae quaedam Scripturae sacrae* 174 (PL 83.121B): woman = church; drachma = lost soul; [sweeping] = penance; [friends and neighbors] = angels and men.

Anon. (Ps-Athanasius, Ps-Chrysostom), *Dicta et interpretationes paraboliarum evangelii* 17 (PG 28.715A): woman = church; drachma = Adam.

Nerses Snorhali, *Jesus, Son only-begotten of the Father*, stanza 589 (SC 203.155), after christological interpretation, says woman = type of the church.

APPENDIX II: Ascetico-moral interpretations of the Parable of the Lost Drachma (this line of exegesis is remarked upon by Aubineau in SC 119.412-13; some of the passages he cites are not apropos; his list can be enlarged as follows):

Origen, *In Gen.* hom. 13.4 (GCS Origenes 6.119): woman = the individual; [house] = the inner self; lamp = illumination of the Holy Spirit; drachma = image of the heavenly King.

Methodius, *Symposium* 9.4 (SC 95.274): [woman = self]; house = soul; dirt swept from the house = the passions.

Gregory of Nyssa, *De virginitate* 12.3 (SC 119.412-16): following Aubineau's interpretation (p 413, n5), drachma = the image of the King, hidden under the dirt of the flesh; the nine drachmas = the virtues; the woman = the soul; the lamp = reason; the house = oneself; the friends and neighbors = the powers of the soul.

Ambrose, Ep 1.1.2 (CSEL 82.1.3-4); drachma = faith, grace, redemption of the soul; lamp = inner eye of the mind; [house = inner self].

Paulinus of Nola, Ep 24.5 (CSEL 29.205): tenth drachma = [image?] lost in First Parent; house = [soul]; lamp = saving word; woman = self.

Anon. (Ps-Cyprian, African, s IV), *De centesima, sexagesima, tricesima* (PLS 1.57): house = church; drachma = Christ; woman = penitent sinner.

Augustine, *Quaestionum euangeliorum* 2.33 (PL 35.1344): 99 sheep, 9 drachmas = those presumptuous ones who place themselves before sinners returning to salvation; missing sheep, drachma = repentent sinner.

Besa of the White Monastery, Ep 28.3 (CSCO 158.91): house = oneself.

Anon. (Ps-Jerome, Ps-Chrysostom, Ps-Pelagius), *De duobus filiis* (PL 30.250): drachma = humanity (coin with image and inscription of the heavenly King), "Therefore the woman seeks the drachma, lighting a lamp and cleaning the house, and finds it; that is, man illumined by the word and mercy of God, [finds] the glory of his nature in which he was made after the image of his Creator, which had been obscured by sin and lost in the darkness of the heart, etc."

NOTES

¹ This is an elaboration of a paper read at the Twelfth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Oct 10-12, 1986, Bryn Mawr, PA, U.S.A.

² An anomalous use of this theotokion in the course of the *pedilavium* on Great Thursday found in the triodion Vatopedi MS 1488 (c1050) is reported by E. Folieri, O. Strunk,

edd, *Triodium Athoum* (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae IX, Pars suppletoria, Copenhagen 1975) 41.

³ See The American and British Committees of the International New Testament Project, edd, *The New Testament in Greek, The Gospel According to St. Luke, Part One, Chapters 1-12* (Oxford 1984) 11-12.

⁴ Cf. Athanasius, Or. II *Contra Arianos* (PG 26.312B): "It is the Onlybegotten and Very Wisdom of God, then, that is the Creator and Fashioner of all things, for it says: 'You have made all things in Wisdom (Ps 103.24)'..."

⁵ The determination of the dates of the composition of particular hymns and of their incorporation into the *Oktoechos* must await very considerable research; see C. Hannick, "Le texte de l'oktoechos," in *Dimanche: Office selon les huit tons* (= La prière des églises de rite byzantin 3, Paris: Éditions de Chevetogne s.d.) 37-60.

⁶ The Parable of the Lost Drachma is the least frequently commented upon and alluded to of the three parables of repentance in Luke 15, the Parable of the Lost Sheep (vv 4-6), the Parable of the Lost Drachma (vv 8-10), and the Parable of the Prodigal Son (vv 11-32). Interpretation of the Parable of the Lost Drachma is frequently found in association with the interpretation/application of the other two, more popular parables, and thus a truly thorough study of the exegesis of Luke 15.8-10 should involve an account of the exegesis of the other two. This, however, is beyond the scope of the present enquiry.

Collections of citations of patristic exegesis of Luke 15.8-10 have been given by H. de Lubac, *Catholicisme...* (5th ed, Paris 1952) 164-65; A. Adam, "Gnostische Züge in der patristischen Exegese von Luk. 15," *Studia Evangelica* 3 (= TU 88) 299-305 (esp 300-01); Y. Tissot, "Patristic Allegories of the Lukan Parable of the Two Sons (Luke 15:11-32)," in F. Bovon, G. Rouiller, edd, *Exegesis: Problems of Method and Exercises in Reading*, tr D.G. Miller (Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series 21, Pittsburgh 1978) 364; M. Aubineau, in SC 119, 412-13. These works have been of immense help in this study; passages collected by these scholars, reviewed, augmented, and set in order are reproduced at the appropriate places in this paper.

⁷ *Comment. in Ep. ad Rom.* 8.6 (PG 14.1174C). A Valentinian gnostic parallel is reported by Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* 1.8.4 (SC 264.126). There the woman is the Higher Wisdom searching for the lost *Enthymesis*. According to Adam (304), this gnostic development constitutes a parallel, not the cause or the occasion of the orthodox Christian christological interpretation.

⁸ *Carmina Nisibena* 46.3.5-6 (CSCO 241.44).

⁹ *Hymni de Virginitate* 5.8.5-6 (CSCO 224.19).

¹⁰ Or. 38 (*In Theophania*).14 (PG 36.328AB) and Or. 45 (*In S. Pascha*).26 (PG 36.660A).

¹¹ See, e.g., Anonymus (Ps-Modestus of Jerusalem) of sVIIex-sVIIIin, *Encomium in Dormitionem* (PG 86.3284AB); Symeon the New Theologian, *Hymn* 20.200 (SC 174.126), *Ethica* 10.655-58 (SC 129.306); Nerses IV Snorhali (Armenian catholicos, d1173), *Jesus, Son only-begotten of the Father* stanzas 29-30, 587-90 (SC 203.44, 155); the catena on Luke edited by J. A. Cramer (*Catena patrum Graecorum in N.T.* [Oxford, 1841] 2.117) quotes Gregory verbatim.

¹² PG 72.800-01.

¹³ *Homilia Cathedralis* No. 81 (PO 20.2.353-54).

¹⁴ SC 128.576-600; see the recent observations on details of this kontakion by William

L. Petersen, *The Diatessaron and Ephrem Syrus as Sources of Romanos the Melodist* CSCO 475 (=Subsidia 74) 53, 95-6, 105f.

¹⁵ PG 61.781-84.

¹⁶ SC 128.573-74.

¹⁷ See F. J. Dölger, *Sol Salutis: Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum* (= Liturgische Forschungen 4/5, Münster/W. 1925), section 20, "Christus als Sonne im Totenreich," 336-64.

¹⁸ A remarkable illustration of this passage is to be found in Athens, National Library MS 211 (sIXex-Xin) f 34v; a photograph of this miniature can be seen in Z. Gavrilović, "La résurrection d'Adam: une réinterprétation," *Cahiers archéologiques* 27 (1978) 101-115 (photograph on p 102, fig 1) who surveys earlier interpretations of this controversial miniature beginning with A. Grabar's study of 1932, as does Susan P. Madigan, *Athens 211 and the Illustrated Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago 1984) 115ff. I am indebted to Prof. Madigan for information on the more recent literature concerning this miniature.

¹⁹ *Hierarchia caelestis* 7-9; the Pseudo-Dionysius' hierarchy of three triads of choirs of angels is sketched and discussed in SC 58bis XLVIII-LVII; a number of other patristic listings of the choirs of angels are provided on LVII-LX.

²⁰ Analogous composites can be found in Origen, *In Nm.* hom. 9.5 (GCS Origenes 7.60): thurible = *caro*, fire = *anima*, incense = *spiritus*; in a fragment on Luke 8.16 assigned to Origen in the catena and by M. Rauer (GCS Origenes 9.276, frg 122.2-4), but found also in the work of Maximus Confessor, and of questioned authorship (see Aubineau in SC 187.77-78), the lamp of Luke 8.16 is composed of the fire of divinity, mediated to the lamp of the flesh (τῷ τῆς σαρκὸς ὀστράκῳ) by the soul as by a wick (διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς ὡς διὰ θραυλλίδος). Basil of Seleucia (see below n31) describes Christ as a lamp, with oil provided by the Holy Spirit.

²¹ (PG 91.1277AB); cf the allusion to the Parable in his Ep 11 (PG 91.453C).

²² Cf. Basil the Great, *Sermo asceticus* 1.1 (PG 31.869D): 'Ο ἄνθρωπος κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁμοίωσιν· ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία τὸ κάλλος τῆς εἰκόνας ἤχρειώσεν...

²³ *Comm. in Luc.* 15.8-10 (PG 129.4021AB).

²⁴ *Enarr. in Ev. sec. Luc.* 15.8-10 (PG 123.949AB).

²⁵ Cited in note 11.

²⁶ The lamp as the "word of teaching" occurs in the catena fragment on Luke 15.8-10 from the commentary of Titus of Bostra (s IV); this fragment (TU 21/1.213-14) seems so vague as to defy classification into one of the three types of exegesis of the Parable.

²⁷ SC 187.76-78.

²⁸ Note, in particular, Hilary of Poitiers, *In Matthaeum* 4.13 (SC 254.130); Chromatius of Aquileia, *Tract. in Matthaeum* 19 (on Mt 5.14-16; CCSL 9A.285-89) which alleges many parallel lamps in Scripture, but omits that of Luke 15.8-10; more obscure instances can be added, e.g. Ps-Augustine, *Sermo Caillau-Saint-Yves* 1.38 (PLS 2.986); Ps-Theophilus of Antioch (Gallic, fl 470-529), *Commentarius in IV Evangelia* (PLS 3.1287).

²⁹ In Ps. V, Hom VI (ed M. Richard, *Asterii Sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt...* (=Symbolae Osloenses Fasc. Supplet. 16, Oslo, 1956) 77.3-4 (PG 40.436B).

John Chrysostom, in his homily *De coemeterio et de cruce* offers a variant of this wherein the Cross is described as a torch, with Christ, the flame, at its top; he hails the

Cross as "... the light of the whole world. For, just as one who has lit a torch (λαμπάδα) and raised it aloft in a house held fast by darkness expels that darkness, so, when the world was held fast by gloom, Christ lit the Cross, raised it aloft, and freed the world from gloom. Moreover, just as a torch has its light at its top, so did the Cross have at its top the radiant Sun of Righteousness." (PG 49.397).

³⁰ CPG 6665, ed. B. Marx, *Procliana: Untersuchungen über den homiletischen Nachlass des Patriarchen Proklos von Konstantinopel* (= Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie 23; Münster/W., 1940) 101:20-23: Χαίρετε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου τὸ μένον ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ πανταχοῦ φωτίζον τοὺς τυφλοὺς, τὸ χωρὶς ὕλης καίόμενον, οὐ λύχνος ὁ Χριστός, λυχνία δὲ ὁ σταυρός, ἔλαιον ἢ χορηγία τοῦ Πνεύματος.

³¹ SC 128.346.

³² *Ibid.*, 347 n5.

³³ PG 62.747; in connection with the use of Ps 4.7 in this passage, note the scene of David standing in worship before a cross bearing the bust of Christ in a medallion juxtaposed to Ps 4.7 in the margin of five illustrated Greek psalters (see S. Dufrenne, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 psautiers médiévaux à illustrations intégrales issues de texte* [Paris 1978] under Ps 4.7). Ch. Walter ("Christological Themes in the Byzantine Marginal Psalters from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 44 [1986] 269-87) includes this image among those for which he has not "found an exact parallel either in the literary sources or in the office of the Byzantine Church"; he reports (280) that in the Chludov Psalter (f 4, reproduced in his Pl I.1) the image bears the legend Δα(υ)δ προφητεύει πρὸς τὸν σταυρόν, and that this legend is repeated in the Barberini Psalter. Walter observes: "It is not immediately obvious why David should be supposed to be prophesying about the Cross." The text just quoted, and the quotation of Ps 4.7 in the stichera Εἰς τὴν Λιτῆν for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (see E. Wellesz, *Die Hymnen des Sticherarium für September* [= *MMB Transcripta* 1.154]: ...βόωμέν σοι· Σημειωθῆτω ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, etc suggest the propriety of this image and its inscription in the illustrated psalters.

³⁴ Another hymnodic text which might be viewed as having reference to the christological exegesis of the Parable is the kontakion for the Sunday of Orthodoxy: 'Ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος Λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκ σοῦ, Θεοτόκε, περιεγράφη σαρκούμενος, καὶ τὴν ρυπωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀναμορφώσας, τῷ θεῷ κάλλει συγκατέμιξεν ("The uncircumscribed Logos of the Father was circumscribed, incarnate from you, O Theotokos; He re-conformed the fouled image to its original and mingled it with divine beauty...).

The poem seems to have resonances with the conforming of the image to Christ in the fragment on Luke 15.8-10 assigned to Cyril, and Maximus Confessor's reference to humanity's original receptiveness to divine beauty and the damage to its original beauty in its fallen state. Its source, however, would seem to be Proclus' Hom 28 (*In Theophaniam*). 18 (ed F. J. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* [= *Studi e Testi* 247] 198): ... καὶ ὁ ἀπερίγραπτος περιγράφεται, ἵνα τὴν ρυπωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον κάλλος ἀναμορφώσῃται.

But M. Aubineau ("Bilan d'une enquête sur les homélies de Proclus de Constantinople" *Revue des études grecques* 85 [1972] 584) calls into doubt the assignment of this homily (extant only in MSS of sXVI and XVII) to Proclus and, indeed, to a date as early as the first half of the fifth century. Is, then, this homily dependent, perhaps, on the kontakion just quoted?

³⁵ 4.32.1 (CCSL 1.631-2).

³⁶ For the dates of Rufinus' translations see the *Regesta Rufiniana* in CCSL 20.X-XI.

³⁷ *De epiphaniis* 14 (CSEL 46.102); in Rufinus' translations the drachma is described as "the image of God, buried by the filth of sins and the rubbish of the passions ("imagine[m] deitatis stercore uitiorum et ruderibus passionum oppressam"), translating (what appears in the printed text of Gregory) τὴν βασιλικὴν εἰκόνα συγκεχωσμένην τοῖς πάθεσι; οἰκονομίας in Gregory is specified by Rufinus as "mysterii carnis assumptae".

³⁸ *In Esaiam* 17.lxiii.8/10 (CCSL 73A.727); *In ep. ad Eph.* 1.2.15 (PL 26.474C).

³⁹ See the *tabula chronologica* in CCSL 38.XVI-XVII.

⁴⁰ *Enarr. in Ps. 103* 4.2 (CCSL 40.1523).

⁴¹ *Enarr. in Ps. 138* 14.20 (CCSL 40.1999-20); in a third, much shorter allusion to the Parable, Augustine handles the matter somewhat differently: "... Who is the woman? The flesh of Christ. What is the lamp? 'I have prepared a lamp for my Christ (Ps 131.17)'.³⁹" *Tractatus in Ioannem* 7.21 (CCSL 36.79); cf Theodoret of Cyr's comment on Ps 131.17 (PG 80.1909C).

⁴² *Super Cantica*, Deb. 14: "See the woman in the gospel who lost a drachma as she looks for it by lighting a lamp, and observe the similarity, so that you may see that the prophets and the Gospel are in agreement. The woman is the flesh of Christ which made the careful search after lighting the lamp of the Word." (CCSL 93.186). This seems to be based on Verecundus' fellow African Augustine's *Tr. in Ioannem* 7.21 (see note 41).

⁴³ In *Poematum* III (*De sententia Dei*).365-66, Avitus addresses Christ as "You who find the drachma long hidden in the dust by lighting a lamp with the power of the Word." (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores antiquissimi* 6.2.234).

⁴⁴ Cf. Gregory's radically different treatment of the lamp of Job 18.6 in *Moralia* 14.8.10 (CCSL 143A.703).

⁴⁵ "evertitur" vs "emundat"; the Vulgate reading seems to be "euerit" corresponding to the Greek σαροῖ (see R. Weber, B. Fischer et al, edd, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (3rd ed, Stuttgart 1983) 2.1638; P. Sabatier (*Bibliorum Sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu Vetus Italica* [Reims 1743-49; repr Turnhout, 1981] 3.333) reports the variants "evertit," "scopis mundabit," and "mundat" in various patristic quotations.

⁴⁶ Cf. *In librum I Regum* 4.26 (CCSL 144.309): "Perfection is signified by the number ten. Therefore, when the Lord wanted to show the losses suffered by the fall of our human nature by means of a clear comparison, He introduced the woman who lost one of the ten drachmas. This was to teach, by showing that it was the tenth that was lost, that the heavenly society, which endured in the number nine of the angels, is incomplete without the restoration of our nature."

⁴⁷ PL 76.1249; cf. the variant order in *Moralia* 32.48 (CCSL 143B.1666).

⁴⁸ CCSL 120.286-87.

⁴⁹ R. Grégoire, *Homélieux liturgiques médiévaux, analyse des manuscrits* (Biblioteca degli 'Studi Medievali' 12, Spoleto, 1980), 460.

⁵⁰ See, e.g., Anonymus (780-85), *Commentarium in Lucam* (CCSL 108C.85); Hrabanus Maurus (d 856), *Homiliae in evangelia et epistolas* 95 (PL 110.327AD); Haimo of Auxerre (d c855), *Homiliae de tempore* 94 (PL 118.613-14); the *Glossa ordinaria* on Luke 15.8-10 (*Bibliorum sacrorum cum Glossa ordinaria...* Lyons, 1589, 5.905-06); Ps-Hrabanus Maurus (s XII), *Allegoriae in sacram scripturam* (PL 112.906C). Of the texts cited by De Lubac (165), Ps-Hugh of St. Victor, *Allegoriae in N.T.* 4.21 (PL 175.820AB) follows

Gregory; Bruno of Segni, *Commentarium in Lucam* 2.35 (PL 165.413-14) follows the basic christological pattern in some details, but varies in other, as does Bernard of Clairvaux, *De gratia et libero arbitrio* 10.32 (*S. Bernardi opera* III [Rome 1963] 188).

⁵¹ CCSL 161A.188, No. 643; see note in CCSL 161B.306.

⁵² CCSL 162A.608, No. 1481c.

⁵³ CCSL 162A.683, No. 1669c.

⁵⁴ CCSL 162A.613-14, No. 1495b.

⁵⁵ W. von dem Steinen, ed, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt* (Bern 1948) II 94.

⁵⁶ AHMA 50.341, No. 264; see comments by J. Szövérfy, *Hymns of the Holy Cross: An Annotated Edition with Introduction* (Medieval Classics: Texts and Studies 7, Brookline-Leyden 1976) 48; a late medieval sequence for the feast of the *Inventio* of the Cross, from a printed missal of 1500 for the Swedish diocese of Viborg (AHMA 54.1.201-02, No. 130) alludes to the Cross/lampstand motif in a final address to Christ: "O Light of the lampstand, cause us to glory in the light of the heavenly lamp."

⁵⁷ See CSEL 46.XVIII.

⁵⁸ See the study of J. M. Peterson, "Did Gregory the Great know Greek?" in D. Baker, ed, *The Orthodox Churches and the West* (= Studies in Church History 13, Oxford 1976) 121-34.

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