SAINT IRENAEUS OF LYON

Against Heresies

Adversus haereses

VOLUME II · III

SABBATISMUS

Saint Irenaeus of Lyon (c. 130–c. 202)
Adversus haereses · Against Heresies

Latin text: public domain.
Translation, alignment and edition © 2026 Inversiones San Juan Diego (Sabbatismus). Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International license (CC BY-SA 4.0).

Facing-page bilingual edition: Latin on the left-hand pages, English on the right.
Sabbatismus is the imprint of the Inversiones San Juan Diego foundation, San Pedro Sula, Honduras.
Set in EB Garamond and Cinzel.
sabbatismus.com

Contents

Book III 5
Chapter 1 5
Chapter 2 7
Chapter 3 9
Chapter 4 13
Chapter 5 15
Chapter 6 19
Chapter 7 23
Chapter 8 27
Chapter 9 29
Chapter 10 35
Chapter 11 43
Chapter 12 53
Chapter 13 75
Chapter 14 79
Chapter 15 85
Chapter 16 87
Chapter 17 99
Chapter 18 105
Chapter 19 113
Chapter 20 115
Chapter 21 121
Chapter 22 131
Chapter 23 133
Chapter 24 141
Chapter 25 145

Liber tertius

Praefatio

Tu quidem, dilectissime, praeceperas nobis, ut eas, quae a Valentino sunt, sententias absconditas, ut ipsi putant, in manifestum proderem; et ostenderem varietatem ipsorum, et sermonem destruentem eos inferrem. Aggressi sumus autem nos, arguentes eos a Simone, patre omnium haereticorum, et doctrinas et successiones manifestare et omnibus eis contradicere: propter quod cum sit unius operis traductio eorum, et destructio in multis, misimus tibi libros, ex quibus primus quidem omnium illorum sententias continet, et consuetudines, et characteres ostendit conversationis eorum. In secundo vero destructa et eversa sunt quae ab ipsis male docentur, et nudata et ostensa sunt talia qualia et sunt. In hoc autem tertio ex Scripturis inferemus ostensiones, ut nihil tibi ex his, quae praeceperas, desit a nobis; sed et, praeterquam opinabaris, ad arguendum et evertendum eos, qui quolibet modo male docent, occasiones a nobis accipias. Quae enim est in Deo charitas, dives et sine invidia exsistens, plura donat quam postulet quis ab ea. Memento igitur eorum quae diximus in prioribus duobus libris; et haec illis adjungens, plenissimam habebis a nobis adversus omnes haereticos contradictionem, et fiducialiter ac instantissime resistes eis pro sola vera ac vivifica fide, quam ab apostolis Ecclesia percepit, et distribuit filiis suis. Etenim Dominus omnium dedit apostolis suis potestatem Evangelii, per quos et veritatem, hoc est, Dei Filii doctrinam, cognovimus; quibus et dixit Dominus: « Qui vos audit, me audit; et qui vos contemnit, me contemnit, et eum qui me misit. »

Caput primum

Apostolos non prius Evangelium praedicasse, scriptisque mandasse, quam Spiritus sancti donis ac virtutibus instructi essent. Ab illis unum Deum, coeli et terrae conditorem annuntiatum fuisse.

1. Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostrae cognovimus, quam per eos, per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc praeconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostrae futurum. Nec enim fas est dicere quoniam ante praedicaverunt, quam perfectam haberent agnitionem; sicut quidam audent dicere, gloriantes, emendatores se esse apostolorum.

Book III

Preface

You indeed, dearly beloved, had bidden me bring into the open the opinions of those who are from Valentinus, hidden, as they themselves suppose; and show their variety, and set forth a discourse that would destroy them. And we undertook, refuting them from Simon, the father of all heretics, both to make plain their doctrines and successions and to contradict them all: wherefore, since the exposure of them is the work of one book, but their destruction of many, we have sent you books, of which the first contains the opinions of them all, and shows their customs and the stamp of their way of life. In the second, what they wrongly teach has been destroyed and overthrown, and laid bare and shown to be such as it is. In this third we shall bring proofs from the Scriptures, so that nothing of what you had bidden may be wanting to you on our part; but that, beyond what you expected, you may receive from us the means of refuting and overthrowing those who in any way teach wrongly. For the charity that is in God, being rich and without envy, gives more than anyone asks of it. Remember, then, what we said in the two previous books; and, adding these things to them, you will have from us a most complete contradiction of all the heretics, and you will resist them boldly and most steadfastly for the only true and life-giving faith, which the Church has received from the apostles and distributes to her children. For the Lord of all gave to his apostles the power of the Gospel, through whom we too have known the truth, that is, the teaching of the Son of God; to whom also the Lord said: He who hears you hears me; and he who despises you despises me, and him who sent me (Luke 10:16).

Chapter 1

That the apostles did not preach the Gospel, or commit it to writing, before they had been furnished with the gifts and powers of the Holy Spirit. That by them one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, was proclaimed.

1. For we have known the disposition of our salvation through no others than those through whom the Gospel came to us: which they first proclaimed, and afterwards, by the will of God, handed down to us in the Scriptures, to be the foundation and pillar of our faith. For it is not right to say that they preached before they had perfect knowledge, as some dare to say, boasting that they are the correctors of the apostles.

Postea enim quam surrexit Dominus noster a mortuis, et induti sunt supervenientis Spiritus sancti virtutem ex alto, de omnibus adimpleti sunt, et habuerunt perfectam agnitionem; exierunt in fines terrae, ea quae a Deo nobis bona sunt evangelizantes, et coelestem pacem hominibus annuntiantes, qui quidem et omnes pariter et singuli eorum habentes Evangelium Dei. Ita Matthaeus in Hebraeis ipsorum lingua Scripturam edidit Evangelii, cum Petrus et Paulus Romae evangelizarent, et fundarent Ecclesiam. Post vero horum excessum, Marcus discipulus et interpres Petri, et ipse quae a Petro annuntiata erant, per scripta nobis tradidit. Et Lucas autem sectator Pauli, quod ab illo praedicabatur Evangelium in libro condidit. Postea et Joannes discipulus Domini, qui et supra pectus ejus recumbebat, et ipse edidit Evangelium, Ephesi Asiae commorans.

2. Et omnes isti unum Deum factorem coeli et terrae, a lege et prophetis annuntiatum, et unum Christum Filium Dei tradiderunt nobis: quibus si quis non assentit, spernit quidem participes Domini, spernit autem et ipsum Christum Dominum, spernit vero et Patrem, et est a semetipso damnatus, resistens et repugnans saluti suae: quod faciunt omnes haeretici.

Caput II

Quod neque Scripturis, neque Traditionibus obsequantur haeretici.

1. Cum enim ex Scripturis arguuntur, in accusationem convertuntur ipsarum Scripturarum, quasi non recte habeant, neque sint ex auctoritate, et quia varie sint dictae, et quia non possit ex his inveniri veritas ab his, qui nesciant Traditionem. Non enim per litteras traditam illam, sed per vivam vocem: ob quam causam et Paulum dixisse: « Sapientiam autem loquimur inter perfectos; sapientiam autem non mundi hujus. » Et hanc sapientiam unusquisque eorum esse dicit, quam a semetipso adinvenerit, fictionem videlicet, ut digne secundum eos sit veritas, aliquando quidem in Valentino, aliquando autem in Marcione, aliquando in Cerintho: postea deinde in Basilide fuit, aut et in illo qui contra disputat, qui nihil salutare loqui potuit. Unusquisque enim ipsorum omnimodo perversus, semetipsum, regulam veritatis depravans, praedicare non confunditur.

2. Cum autem ad eam iterum Traditionem, quae est ab apostolis, quae per successiones presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos; adversantur Traditioni, dicentes se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam apostolis exsistentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem.

For after our Lord rose from the dead, and they were clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit coming upon them from on high, they were filled with all things and had perfect knowledge; they went out to the ends of the earth, preaching the good news of the good things that come to us from God, and proclaiming heavenly peace to men, they who both all together and each one of them had the Gospel of God. Thus Matthew published among the Hebrews, in their own language, a writing of the Gospel, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome and founding the Church. And after their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, he too handed down to us in writing what had been proclaimed by Peter. And Luke too, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the Gospel that was preached by him. Afterwards John too, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast, he too published a Gospel, while he was living at Ephesus in Asia.

2. And all these handed down to us one God, the Maker of heaven and earth, proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, and one Christ, the Son of God: and if anyone does not assent to them, he despises the companions of the Lord, he despises Christ the Lord himself too, he despises the Father too, and he is condemned by himself, resisting and fighting against his own salvation: which all the heretics do.

Chapter 2

That the heretics submit neither to the Scriptures nor to the traditions.

1. For when they are refuted from the Scriptures, they turn to accusing the Scriptures themselves, as if they were not right, nor of authority, and on the ground that they were spoken in various ways, and that the truth cannot be found from them by those who do not know the tradition. For it was handed down, they say, not by letters but by the living voice: for which reason Paul too, they say, said: But we speak wisdom among the perfect; but a wisdom not of this world (1 Cor 2:6). And each of them says that this wisdom is the one he has devised from himself, a fiction, to be sure, so that, according to them, the truth is fittingly at one time in Valentinus, at another in Marcion, at another in Cerinthus: then afterwards it was in Basilides, or even in that one who disputes against him, who could say nothing saving. For each of them, perverse in every way, is not ashamed to preach himself, depraving the rule of truth.

2. But when we challenge them in turn with that tradition which is from the apostles, which is guarded in the churches through the successions of the presbyters, they oppose the tradition, saying that they, being wiser not only than the presbyters but even than the apostles, have found the unalloyed truth.

Apostolos enim admiscuisse ea quae sunt legalia Salvatoris verbis: et non solum apostolos, sed etiam ipsum Dominum, modo quidem a Demiurgo, modo autem a medietate, interdum autem a summitate fecisse sermones: et se vero indubitate, et intaminate, et sincere absconditum scire mysterium: quod quidem impudentissime est blasphemare suum factorem. Evenit itaque, neque Scripturis jam, neque Traditioni consentire eos.

3. Adversus tales certamen nobis est, o dilectissime, more serpentum lubricos undique effugere conantes. Quapropter undique resistendum est illis, si quos ex his retusione confundentes, ad conversionem veritatis adducere possimus. Etenim si non facile est ab errore apprehensam resipiscere animam, sed non omnimodo impossibile est errorem effugere, apposita veritate.

Caput III

Traditione apostolorum, continua episcoporum ab iis institutorum successione in Ecclesiis servata, haereticos invicte confutat.

1. Traditionem itaque apostolorum in toto mundo manifestatam, in omni Ecclesia adest respicere omnibus qui vera velint videre: et habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi, et successores eorum usque ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur. Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent apostoli, quae seorsim et latenter a reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maxime traderent ea quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant. Valde enim perfectos et irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes: quibus emendate agentibus fieret magna utilitas, lapsis autem summa calamitas.

2. Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximae et antiquissimae, et omnibus cognitae, a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romae fundatae et constitutae Ecclesiae, eam quam habet ab apostolis Traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo, vel per sibi placentia, vel vanam gloriam, vel per caecitatem et malam sententiam, praeterquam oportet colligunt. Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quae est ab apostolis Traditio.

For the apostles, they say, mixed the things of the Law with the Saviour's words: and not only the apostles, but even the Lord himself spoke his words now from the Demiurge, now from the Midst, and at times from the Height: whereas they themselves know the hidden mystery without doubt, undefiled and unalloyed: which is indeed most shamelessly to blaspheme their own Maker. So it comes about that they no longer agree either with the Scriptures or with the tradition.

3. Against such is our contest, O dearly beloved, who like slippery serpents try to escape on every side. Wherefore they must be resisted on every side, in the hope that, confounding some of them by blunting them, we may bring them to turn to the truth. For although it is not easy for a soul seized by error to come to its senses, yet it is not altogether impossible to escape error when the truth is set before it.

Chapter 3

By the tradition of the apostles, preserved in the churches by the unbroken succession of the bishops appointed by them, he confutes the heretics beyond answer.

1. The tradition of the apostles, then, made manifest in the whole world, is there to be seen in every church by all who wish to see the truth: and we can enumerate those who were appointed bishops by the apostles, and their successors down to us, who taught nothing, and knew nothing, like the ravings of these men. For if the apostles had known hidden mysteries, which they taught to the perfect apart and secretly from the rest, they would have handed them down above all to those to whom they were entrusting the churches themselves. For they wished those whom they were leaving as their successors, handing over to them their own place of teaching, to be very perfect and blameless in all things: for if these acted faultlessly great profit would come of it, but if they fell, the utmost calamity.

2. But since it would be very long, in a volume such as this, to enumerate the successions of all the churches, we put to confusion all those who in any way, whether through self-pleasing, or vainglory, or through blindness and an evil mind, gather otherwise than they ought, by pointing out the tradition which the greatest and most ancient Church, known to all, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious apostles Peter and Paul, has from the apostles, and the faith proclaimed to men, which comes down to us through the successions of bishops. For with this Church, by reason of its more powerful pre-eminence, it is necessary that every Church agree, that is, the faithful who are from everywhere; in which the tradition that is from the apostles has always been preserved by those who are from everywhere.

3. Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandae Ecclesiae tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quae sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus: post eum tertio loco ab apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui et vidit ipsos apostolos, et contulit cum eis, et cum adhuc insonantem praedicationem apostolorum et traditionem ante oculos haberet, non solus, adhuc enim multi supererant tunc ab apostolis docti. Sub hoc igitur Clemente, dissensione non modica inter eos qui Corinthi essent, fratres facta, scripsit quae est Romae Ecclesia potentissimas litteras Corinthiis, ad pacem eos congregans, et reparans fidem eorum, et annuntians quam in recenti ab apostolis acceperat traditionem, annuntiantem unum Deum omnipotentem, factorem coeli et terrae, plasmatorem hominis, qui induxerit cataclysmum, et advocaverit Abraham, qui eduxerit populum de terra Aegypti, qui collocutus sit Moysi, qui legem disposuerit, et prophetas miserit, qui ignem praeparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus. Hunc Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab Ecclesiis annuntiari, ex ipsa Scriptura, qui velint discere possunt, et apostolicam Ecclesiae traditionem intelligere; cum sit vetustior epistola his qui nunc falso docent, et alterum Deum super Demiurgum et factorem horum omnium, quae sunt, commentiuntur. Huic autem Clementi succedit Evaristus, et Evaristo Alexander, ac deinceps sextus ab apostolis constitutus est Sixtus, et ab hoc Telesphorus, qui etiam gloriosissime martyrium fecit: ac deinceps Hyginus, post Pius, post quem Anicetus. Cum autem successisset Aniceto Soter, nunc duodecimo loco episcopatum ab apostolis habet Eleutherius. Hac ordinatione et successione, ea quae est ab apostolis in Ecclesia traditio et veritatis praeconatio pervenit usque ad nos. Et est plenissima haec ostensio, unam et eamdem vivificatricem fidem esse, quae in Ecclesia ab apostolis usque nunc sit conservata, et tradita in veritate.

4. Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab apostolis edoctus, et conversatus cum multis ex eis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt; sed etiam ab apostolis in Asia, in ea quae est Smyrnis Ecclesia constitutus episcopus, quem et nos vidimus in prima nostra aetate (multum enim perseveravit, et valde senex gloriosissime et nobilissime martyrium faciens exivit de hac vita), haec docuit semper quae ab apostolis didicerat, quae et Ecclesiae tradidit, et sola sunt vera. Testimonium his perhibent quae sunt in Asia Ecclesiae omnes, et qui usque adhuc successerunt Polycarpo: qui vir multo majoris auctoritatis, et fidelior veritatis est testis, quam Valentinus et Marcion, et reliqui, qui sunt perversae sententiae. Is enim est, qui sub Aniceto cum advenisset in urbem, multos ex his quos praediximus, haereticos convertit in Ecclesiam Dei, unam et solam hanc veritatem annuntians ab apostolis percepisse se, quam et Ecclesiae tradidit.

3. The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church, handed over to Linus the episcopate of administering the Church. Paul mentions this Linus in the letters to Timothy. Anacletus succeeds him; after him, in the third place from the apostles, the episcopate falls to Clement, who had both seen the apostles themselves and conferred with them, and who still had the preaching of the apostles ringing in his ears and their tradition before his eyes; and not he alone, for many were still left then who had been taught by the apostles. Under this Clement, then, when no small dissension had arisen among the brothers who were at Corinth, the Church which is at Rome wrote a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, gathering them together into peace, and restoring their faith, and proclaiming the tradition it had lately received from the apostles, which proclaims one God almighty, the Maker of heaven and earth, the Moulder of man, who brought on the flood and called Abraham, who led the people out of the land of Egypt, who spoke with Moses, who disposed the Law and sent the prophets, who prepared fire for the devil and his angels. That this Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is proclaimed by the churches, those who wish can learn from the writing itself, and can understand the apostolic tradition of the Church; for the letter is older than these who now teach falsely and contrive another God above the Demiurge and Maker of all the things that are. To this Clement succeeds Evaristus, and to Evaristus Alexander, and then, the sixth from the apostles, Sixtus was appointed, and after him Telesphorus, who also bore a most glorious martyrdom; and then Hyginus, after him Pius, after whom Anicetus. And when Soter had succeeded Anicetus, Eleutherius now holds the episcopate in the twelfth place from the apostles. In this order and by this succession, the tradition that is in the Church from the apostles, and the proclamation of the truth, have come down to us. And this is a most complete proof that it is one and the same life-giving faith which has been preserved in the Church from the apostles until now, and handed down in truth.

4. And Polycarp too, who was not only taught by the apostles and lived with many of those who had seen our Lord, but was also appointed by the apostles in Asia bishop in the church which is at Smyrna, whom we too saw in our early youth (for he remained a long time, and, very old, departed this life after bearing a most glorious and most noble martyrdom), always taught these things which he had learned from the apostles, which he also handed down to the Church, and which alone are true. To these things all the churches that are in Asia bear witness, and those who have succeeded Polycarp down to this day: a man who is a witness of the truth of much greater authority, and more faithful, than Valentinus and Marcion and the rest, who are of a perverse doctrine. For it was he who, coming to the city under Anicetus, turned many of the heretics we have spoken of to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received from the apostles this one and only truth, which he also handed down to the Church.

Et sunt qui audierunt eum dicentem, quoniam Joannes Domini discipulus in Epheso iens lavari, cum vidisset intus Cerinthum, exsilierit de balneo non lotus; dicens, quod timeat ne balneum concidat, cum intus esset Cerinthus inimicus veritatis. Et ipse autem Polycarpus Marcioni aliquando occurrenti sibi, et dicenti: « Cognoscis nos? » respondit: « Cognosco te primogenitum Satanae. » Tantum apostoli et horum discipuli habuerunt timorem, ut ne verbo tenus communicarent alicui eorum, qui adulteraverant veritatem, quemadmodum et Paulus ait: « Haereticum autem hominem post unam correptionem devita, sciens quoniam perversus est qui est talis, et est a semetipso damnatus. » Est autem et epistola Polycarpi ad Philippenses scripta perfectissima, ex qua et characterem fidei ejus, et praedicationem veritatis, qui volunt et curam habent suae salutis, possunt discere. Sed et quae est Ephesi Ecclesia a Paulo quidem fundata, Joanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, testis est verus apostolorum traditionis.

Caput IV

A sola Ecclesia catholica, traditionis et doctrinae apostolicae custode, petendam esse veritatem. Haereses novas esse, nec originem apostolis acceptam referre posse.

1. Tantae igitur ostensiones cum sint, non oportet adhuc quaerere apud alios veritatem, quam facile est ab Ecclesia sumere; cum apostoli, quasi in depositorium dives, plenissime in eam contulerint omnia quae sint veritatis: uti omnis quicunque velit, sumat ex ea potum vitae. Haec est enim vitae introitus; omnes autem reliqui fures sunt et latrones. Propter quod oportet devitare quidem illos; quae autem sunt Ecclesiae, cum summa diligentia diligere, et apprehendere veritatis traditionem. Quid enim? Et si de aliqua modica quaestione disceptatio esset, nonne oporteret in antiquissimas recurrere Ecclesias, in quibus apostoli conversati sunt, et ab eis de praesenti quaestione sumere quod certum et re liquidum est? Quid autem si neque apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant Ecclesias?

2. Cui ordinationi assentiunt multae gentes barbarorum, eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes; in unum Deum credentes fabricatorem coeli et terrae, et omnium quae in eis sunt, per Christum Jesum Dei Filium.

And there are those who heard him say that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus inside, rushed out of the bath-house without bathing, saying that he feared the bath-house might fall in, since Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, was inside. And Polycarp himself, when Marcion once met him and said: "Do you know us?", answered: "I know you, the first-born of Satan." So great was the fear that the apostles and their disciples had, that they would not share even a word with any of those who had adulterated the truth, as Paul too says: A man who is a heretic, after one correction, avoid, knowing that he who is such is perverted, and is condemned by himself (Titus 3:10–11). There is also a most perfect letter of Polycarp written to the Philippians, from which those who wish, and who have a care for their own salvation, can learn both the stamp of his faith and the preaching of the truth. And the church which is at Ephesus too, founded by Paul, and with John remaining among them until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the tradition of the apostles.

Chapter 4

That the truth is to be sought from the catholic Church alone, the guardian of the apostolic tradition and teaching. That the heresies are new, and cannot trace their origin to the apostles.

1. Since, then, there are such great proofs, we must not still seek among others the truth which it is easy to take from the Church; since the apostles, as into a rich storehouse, have most fully brought into her all things that are of the truth: so that everyone, whoever will, may take from her the drink of life. For she is the entrance to life; and all the others are thieves and robbers. Wherefore we must avoid them; but love with the utmost diligence what is of the Church, and lay hold of the tradition of the truth. What then? Even if there were a dispute about some small question, would we not have to have recourse to the most ancient churches, in which the apostles lived, and take from them what is certain and clear in the matter of the present question? And what if the apostles had not even left us Scriptures, would it not have been necessary to follow the order of the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they entrusted the churches?

2. To this order assent many nations of barbarians, of those who believe in Christ, having salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit without paper and ink, and carefully guarding the ancient tradition; believing in one God, the Fashioner of heaven and earth and of all things that are in them, through Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Qui propter eminentissimam erga figmentum suum dilectionem, eam quae esset ex Virgine generationem sustinuit, ipse per se hominem adunans Deo, et passus sub Pontio Pilato, et resurgens, et in claritate receptus, in gloria venturus Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et judex eorum qui judicantur, et mittens in ignem aeternum transfiguratores veritatis, et contemptores Patris sui, et adventus ejus. Hanc fidem qui sine litteris crediderunt, quantum ad sermonem nostrum barbari sunt: quantum autem ad sententiam, et consuetudinem, et conversationem, propter fidem per quam sapientissimi sunt, et placent Deo, conversantes in omni justitia, et castitate, et sapientia. Quibus si aliquis annuntiaverit ea, quae ab haereticis adinventa sunt, proprio sermone eorum colloquens, statim concludentes aures, longo longius fugient, ne audire quidem sustinentes blasphemum colloquium. Sic per illam veterem apostolorum traditionem, ne in conceptionem quidem mentis admittunt, quodcunque eorum portentiloquium est: nequedum enim congregatio fuit apud eos, neque doctrina instituta.

3. Ante Valentinum enim non fuerunt, qui sunt a Valentino; neque ante Marcionem erant, qui sunt a Marcione; neque omnino erant reliqui sensus maligni, quos supra enumeravimus, antequam initiatores et inventores perversitatis eorum fierent. Valentinus enim venit Romam sub Hygino; increvit vero sub Pio, et prorogavit tempus usque ad Anicetum. Cerdon autem qui ante Marcionem, et hic sub Hygino, qui fuit octavus episcopus, saepe in Ecclesiam veniens, et exhomologesin faciens, sic consummavit, modo quidem latenter docens, modo vero exomologesim faciens, modo vero ab aliquibus traductus in his quae docebat male, et abstentus est a religiosorum hominum conventu.

Marcion autem illi succedens invaluit sub Aniceto, decimum locum episcopatus continente. Reliqui vero, qui vocantur Gnostici, a Menandro Simonis discipulo, quemadmodum ostendimus, accipientes initia, unusquisque eorum, cujus participatus est sententiae, ejus et pater, et antistes apparuit. Omnes autem hi multo posterius, mediantibus jam Ecclesiae temporibus, insurrexerunt in suam apostasiam.

Caput V

Christum et apostolos sine ullo mendacio, fuco et hypocrisi, nec doctrinam suam ad auditorum opinionem componentes, unum Deum Patrem omnium conditorem annuntiasse.

1. Traditione igitur, quae est ab apostolis, sic se habente in Ecclesia, et permanente apud nos, revertamur ad eam, quae est ex Scripturis ostensionem eorum, qui Evangelium conscripserunt, apostolorum, ex quibus conscripserunt de Deo sententiam, ostendentes quoniam Dominus noster Jesus Christus veritas est, et mendacium in eo non est. Quemadmodum et David eam, quae est ex Virgine, generationem ejus, et eam, quae est ex mortuis, resurrectionem prophetans, ait: « Veritas de terra orta est. »

Who, because of his most eminent love for what he had formed, underwent the generation from the Virgin, himself through himself uniting man to God, and suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and was received up in glory, and will come in glory, the Saviour of those who are saved and the Judge of those who are judged, and sending into eternal fire those who transform the truth and despise his Father and his coming. Those who have believed this faith without letters are barbarians as far as our speech goes; but as to doctrine, custom and way of life, they are, because of the faith, most wise, and they please God, living in all justice and chastity and wisdom. If anyone were to proclaim to them what the heretics have devised, speaking to them in their own language, they would at once stop their ears and flee far, far away, not even enduring to hear the blasphemous talk. So, through that ancient tradition of the apostles, they do not admit even into the conception of their mind whatever monstrous talk these men have: for not yet had there been any assembly among them, nor any doctrine established.

3. For before Valentinus there were none of those who are from Valentinus; nor before Marcion were there those who are from Marcion; nor at all did the other malign notions which we enumerated above exist, before the initiators and inventors of their perversity came into being. For Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus; he flourished under Pius, and lasted until Anicetus. And Cerdo, who came before Marcion, he too under Hyginus, who was the eighth bishop, often coming into the Church and making exomologesis, ended thus: now teaching in secret, now making exomologesis, now exposed by some for what he taught wrongly, and he was separated from the assembly of religious men.

And Marcion, succeeding him, grew strong under Anicetus, who held the tenth place of the episcopate. And the others, who are called Gnostics, taking their beginnings from Menander, the disciple of Simon, as we have shown, have each one of them appeared as father and prelate of the doctrine in which he took part. But all these rose up into their apostasy much later, when the times of the Church were already half run.

Chapter 5

That Christ and the apostles, without any falsehood, pretence or hypocrisy, and without fitting their teaching to the opinion of their hearers, proclaimed one God, the Father, the Creator of all things.

1. The tradition, then, which is from the apostles, standing thus in the Church and abiding among us, let us return to the proof from the Scriptures of those apostles who wrote the Gospel, in which they wrote down their doctrine of God, showing that our Lord Jesus Christ is the truth, and that there is no lie in him. As David too, prophesying his generation from the Virgin and his resurrection from the dead, says: Truth has sprung from the earth (Ps 85:12).

Et apostoli autem discipuli veritatis exsistentes, extra omne mendacium sunt; non enim communicat mendacium veritati, sicut non communicant tenebrae luci; sed praesentia alterius excludit alterum. Veritas ergo Dominus noster exsistens, non mentiebatur: et quem sciebat labis esse fructum, non utique Deum confiteretur, et Deum omnium, et summum Regem et Patrem suum, perfectus imperfectum, spiritalis animalem, is qui in Pleromate esset, eum qui extra Pleroma. Neque discipuli ejus alium quemdam Deum nominarent, aut Dominum vocarent, praeter eum, qui vere esset Deus et Dominus omnium: quemadmodum dicunt hi, qui sunt vanissimi sophistae, quoniam apostoli cum hypocrisi fecerunt doctrinam secundum audientium capacitatem, et responsiones secundum interrogantium suspiciones, caecis caeca confabulantes secundum caecitatem ipsorum, languentibus autem secundum languorem ipsorum, et errantibus secundum errorem eorum, et putantibus Demiurgum solum esse Deum, hunc annuntiasse; his vero qui innominabilem Patrem capiunt, per parabolas et aenigmata inenarrabile fecisse mysterium: uti non quemadmodum habet ipsa veritas, sed in hypocrisi, et quemadmodum capiebat unusquisque, et apostolos edidisse magisterium.

2. Hoc autem non est sanantium, nec vivificantium; sed magis gravantium et augentium ignorantiam ipsorum: et multo verior his lex invenietur maledictum dicens omnem, qui in errorem mittat caecum in via. Qui enim ad inventionem missi erant errantium apostoli, et ad visionem eorum qui non videbant, et ad medicinam languentium, utique non secundum praesentem opinionem colloquebantur eis, sed secundum veritatis manifestationem. Nec enim quilibet homines recte facient, si caecos jamjamque per praecipitium ferri incipientes adhortentur insistere illi periculosissimae viae, quasi vere rectae, et quasi bene perventuri sint. Quis autem medicus volens curare aegrotum, faciat secundum concupiscentias aegrotantium, et non secundum quod aptum est medicinae? Quoniam autem Dominus medicus venit eorum qui male habent, ipse testificatur, dicens: « Non est opus sanis medicus, sed male habentibus. Non veni vocare justos, sed peccatores ad poenitentiam. » Quomodo ergo qui male habent confirmabuntur? et quomodo peccatores poenitentiam agent? Utrum perseverantes in eisdem ipsis; an econtrario, magnam commutationem et transgressionem prioris conversationis accipientes, per quam et aegritudinem non modicam, et multa peccata sibimetipsis importaverunt? Ignorantia autem mater horum omnium per agnitionem evacuatur. Agnitionem ergo faciebat Dominus suis discipulis, per quam et curabat laborantes, et peccatores a peccando coercebat. Non igitur jam secundum pristinam opinionem loquebatur eis, neque secundum suspicionem interrogantium respondebat eis; sed secundum doctrinam salutarem, et sine hypocrisi, et sine personae acceptione.

And the apostles, being disciples of the truth, are outside every lie; for a lie does not share with the truth, as darkness does not share with light; but the presence of the one shuts out the other. Our Lord, then, being the truth, did not lie: and him whom he knew to be the fruit of a defect he would certainly not have confessed as God, and God of all, and supreme King and his own Father, he the perfect, the imperfect; he the spiritual, the animal; he who was in the Pleroma, him who was outside the Pleroma. Nor would his disciples have named any other God, or called any other Lord, than him who was truly God and Lord of all: as these say, who are most vain sophists, that the apostles with hypocrisy framed their teaching according to the capacity of their hearers, and their answers according to the suspicions of those who questioned them, conversing in blind words with the blind according to their blindness, with the sick according to their sickness, and with the erring according to their error; and that to those who thought the Demiurge to be the only God they proclaimed him; but to those who can contain the unnameable Father they made the inexpressible mystery known through parables and riddles: so that, they say, the apostles too delivered their teaching not as the truth itself has it, but in hypocrisy, and as each one could contain it.

2. But this is not the part of those who heal or give life, but rather of those who aggravate and increase their ignorance: and the Law will be found much truer than these, which says that everyone is accursed who sends the blind man astray on the way. For the apostles, who had been sent to find those who were astray, and to give sight to those who did not see, and healing to the sick, certainly did not speak to them according to their opinion of the moment, but according to the manifestation of the truth. For no men whatever would act rightly if they urged the blind, already about to be carried over a precipice, to keep on that most dangerous road, as if it were truly the right one, and as if they would arrive safely. And what physician, wishing to cure a sick man, would act according to the desires of the sick, and not according to what befits medicine? And that the Lord came as the physician of those who are ill, he himself testifies, saying: It is not the healthy who need a physician, but those who are ill. I did not come to call the just, but sinners to repentance (Luke 5:31–32). How then will those who are ill be made strong? And how will sinners repent? By persevering in those very same things? Or, on the contrary, by undergoing a great change and a passing over from their former way of life, through which they had brought upon themselves no small sickness and many sins? Now ignorance, the mother of all these, is done away by knowledge. Knowledge, then, the Lord imparted to his disciples, through which he both cured the suffering and restrained sinners from sinning. So he did not speak to them according to their former opinion, nor did he answer according to the suspicion of those who questioned him; but according to the saving teaching, and without hypocrisy, and without respect of persons.

3. Quod etiam ex Domini sermonibus ostenditur: qui quidem his, qui erant ex circumcisione, ostendebat Filium Dei, eum qui per prophetas praedicatus fuerat, Christum; hoc est, semetipsum manifestabat, qui libertatem hominibus restauraverit et attribuerit incorruptelae haereditatem. Gentes autem iterum docebant apostoli, ut relinquerent vana ligna et lapides, quae suspicabantur esse deos, et verum colerent Deum, qui constituisset et fecisset omne humanum genus, et per conditionem suam aleret et augeret, et constabiliret, et eis esse praestaret; et ut exspectarent Filium ejus Jesum Christum, qui redemit nos de apostasia sanguine suo, ad hoc ut essemus et nos populus sanctificatus, de coelis descensurum in virtute Patris, qui et judicium omnium facturus est, et ea quae a Deo sunt bona donaturus his, qui servaverint praecepta ejus. Hic in novissimis temporibus apparens, lapis summus angularis, in unum collegit, et univit eos qui longe, et eos qui prope, hoc est, circumcisionem et praeputium, dilatans Japhet, et constituens eum in domo Sem.

Caput VI

Neque Spiritum sanctum in scripturis Veteris Testamenti alium Deum ac Dominum nominasse, nisi qui vere Deus est, Patrem scilicet et Filium ejus.

1. Neque igitur Dominus, neque Spiritus sanctus, neque apostoli eum, qui non esset Deus, definitive et absolute Deum nominassent aliquando, nisi esset vere Deus; neque Dominum appellassent aliquem ex sua persona, nisi qui dominatur omnium, Deum Patrem, et Filium ejus, qui dominium accepit a Patre suo omnis conditionis, quemadmodum habet illud: « Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, quoadusque ponam inimicos tuos suppedaneum pedum tuorum. » Patrem enim Filio collocutum ostendit: qui dedit ei haereditatem gentium, et subjecit ei omnes inimicos. Vere igitur cum Pater sit Dominus, et Filius vere sit Dominus, merito Spiritus sanctus Domini appellatione signavit eos. Et iterum in eversione Sodomitarum Scriptura ait: « Et pluit Dominus super Sodomam et Gomorrham ignem et sulphur a Domino de coelo. » Filium enim hic significat, qui et Abrahae collocutus sit, a Patre accepisse potestatem ad judicandum Sodomitas, propter iniquitatem eorum. Similiter habet illud: « Sedes tua, Deus, in aeternum; virga directionis, virga regni tui. Dilexisti justitiam, et odisti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus. » Utrosque enim Dei appellatione signavit Spiritus, et eum qui ungitur, Filium, et eum qui ungit, id est Patrem. Et iterum: « Deus stetit in synagoga deorum, in medio autem deos discernit. » De Patre, et Filio, et de his qui adoptionem perceperunt, dicit: hi autem sunt Ecclesia. Haec enim est synagoga Dei, quam Deus, hoc est Filius ipse per semetipsum collegit. De quo iterum dicit: « Deus deorum, Dominus locutus est, et vocavit terram. »

3. This is also shown from the Lord's words: to those who were of the circumcision he showed the Son of God, the one who had been preached by the prophets, the Christ; that is, he manifested himself, who has restored liberty to men and granted the inheritance of incorruption. The nations, again, the apostles taught to forsake vain wood and stones, which they supposed to be gods, and to worship the true God, who had established and made the whole human race, and through his creation nourishes, increases and strengthens it, and grants it being; and to await his Son Jesus Christ, who redeemed us from the apostasy by his blood, so that we too might be a sanctified people, who will come down from heaven in the power of the Father, who will also judge all, and will give the good things that come from God to those who have kept his precepts. He, appearing in the last times, the chief corner-stone, gathered into one and united those who were far off and those who were near, that is, the circumcision and the uncircumcision, enlarging Japheth and establishing him in the house of Shem.

Chapter 6

That neither did the Holy Spirit in the scriptures of the Old Testament name any other God and Lord than him who is truly God, that is, the Father and his Son.

1. Neither the Lord, then, nor the Holy Spirit, nor the apostles would ever have named definitively and absolutely as God one who was not God, unless he were truly God; nor would they have called anyone Lord in their own person but him who rules over all, God the Father, and his Son, who received from his Father dominion over the whole creation, as that saying has it: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet (Ps 110:1). For it shows the Father speaking with the Son: who gave him the inheritance of the nations, and subjected all his enemies to him. Since, then, the Father is truly Lord, and the Son is truly Lord, the Holy Spirit rightly marked them with the name of Lord. And again, in the overthrow of the Sodomites, Scripture says: And the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah fire and sulphur from the Lord out of heaven (Gen 19:24). For here it signifies that the Son, who had also spoken with Abraham, received from the Father power to judge the Sodomites for their iniquity. In like manner that saying: Your throne, O God, is for ever; the rod of uprightness is the rod of your kingdom. You have loved justice and hated iniquity: therefore God, your God, has anointed you (Ps 45:7–8). For the Spirit marked both with the name of God, both him who is anointed, the Son, and him who anoints, that is, the Father. And again: God stood in the synagogue of gods, and in the midst he discerns the gods (Ps 82:1). He speaks of the Father and the Son, and of those who have received adoption: and these are the Church. For this is the synagogue of God, which God, that is, the Son himself, gathered through himself. Of whom again he says: The God of gods, the Lord, has spoken, and has called the earth (Ps 50:1).

Quis Deus? de quo dixit: « Deus manifeste veniet, Deus noster, et non silebit; » hoc est Filius, qui secundum manifestationem hominibus advenit, qui dicit: « Palam apparui his, qui me non quaerunt. » Quorum autem deorum? quibus dicit; « Ego dixi: Dii estis, et filii Altissimi omnes: » his scilicet, qui adoptionis gratiam adepti sunt, per quam « clamamus: Abba, Pater. »

2. Nemo igitur alius, quemadmodum praedixi, Deus nominatur, aut Dominus appellatur, nisi qui est omnium Deus et Dominus, qui et Moysi dixit: « Ego sum, qui sum. Et sic dices filiis Israel: Qui est misit me ad vos; » et hujus Filius Jesus Christus Dominus noster, qui filios Dei facit credentes in nomen suum. Et iterum, loquente Filio ad Moysen: « Descendi, inquit, eripere populum hunc. » Ipse est enim qui descendit, et ascendit propter salutem hominum. Per Filium itaque, qui est in Patre, et habet in se Patrem, is qui est, manifestatus est Deus; Patre testimonium perhibente Filio, et Filio annuntiante Patrem. Quemadmodum et Isaias ait: « Et ego, inquit, testis, dicit Dominus Deus, et puer quem elegi, uti cognoscatis, et credatis, et intelligatis, quoniam ego sum. »

3. Cum autem eos, qui non sunt dii, nominat, non in totum, quemadmodum praedixi, Scriptura ostendit illos deos; sed cum aliquo additamento et significatione, per quam ostenduntur non esse dii. Quemadmodum apud David: « Dii gentium, idola daemoniorum. » Et, « deos alienos non sectabimini. » Ex eo enim quod dicit, « dii gentium » (gentes autem verum Deum nesciunt), et « alienos deos » nominans eos, abstulit quod sint dii. A sua autem persona quod est, dicit de ipsis: Sunt enim « idola, » inquit, « daemoniorum. » Et Isaias: « Confundantur omnes qui blasphemant Deum, et sculpunt inutilia; et ego testis, dicit Dominus » Abstulit quod sint dii; solo autem utitur nomine, ad hoc ut sciamus de quo dicit. Hoc autem ipsum et Jeremias: « Dii, inquit, qui non fecerunt coelum et terram, pereant de terra, quae est sub coelo. » Ex eo enim quod perditionem eorum adjecit, ostendit non esse eos deos. Et Elias autem convocato universo Israel in Carmelum montem, volens eos ab idololatria avertere, ait eis: « Quousque claudicabitis vos in ambabus suffraginibus? Si unus est Dominus Deus, venite post eum. » Et iterum super holocaustum sic ait idolorum sacerdotibus: « Vos invocabitis in nomine deorum vestrorum, et ego invocabo in nomine Domini Dei mei; et Deus qui exaudiet hodie, ipse est Deus. » In eo enim quod haec dicebat propheta, qui quidem apud ipsos putabantur dii, arguit deos non esse. Convertit autem eos ad eum Deum, qui et credebatur ab eo, et qui vere erat Deus, quem et invocans clamabat: « Domine, Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, exaudi me hodie: et intelligat omnis populus hic, quoniam tu es Deus Israel. »

Which God? Him of whom he said: God will come manifestly, our God, and will not keep silence (Ps 50:3); that is, the Son, who came to men in manifestation, who says: I appeared openly to those who do not seek me (Isa 65:1). And of which gods? Those to whom he says: I said: You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High (Ps 82:6); those, namely, who have obtained the grace of adoption, through which we cry: Abba, Father (Rom 8:15).

2. No other, then, as I said before, is named God or called Lord but he who is the God and Lord of all, who also said to Moses: I am who am. And thus you shall say to the sons of Israel: He who is has sent me to you (Exod 3:14); and his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who makes sons of God those who believe in his name. And again, when the Son speaks to Moses: I have come down, he says, to deliver this people (Exod 3:8). For it is he who came down and went up for the salvation of men. Through the Son, then, who is in the Father and has the Father in himself, He who is, God, has been made manifest; the Father bearing witness to the Son, and the Son proclaiming the Father. As Isaiah too says: And I, he says, am witness, says the Lord God, and the servant whom I have chosen, that you may know and believe and understand that I am (Isa 43:10).

3. But when Scripture names those who are not gods, it does not, as I said before, show them to be gods wholly, but with some addition and signification, through which they are shown not to be gods. As in David: The gods of the nations are idols of demons (Ps 96:5). And: You shall not follow strange gods (Ps 81:10). For by saying the gods of the nations (and the nations do not know the true God), and naming them strange gods, he took away their being gods. And what they are he says of them in his own person: For they are idols, he says, of demons. And Isaiah: Let all be confounded who blaspheme God and carve useless things; and I am witness, says the Lord (Isa 44:9). He took away their being gods; but he uses the name alone, so that we may know of whom he speaks. And Jeremiah says this very thing: The gods, he says, who did not make heaven and earth, let them perish from the earth which is under heaven (Jer 10:11). For by adding their perdition he showed that they are not gods. And Elijah too, when he had called all Israel together on Mount Carmel, wishing to turn them away from idolatry, says to them: How long will you go lame on both your hams? If the Lord God is one, come after him (1 Kgs 18:21). And again, over the holocaust, he says thus to the priests of the idols: You shall call on the name of your gods, and I will call on the name of the Lord my God; and the God who hears today, he is God (1 Kgs 18:24). For by saying these things the prophet proved that those who were thought gods among them are not gods. And he turned them to that God who was believed in by him, and who was truly God, on whom he called and cried out: Lord, God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob, hear me today: and let all this people understand that you are the God of Israel (1 Kgs 18:36).

4. Et ego igitur invoco te, Domine, Deus Abraham, et Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, et Israel, qui es Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Deus qui per multitudinem misericordiae tuae bene sensisti in nobis, ut te cognoscamus; qui fecisti coelum et terram, qui dominaris omnium, qui es solus et verus Deus, super quem alius Deus non est: per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum dominationem quoque dona Spiritus sancti: da omni legenti hanc scripturam agnoscere te, quia solus Deus es, et confirmari in te, et absistere ab omni haeretica, et quae est sine Deo, et impia sententia.

5. Et apostolus autem Paulus, dicens: « Si enim his qui non erant dii servistis, nunc cognoscentes Deum, imo cogniti a Deo; » separavit eos qui non erant, ab eo qui est Deus. Et iterum de Antichristo dicens: « Qui adversatur et extollit se, inquit, super omne quod dicitur Deus, vel quod colitur; » eos qui ab ignorantibus Deum dii dicuntur, significat, id est idola. Etenim Pater omnium Deus dicitur, et est: et non super hunc extolletur Antichristus; sed super eos qui dicuntur quidem, non sunt autem dii. Quoniam autem hoc verum est, ipse Paulus ait: « Scimus autem, quoniam nihil est idolum, et quoniam nemo Deus, nisi unus. Etenim si sunt qui dicuntur dii, sive in coelo, sive in terra; nobis unus Deus, Pater, ex quo omnia, et nos in illum; et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per ipsum. » Distinxit enim, et separavit eos qui dicuntur quidem, non sunt autem dii, ab uno Deo Patre, ex quo omnia; et unum Dominum Jesum Christum ex sua persona firmissime confessus est. Quod autem, « sive in coelo, sive in terra, » non quemadmodum exponunt hi, dicere eum mundi fabricatores; sed simile est ei quod a Moyse dictum est: « Non facies tibi omnem similitudinem in Deum, quaecunque in coelo sursum, et quaecunque in terra deorsum, et quaecunque in aquis sub terra. » Quae autem in coelo sunt, quae sint, ipse exponit: « Nequando, inquit, respiciens in coelum, et videns solem, et lunam, et stellas, et omne ornamentum coeli, errans adores ea, et servias eis. » Et ipse autem Moyses homo Dei exsistens, Deus quidem datus est ante Pharaonem: non autem vere Dominus appellatur, nec Deus vocatur a prophetis, sed « fidelis Moyses famulus et servus Dei, » dicitur a Spiritu; quod et erat.

Caput VII

Solvit objectionem petitam e Pauli verbis II Cor. iv, 5, probatque Apostolum hyperbatis frequenter uti.

4. And so I too call upon you, Lord, God of Abraham, and God of Isaac, and God of Jacob and of Israel, who are the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, God who in the multitude of your mercy have been well pleased in us, that we should know you; who made heaven and earth, who rule over all, who are the only and true God, above whom there is no other God: through our Lord Jesus Christ grant also the dominion of the Holy Spirit: grant to everyone who reads this writing to know you, that you alone are God, and to be strengthened in you, and to stand aloof from every heretical, godless and impious doctrine.

5. And the apostle Paul too, saying: For if you served those who were not gods, now knowing God, or rather being known by God (Gal 4:8–9), separated those who were not from him who is God. And again, speaking of the Antichrist: Who opposes and exalts himself, he says, above all that is called God, or that is worshipped (2 Thess 2:4); he signifies those who are called gods by those who do not know God, that is, idols. For the Father of all is called God, and is God: and the Antichrist will not exalt himself above him, but above those who are indeed called gods but are not gods. And that this is true, Paul himself says: But we know that an idol is nothing, and that there is no God but one. For although there are those who are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth; for us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things, and we towards him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him (1 Cor 8:4–6). For he distinguished and separated those who are indeed called gods but are not gods from the one God the Father, from whom are all things; and he confessed most firmly in his own person one Lord Jesus Christ. As for whether in heaven or on earth, he does not mean, as these expound, the fashioners of the world; but it is like what was said by Moses: You shall not make for yourself any likeness for a god, of whatever is in heaven above, and whatever is on earth beneath, and whatever is in the waters under the earth (Deut 5:8). And what the things in heaven are, he himself explains: Lest, he says, looking up to heaven, and seeing the sun and the moon and the stars and all the ornament of heaven, you go astray and worship them and serve them (Deut 4:19). And Moses himself, being a man of God, was indeed given as a god before Pharaoh; but he is not truly called Lord, nor is he called God by the prophets, but he is called by the Spirit Moses, the faithful attendant and servant of God (Heb 3:5; Num 12:7): which he also was.

Chapter 7

He answers the objection drawn from Paul's words in 2 Cor 4:4, and proves that the Apostle often uses hyperbata.

1. Quod autem dicunt, aperte Paulum in secunda ad Corinthios dixisse: « In quibus Deus saeculi hujus excaecavit mentes infidelium; » et alterum quidem Deum esse saeculi hujus dicunt, alterum vero, qui sit super omnem principatum, et initium, et potestatem: non sumus nos in causa, si hi, qui quae super Deum sunt mysteria scire se dicunt, ne quidem legere Paulum sciunt. Si enim quis secundum Pauli consuetudinem, quemadmodum ex multis et alibi ostendimus, hyperbatis eum utentem, sic legerit: « in quibus Deus; » deinde subdistinguens, et modicum diastematis faciens, simul et in unum reliqua legerit, « saeculi hujus excaecavit mentes infidelium, » inveniet verum, ut sit quod dicitur: « Deus excaecavit mentes infidelium hujus saeculi. » Et hoc per subdistinctionem ostenditur. Non enim Deum hujus saeculi dicit Paulus, quasi super illum alterum aliquem sciens; sed Deum quidem Deum confessus est; infideles autem saeculi hujus dicit, quoniam venturum incorruptelae non haereditabunt saeculum. Quemadmodum autem Deus excaecavit mentes infidelium, ex ipso Paulo ostendemus, proficiente nobis sermone, ut non nunc in multum avocemus mentem nostram a proposito.

2. Quoniam autem hyperbatis frequenter utitur Apostolus, propter velocitatem sermonum suorum, et propter impetum qui in ipso est Spiritus, ex multis quidem aliis est invenire. Sed et in ea quae est ad Galatas, sic ait: « Quid ergo lex factorum? Posita est, usquequo veniat semen, cui promissum est, disposita per angelos in manu Mediatoris. » Ordinatio enim sic est: « Quid ergo lex factorum? Disposita per angelos in manu Mediatoris posita est, usquedum veniat semen, cui promissum est: » ut sit homo interrogans, et Spiritus respondens. Et iterum in secunda ad Thessalonicenses, de Antichristo dicens, ait: « Et tunc revelabitur iniquus, quem Dominus Jesus Christus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet praesentia adventus sui illum, cujus est adventus secundum operationem Satanae, in omni virtute et signis, et portentis mendacii. » Etenim in his ordinatio dictorum sic est: « Et tunc revelabitur iniquus, cujus est adventus secundum operationem Satanae, in omni virtute, et signis, et portentis mendacii, quem Dominus Jesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet praesentia adventus sui. » Non enim adventum Domini dicit secundum operationem Satanae fieri, sed adventum iniqui, quem et Antichristum dicimus. Si ergo non attendat aliquis lectioni, et intervalla aspirationis manifestet in quo dicitur; erunt non tantum incongruentia, sed et blasphema, legens quasi Domini adventus secundum operationem fiat Satanae. Sicut ergo in talibus oportet per lectionem hyperbaton ostendi, et consequentem Apostoli servari sensum; sic et ibi non Deum saeculi hujus legimus, sed Deum, quem vere Deum dicimus: incredulos autem et excaecatos saeculi hujus audiemus, quoniam venturum vitae non haereditabunt saeculum.

1. As for what they say, that Paul said plainly in the second to the Corinthians: In whom the God of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers (2 Cor 4:4); and they say that one God is of this world, and another is he who is above every principality and beginning and power: we are not to blame if these, who say that they know the mysteries that are above God, do not even know how to read Paul. For if anyone, according to Paul's custom, using hyperbata as he does, as we have shown from many places and elsewhere, reads thus: in whom God; then, making a pause and a slight interval, reads the rest together as one, of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, he will find the truth, so that what is said is: God has blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world. And this is shown by the pause. For Paul does not speak of a God of this world, as if he knew some other above him; but he confessed God as God; and he speaks of the unbelievers of this world, because they shall not inherit the coming world of incorruption. And how God has blinded the minds of the unbelievers we shall show from Paul himself as our discourse proceeds, so as not now to call our mind far away from our purpose.

2. That the Apostle often uses hyperbata, because of the swiftness of his words and because of the impetus of the Spirit that is in him, may be found from many other places. And in the letter to the Galatians, too, he speaks thus: What then is the law of deeds? It was set, until the seed should come to whom the promise was made, ordained through angels in the hand of a Mediator (Gal 3:19). For the order is this: What then is the law of deeds? Ordained through angels in the hand of a Mediator, it was set until the seed should come to whom the promise was made: so that it is man asking and the Spirit answering. And again in the second to the Thessalonians, speaking of the Antichrist, he says: And then the lawless one will be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus Christ will slay with the spirit of his mouth, and will destroy by the presence of his coming, him whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power and signs and wonders of falsehood (2 Thess 2:8–9). For in these words the order of what is said is this: And then the lawless one will be revealed, whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power and signs and wonders of falsehood, whom the Lord Jesus will slay with the spirit of his mouth, and will destroy by the presence of his coming. For he does not say that the coming of the Lord takes place according to the working of Satan, but the coming of the lawless one, whom we also call the Antichrist. If, then, anyone does not attend to the reading, and does not mark the intervals for breath in what is said, there will be not only incongruities but even blasphemies, as he reads as though the coming of the Lord took place according to the working of Satan. As, then, in such places the hyperbaton must be shown by the reading, and the sequence of the Apostle's sense preserved, so there too we do not read "the God of this world", but "God", whom we call truly God; and we shall understand "the unbelieving and blinded of this world", because they shall not inherit the coming world of life.

Caput VIII

Solvit alteram objectionem e Christi verbis Matth. vi. 24, et ostendit solum Deum, cum initio et fine careat, Deum ac Dominum vere dici posse; caetera omnia, cum per Verbum ejus facta sint, Dei ac Domini nomen sortiri non posse.

1. Soluta igitur et hac illorum calumnia, manifeste ostensum est, quoniam nunquam neque prophetae, neque apostoli alium Deum nominaverunt, vel Dominum appellaverunt, praeter verum et solum Deum. Multo magis ipse Dominus, qui et « Caesari » quidem « quae Caesaris sunt reddi » jubet, « et quae Dei sunt Deo; » Caesarem quidem Caesarem nominans, Deum vero Deum confitens. Similiter et illud quod ait: « Non potestis duobus dominis servire; » ipse interpretatur, dicens: « Non potestis Deo servire, et Mammonae, » Deum quidem confitens Deum, Mammonam autem nominans hoc quod et est. Non Mammonam dominum vocat, dicens: « Non potestis duobus dominis servire; » sed discipulos docet servientes Deo, non subjici Mammonae, neque dominari ab eo. « Qui » enim, inquit, « facit peccatum, servus est peccati. » Quemadmodum igitur servientes peccato, servos peccati vocat, non tamen ipsum peccatum Deum appellat: sic et eos qui Mammonae serviunt, servos Mammonae appellat, non Deum appellans Mammonam. Mammonas autem est, secundum Judaicam loquelam, qua et Samaritae utuntur, « cupidus, et plus quam oportet habere volens, » (secundum autem Hebraicam, adjunctive dicitur « Mam ») vel significat « gulosum, » id est, qui non possit a gula continere; Secundum utraque igitur, quae significantur, non possumus Deo servire, et Mammonae.

2. Sed et diabolum cum dixisset fortem, non in totum, sed velut in comparatione nostra; semetipsum in omnia et vere fortem ostendit Dominus, dicens: « Non aliter aliquem posse diripere vasa fortis, si non prius ipsum alliget fortem; et tunc domum ejus diripiet. » (Vasa autem ejus et domus nos eramus, cum essemus in apostasia; utebatur enim nobis quemadmodum volebat; et spiritus immundus habitabat in nobis.) Non enim adversus eum qui se alligabat, et domum ejus diripiebat, fortis erat; sed adversus eos, qui in usu ejus erant, homines; quoniam abscedere fecerat sententiam eorum a Deo.

Chapter 8

He answers another objection drawn from Christ's words in Matt 6:24, and shows that God alone, since he lacks beginning and end, can truly be called God and Lord; that all other things, since they were made through his Word, cannot receive the name of God and Lord.

1. This calumny of theirs having been refuted too, then, it has been plainly shown that neither the prophets nor the apostles ever named another God, or called another Lord, than the true and only God. Much more the Lord himself, who bids render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's (Matt 22:21), naming Caesar Caesar, but confessing God as God. In like manner that saying of his: You cannot serve two lords; he himself interprets it, saying: You cannot serve God and Mammon (Matt 6:24), confessing God as God, but naming Mammon as what he also is. He does not call Mammon lord when he says: You cannot serve two lords; but he teaches the disciples, who serve God, not to be subjected to Mammon nor to be ruled by him. For he who commits sin, he says, is the servant of sin (John 8:34). As, then, he calls those who serve sin servants of sin, yet does not call sin itself God, so too he calls those who serve Mammon servants of Mammon, without calling Mammon God. Now Mammon, in the Jewish speech which the Samaritans also use, is "covetous, and wishing to have more than is fitting" (but in Hebrew it is said with an addition, "Mam"), or it signifies "gluttonous", that is, one who cannot restrain himself from gluttony; according to both, then, of the things signified, we cannot serve God and Mammon.

2. And when he had called the devil strong, not absolutely, but as it were in comparison with us, the Lord showed himself to be strong in all things and truly, saying: No one can plunder the goods of the strong man unless he first binds the strong man himself; and then he will plunder his house (Matt 12:29). (Now we were his goods and his house when we were in apostasy; for he used us as he wished; and an unclean spirit dwelt in us.) For he was not strong against him who was binding him and plundering his house, but against those who were in his use, men; because he had made their mind depart from God.

Quos eripuit Dominus, quemadmodum et Jeremias ait: « Redemit Dominus Jacob, et eripuit eum de manu fortioris ejus. » Si igitur non significasset eum qui alligat et diripit ejus vasa, hoc autem solum eum fortem dixisset, esset fortis invictus. Sed et adjecit obtinentem; tenet enim qui alligat, tenetur autem qui alligatus est. Et hoc sine comparatione fecit, ut non comparetur Domino servus apostata exsistens: non enim tantum hic, sed nec quidquam ex his quae constituta sunt, et in subjectione sunt, comparabitur Verbo Dei, per quem facta sunt omnia, qui est Dominus noster Jesus Christus.

3. Quoniam enim sive Angeli, sive Archangeli, sive Throni, sive Dominationes, ab eo qui super omnes est Deus, et constituta sunt, et facta per Verbum ejus, Joannes quidem sic significavit. Cum enim dixisset de Verbo Dei, quoniam erat in Patre, adjecit: « Omnia per eum facta sunt, et sine eo factum est nihil. » David quoque cum laudationes enumerasset, nominatim universa quaecunque diximus, et coelos, et omnes virtutes eorum adjecit: « Quoniam ipse praecepit, et creata sunt: ipse dixit, et facta sunt. » Cui ergo praecepit? Verbo scilicet: per quod, inquit, « Coeli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum. » Quoniam autem ipse omnia fecit libere, et quemadmodum voluit, ait iterum David: « Deus autem noster in coelis sursum, et in terra, omnia quaecunque voluit, fecit. » Altera autem sunt, quae constituta sunt, ab eo qui constituit, et quae facta sunt, ab eo qui fecit. Ipse enim infectus, et sine initio, et sine fine, et nullius indigens, ipse sibi sufficiens, et adhuc reliquis omnibus, ut sint, hoc ipsum praestans: quae vero ab eo sunt facta, initium sumpserunt. Quaecunque autem initium sumpserunt, et dissolutionem possunt percipere, et subjecta sunt, et indigent ejus qui se fecit; necesse est omnimodo, uti differens vocabulum habeant apud eos etiam, qui vel modicum sensum in discernendo talia habent: ita ut is quidem, qui omnia fecerit, cum Verbo suo juste dicatur Deus et Dominus solus; quae autem facta sunt, non jam ejusdem vocabuli participabilia esse, neque juste id vocabulum sumere debere, quod est Creatoris.

Caput IX

Unum et eumdem Deum coeli et terrae conditorem, qui a prophetis praedicatus est, et ab evangelistis annuntiatum esse. Id primum ex Matthaei Evangelio probatur.

These the Lord delivered, as Jeremiah too says: The Lord has redeemed Jacob, and delivered him from the hand of one stronger than he (Jer 31:11). If, then, he had not signified him who binds and plunders his goods, but had called him only strong, the strong one would be unconquered. But he also added the one who prevails over him: for he who binds holds, and he who is bound is held. And he did this without comparison, so that the servant who is an apostate should not be compared to the Lord: for not only he, but nothing at all of the things that have been established and are in subjection will be compared to the Word of God, through whom all things were made, who is our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. For that angels, or archangels, or thrones, or dominions were both established and made by him who is God above all, through his Word, John signified thus. For when he had said of the Word of God that he was in the Father, he added: All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3). David too, when he had enumerated the praises, naming one by one all the things we have mentioned, both the heavens and all their powers, added: For he commanded, and they were created; he spoke, and they were made (Ps 148:5; 33:9). To whom, then, did he give the command? To the Word, that is: through whom, he says, the heavens were made firm, and all their power by the spirit of his mouth (Ps 33:6). And that he himself made all things freely and as he willed, David says again: But our God is in the heavens above, and on earth: he has made all things whatsoever he willed (Ps 115:3). But the things that were established are other than him who established them, and the things that were made other than him who made them. For he himself is unmade, without beginning and without end, needing nothing, sufficient to himself, and moreover granting to all the rest this very thing, that they are; but the things that have been made by him have taken a beginning. And whatever has taken a beginning can also receive dissolution, and is subject, and needs him who made it; it is altogether necessary that such things should have a different term even among those who have even a little sense in discerning such matters: so that he who made all things should, together with his Word, justly be called God and Lord alone; but the things that have been made should not be partakers of the same term, nor justly take that term which belongs to the Creator.

Chapter 9

That one and the same God, the Creator of heaven and earth, who was preached by the prophets, was also proclaimed by the evangelists. This is proved first from the Gospel of Matthew.

1. Ostenso hoc igitur plane (et adhuc ostendetur manifestius) neminem alterum Dominum vel Deum, neque prophetas, neque apostolos, neque Dominum Christum confessum esse ex sua persona, sed praecipue Deum et Dominum: prophetis quidem et apostolis Patrem et Filium confitentibus; alterum autem neminem, neque Deum nominantibus, neque Dominum confitentibus: et ipso Domino Patrem tantum Deum et Dominum eum, qui solus est Deus et dominator omnium, tradente discipulis; sequi nos oportet, si quidem illorum sumus discipuli, testimonia illorum ita se habentia. Matthaeus enim apostolus, unum et eumdem sciens Deum, qui promissionem fecerit Abrahae, facturum se semen ejus quasi stellas coeli, qui per Filium suum Christum Jesum a lapidum cultura in suam nos agnitionem vocaverit, uti fieret « qui non populus, populus; et non dilecta, dilecta; » ait Joannem praeparantem Christo viam, his qui in carnali quidem cognatione gloriabantur, varium autem et omni malitia completum sensum habebant, eam poenitentiam, quae a malitia revocaret, annuntiantem dixisse: « Progenies viperarum, quis vobis monstravit fugere ab ira ventura? Facite ergo fructum dignum poenitentiae. Et nolite dicere in vobis ipsis: Patrem habemus Abraham; dico enim vobis, quoniam potens est Deus ex lapidibus istis suscitare filios Abrahae. » Poenitentiam igitur eis eam, quae esset a malitia, praeconabat; sed non alterum Deum annuntiabat, praeter eum qui fecisset promissionem Abrahae, ille praecursor Christi; de quo iterum ait Matthaeus, similiter autem et Lucas: « Hic enim est qui dictus est a Domino per prophetam: Vox clamantis in deserto, Parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas Dei nostri. Omnis vallis implebitur, et omnis mons et collis humiliabitur, et erunt tortuosa in directa, et aspera in vias planas: et videbit omnis caro salutare Dei. » Unus igitur et idem Deus est, Pater Domini nostri, qui et Praecursorem per prophetas missurum se promisit: et salutare suum, id est Verbum suum, visibile effecit omni fieri carni, incarnatum et ipsum, ut in omnibus manifestus fieret rex eorum. Etenim ea quae judicantur, oportebat videre judicem, et scire hunc a quo judicantur: et ea quae gloriam consequuntur, oportebat scire eum, qui munus gloriae eis donat.

2. Iterum autem de angelo dicens Matthaeus, ait: « Angelus Domini apparuit Joseph in somnis. » Cujus Domini, ipse interpretatur: « Uti adimpleatur quod dictum est a Domino per prophetam: Ex Aegypto vocavi Filium meum. Ecce Virgo in utero accipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod est interpretatum, Nobiscum Deus. » De hoc, qui est ex Virgine Emmanuel, dixit David: « Non avertas faciem Christi tui. Juravit Dominus David veritatem, et non spernet eum, de fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam. »

1. This having been plainly shown, then (and it will be shown yet more clearly), that neither the prophets, nor the apostles, nor the Lord Christ confessed in their own person any other Lord or God, but chiefly God and Lord: the prophets and apostles confessing the Father and the Son, but naming no other as God nor confessing any other as Lord; and the Lord himself handing down to his disciples the Father alone as God and Lord, him who alone is God and ruler of all; we must follow, if indeed we are their disciples, their testimonies, which stand thus. For Matthew the apostle, knowing one and the same God, who made the promise to Abraham that he would make his seed as the stars of heaven, who through his Son Christ Jesus called us from the worship of stones to the knowledge of himself, so that what was not a people should become a people, and she who was not beloved, beloved (Rom 9:25), says that John, preparing the way for Christ, said to those who gloried in their kinship according to the flesh, but had an understanding fickle and full of all wickedness, proclaiming that repentance which calls back from wickedness: Offspring of vipers, who showed you how to flee from the wrath to come? Bear, then, fruit worthy of repentance. And do not say within yourselves: We have Abraham as our father; for I say to you that God is able from these stones to raise up sons to Abraham (Matt 3:7–9). He proclaimed to them, then, the repentance that turns from wickedness; but he did not announce another God than him who had made the promise to Abraham, he, the forerunner of Christ; of whom Matthew says again, and Luke likewise: For this is he who was spoken of by the Lord through the prophet: The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths of our God. Every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low, and the crooked shall become straight, and the rough ways plain: and all flesh shall see the saving power of God (Matt 3:3; Luke 3:4–6). There is, then, one and the same God, the Father of our Lord, who also promised through the prophets that he would send the Forerunner; and his saving power, that is, his Word, he caused to become visible to all flesh, he too being incarnate, that he might become manifest in all things as their king. For the things that are judged had to see the judge, and to know him by whom they are judged; and the things that attain glory had to know him who gives them the gift of glory.

2. And again, speaking of the angel, Matthew says: An angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in sleep (Matt 1:20). Of which Lord, he himself interprets: That what was spoken by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled: Out of Egypt I have called my Son (Matt 2:15). Behold, a virgin shall receive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which means, God with us (Matt 1:23; Isa 7:14). Of him who is Emmanuel from the Virgin David said: Do not turn away the face of your Christ. The Lord has sworn truth to David, and will not spurn him: of the fruit of your womb I will set upon your throne (Ps 132:10–11).

Et iterum: « Notus in Judaea Deus, et factus est in pace locus ejus, et habitaculum ejus in Sion. » Unus igitur et idem Deus, qui a prophetis praedicatus est, et ab Evangelio annuntiatus, et hujus Filius qui ex fructu ventris David, id est ex David Virgine, et Emmanuel: cujus et stellam Balaam quidem sic prophetavit: « Orietur stella ex Jacob, et surget dux in Israel. » Matthaeus autem Magos ab Oriente venientes ait dixisse: « Vidimus enim stellam ejus in Oriente, et venimus adorare eum; » deductosque a stella in domum Jacob ad Emmanuel, per ea quae obtulerunt munera ostendisse, quis erat qui adorabatur: myrrham quidem quod ipse erat, qui pro mortali humano genere moreretur et sepeliretur: aurum vero, quoniam Rex « cujus regni finis non est; » thus vero, quoniam Deus, qui et « notus in Judaea factus est, » et manifestus eis, qui non quaerebant eum.

3. Adhuc ait in baptismate Matthaeus: « Aperti sunt ei coeli, et vidit Spiritum Dei, quasi columbam venientem super eum. Et ecce vox de coelo, dicens: Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui. » Non enim Christus tunc descendit in Jesum; neque alius quidem Christus, alius vero Jesus; sed Verbum Dei, qui est Salvator omnium, et dominator coeli et terrae, qui est Jesus (quemadmodum ante ostendimus), qui et assumpsit carnem, et unctus est a Patre Spiritu, Jesus Christus factus est; sicut et Isaias ait: « Exiet virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet, et requiescet super eum Spiritus Dei, spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et implebit eum spiritus timoris Dei. Non secundum gloriam judicabit neque secundum loquelam arguet, sed judicabit humili judicium et arguet gloriosos terrae. » Et iterum ipse Isaias unctionem ejus, et propter quid unctus est, praesignificans ait: « Spiritus Dei super me, quapropter unxit me, evangelizare humilibus misit me, curare comminutos corde, praeconare captivis remissionem, et caecis visionem, vocare annum Domini acceptabilem, et diem retributionis, consolari omnes plangentes. » Nam secundum id quod Verbum Dei homo erat, ex radice Jesse, et filius Abrahae, secundum hoc requiescebat Spiritus Dei super eum, et ungebatur ad evangelizandum humilibus. Secundum autem quod Deus erat, non secundum gloriam judicabat, neque secundum loquelam arguebat: « Non enim opus erat illi, ut quis testimonium diceret de homine, cum ipse sciret quid esset in homine. » Advocabat autem omnes homines plangentes, et remissionem his, qui a peccatis in captivitatem deducti erant, donans, solvebat eos a vinculis, de quibus ait Salomon: « Restibus autem peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur. » Spiritus ergo Dei descendit in eum, ejus qui [eum] per prophetas promiserat uncturum se eum, ut de abundantia unctionis ejus nos percipientes salvaremur. Et sic quidem Matthaeus.

And again: God is known in Judaea, and his place has been made in peace, and his dwelling in Zion (Ps 76:2–3). One and the same God, then, who was preached by the prophets and proclaimed by the Gospel, and his Son, who is of the fruit of David's womb, that is, of the Virgin of David, and Emmanuel: whose star Balaam prophesied thus: A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a leader shall arise in Israel (Num 24:17). And Matthew says that the Magi, coming from the East, said: For we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him (Matt 2:2); and that, led by the star into the house of Jacob, to Emmanuel, they showed by the gifts they offered who it was that was worshipped: myrrh, because it was he who would die and be buried for the mortal human race; gold, because he is a King of whose kingdom there is no end (Luke 1:33); and frankincense, because he is God, who also has been made known in Judaea, and manifest to those who did not seek him.

3. Again, Matthew says at the baptism: The heavens were opened to him, and he saw the Spirit of God coming upon him like a dove. And behold a voice from heaven, saying: This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased (Matt 3:16–17). For it was not Christ who then came down upon Jesus; nor is Christ one and Jesus another; but the Word of God, who is the Saviour of all and ruler of heaven and earth, who is Jesus (as we have shown before), who also assumed flesh and was anointed by the Father with the Spirit, became Jesus Christ; as Isaiah too says: A rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up from his root, and the Spirit of God shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and the spirit of the fear of God shall fill him. He shall not judge according to glory, nor reprove according to speech; but he shall do judgement for the lowly, and reprove the glorious of the earth (Isa 11:1–4). And again Isaiah himself, foreshowing his anointing and why he was anointed, says: The Spirit of God is upon me, for which reason he has anointed me; he has sent me to bring the good news to the lowly, to heal the broken in heart, to proclaim remission to captives and sight to the blind, to call the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of recompense, to console all who mourn (Isa 61:1–2). For in so far as the Word of God was man, of the root of Jesse and son of Abraham, in that respect the Spirit of God rested upon him, and he was anointed to bring the good news to the lowly. But in so far as he was God, he did not judge according to glory, nor reprove according to speech: For he had no need that anyone should bear witness of man, since he himself knew what was in man (John 2:25). And he called to himself all men who mourn, and, granting remission to those who had been led into captivity by their sins, he loosed them from the bonds of which Solomon says: But each one is bound fast with the cords of his own sins (Prov 5:22). The Spirit of God, then, came down upon him, the Spirit of him who had promised through the prophets that he would anoint him, so that we, receiving from the abundance of his anointing, might be saved. So much for Matthew.

Caput X

Argumenta ex Lucae et Marci Evangeliis.

1. Lucas autem sectator et discipulus apostolorum, de Zacharia et Elisabeth, ex quibus secundum repromissionem Dei Joannes natus est, referens ait: « Erant autem justi ambo ante Deum, incedentes in omnibus mandatis et justitiis Domini sine querela. » Et iterum de Zacharia dicens: « Factum est autem, cum sacerdotio fungeretur in ordine vicis suae ante Deum, secundum consuetudinem sacerdotii, sorte exivit ut incensum poneret, et venit uti sacrificaret intrans in templum Domini. » Qui praeest in conspectu Domini, simpliciter, et absolute, et firme Deum et Dominum confitens ex sua persona, eum qui elegerit Jerusalem, et legisdationem sacerdotii fecerit, cujus est et angelus Gabriel. Etenim alterum super hunc nesciebat: si enim intellectum perfectioris alicujus Dei et Domini, praeter hunc, habuisset, non utique hunc, quem sciebat labis esse fructum, absolute, et in totum, Dominum et Deum confiteretur, sicut ante ostendimus. Sed et de Joanne dicens, sic ait: « Erit enim magnus in conspectu Domini, et multos filiorum Israel convertet ad Dominum Deum ipsorum, et ipse praecedet in conspectu ejus, in spiritu et virtute Eliae, praeparare Domino plebem perfectam. » Cui ergo populum praeparavit, et in cujus Domini conspectu magnus factus est?

Utique ejus qui dixit: « Quoniam et plus quam propheta habuit aliquid Joannes, et nemo in natis mulierum major est Joanne Baptista: » qui et populum praeparabat ad adventum Domini, conservis praenuntians, et poenitentiam ipsis praeconans, uti remissionem a Domino praesente perciperent, conversi ad eum, a quo propter peccata et transgressionem erant abalienati; quemadmodum et David ait: « Alienati sunt peccatores ab utero, erraverunt a ventre. » Et propter hoc convertens eos ad Dominum eorum, praeparabat Domino populum perfectum, in spiritu et virtute Eliae.

2. Et iterum de angelo referens ait: « In ipso autem tempore missus est angelus Gabriel a Deo, qui et dixit Virgini: Noli timere, Maria, invenisti enim gratiam apud Deum. » Et de Domino dicit: « Hic erit magnus, et filius Altissimi vocabitur, et dabit ei Dominus Deus thronum David, patris sui, et regnabit in domo Jacob in aeternum, et regni ejus non erit finis. »

Chapter 10

Arguments from the Gospels of Luke and Mark.

1. And Luke, the follower and disciple of the apostles, telling of Zechariah and Elizabeth, from whom John was born according to the promise of God, says: And they were both just before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord without blame (Luke 1:6). And again, speaking of Zechariah: And it came to pass, while he was exercising the priesthood in the order of his course before God, according to the custom of the priesthood, that his lot came out to put the incense, and he came to sacrifice, entering into the temple of the Lord (Luke 1:8–9). He who stands in the presence of the Lord: simply, absolutely and firmly confessing in his own person as God and Lord him who chose Jerusalem and made the lawgiving of the priesthood, whose angel too Gabriel is. For he knew no other above him: for if he had had an understanding of some more perfect God and Lord besides him, he would certainly not have confessed absolutely and wholly as Lord and God him whom he knew to be the fruit of a defect, as we have shown before. And speaking of John he says thus: For he will be great in the presence of the Lord, and he will turn many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God, and he will go before in his presence, in the spirit and power of Elijah, to prepare for the Lord a perfect people (Luke 1:15–17). For whom, then, did he prepare a people, and in the presence of which Lord was he made great?

Surely of him who said: John had something even more than a prophet, and among those born of women there is none greater than John the Baptist (Matt 11:9, 11): who also prepared the people for the coming of the Lord, foretelling it to his fellow servants and proclaiming repentance to them, so that they might receive remission from the Lord when he was present, being turned to him from whom they had been estranged by sins and transgression; as David too says: Sinners have been estranged from the womb; they have gone astray from the belly (Ps 58:4). And for this reason, turning them to their Lord, he prepared for the Lord a perfect people, in the spirit and power of Elijah.

2. And again, telling of the angel, he says: And in that very time the angel Gabriel was sent from God, who also said to the Virgin: Do not fear, Mary, for you have found grace with God (Luke 1:26, 30). And of the Lord he says: He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God shall give him the throne of David his father, and he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end (Luke 1:32–33).

Quis est autem alius, qui regnat in domo Jacob sine intermissione in aeternum, nisi Christus Jesus Dominus noster, Filius Dei altissimi, qui per legem et prophetas promisit salutarem suum facturum se omni carni visibilem, ut fieret filius hominis, ad hoc ut et homo fieret Filius Dei? Propter quod et exsultans Maria, clamabat pro Ecclesia prophetans: « Magnificat anima mea Dominum, et exsultavit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo. Assumpsit enim Israel puerum suum, reminisci misericordiae: quemadmodum locutus est ad patres nostros, Abrahae et semini ejus in aeternum. »

Per haec igitur et tanta monstrat Evangelium, quoniam qui locutus est patribus Deus, hic est qui per Moysem legis donationem fecit, per quam legis donationem cognovimus, quoniam patribus locutus est. Hic idem Deus secundum magnam bonitatem suam effudit misericordiam in nos, in qua misericordia « conspexit nos Oriens ex alto, et apparuit his qui in tenebris et umbra mortis sedebant, et direxit pedes nostros in viam pacis; » quemadmodum et Zacharias desinens mutus esse, quod propter infidelitatem passus fuerat, novello Spiritu adimpletus, nove benedicebat Deum. Omnia enim nova aderant, Verbo nove disponente carnalem adventum, uti eum hominem qui extra Deum abierat, ascriberet Deo: propter quod et nove Deum colere docebantur; sed non alium Deum, quoniam quidem « unus Deus, qui justificat circumcisionem ex fide, et praeputium per fidem. »

Prophetans autem Zacharias dicebat: « Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel quia visitavit, et fecit redemptionem populo suo. Et erexit cornu salutis nobis in domo David pueri sui. Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum prophetarum suorum, qui a saeculo sunt. Salutem ex inimicis nostris, et ex manu omnium qui oderunt nos. Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris, et reminisci testamenti sancti sui. Jusjurandum quod juravit ad Abraham patrem nostrum, uti det nobis sine timore ex manu inimicorum ereptos servire sibi in sanctitate et justitia, in conspectu suo omnes dies nostros. » Deinde ad Joannem dicit: « Et tu, puer, propheta Altissimi vocaberis: praeibis enim ante faciem Domini parare vias ejus. Ad dandum intellectum salutis populo ejus, in remissionem peccatorum eorum. » Haec enim est salutis agnitio, quae deerat eis, quae est Filii Dei, quam faciebat Joannes, dicens: « Ecce Agnus Dei, qui aufert peccatum mundi. Hic erat de quo dicebam: Post me venit vir, qui ante me factus est quoniam prior me erat; omnesque de plenitudine ejus accepimus. »

And who else is it that reigns in the house of Jacob without interruption for ever, but Christ Jesus our Lord, the Son of God Most High, who through the Law and the Prophets promised that he would make his saving power visible to all flesh, that he might become Son of Man, so that man too might become a son of God? For which reason Mary too, exulting, cried out, prophesying on behalf of the Church: My soul magnifies the Lord, and my spirit has rejoiced in my saving God. For he has taken to himself Israel his servant, to remember mercy: as he spoke to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed for ever (Luke 1:46–47, 54–55).

Through these things, then, and so many more, the Gospel shows that the God who spoke to the fathers is he who through Moses made the giving of the Law, through which giving of the Law we know that he spoke to the fathers. This same God, according to his great goodness, poured out his mercy upon us, in which mercy the Dawn from on high has looked upon us, and has appeared to those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death, and has directed our feet into the way of peace (Luke 1:78–79); as Zechariah too, ceasing to be mute, which he had suffered because of his unbelief, newly filled with the Spirit, blessed God in a new way. For all things that were present were new, the Word disposing in a new way his carnal coming, that he might enrol with God that man who had gone away from God: for which reason they were also taught to worship God in a new way; but not another God, since indeed one is God, who justifies the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith (Rom 3:30).

And Zechariah, prophesying, said: Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, because he has visited and made redemption for his people. And he has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of David his servant. As he spoke through the mouth of his holy prophets, who are from of old. Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all who hate us. To show mercy to our fathers, and to remember his holy testament. The oath which he swore to Abraham our father, to grant us that, delivered from the hand of the enemies, we might serve him without fear in holiness and justice before him all our days (Luke 1:68–75). Then he says to John: And you, child, will be called prophet of the Most High: for you will go before the face of the Lord to prepare his ways. To give understanding of salvation to his people, for the remission of their sins (Luke 1:76–77). For this is the knowledge of salvation which they lacked, which is that of the Son of God, which John imparted, saying: Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world. This was he of whom I said: After me comes a man who was made before me, because he was before me; and of his fullness we have all received (John 1:29–30, 15–16).

Haec itaque salutis agnitio; sed non alter Deus, nec alter Pater, neque Bythus, neque Pleroma triginta Aeonum, nec mater ogdoados: sed agnitio salutis erat agnitio Filii Dei, qui et salus, et Salvator, et salutare vere et dicitur, et est. Salus quidem, sic: « In salutem tuam sustinui te, Domine. » Salvator autem iterum: « Ecce Deus meus Salvator meus, fidens ero in eum. » Salutare autem sic: « Notum fecit Deus salutare suum in conspectu gentium. » Est enim Salvator quidem, quoniam Filius et Verbum Dei; salutare autem, quoniam Spiritus: « Spiritus » enim, inquit, « faciei nostrae, Christus Dominus; » salus autem, quoniam caro: « Verbum enim caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis. » Hanc igitur agnitionem salutis faciebat Joannes poenitentiam agentibus, et credentibus in Agnum Dei, qui tollit peccatum mundi.

4. « Apparuit, inquit, et pastoribus angelus Domini annuntians gaudium eis, quoniam generatus est in domo David Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus. Deinde multitudo exercitus coelestis laudantium Deum et dicentium: Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. » Hos angelos falsarii Gnostici dicunt ab ogdoade venisse, et descensionem superioris Christi manifestasse. Sed corruunt iterum dicentes, eum qui sursum sit, Christum et Salvatorem non natum esse, sed et post baptisma ejus qui sit de dispositione, Jesu, ipsum sicut columbam in eum descendisse. Mentiuntur ergo ogdoados angeli, secundum eos, dicentes: « Quoniam generatus est hodie vobis Salvator, qui est Christus Dominus in civitate David. » Neque enim Christus, neque Salvator tunc natus est secundum eos: sed ille, qui est de dispositione Jesus, qui est mundi fabricatoris, in quem post baptisma descendisse, hoc est post triginta annos, supernum Salvatorem dicunt.

Quid autem « in civitate David » apposuerunt, nisi ut eam pollicitationem, quae a Deo facta est David, quoniam ex fructu ventris ejus aeternus erit rex, adimpletam evangelizarent? Etenim Fabricator totius universitatis fecerat promissionem David, quemadmodum ipse David ait: « Adjutorium meum a Domino, qui fecit coelum et terram. » Et iterum: « In manu ejus fines terrae, et altitudines montium ipsius sunt. Quoniam ipsius est mare, et ipse fecit illud, et aridam manus ejus fundaverunt. Venite adoremus, et procidamus ante eum, et ploremus in conspectu Domini, qui fecit nos, quia ipse est Dominus Deus noster. » Manifeste pronuntians Spiritus sanctus per David audientibus eum, quoniam erunt qui contemnant eum, qui plasmavit nos, qui et solus est Deus. Propter quod et dicebat quae praedicta sunt significans: Quoniam ne erraveritis; praeter hunc, aut super hunc, alius non est Deus, cui magis intendere oporteat; religiosos nos et gratos praeparans in eum qui fecerit, et constituerit, et enutriat. Quid ergo erit his, qui tantum blasphemiae adversus suum factorem adinvenerunt?

This, then, is the knowledge of salvation; but not another God, nor another Father, nor Bythus, nor the Pleroma of thirty Aeons, nor the Mother of the Ogdoad: but the knowledge of salvation was the knowledge of the Son of God, who both is called and truly is salvation, and Saviour, and saving power. Salvation, thus: For your salvation I have awaited you, O Lord (Gen 49:18). Saviour, again: Behold my God, my Saviour; I will trust in him (Isa 12:2). And saving power, thus: God has made known his saving power in the sight of the nations (Ps 98:2). For he is Saviour, because he is the Son and Word of God; saving power, because he is Spirit: The Spirit, he says, of our face, Christ the Lord (Lam 4:20); salvation, because he is flesh: For the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14). This knowledge of salvation, then, John imparted to those who repented and believed in the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world.

4. There appeared also to the shepherds, he says, an angel of the Lord, proclaiming joy to them, that there has been born in the house of David a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord. Then a multitude of the heavenly army, praising God and saying: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will (Luke 2:9–14). These angels, the falsifying Gnostics say, came from the Ogdoad and made manifest the descent of the upper Christ. But they fall again when they say that he who is above, Christ and Saviour, was not born, but that after the baptism of him who is of the disposition, Jesus, he descended upon him like a dove. The angels of the Ogdoad, then, lie, according to them, when they say: For there has been born to you today a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord, in the city of David (Luke 2:11). For according to them neither Christ nor the Saviour was born then; but that Jesus who is of the disposition, who belongs to the fashioner of the world, into whom, they say, the Saviour from above descended after the baptism, that is, after thirty years.

And why did they add in the city of David, if not to announce as good news that the promise made by God to David, that of the fruit of his womb there would be an eternal king, had been fulfilled? For the Fashioner of the whole universe had made the promise to David, as David himself says: My help is from the Lord, who made heaven and earth (Ps 121:2). And again: In his hand are the ends of the earth, and the heights of the mountains are his. For the sea is his, and he made it, and his hands founded the dry land. Come, let us worship and fall down before him, and weep in the presence of the Lord who made us, for he is the Lord our God (Ps 95:4–7). The Holy Spirit declaring plainly through David to those who hear him that there will be those who despise him who moulded us, who alone is God. For which reason he also said what was foretold, signifying: Do not go astray; besides him, or above him, there is no other God to whom one ought rather to attend; preparing us to be religious and grateful towards him who made and established us and nourishes us. What, then, will become of those who have devised so much blasphemy against their own Maker?

Hoc idem autem et angeli. In eo enim quod dicunt: « Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax; » eum qui sit altissimorum, hoc est, supercoelestium factor, et eorum quae super terram omnium conditor, his sermonibus glorificaverunt: qui suo plasmati, hoc est hominibus, suam benignitatem salutis de coelo misit. Propter quod et « Pastores, ait, revertebantur, glorificantes Deum in omnibus quae audierant, et viderant, quemadmodum et narratum est ad eos. » Non enim alterum Deum glorificabant Israelitae pastores, sed illum qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus est, factorem omnium, quem et glorificabant angeli. Si autem alterum quidem angeli qui erant ab ogdoade, glorificabant, alterum vero pastores; errorem eis et non veritatem detulerunt hi qui ab ogdoade erant angeli.

5. Adhuc ait Lucas de Domino: « Cum impleti essent dies purgationis, imposuerunt eum in Hierusalem, astare Domino, quemadmodum scriptum est in lege Domini: Quoniam omne masculinum adaperiens vulvam, sanctum Domini vocabitur: et ut darent sacrificium, secundum quod dictum est in lege Domini, par turturum, aut duos pullos columbarum; » ex sua persona manifestissime Dominum appellans eum qui legisdationem fecerit. Et « Simeon » autem, inquit, « benedixit Deum, et ait: Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, in pace: quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum; lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam populi tui Israel. » Et « Anna » autem « prophetissa, » ait, similiter clarificabat Deum, videns Christum; « et loquebatur de eo omnibus, qui exspectabant redemptionem Hierusalem. » Per haec autem omnia unus Deus demonstratur, novam libertatis dispositionem per novum adventum Filii sui hominibus aperiens.

6. Quapropter et Marcus interpres et sectator Petri, initium evangelicae conscriptionis fecit sic: « Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis: Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem tuam, qui praeparabit viam tuam. Vox clamantis in deserto: Parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas ante Deum nostrum. » Manifeste initium Evangelii esse dicens sanctorum prophetarum voces; et eum, quem ipsi Dominum et Deum confessi sunt, hunc Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi praemonstrans, qui et promiserit ei angelum suum ante faciem ejus missurum; qui erat Joannes, « in spiritu et virtute Eliae » clamans in eremo: « Parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas ante Deum nostrum. »

And the angels say this same thing. For in saying: Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace (Luke 2:14), they glorified with these words him who is the Maker of the highest, that is, of the things above the heavens, and the Creator of all the things that are upon the earth: who sent from heaven to his handiwork, that is, to men, his kindness of salvation. For which reason also the shepherds, he says, returned, glorifying God for all that they had heard and seen, as it had been told them (Luke 2:20). For the Israelite shepherds did not glorify another God, but him who was proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, the Maker of all things, whom the angels too glorified. But if the angels who were from the Ogdoad glorified one, and the shepherds another, then those angels who were from the Ogdoad brought them error and not truth.

5. Again, Luke says of the Lord: When the days of purification were fulfilled, they brought him up to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord, as it is written in the Law of the Lord: Every male that opens the womb shall be called holy to the Lord; and to offer a sacrifice, according to what is said in the Law of the Lord, a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons (Luke 2:22–24); in his own person most plainly calling Lord him who made the lawgiving. And Simeon, he says, blessed God and said: Now you dismiss your servant, Lord, in peace: for my eyes have seen your saving power, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples; a light for the revelation of the nations, and the glory of your people Israel (Luke 2:28–32). And Anna too, the prophetess, he says, likewise glorified God when she saw the Christ; and she spoke of him to all who were awaiting the redemption of Jerusalem (Luke 2:36, 38). Through all these things, then, one God is demonstrated, opening to men a new disposition of liberty through the new coming of his Son.

6. Wherefore Mark too, the interpreter and follower of Peter, made the beginning of his written Gospel thus: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as it is written in the Prophets: Behold, I send my angel before your face, who will prepare your way. The voice of one crying in the desert: Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths before our God (Mark 1:1–3). He says plainly that the voices of the holy prophets are the beginning of the Gospel; and he points out beforehand that he whom they confessed as Lord and God is this Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who also promised him that he would send his angel before his face; who was John, crying in the desert in the spirit and power of Elijah: Prepare the way of the Lord, make straight the paths before our God.

Quoniam quidem non alium et alium prophetae annuntiabant Deum, sed unum et eumdem, variis autem significationibus, et multis appellationibus: multus enim et dives Pater, quemadmodum in eo libro qui ante hunc est, ostendimus; et ex ipsis autem prophetis procedente nobis sermone ostendemus. In fine autem Evangelii ait Marcus: « Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in coelos, et sedet ad dexteram Dei; » confirmans quod a Propheta dictum est: « Dixit Dominus Domino meo: Sede a dextris meis, quoadusque ponam inimicos tuos suppedaneum pedum tuorum. » Sic quidem unus et idem Deus et Pater est, qui a prophetis quidem annuntiatus, ab Evangelio vero traditus, quem Christiani colimus, et diligimus ex toto corde, factorem coeli et terrae, et omnium quae in eis sunt.

Caput XI

Idem probat ex Joannis Evangelio, quod ex tribus aliis jam probavit. Tum concludit quatuor esse Evangelia, nec plura, nec pauciora, et hujus numeri mysticas rationes affert.

1. Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes Domini discipulus, volens per Evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitae, qui sunt vulsio ejus, quae falso cognominatur scientia, ut confunderet eos, et suaderet quoniam unus Deus qui omnia fecit per Verbum suum; et non, quemadmodum illi dicunt, alterum quidem fabricatorem, alium autem Patrem Domini: et alium quidem fabricatoris filium, alterum vero de superioribus, Christum, quem et impassibilem perseverasse, descendentem in Jesum filium fabricatoris, et iterum revolasse in suum Pleroma: et initium quidem esse Monogenem, Logon autem verum filium Unigeniti: et eam conditionem, quae est secundum nos, non a primo Deo factam, sed a Virtute aliqua valde deorsum subjecta, et abscissa ab eorum communicatione, quae sunt invisibilia et innominabilia. Omnia igitur talia circumscribere volens discipulus Domini, et regulam veritatis constituere in Ecclesia, quia est unus Deus omnipotens, qui per Verbum suum omnia fecit, et visibilia, et invisibilia; significans quoque, quoniam per Verbum, per quod Deus perfecit conditionem, in hoc et salutem his qui in conditione sunt, praestitit hominibus; sic inchoavit in ea, quae est secundum Evangelium, doctrina: « In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum: hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil.

For the prophets did not proclaim one God and then another, but one and the same, though under various significations and many names: for rich and manifold is the Father, as we have shown in the book before this one; and we shall show it from the prophets themselves as our discourse proceeds. And at the end of the Gospel Mark says: And so the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was received up into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God (Mark 16:19); confirming what was said by the Prophet: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet (Ps 110:1). Thus one and the same is God and Father, who was proclaimed by the prophets and handed down by the Gospel, whom we Christians worship and love with all our heart, the Maker of heaven and earth and of all things that are in them.

Chapter ii

He proves from the Gospel of John the same that he has already proved from the other three. Then he concludes that the Gospels are four, neither more nor fewer, and gives the mystical reasons of this number.

1. John, the disciple of the Lord, proclaiming this faith, and wishing by the proclamation of the Gospel to take away the error which had been sown among men by Cerinthus, and much earlier by those who are called Nicolaitans, who are an offshoot of the knowledge falsely so called (1 Tim 6:20), so as to confound them and persuade them that there is one God, who made all things through his Word; and not, as they say, that one is the fashioner and another the Father of the Lord; and that one is the son of the fashioner and another, from those above, Christ, who, they say, also remained impassible, descending upon Jesus the son of the fashioner, and flew back again into his own Pleroma; and that the Beginning is Monogenes, but Logos the true son of the Only-begotten; and that this creation which is ours was made not by the first God, but by some Power lying very far below, and cut off from fellowship with the things that are invisible and unnameable. The disciple of the Lord, then, wishing to cancel all such things, and to establish in the Church the rule of truth, that there is one God almighty, who made all things through his Word, both visible and invisible; signifying also that through the Word, through whom God perfected the creation, in him too he granted salvation to men, those who are in the creation; began thus in the teaching that is according to the Gospel: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God: he was in the beginning with God. All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made.

Quod factum est, in ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt. Omnia, inquit, per ipsum facta sunt. » In omnibus ergo est et haec, quae secundum nos est, conditio: non enim concedetur eis, omnia dici ea, quae sunt infra Pleroma ipsorum. Si enim et haec Pleroma ipsorum continet, non extra est tanta ista conditio, quemadmodum ostendimus in eo libro qui ante hunc est; si autem extra Pleroma sunt haec, quod quidem impossibile visum est, jam non est omnia Pleroma ipsorum: non est ergo extra haec tanta conditio.

2. Abstulit autem a nobis dissensiones omnes ipse Joannes, dicens: « In hoc mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est, et mundus eum non cognovit. In sua propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt, » Secundum autem Marcionem, et eos qui similes sunt ei, neque mundus per eum factus est, neque in sua venit, sed in aliena. Secundum autem quosdam Gnosticorum, ab angelis factus est iste mundus, et non per Verbum Dei. Secundum autem eos, qui sunt a Valentino, iterum non per eum factus est, sed per Demiurgum. Hic enim operabatur similitudines tales fieri, ad imitationem eorum quae sunt sursum, quemadmodum dicunt: Demiurgus autem perficiebat fabricationem conditionis. Emissum enim dicunt eum a Matre Dominum, et Demiurgum ejus dispositionis, quae est secundum conditionem, per quem hunc mundum factum volunt: cum Evangelium manifeste dicat, quoniam per Verbum, quod in principio erat apud Deum, omnia sunt facta: quod « Verbum, inquit, caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis. »

3. Secundum autem illos, neque Verbum caro factum est, neque Christus, neque qui ex omnibus factus est, Salvator. Etenim Verbum et Christum nec advenisse in hunc mundum volunt: Salvatorem vero non incarnatum, neque passum; descendisse autem quasi columbam in eum Jesum, qui factus esset ex dispositione, et cum annuntiasset incognitum Patrem, iterum ascendisse in Pleroma. Incarnatum autem et passum quidam quidem eum, qui ex dispositione sit, dicunt Jesum, quem per Mariam dicunt pertransisse, quasi aquam per tubum; alii vero Demiurgi filium, in quem descendisse eum Jesum, qui ex dispositione sit: alii rursum Jesum quidem ex Joseph et Maria natum dicunt, et in hunc descendisse Christum, qui de superioribus sit, sine carne et impassibilem exsistentem. Secundum autem nullam sententiam haereticorum, Verbum Dei caro factum est.

What was made, in him was life, and the life was the light of men, and the light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it. All things, he says, were made through him (John 1:1–5). In all things, then, is this creation too which is ours: for it will not be granted to them that the things below their Pleroma are called all things. For if their Pleroma contains these things too, this so great creation is not outside, as we have shown in the book before this one; but if these things are outside the Pleroma, which indeed has been seen to be impossible, their Pleroma is no longer all things: so this so great creation is not outside.

2. And John himself took away all disputes from us, saying: He was in this world, and the world was made through him, and the world did not know him. He came to his own things, and his own did not receive him (John 1:10–11). But according to Marcion and those who are like him, neither was the world made through him, nor did he come to his own things, but to things not his own. And according to some of the Gnostics, this world was made by angels, and not through the Word of God. And according to those who are from Valentinus, again, it was not made through him, but through the Demiurge. For he, as they say, was at work that such likenesses should come to be, in imitation of the things that are above; but the Demiurge accomplished the fashioning of the creation. For they say that he was emitted by the Mother as Lord, and as Demiurge of that disposition which is according to the creation, through whom they will have it that this world was made: whereas the Gospel says plainly that all things were made through the Word, which was in the beginning with God: which Word, he says, was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14).

3. But according to them, neither was the Word made flesh, nor Christ, nor the Saviour who was made from all. For they will have it that the Word and Christ did not even come into this world; and that the Saviour was not incarnate nor suffered, but descended like a dove upon that Jesus who had been made of the disposition, and, having proclaimed the unknown Father, went up again into the Pleroma. Some say that it was he who is of the disposition, Jesus, who was incarnate and suffered, who they say passed through Mary like water through a tube; others, that it was the son of the Demiurge, upon whom that Jesus who is of the disposition descended; others again say that Jesus was born of Joseph and Mary, and that upon him descended the Christ who is from those above, being without flesh and impassible. But according to no doctrine of the heretics was the Word of God made flesh.

Si enim quis regulas ipsorum omnium perscrutetur, inveniet quoniam sine carne, et impassibilis ab omnibus illis inducitur Dei Verbum, et qui est in superioribus Christus. Alii enim putant manifestatum eum, quemadmodum hominem transfiguratum; neque autem natum, neque incarnatum dicunt illum; alii vero neque figuram eum assumpsisse hominis; sed quemadmodum columbam descendisse in eum Jesum, qui natus est ex Maria. Omnes igitur illos falsos testes ostendens discipulus Domini, ait: « Et Verbum caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis. »

4. Et ut non inquiramus, cujus Dei Verbum caro factum est, ipse insuper docet, dicens: « Fuit homo missus a Deo; erat ei nomen Joannes: hic venit in testimonium, ut testaretur de lumine. Non erat ipse lumen, sed ut testaretur de lumine. » Praecursor igitur Joannes, qui testatur de lumine, a quo Deo missus est? Utique ab eo, cujus Gabriel est angelus, qui etiam evangelizavit generationem ejus: qui et per prophetas promisit angelum suum missurum ante faciem Filii sui, et praeparaturum viam ejus, hoc est, testificaturum de lumine, « in spiritu et virtute Eliae. » Elias autem rursus cujus Dei servus et propheta fuit? ejus qui fecit coelum et terram, quemadmodum et ipse confitetur. A conditore igitur et fabricatore hujus mundi missus Joannes, quemadmodum poterat testificari de eo lumine, quod ex his quae sunt innominabilia et invisibilia descenderit? Omnes enim haeretici decreverunt Demiurgum ignorare eam quae sit super eum Virtutem, cujus testis et ostensor invenitur Joannes. Propter hoc Dominus « plus quam prophetam » dixit eum habuisse. Reliqui enim omnes prophetae annuntiaverunt adventum paterni luminis; concupierunt autem digni esse videre eum quem praedicabant: Joannes autem et praenuntiavit similiter sicut alii, et advenientem vidit, et demonstravit, et credere in eum suasit multis, ita ut ipse et prophetae et apostoli locum habuerit. Hic est enim plus quam propheta; quoniam « primo apostoli, secundo prophetae; » omnia autem ex uno et eodem ipso Deo.

5. Bonum enim et illud quod per conditionem a Deo in vinea factum est, et primo bibitum est vinum. Nemo enim illud vituperavit ex his qui biberunt; sed et Dominus accepit de eo: melius autem quod per Verbum compendialiter ac simpliciter ex aqua ad usum eorum, qui ad nuptias convocati erant, factum est vinum. Quamvis enim possit Dominus ex nullo subjacente eorum quae sunt conditionis, praebere epulantibus vinum, et esca complere esurientes, hoc quidem non fecit: accipiens autem eos qui a terra essent panes, et gratias agens, et iterum aquam faciens vinum, saturavit eos qui recumbebant, et potavit eos qui invitati erant ad nuptias:

For if anyone searches out the rules of them all, he will find that the Word of God, and the Christ who is in the regions above, is brought in by all of them as without flesh and impassible. For some think that he was manifested as a man transfigured, but they say that he was neither born nor incarnate; and others, that he did not even take the figure of man, but descended like a dove upon that Jesus who was born of Mary. Showing them all, then, to be false witnesses, the disciple of the Lord says: And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14).

4. And so that we may not inquire of which God the Word was made flesh, he himself teaches us besides, saying: There was a man sent from God, whose name was John: he came for witness, to bear witness to the light. He was not himself the light, but came to bear witness to the light (John 1:6–8). John the Forerunner, then, who bears witness to the light, by which God was he sent? Surely by him whose angel Gabriel is, who also announced the good news of his generation: who also promised through the prophets that he would send his angel before the face of his Son, and that he would prepare his way, that is, bear witness to the light, in the spirit and power of Elijah. And Elijah, again, whose servant and prophet was he? Of him who made heaven and earth, as he himself also confesses. Sent, then, by the Creator and Fashioner of this world, how could John bear witness to that light which descended from the things that are unnameable and invisible? For all the heretics have decreed that the Demiurge did not know that Power which is above him, of which John is found to be the witness and the one who shows it. For this reason the Lord said that he had more than a prophet. For all the other prophets proclaimed the coming of the Father's light, and desired to be worthy to see him whom they preached; but John both foretold it, as the others did, and saw him when he came, and pointed him out, and persuaded many to believe in him, so that he himself held the place both of prophets and of apostles. For this is more than a prophet; since first apostles, secondly prophets (1 Cor 12:28); but all things from one and the same God himself.

5. For good too was that wine which was made by God in the vineyard through creation, and was drunk first. For none of those who drank it found fault with it; and the Lord too took of it: but better was the wine that was made through the Word, in brief and simply, out of water, for the use of those who had been invited to the wedding. For although the Lord could, without anything underlying from the things that belong to creation, have supplied wine to the banqueters and filled the hungry with food, he did not do so: but, taking the loaves that came from the earth and giving thanks, and again making water wine, he satisfied those who were reclining and gave drink to those who were invited to the wedding: showing that the God

ostendens quoniam Deus, qui fecit terram, et jussit eam fructus ferre, et constituit aquas, et edidit fontes, hic et benedictionem escae, et gratiam potus, in novissimis temporibus per Filium suum donat humano generi, incomprehensibilis per comprehensibilem, et invisibilis per visibilem; cum extra eum non sit, sed in sinu Patris exsistat.

6. « Deum enim, inquit, nemo vidit unquam, nisi unigenitus Filius Dei, qui est in sinu Patris, ipse enarravit. » Patrem enim invisibilem exsistentem ille, qui in sinu ejus est, Filius omnibus enarrat. Propter hoc cognoscunt eum hi, quibus revelaverit Filius: et iterum Pater per Filium, Filii sui dat agnitionem his qui diligunt eum. A quo et Nathanael discens cognovit, cui et testimonium reddidit Dominus, quoniam « verus Israelita est, in quo dolus non est. » Cognovit Israelites suum regem; et ait ei: « Rabbi, tu es Filius Dei, tu es rex Israel. » A quo et Petrus edoctus, cognovit Christum Filium Dei vivi, dicentis: « Ecce Filius meus dilectissimus, in quo bene sensi: ponam Spiritum meum super eum, et judicium gentibus annuntiabit. Non contendet, neque clamabit, neque quisquam audiet vocem ejus in plateis: calamum quassatum non confringet, et linum fumigans non exstinguet, usquequo emittat in contentionem judicium, et in nomine ejus gentes sperabunt. »

7. Et haec quidem sunt principia Evangelii, unum Deum fabricatorem hujus universitatis, eum qui et per prophetas sit annuntiatus, et qui per Moysem legis dispositionem fecerit, Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi annuntiantia, et praeter hunc alterum Deum nescientia, neque alterum Patrem. Tanta est autem circa Evangelia haec firmitas, ut et ipsi haeretici testimonium reddant eis, et ex ipsis egrediens unusquisque eorum conetur suam confirmare doctrinam. Ebionei etenim eo Evangelio, quod est secundum Matthaeum, solo utentes, ex illo ipso convincuntur, non recte praesumentes de Domino. Marcion autem id quod est secundum Lucam circumcidens, ex his quae adhuc servantur penes eum, blasphemus in solum exsistentem Deum ostenditur. Qui autem Jesum separant a Christo, et impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum dicunt, id quod secundum Marcum est praeferentes Evangelium; cum amore veritatis legentes illud, corrigi possunt. Hi autem qui a Valentino sunt, eo quod est secundum Joannem plenissime utentes, ad ostensionem conjugationum suarum; ex ipso detegentur nihil recte dicentes, quemadmodum ostendimus in primo libro. Cum ergo hi, qui contradicunt, nobis testimonium perhibeant, et utantur his, firma et vera est nostra de illis ostensio.

who made the earth and commanded it to bear fruit, and established the waters and brought forth the springs, he it is who in the last times grants to the human race, through his Son, the blessing of food and the grace of drink, the incomprehensible through the comprehensible, and the invisible through the visible; since he is not outside him, but exists in the bosom of the Father.

6. For no one, he says, has ever seen God, except the only-begotten Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father; he has made him known (John 1:18). For the Father, who is invisible, he who is in his bosom, the Son, makes known to all. For this reason they know him to whom the Son has revealed him: and again the Father, through the Son, gives the knowledge of his Son to those who love him. Learning from him, Nathanael too came to know, to whom the Lord also bore witness that he is a true Israelite, in whom there is no guile (John 1:47). The Israelite recognised his king, and said to him: Rabbi, you are the Son of God, you are the king of Israel (John 1:49). Taught by him, Peter too knew Christ, the Son of the living God, by him who says: Behold my most beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: I will put my Spirit upon him, and he will proclaim judgement to the nations. He will not contend, nor cry out, nor will anyone hear his voice in the streets: a bruised reed he will not break, and smoking flax he will not quench, until he sends forth judgement into the contest; and in his name the nations will hope (Matt 12:18–21).

7. And these are the beginnings of the Gospel, proclaiming one God, the Fashioner of this universe, him who was also proclaimed through the prophets, and who through Moses made the disposition of the Law, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and knowing no other God besides him, nor another Father. And so great is the firmness concerning these Gospels that the heretics themselves bear witness to them, and each of them, setting out from them, tries to confirm his own doctrine. For the Ebionites, using only the Gospel that is according to Matthew, are refuted from that very one, as not presuming rightly about the Lord. And Marcion, cutting down that which is according to Luke, is shown from what is still preserved by him to be a blasphemer against the only existing God. And those who separate Jesus from Christ, and say that Christ remained impassible but that Jesus suffered, preferring the Gospel that is according to Mark, can be corrected if they read it with a love of the truth. And those who are from Valentinus, using that which is according to John most fully for the proof of their pairings, will be exposed from it as saying nothing rightly, as we have shown in the first book. Since, then, those who contradict us bear witness to us and use these, our proof from them is firm and true.

8. Neque autem plura numero quam haec sunt, neque rursus pauciora capit esse Evangelia. Quoniam enim quatuor regiones mundi sunt in quo sumus, et quatuor principales spiritus, et disseminata est Ecclesia super omnem terram, columna autem et firmamentum Ecclesiae est Evangelium et spiritus vitae; consequens est, quatuor habere eam columnas, undique flantes incorruptibilitatem, et vivificantes homines. Ex quibus manifestum est, quoniam qui est omnium artifex Verbum, qui sedet super cherubim, et continet omnia, declaratus hominibus, dedit nobis quadriforme Evangelium, quod uno spiritu continetur. Quemadmodum et David postulans ejus adventum, ait: « Qui sedes super cherubim, appare. » Etenim cherubim quadriformia, et formae ipsorum imagines sunt dispositionis Filii Dei. « Primum enim animal, inquit, simile leoni, » efficabile ejus, et principale, et regale significans: « secundum vero simile vitulo, » sacrificalem et sacerdotalem ordinationem significans: « tertium vero habens faciem quasi humanam, » eum, qui est secundum hominem, adventum ejus manifeste describens: « quartum vero simile aquilae volantis, » Spiritus in Ecclesiam advolantis gratiam manifestans.

Et Evangelia igitur his consonantia, in quibus insidet Christus Jesus. Aliud enim illam, quae est a Patre, principalem, et efficabilem, et gloriosam generationem ejus enarrat, dicens sic: « In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; » et: « Omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. » Propter hoc et omni fiducia plenum est Evangelium istud; talis est enim persona ejus. Id vero, quod est secundum Lucam, quoniam quidem sacerdotalis characteris est, a Zacharia sacerdote sacrificante Deo inchoavit. Jam enim saginatus parabatur vitulus, qui pro inventione minoris filii inciperet mactari. Matthaeus vero eam, quae est secundum hominem generationem ejus enarrat: « Liber, dicens, generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. » Et iterum: « Christi autem generatio sic erat. » Humanae formae igitur hoc Evangelium: propter hoc et per totum Evangelium humiliter sentiens, et mitis homo servatus est. Marcus vero a prophetico Spiritu, ex alto adveniente hominibus, initium fecit: « Initium, dicens, Evangelii, quemadmodum scriptum est in Isaia propheta; » volatilem et pennatam imaginem Evangelii monstrans: propter hoc et compendiosam et praecurrentem annuntiationem fecit: propheticus enim character est hic.

Et ipsum autem Verbum Dei, illis quidem qui ante Moysem fuerunt patriarchis, secundum divinitatem et gloriam colloquebatur: his vero qui in lege, sacerdotalem et ministerialem actum praebebat: post deinde nobis homo factus, munus coelestis Spiritus in omnem misit terram, protegens nos alis suis. Qualis igitur dispositio Filii Dei, talis et animalium forma: et qualis animalium forma, talis et character Evangelii. Quadriformia autem animalia, et quadriforme Evangelium, et quadriformis dispositio Domini.

8. But it is not possible that the Gospels should be more in number than these are, nor again fewer. For since there are four regions of the world in which we are, and four principal winds, and the Church is scattered over all the earth, and the pillar and foundation of the Church is the Gospel and the Spirit of life; it follows that she has four pillars, breathing incorruptibility from every side and giving life to men. From which it is plain that the Word, the Craftsman of all things, who sits upon the cherubim and contains all things, having been manifested to men, gave us the fourfold Gospel, which is held together by one Spirit. As David too, asking for his coming, says: You who sit upon the cherubim, appear (Ps 80:2). For the cherubim are fourfold, and their forms are images of the disposition of the Son of God. For the first living creature, he says, is like a lion, signifying what is effective, princely and royal in him; the second like a calf, signifying his sacrificial and priestly order; the third having a face as of a man, plainly describing his coming according to man; the fourth like a flying eagle, making manifest the grace of the Spirit flying down upon the Church (Rev 4:7).

And the Gospels, then, are in harmony with these, on which Christ Jesus is seated. For one tells of his princely, effective and glorious generation from the Father, saying thus: In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God (John 1:1); and: All things were made through him, and without him nothing was made (John 1:3). For this reason too this Gospel is full of all boldness; for such is its face. That which is according to Luke, since it is of a priestly stamp, began with Zechariah the priest sacrificing to God. For already the fatted calf was being made ready, which was to be slain for the finding of the younger son. And Matthew tells of his generation according to man: The book, he says, of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham (Matt 1:1). And again: Now the generation of Christ was thus (Matt 1:18). This Gospel, then, is of human form: for this reason too, throughout the whole Gospel, he is kept a man lowly of mind and meek. And Mark made his beginning from the prophetic Spirit coming upon men from on high: The beginning, he says, of the Gospel, as it is written in Isaiah the prophet (Mark 1:1–2), showing the winged and feathered image of the Gospel: for this reason too he made his proclamation brief and running ahead: for this is the prophetic stamp.

And the Word of God himself spoke with the patriarchs who were before Moses according to his divinity and glory; for those who were under the Law he provided a priestly and ministerial action; and afterwards, having been made man for us, he sent the gift of the heavenly Spirit into all the earth, protecting us with his wings. Such, then, as is the disposition of the Son of God, such also is the form of the living creatures; and such as is the form of the living creatures, such also is the stamp of the Gospel. Fourfold are the living creatures, and fourfold is the Gospel, and fourfold the disposition of the Lord.

Et propter hoc quatuor data sunt testamenta humano generi: unum quidem ante cataclysmum sub Adam; secundum vero, post cataclysmum sub Noe; tertium vero legislatio sub Moyse; quartum vero, quod renovat hominem, et recapitulat in se omnia, quod est per Evangelium, elevans et pennigerans homines in coeleste regnum.

9. His igitur sic se habentibus, vani omnes, et indocti, et insuper audaces, qui frustrantur speciem Evangelii, et vel plures quam dictae sunt, vel rursus pauciores inferunt personas Evangelii: quidam ut plus videantur quam est veritatis adinvenisse: quidam vero, ut reprobent dispositiones Dei. Etenim Marcion totum rejiciens Evangelium; imo vere seipsum abscindens ab Evangelio, pariter gloriatur se habere Evangelium: alii vero ut donum Spiritus frustrentur, quod in novissimis temporibus secundum placitum Patris effusum est in humanum genus, illam speciem non admittunt, quae est secundum Joannis Evangelium, in qua Paracletum se missurum Dominus promisit; sed simul et Evangelium, et propheticum repellunt Spiritum. Infelices vere, qui pseudoprophetae quidem esse volunt; propheticam vero gratiam repellunt ab Ecclesia: similia patientes his qui propter eos qui in hypocrisi veniunt, etiam a fratrum communicatione se abstinent. Datur autem intelligi, quod hujusmodi neque apostolum Paulum recipiant. In ea enim Epistola quae est ad Corinthios, de propheticis charismatibus diligenter locutus est, et scit viros et mulieres in Ecclesia prophetantes. Per haec igitur omnia peccantes in Spiritum Dei, in irremissibile incidunt peccatum. Hi vero, qui sunt a Valentino, iterum exsistentes extra omnem timorem, suas conscriptiones proferentes, plura habere gloriantur, quam sint ipsa Evangelia. Siquidem in tantum processerunt audaciae, uti quod ab his non olim conscriptum est, veritatis Evangelium titulent, in nihilo conveniens apostolorum Evangeliis, ut nec Evangelium quidem sit apud eos sine blasphemia. Si enim quod ab eis profertur, veritatis est Evangelium, dissimile est autem hoc illis, quae ab apostolis tradita sunt; qui volunt, possunt discere, quemadmodum ex ipsis Scripturis ostenditur, jam non esse id quod ab apostolis traditum est, veritatis Evangelium. Quoniam autem sola illa vera et firma, et non capit neque plura, praeterquam praedicta sunt, neque pauciora esse Evangelia, per tot et tanta ostendimus. Etenim cum omnia composita et apta Deus fecerit, oportebat et speciem Evangelii bene compositam, et bene compaginatam esse. Examinata igitur sententia eorum qui nobis tradiderunt Evangelium, ex ipsis principiis ipsorum, veniamus et ad reliquos apostolos, et perquiramus sententiam eorum de Deo: post deinde, ipsos Domini sermones audiamus.

Caput XII

And for this reason four testaments were given to the human race: one before the flood, under Adam; the second after the flood, under Noah; the third, the lawgiving, under Moses; and the fourth, which renews man and recapitulates all things in itself, which is through the Gospel, raising men and giving them wings for the heavenly kingdom.

9. These things being so, then, vain are all those, and unlearned, and audacious besides, who set aside the form of the Gospel, and bring in either more faces of the Gospel than have been named, or again fewer: some, that they may seem to have devised more than there is of the truth; others, that they may reject the dispositions of God. For Marcion, rejecting the whole Gospel, or rather truly cutting himself off from the Gospel, boasts all the same that he has the Gospel; and others, so as to reject the gift of the Spirit, which in the last times was poured out upon the human race according to the good pleasure of the Father, do not admit that form which is according to John's Gospel, in which the Lord promised that he would send the Paraclete; but they reject at once both the Gospel and the prophetic Spirit. Wretched indeed are those who would be false prophets, but drive the prophetic grace away from the Church: suffering the like of those who, because of those who come in hypocrisy, abstain even from fellowship with the brothers. And it is given us to understand that men of this kind do not receive the apostle Paul either. For in the Epistle which is to the Corinthians he spoke carefully of the prophetic charisms, and he knows men and women prophesying in the Church. Sinning, then, through all these things against the Spirit of God, they fall into the unforgivable sin. And those who are from Valentinus, again, being outside all fear, putting forward their own writings, boast that they have more than the Gospels themselves are. Indeed, they have gone so far in audacity as to entitle what was written by them not long ago the Gospel of Truth, though it agrees in nothing with the Gospels of the apostles, so that not even the Gospel is among them without blasphemy. For if what is brought forward by them is the Gospel of Truth, and this is unlike those which have been handed down by the apostles, those who wish can learn, as is shown from the Scriptures themselves, that what has been handed down by the apostles is no longer the Gospel of Truth. But that these alone are true and firm, and that it is not possible that the Gospels should be more than those mentioned before, nor fewer, we have shown by so many and such great proofs. For since God made all things well ordered and fitted, the form of the Gospel too had to be well composed and well fitted together. Having examined, then, the doctrine of those who handed down the Gospel to us, from their very beginnings, let us come also to the other apostles, and search out their doctrine about God; and after that let us hear the very words of the Lord.

Chapter 12

Quae sit reliquorum apostolorum doctrina.

1. Petrus igitur apostolus post resurrectionem Domini, et assumptionem in coelos, volens adimplere duodecim apostolorum numerum, et allegere pro Juda alterum, qui electus esset a Deo, ex his qui aderant, dixit: « Viri fratres, oportebat impleri Scripturam hanc, quam praedixit Spiritus sanctus ore David de Juda, qui factus est dux his qui apprehenderunt Jesum, quoniam annumeratus fuit inter nos: Fiat habitatio ejus deserta, et non sit qui inhabitet in ea, et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter: » adimpletionem apostolorum ex his quae a David dicta sunt, faciens. Rursus cum Spiritus sanctus descendisset in discipulos, uti omnes prophetarent, et loquerentur linguis, et quidam irriderent eos, quasi a musto ebrios, dixit Petrus, non ebrios quidem illos esse, cum sit hora tertia diei; esse autem hoc quod dictum est per prophetam: « Erit in novissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo in omnem carnem, et prophetabunt. » Deus igitur, qui per prophetam, promisit missurum se Spiritum suum in humanum genus, ipse et misit ei: et ipse Deus a Petro annuntiatur, suam promissionem adimplesse.

2. « Viri » enim, inquit Petrus, « Israelitae, audite sermones meos: Jesum Nazarenum, virum approbatum a Deo in vobis virtutibus, et prodigiis, et signis, quae fecit per ipsum Deus in medio vestrum, quemadmodum ipsi scitis: hunc definito consilio, et praescientia Dei traditum per manus iniquorum affigentes interfecistis: quem Deus excitavit, solutis doloribus inferorum, quoniam non erat possibile teneri eum ab eis. David enim dicit in ipsum: Providebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper, quoniam a dextris meis est, ne movear. Propter hoc laetatum est cor meum, et exsultavit lingua mea, insuper et caro mea requiescet in spe. Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. » Dehinc rursum fiducialiter illis dicit de patriarcha David, quoniam mortuus est, et sepultus, et sepulcrum ejus sit apud eos usque in hunc diem. « Propheta autem, inquit, cum esset, et sciret quoniam jurejurando ei juravit Deus, de fructu ventris ejus sedere in throno ejus; providens locutus est de resurrectione Christi, quoniam neque derelictus est apud inferos, neque caro ejus vidit corruptionem. Hunc Jesum, inquit, excitavit Deus, cujus nos omnes sumus testes: qui dextera Dei exaltatus, repromissionem sancti Spiritus accipiens a Patre, effudit donationem hanc, quam vos nunc videtis, et auditis. Non enim David ascendit in coelos; dicit autem ipse: Dixit Dominus Domino meo, sede ad dexteram meam, quoadusque ponam inimicos tuos suppedaneum pedum tuorum. Certissime ergo sciat omnis domus Israel, quoniam et Dominum eum, et Christum Deus fecit hunc Jesum, quem vos crucifixistis. » Cum dixissent igitur turbae: « Quid ergo faciemus? »

What the teaching of the other apostles is.

1. Peter the apostle, then, after the resurrection of the Lord and his taking up into heaven, wishing to make up the number of the twelve apostles and to choose another in place of Judas, one chosen by God, from among those who were present, said: Men, brothers, this Scripture had to be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit foretold by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who became the leader of those who seized Jesus, for he was numbered among us: Let his dwelling be desolate, and let there be no one to dwell in it; and let another take his bishopric (Acts 1:16–17, 20; Ps 69:26; 109:8): so completing the number of the apostles according to what had been said by David. Again, when the Holy Spirit had come down upon the disciples, so that they all prophesied and spoke in tongues, and some mocked them as men drunk with new wine, Peter said that they were not drunk, since it was the third hour of the day, but that this was what had been spoken through the prophet: It shall be in the last days, says the Lord, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and they shall prophesy (Acts 2:17; Joel 3:1). God, then, who promised through the prophet that he would send his Spirit upon the human race, is the one who also sent it; and it is God himself whom Peter proclaims as having fulfilled his own promise.

2. For Peter says: Men of Israel, hear my words: Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved by God among you by mighty works and wonders and signs, which God did through him in your midst, as you yourselves know: this man, delivered up by the fixed counsel and foreknowledge of God, you fastened up by the hands of the wicked and killed; whom God raised up, having loosed the pains of hell, because it was not possible for him to be held by them (Acts 2:22–24). For David says of him: I foresaw the Lord always before me, for he is at my right hand, that I may not be moved. Therefore my heart was glad and my tongue rejoiced; moreover my flesh also shall rest in hope. For you will not leave my soul in hell, nor give your holy one to see corruption (Acts 2:25–27; Ps 16:8–10). Then again he speaks boldly to them of the patriarch David, that he died and was buried, and that his tomb is among them to this day. But being a prophet, he says, and knowing that God had sworn to him with an oath that of the fruit of his womb one should sit upon his throne, he spoke with foresight of the resurrection of Christ, that he was not left in hell, nor did his flesh see corruption (Acts 2:30–31; Ps 132:11). This Jesus, he says, God raised up, and of him we are all witnesses: being exalted by the right hand of God, and receiving from the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, he has poured out this gift which you now see and hear (Acts 2:32–33). For David did not ascend into heaven; but he himself says: The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet (Acts 2:34–35; Ps 110:1). Let all the house of Israel, therefore, know most surely that God has made this Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ (Acts 2:36). When, then, the crowds had said: What then shall we do? (Acts 2:37)

Petrus ad eos ait: « Poenitentiam agite, et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Jesu, in remissionem peccatorum, et accipietis donum Spiritus sancti. » Sic non alium Deum, nec aliam plenitudinem annuntiabant apostoli; nec alterum quidem passum et resurgentem Christum, alterum vero qui sursum volaverit, et impassibilis perseveraverit; sed unum et eumdem Deum Patrem, et Christum Jesum, qui a mortuis resurrexit; et eam, quae in eum est, fidem annuntiabant his qui non credebant in Filium Dei; et ex prophetis cohortabantur eos, quoniam eum, quem promisit se Deus missurum Christum, misit Jesum, quem ipsi crucifixerunt, quem Deus excitavit.

3. Rursus cum Petrus simul cum Joanne vidisset eum, qui a nativitate claudus erat, ante portam templi, quae dicitur speciosa, sedentem et petentem eleemosynam, dixit ei: « Argentum et aurum non est mihi; quod autem habeo, hoc tibi do: In nomine Jesu Christi Nazareni surge, et ambula. Et statim ejus confirmati sunt gressus, et plantae, et ambulabat, et introivit cum ipsis in templum, ambulans, et saliens, et glorificans Deum. »

Multitudine autem universa collecta ad eos propter inopinatum factum, Petrus dixit eis: « Viri Israelitae, quid miramini in hoc, et nos quid intuemini, quasi nostra virtute fecerimus hunc ambulare? Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, et Deus Jacob, Deus patrum nostrorum, glorificavit Filium suum, quem vos quidem tradidistis in judicium, et negastis ante faciem Pilati, cum remittere eum vellet. Vos autem sanctum et justum aggravastis, et petistis virum homicidam donari vobis; ducem autem vitae occidistis, quem Deus excitavit a mortuis, cujus nos testes sumus. Et in fide nominis ejus hunc quem videtis et scitis, confirmavit nomen ejus, et fides, quae est per ipsum, dedit ei incolumitatem coram vobis omnibus. Et nunc, fratres, scio quoniam secundum ignorantiam fecistis nequam. Deus autem quae praedixit ore omnium prophetarum, pati Christum suum, adimplevit. Poenitentiam igitur agite, et convertimini, uti deleantur peccata vestra, et veniant vobis tempora refrigerii a facie Domini, et mittat praeparatum vobis Jesum Christum, quem oportet quidem coelum suscipere usque ad tempora dispositionis omnium, quae locutus est Deus per sanctos prophetas suos. Moyses quidem dicit ad patres nostros: Quoniam prophetam excitabit vobis Dominus Deus vester ex fratribus vestris, quemadmodum me; ipsum audietis in omnibus quaecunque locutus fuerit ad vos. Erit autem: Omnis anima quaecunque non audierit prophetam illum, peribit de populo. Et omnes a Samuel et deinceps, quotquot locuti sunt, et annuntiaverunt dies istos. Vos estis filii prophetarum, et testamenti quod Deus disposuit ad patres nostros, dicens ad Abraham: Et in semine tuo benedicentur omnes tribus terrae.

Peter said to them: Repent, and let each one of you be baptised in the name of Jesus for the remission of sins, and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38). Thus the apostles did not proclaim another God, nor another Fullness; nor one Christ who suffered and rose again and another who flew up on high and remained impassible; but one and the same God the Father, and Christ Jesus, who rose from the dead; and they proclaimed faith in him to those who did not believe in the Son of God; and from the prophets they urged on them that the one whom God had promised to send as the Christ he had sent: Jesus, whom they themselves crucified, whom God raised up.

3. Again, when Peter, together with John, had seen the man who was lame from birth sitting before the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful and asking for alms, he said to him: Silver and gold I have none; but what I have, this I give you: In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise and walk. And at once his steps and his soles were made firm, and he walked, and went into the temple with them, walking and leaping and glorifying God (Acts 3:6–8).

When the whole multitude had gathered to them because of the unexpected deed, Peter said to them: Men of Israel, why do you wonder at this, and why do you gaze at us, as though by our own power we had made this man walk? (Acts 3:12) The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob, the God of our fathers, has glorified his Son, whom you indeed delivered up to judgement and denied before the face of Pilate, when he wished to release him. But you oppressed the holy and just one, and asked that a murderer be granted to you; and you killed the prince of life, whom God raised from the dead, of which we are witnesses. And by faith in his name, his name has made strong this man whom you see and know, and the faith which is through him has given him this soundness in the presence of you all (Acts 3:13–16). And now, brothers, I know that you did evil in ignorance. But the things which God foretold by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he has fulfilled. Repent therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, and that times of refreshment may come to you from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send you Jesus Christ, who has been prepared for you, whom heaven must indeed receive until the times of the disposition of all things, which God spoke through his holy prophets (Acts 3:17–21). Moses indeed says to our fathers: The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet from among your brothers, like me; him you shall hear in all things whatever he shall say to you (Acts 3:22; Deut 18:15). And it shall be: Every soul that does not hear that prophet shall perish from among the people (Acts 3:23). And all from Samuel onwards, as many as have spoken, have also proclaimed these days (Acts 3:24). You are the sons of the prophets, and of the testament which God disposed for our fathers, saying to Abraham: And in your seed all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed (Acts 3:25; Gen 22:18).

Vobis primum Deus excitans Filium suum misit benedicentem vos, ut convertat se unusquisque a nequitiis suis. » Manifestam ergo praeconationem Petrus cum Joanne praeconavit eis, repromissionem, quam fecit Deus patribus, per Jesum adimpletam evangelizans: non quidem alterum Deum annuntians, sed Filium Dei, qui et homo factus est, et passus, in agnitionem adducens Israel; et in Jesu resurrectionem, quae est a mortuis, annuntians, et significans, quoniam omnia, quae prophetae annuntiaverunt de passione Christi, haec adimplevit Deus.

4. Propter quod rursus convocatis principibus sacerdotum, fiducialiter Petrus dixit ad eos: « Principes populi, et seniores Israelitae, si nos hodie redarguimur a vobis in benefacto hominis infirmi, in quo hic salvatus est; cognitum sit omnibus vobis, et omni populo Israel, quoniam in nomine Jesu Christi Nazareni, quem vos crucifixistis, quem Deus excitavit a mortuis, in hoc hic astat in conspectu vestro sanus. Hic est lapis spretus a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli. Et non est aliud nomen sub coelo, quod datum sit hominibus, in quo oporteat salvari nos. » Sic apostoli non Deum mutabant, sed Christum annuntiabant populo esse Jesum qui crucifixus est, quem Deus excitavit. Qui prophetas misit, idem Deus excitavit, et salutem in eo dedit hominibus.

5. Confusi igitur et per curationem (« annorum enim, inquit Scriptura, plus quam xl, erat homo in quo factum est signum curationis ») et per doctrinam apostolorum et prophetarum expositionem, cum remisissent summi sacerdotes Petrum et Joannem, et reversi essent ad reliquos coapostolos, et discipulos Domini, id est in Ecclesiam, et enarrassent quae fuerant facta, et quemadmodum fiducialiter egissent in nomine Jesu: « Audientes, inquit, tota Ecclesia, unanimes extulerunt vocem ad Deum, et dixerunt: Domine, tu es Deus qui fecisti coelum, et terram, et mare, et omnia quae in eis sunt, qui per Spiritum sanctum ore David patris nostri, pueri tui, dixisti: Quare fremuerunt gentes, et populi meditati sunt inania? Astiterunt reges terrae, et principes congregati sunt in unum adversus Dominum et adversus Christum ejus. Convenerunt enim vere in hac civitate adversus sanctum Filium tuum Jesum, quem unxisti, Herodes et Pontius Pilatus, cum gentibus et populis Israel, facere quaecunque manus tua, et voluntas tua praedestinaverat fieri. »

To you first God, raising up his Son, has sent him to bless you, that each one may turn from his wickedness (Acts 3:26). Peter, then, with John, proclaimed to them an open proclamation, bringing them the good news that the promise which God made to the fathers had been fulfilled through Jesus: not announcing another God, but the Son of God, who was also made man and suffered, and leading Israel into knowledge; announcing too the resurrection from the dead in Jesus, and signifying that all that the prophets had announced concerning the Passion of Christ, God had fulfilled.

4. For this reason, when the chief priests had again been called together, Peter said boldly to them: Rulers of the people and elders of Israel, if we are being called to account by you today for a good deed done to a sick man, by which this man has been made whole, be it known to all of you and to all the people of Israel that in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, whom you crucified, whom God raised from the dead, by him this man stands here before you whole (Acts 4:8–10). This is the stone rejected by you, the builders, which has become the head of the corner (Acts 4:11; Ps 118:22). And there is no other name under heaven given to men in which we must be saved (Acts 4:12). Thus the apostles did not change God, but proclaimed to the people that the Christ was Jesus who was crucified, whom God raised up. The same God who sent the prophets raised him up, and gave salvation in him to men.

5. Confounded, then, both by the healing (for the man, says the Scripture, on whom the sign of healing had been done was more than forty years old (Acts 4:22)) and by the teaching of the apostles and their exposition of the prophets, the chief priests released Peter and John; and when these had returned to the rest of their fellow apostles and to the disciples of the Lord, that is, into the church, and had related what had been done and how boldly they had acted in the name of Jesus, hearing it, he says, the whole church with one accord lifted up their voice to God and said: Lord, you are the God who made heaven and earth and the sea and all that is in them, who through the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of David our father, your servant, said: Why did the nations rage, and the peoples devise vain things? (Acts 4:24–25; Ps 2:1) The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ (Acts 4:26; Ps 2:2). For truly there gathered together in this city against your holy Son Jesus, whom you anointed, Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the nations and the peoples of Israel, to do whatever your hand and your will had predestined to be done (Acts 4:27–28).

Hae voces Ecclesiae ex qua habuit omnis Ecclesia initium: hae voces civitatis magnae, Novi Testamenti civium: hae voces apostolorum, hae voces discipulorum Domini, eorum qui post assumptionem Domini per Spiritum et perfecti exstiterunt, et invocaverunt Deum, qui fecit coelum et terram, et mare, qui per prophetas annuntiatus est, et ejus Filius Jesus, quem unxit Deus, et alterum autem nescientes. Non enim erat ibi tunc Valentinus, nec Marcion, nec reliqui sui, vel eorum qui assentiunt eis, eversores. Propter quod et exaudivit eos factor omnium Deus. « Commotus est enim, inquit, locus, in quo erant collecti, et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu sancto, et loquebantur verbum Dei cum fiducia, » omni volenti credere. « Virtute enim magna, inquit, reddebant testimonium apostoli resurrectionis Domini Jesu, » dicentes ad eos: « Deus patrum nostrorum excitavit Jesum, quem vos apprehendistis, et interfecistis suspendentes in ligno. Hunc Deus principem, et Salvatorem exaltavit gloria sua, dare poenitentiam Israel, et remissionem peccatorum: et nos in eo testes sumus sermonum horum, et Spiritus sanctus, quem dedit Deus credentibus ei. Omni quoque die, inquit, in templo et in domo non cessabant docentes et evangelizantes Christum Jesum » Filium Dei. Haec enim erat salutis agnitio, quae perfectos ad Deum efficit eos, qui cognoscunt Filii ejus adventum.

6. Quoniam autem impudenter quidam eorum dicunt: Apud Judaeos praeconantes apostoli non poterant alterum eis Deum annuntiare, praeter eum, qui creditus fuerat ab ipsis; dicimus ad eos, quoniam si secundum olim insitam opinionem hominibus loquebantur apostoli, nemo ab his cognovit veritatem, multo autem prius a Domino; etenim ipsum sic locutum dicunt. Nec hi ergo ipsi veritatem sciunt, sed sententia eorum de Deo cum esset talis, exceperant doctrinam, quemadmodum audire poterant. Secundum hunc igitur sermonem apud neminem erit regula veritatis, sed omnes discipuli omnibus imputabunt, quoniam quemadmodum unusquisque sentiebat, et quemadmodum capiebat, sic et sermo ad eum factus est. Superfluus autem et inutilis adventus Domini parebit, si quidem venit permissurus, et servaturus uniuscujusque olim insitam de Deo opinionem. Adhuc etiam et multo durius erat, quem hominem viderant Judaei, et cruci affixerant, annuntiari hunc esse Christum Filium Dei, aeternum ipsorum regem. Non igitur jam secundum pristinam eorum opinionem loquebantur ad eos. Qui enim in faciem interfectores eos esse Domini dicebant, multo magis fiducialiter eum Patrem, qui super Demiurgum est, et ipsis annuntiarent, et non in quod putabat unusquisque; et multo minus erat peccatum, siquidem superiorem Salvatorem, ad quem ascendere eos oporteret, quoniam esset impassibilis, non affixissent cruci.

These are the voices of the church from which every church has had its beginning; these are the voices of the great city, of the citizens of the New Testament; these are the voices of the apostles, these the voices of the disciples of the Lord, of those who after the taking up of the Lord were made perfect through the Spirit, and called upon God, who made heaven and earth and the sea, who was proclaimed through the prophets, and upon his Son Jesus, whom God anointed, knowing no other. For Valentinus was not there then, nor Marcion, nor the rest, subverters of themselves and of those who agree with them. Therefore God, the Maker of all things, also heard them. For the place, he says, in which they were gathered was shaken, and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and they spoke the word of God with boldness (Acts 4:31) to everyone who wished to believe. For with great power, he says, the apostles gave testimony to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus (Acts 4:33), saying to them: The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom you seized and killed, hanging him on a tree. Him God exalted with his glory as Prince and Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and the remission of sins; and we are witnesses in him of these words, and so is the Holy Spirit, whom God has given to those who believe in him (Acts 5:30–32). And every day, he says, in the temple and at home they did not cease teaching and proclaiming the good news of Christ Jesus (Acts 5:42), the Son of God. For this was the knowledge of salvation, which makes perfect towards God those who know the coming of his Son.

6. But since some of them impudently say: "When the apostles proclaimed among the Jews, they could not announce to them another God besides the one in whom they had believed", we say to them that, if the apostles spoke to men according to the opinion long implanted in them, no one learned the truth from them, and much less from the Lord; for they say that he too spoke in this way. So neither do these men themselves know the truth; but since their mind about God was such, they received the teaching as they were able to hear it. By this reasoning, then, the rule of truth will be with no one, but all disciples will lay it to the account of all, that as each one thought and as each one could contain it, so the word was spoken to him. And the coming of the Lord will appear superfluous and useless, if indeed he came to allow and to preserve the opinion about God long implanted in each one. Moreover, it was a far harder thing to proclaim that the man whom the Jews had seen and fastened to the cross was the Christ, the Son of God, their eternal king. So they did not speak to them according to their former opinion. For those who told them to their face that they were the murderers of the Lord would much more boldly have proclaimed to them too the Father who is above the Demiurge, and not what each one thought; and the sin would have been much less, if indeed they had not fastened to the cross a higher Saviour, to whom they ought to ascend, since he was impassible.

Quemadmodum enim gentibus non secundum sententiam illorum loquebantur, sed cum fiducia dicebant, quoniam dii ipsorum non essent dii, sed idola daemoniorum; simili modo et Judaeis annuntiassent, si alterum majorem et perfectiorem scissent Patrem, non adnutrientes, neque augentes eorum non veram de Deo opinionem. Ethnicorum autem solventes errorem, et auferentes eos a suis diis, non utique alterum eis inferebant errorem; sed auferentes eos qui non erant dii, eum, qui solus erat Deus et verus Pater, ostenderunt.

7. Ex verbis Petri igitur, quae fecit in Caesarea ad Cornelium centurionem, et eos qui cum eo erant gentiles, quibus primo enarratus est sermo Dei, cognoscendum est nobis, quae annuntiabant apostoli, et qualis fuit praedicatio ipsorum, et quam habuerunt de Deo sententiam. « Erat enim, inquit, Cornelius hic religiosus et timens Deum cum tota domo sua, et faciens eleemosynas multas in populo, et orans Deum semper. Vidit ergo, circa horam nonam diei, angelum Dei intrantem ad se, et dicentem: Eleemosynae tuae ascenderunt in recommemorationem in conspectu Dei. Propter quod mitte ad Simonem, qui vocatur Petrus. » Petrus autem cum vidisset revelationem, in qua respondit ad eum coelestis vox: « Quae Deus emundavit, tu ne commune dixeris; » hoc ideo, quoniam qui per legem inter munda et immunda distinxit Deus hic emundavit gentes per sanguinem Filii sui, quem et Cornelius colebat. Ad quem Petrus veniens dixit: « In veritate comperi, quoniam non est personarum acceptor Deus, sed in omni gente, qui timet eum, et operatur justitiam, acceptabilis ei est. » Manifeste significans, quoniam quem antea Deum timebat Cornelius, quem per legem et prophetas audierat, propter quem et eleemosynas faciebat, hic in veritate est Deus. Deerat autem ei agnitio. Propter quod adjecit: « Vos scitis quod factum est verbum per omnem Judaeam: incipiens enim a Galilaea post baptismum, quod praedicavit Joannes: Jesum a Nazareth, quemadmodum unxit eum Deus Spiritu sancto et virtute; ipse circuivit benefaciens et curans omnes qui oppressi erant a diabolo, quoniam Deus erat cum eo. Et nos testes sumus omnium eorum, quae fecit et in regione Judaeorum, et in Hierusalem: quem interfecerunt suspendentes in ligno. Hunc Deus excitavit tertia die, et dedit eum manifestum fieri, non omni populo, sed testibus nobis praedestinatis a Deo, qui cum eo et manducavimus, et bibimus post resurrectionem a mortuis. Et praecepit nobis annuntiare populo, et testificari, quoniam ipse est praedestinatus a Deo judex vivorum et mortuorum. Huic omnes prophetae testimonium reddunt remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen ejus omnem credentem in eum. »

For just as they did not speak to the nations according to their opinion, but told them with boldness that their gods were not gods but idols of demons, so in like manner they would have proclaimed to the Jews also, if they had known another, greater and more perfect Father, not nourishing or increasing their untrue opinion about God. And when they dissolved the error of the heathen and took them away from their gods, they certainly did not bring in another error for them; but, taking away those who were not gods, they showed him who alone was God and the true Father.

7. From the words of Peter, then, which he spoke at Caesarea to Cornelius the centurion and to the Gentiles who were with him, to whom the word of God was first declared, we are to learn what the apostles proclaimed, what their preaching was, and what doctrine they held concerning God. For this Cornelius, he says, was devout and feared God with all his house, and gave many alms to the people, and prayed to God always. So about the ninth hour of the day he saw an angel of God coming in to him and saying: Your alms have gone up for a remembrance in the sight of God. Therefore send to Simon, who is called Peter (Acts 10:2–5). When Peter had seen the vision in which the heavenly voice answered him: What God has cleansed, do not call common (Acts 10:15), this was so because the God who through the Law had distinguished between clean and unclean, the God whom Cornelius also worshipped, is the one who cleansed the nations through the blood of his Son. Coming to him, Peter said: In truth I have found that God is not a respecter of persons, but in every nation whoever fears him and works justice is acceptable to him (Acts 10:34–35). He signified plainly that the God whom Cornelius had feared before, of whom he had heard through the Law and the Prophets, for whose sake he also gave alms, is in truth God. But he lacked knowledge. That is why he added: You know the word that went through all Judaea: for, beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached, Jesus of Nazareth, how God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power; he went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, for God was with him. And we are witnesses of all that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem; whom they killed, hanging him on a tree. Him God raised up on the third day, and granted that he should be made manifest, not to all the people, but to witnesses predestined by God, to us, who ate and drank with him after the resurrection from the dead. And he commanded us to proclaim to the people and to testify that he is the one predestined by God as judge of the living and the dead. To him all the prophets bear witness, that everyone who believes in him receives remission of sins through his name (Acts 10:37–43).

Filium ergo Dei, quem ignorabant homines, annuntiabant apostoli, et adventum ejus, his qui ante instructi erant de Deo; sed non alterum Deum inferebant. Si enim tale aliquid sciret Petrus, libere gentibus praedicasset, alterum quidem Judaeorum, alterum autem Christianorum esse Deum; qui quidem propter visionem angeli conterriti omnes, quodcunque eis dixisset, credidissent. Ex verbis autem Petri manifestum est, quoniam praecognitum quidem eis Deum custodivit; Filium autem Dei Jesum Christum esse testificatus est ipsis, judicem vivorum et mortuorum, in quem et baptizari eos jussit in remissionem peccatorum: et non tantum hoc, sed et Jesum ipsum esse Filium Dei testificatus est, qui et unctus Spiritu sancto, Jesus Christus dicitur. Et est hic idem ex Maria natus, quemadmodum Petri continet testificatio. An nunquid perfectam tunc cognitionem nondum habebat Petrus, quam postea adinvenerunt hi? Imperfectus igitur secundum hos Petrus, imperfecti autem et reliqui apostoli: et oportebit eos reviviscentes, horum fieri discipulos, ut et ipsi perfecti fiant. Sed hoc quidem ridiculum est. Arguuntur vero isti non quidem apostolorum, sed suae malae sententiae esse discipuli. Propter hoc autem et variae sententiae sunt uniuscujusque eorum, recipientis errorem quemadmodum capiebat. Ecclesia vero per universum mundum ab apostolis firmum habens initium, in una et eadem de Deo et de Filio ejus perseverat sententia.

8. Philippus autem rursus spadoni reginae Aethiopum revertenti a Hierosolymis, et legenti Isaiam prophetam, solus soli, quem annuntiavit? Nonne eum, de quo dixit propheta: « Tanquam ovis ad victimam ductus est, quemadmodum agnus ante tondentem se sine voce, sic non aperuit os? Nativitatem autem ejus quis enarrabit? quoniam tolletur a terra vita ejus. » Hunc esse Jesum, et impletam esse in eo Scripturam; quemadmodum ipse eunuchus credens, et statim postulans baptizari dicebat: « Credo Filium Dei esse Jesum. » Qui et missus est in regiones Aethiopiae, praedicaturus hoc quod ipse crediderat, Deum quidem unum per prophetas praedicatum; hujus vero Filium fecisse secundum hominem adventum, et ut ovem ad victimam ductum, et reliqua quaecunque prophetae dicunt de eo.

9. Paulus quoque et ipse, posteaquam de coelo locutus est ad eum Dominus, et ostendit quoniam suum Dominum persequeretur, persequens discipulos ejus, et misit Ananiam ad eum, ut iterum videret et baptizaretur: « In synagogis, ait, in Damasco praedicabat cum omni fiducia Jesum, quoniam hic est Christus Filius Dei. » Hoc est mysterium, quod dicit per revelationem manifestatum sibi, quoniam qui passus est sub Pontio Pilato, hic Dominus est omnium, et Rex, et Deus, et judex; ab eo qui est omnium Deus, accipiens potestatem, quoniam « subjectus factus est usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. »

The apostles, then, proclaimed the Son of God, whom men did not know, and his coming, to those who had already been instructed about God; but they did not bring in another God. For if Peter had known any such thing, he would freely have preached to the nations that the God of the Jews was one and the God of the Christians another; and they, all terrified as they were by the vision of the angel, would have believed whatever he told them. From Peter's words, however, it is plain that he kept to the God known to them beforehand; but he testified to them that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, the judge of the living and the dead, into whom he also commanded them to be baptised for the remission of sins; and not only this, but he testified that Jesus himself was the Son of God, who, having also been anointed with the Holy Spirit, is called Jesus Christ. And he is the same who was born of Mary, as Peter's testimony contains. Or did Peter not yet have, at that time, the perfect knowledge which these men devised afterwards? So, according to them, Peter was imperfect, and imperfect too were the rest of the apostles; and they will have to come back to life and become disciples of these men, so that they too may be made perfect. But this is laughable. These men are proved to be disciples not of the apostles but of their own evil doctrine. And for this reason each of them has his own various doctrines, each taking in error as he was able to contain it. But the Church throughout the whole world, having its firm beginning from the apostles, perseveres in one and the same doctrine concerning God and his Son.

8. Philip, again: whom did he proclaim to the eunuch of the queen of the Ethiopians, as he was returning from Jerusalem and reading the prophet Isaiah, he alone to him alone? Was it not him of whom the prophet said: Like a sheep he was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb before its shearer is without voice, so he did not open his mouth? But who shall tell his birth? For his life shall be taken away from the earth (Acts 8:32–33; Isa 53:7–8). That this was Jesus, and that the Scripture had been fulfilled in him: as the eunuch himself, believing and at once asking to be baptised, said: I believe that Jesus is the Son of God (Acts 8:37). He was also sent into the regions of Ethiopia to preach what he himself had believed: that there is one God, preached by the prophets, and that his Son had made his coming according to man, and was led like a sheep to the slaughter, and all the other things that the prophets say of him.

9. Paul too, after the Lord had spoken to him from heaven and shown him that in persecuting his disciples he was persecuting his own Lord, and had sent Ananias to him that he might see again and be baptised: In the synagogues at Damascus, he says, he preached Jesus with all boldness, that he is the Christ, the Son of God (Acts 9:20). This is the mystery which he says was made manifest to him by revelation: that he who suffered under Pontius Pilate is the Lord of all, and King, and God, and judge, receiving power from him who is the God of all, because he was made subject even to death, and that the death of the cross (Phil 2:8).

Et quoniam hoc verum est, Atheniensibus evangelizans in Areopago, ubi Judaeis non assistentibus, licebat ei cum fiducia verum praedicare Deum, dixit eis: « Deus, qui fecit mundum, et omnia quae in eo sunt, hic coeli et terrae Dominus exsistens, non in manufactis templis inhabitat, nec a manibus humanis tractatur, tanquam alicujus indigens, cum ipse omnibus dederit vitam et spiritum, et omnia fecerit, qui fecit ex uno sanguine omne genus hominum inhabitare super faciem totius terrae, praefiniens tempora secundum determinationem inhabitationis eorum, quaerere illud quod est divinum, si quo modo tractare possint illud, aut invenire, quamvis etiam non longe sit ab unoquoque nostrum; in ipso enim vivimus, et movemur, et sumus; et quemadmodum quidam secundum vos dixerunt: Hujus enim et genus sumus. Genus igitur cum simus Dei, non oportet nos putare, id quod est divinum simile esse auro vel argento, vel lapidi per artem, vel concupiscentiam hominis deformato. Tempora ergo ignorantiae despiciens Deus, nunc praecepit hominibus omnibus ubique poeniteri in ipsum, quoniam constituit diem judicari orbem terrae in justitia, in viro Jesu, in quo statuit fidem, excitans eum a mortuis. » Hoc autem in loco non solum factorem mundi Deum eis annuntiat, non assistentibus Judaeis, sed et quoniam unum genus humanum fecit inhabitare super omnem terram, quemadmodum et Moyses ait: « Quando divisit Altissimus gentes, quemadmodum dispersit filios Adam, statuit terminos gentium secundum numerum angelorum Dei; » populum autem qui credit Deo, jam non esse sub angelorum potestate, sed sub Domini: « Facta est enim portio Domini populus ejus Jacob, funiculum haereditatis ejus Israel. »

Et iterum Lystris Lyciae cum esset Paulus cum Barnaba, et a nativitate claudum in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi ambulare fecisset, et cum turba honorare eos vellet quemadmodum deos, propter admirabile factum, ait eis: « Nos similes vobis sumus homines, evangelizantes vobis Deum, uti ab eis vanis simulacris convertamini ad Deum vivum, qui fecit coelum, et terram, et mare, et omnia quae in eis sunt: qui in praeteritis temporibus permisit omnes gentes abire vias suas, quanquam non sine testimonio semetipsum reliquit, benefaciens, de coelo dans vobis pluvias et tempora fructifera, adimplens cibo et hilaritate corda vestra. » Quoniam autem his annuntiationibus ejus omnes epistolae consonant, ex ipsis epistolis ostendimus apto in loco, exponentes Apostolum. Nobis autem collaborantibus his ostensionibus, quae ex Scripturis sunt, et quae multifarie dicta sunt, breviter et compendiose annuntiantibus, et tu cum magnanimitate intende eis, et non longiloquium putare: hoc intelligens quoniam ostensiones, quae sunt in Scripturis, non possunt ostendi, nisi ex ipsis Scripturis.

And because this is true, when he was bringing the good news to the Athenians on the Areopagus, where, the Jews not being present, he was free to preach the true God with boldness, he said to them: God, who made the world and all that is in it, being the Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples made by hands, nor is he handled by human hands as though he needed anything, since he himself has given to all life and breath and has made all things; who made of one blood the whole race of men to dwell upon the face of all the earth, fixing beforehand the times according to the bounds of their dwelling, that they should seek the divine, if in any way they might handle it or find it, though indeed it is not far from each one of us; for in him we live and move and are; and as some among you have said: For we are also his offspring. Being, then, the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the divine is like gold or silver or stone, shaped by the art or the desire of man. God, then, overlooking the times of ignorance, now commands all men everywhere to repent towards him, because he has appointed a day for the world to be judged in justice, in the man Jesus, in whom he has established faith, raising him from the dead (Acts 17:24–31). In this place he not only proclaims to them God, the Maker of the world, the Jews not being present, but also that he made the one human race to dwell upon all the earth, as Moses too says: When the Most High divided the nations, as he scattered the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God (Deut 32:8); but that the people which believes God is no longer under the power of angels but under the Lord's: For the portion of the Lord has become his people Jacob, Israel the line of his inheritance (Deut 32:9).

And again, when Paul was at Lystra in Lycia with Barnabas, and had made a man lame from birth walk in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the crowd wished to honour them as gods because of the wonderful deed, he said to them: We are men like you, bringing you the good news of God, that you may turn from these vain idols to the living God, who made heaven and earth and the sea and all that is in them; who in past times allowed all the nations to go their own ways, though he did not leave himself without testimony, doing good, giving you rains from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness (Acts 14:15–17). And that all his epistles are in harmony with these proclamations of his, we show from the epistles themselves in the fitting place, when we expound the Apostle. And as we labour together with these proofs which are from the Scriptures, and proclaim briefly and concisely things that have been said in many ways, do you too give heed to them with long-suffering, and do not think it long-winded: understanding this, that the proofs which are in the Scriptures cannot be shown except from the Scriptures themselves.

10. Stephanus autem iterum qui electus est ab apostolis primus diaconus, qui et primus ex omnibus hominibus sectatus est vestigia martyrii Domini, propter Christi confessionem primus interfectus, fiducialiter loquens in populo, et docens eos, dicens: « Deus gloriae visus est patri nostro Abrahae, et dixit ad eum: Exi de terra tua, et de cognatione tua, et veni in terram, quam demonstrabo tibi: et transtulit illum in terram hanc, quam nunc et vos inhabitatis, et non dedit ei haereditatem in ea, nec gressum pedis; sed promisit dare in possessionem eam, et semini ejus post eum. Locutus est autem sic Deus ad eum: quoniam erit semen ejus peregrinans in terra aliena, et in servitutem redigentur, et vexabuntur annis quadringentis: et gentem, cui servient, judicabo ego, dicit Dominus. Et postea exient, et servient mihi in isto loco. Et dedit ei testamentum circumcisionis, et sic generavit Isaac. » Et reliqua autem verborum ejus eumdem Deum annuntiant, qui fuit cum Joseph, et cum patriarchis, qui et collocutus est Moysi.

11. Et omnem apostolorum doctrinam unum et eumdem Deum annuntiasse, qui transtulit Abraham, qui promissionem haereditatis ei fecit, qui testamentum circumcisionis apto tempore dedit, qui ex Aegypto vocavit semen ejus, servatum manifeste per circumcisionem (in signo enim dedit eam, ut non similes essent Aegyptiis); hunc factorem omnium, hunc Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, hunc Deum claritatis, ex ipsis sermonibus et Actibus apostolorum volentes discere possunt, et contemplari, quoniam unus hic Deus, super quem alius non est. Si autem et erat super hunc alius Deus, ex abundanti per comparationem diceremus: hic illo melior est. Melior enim ex operibus apparet, quemadmodum et praediximus: et cum illi nullum Patris sui opus habeant ostendere, hic solus ostenditur Deus. Si quis autem « aegrotans circa quaestiones, » ea quae ab apostolis de Deo dicta sunt, allegorizanda existimat; praedictos sermones nostros discutiat, in quibus unum Deum conditorem et factorem omnium ostendimus, et ea quae ab illis dicuntur, destruximus et denudavimus: et inveniet consonantes eos apostolorum doctrinae, et sic habere quemadmodum docebant et persuadebantur, quoniam unus est fabricator omnium Deus: et cum repulerit a sententia sua tantum errorem, et eam, quae est adversus Deum, blasphemiam; et a semetipso inveniet rationem, cognoscens et eam, quae est secundum Moysem legem, et gratiam Novi Testamenti, utraque apta temporibus, ad utilitatem humani generis ab uno et eodem praestita Deo.

10. Stephen, again, who was chosen by the apostles as the first deacon, who also was the first of all men to follow in the footsteps of the martyrdom of the Lord, the first to be killed for confessing Christ, speaking boldly among the people and teaching them, saying: The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, and said to him: Go out from your land and from your kindred, and come into the land which I will show you; and he removed him into this land, in which you too now dwell, and he gave him no inheritance in it, not even a footstep; but he promised to give it to him for a possession, and to his seed after him. And God spoke to him thus: that his seed would be a sojourner in a foreign land, and they would be brought into bondage and afflicted for four hundred years; and the nation which they serve I will judge, says the Lord. And afterwards they will come out and serve me in this place. And he gave him the testament of circumcision; and so he begot Isaac (Acts 7:2–8). And the rest of his words proclaim the same God, who was with Joseph and with the patriarchs, who also spoke with Moses.

11. And that the whole teaching of the apostles proclaimed one and the same God, who removed Abraham, who made him the promise of the inheritance, who gave the testament of circumcision at the fitting time, who called his seed out of Egypt, preserved plainly through circumcision (for he gave it as a sign, that they might not be like the Egyptians); that this is the Maker of all things, this the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, this the God of glory: those who wish can learn it from the very words and Acts of the apostles, and can see that this is the one God, above whom there is no other. But even if there were another God above this one, we should say, by way of comparison and more than was needed: This one is better than that one. For the better is shown by his works, as we have also said before; and since they have no work of their Father to show, this one alone is shown to be God. But if anyone, sick about questions (1 Tim 6:4), thinks that what the apostles said about God must be allegorised, let him examine our discourses above, in which we have shown one God, the Creator and Maker of all things, and have destroyed and laid bare what they say; and he will find them in harmony with the teaching of the apostles, and that it stands as they taught and were persuaded, that God, the Fashioner of all things, is one; and when he has driven from his mind so great an error and the blasphemy against God, he will also find the reason by himself, knowing both the Law according to Moses and the grace of the New Testament, both fitted to their times, bestowed by one and the same God for the profit of the human race.

12. Omnes enim, qui sunt malae sententiae, moti ab ea legisdatione, quae secundum Moysem, dissimilem eam et contrariam Evangelii doctrinae arbitrantes, jam non sunt conversi, uti differentiae utriusque Testamenti inquirerent causas. Deserti igitur cum sint a paterna dilectione, et inflati a Satana, conversi in Simonis Magi doctrinam, abstiterunt sententiis suis ab eo qui est Deus, et putaverunt semetipsos plus invenisse, quam apostoli, alterum Deum adinvenientes. Et apostolos quidem adhuc quae sunt Judaeorum sentientes, annuntiasse Evangelium; se autem sinceriores, et prudentiores apostolis esse. Unde et Marcion, et qui ab eo sunt, ad intercidendas conversi sunt Scripturas, quasdam quidem in totum non cognoscentes, secundum Lucam autem Evangelium, et Epistolas Pauli decurtantes, haec sola legitima esse dicunt, quae ipsi minoraverunt. Nos autem etiam ex his, quae adhuc apud eos custodiuntur, arguemus eos, donante Deo, in altera conscriptione. Reliqui vero omnes falso scientiae nomine inflati, Scripturas quidem confitentur, interpretationes vero convertunt, quemadmodum ostendimus in primo libro. Et quidem hi qui a Marcione sunt statim blasphemant fabricatorem, dicentes eum malorum factorem, propositum initii sui tolerabiliorem habentes, duos naturaliter dicentes deos, distantes ab invicem, alterum quidem bonum, alterum autem malum: hi autem qui sunt a Valentino, nominibus honestius utentes, et Patrem, et Dominum, et Deum, hunc qui est fabricator, ostendentes, propositum sive sectam blasphemiorem habent, neque ab aliquo ex his, quae sunt intra plenitudinem, Aeonibus dicentes eum emissum, sed ab ea labe, quae extra Pleroma expulsa est. Haec autem omnia contulit eis Scripturarum et dispositionis Dei ignorantia. Nos et causam differentiae Testamentorum, et rursum unitatem et consonantiam ipsorum, in his quae deinceps futura sunt, referemus.

13. Quoniam autem et apostoli, et discentes ipsorum sic docebant, quemadmodum Ecclesia praedicat, et sic docentes perfecti fuerunt, propter quod et evocabantur ad perfectum; Stephanus haec docens, adhuc cum super terram esset, vidit gloriam Dei, et Jesum ad dexteram, et dixit: « Ecce video coelos apertos, et Filium hominis ad dexteram astantem Dei. » Et haec dixit, et lapidatus est, et sic perfectam doctrinam adimplevit, per omnia martyrii magistrum imitans, et postulans pro eis qui se interficiebant, et dicens: « Domine, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum. » Sic erant perfecti, qui unum et eumdem Deum, ab initio usque ad finem variis dispositionibus assistentem humano generi, sciebant; quemadmodum ait Osee propheta: « Ego visiones implevi, et in manibus prophetarum similatus sum. » Qui ergo usque ad mortem tradiderunt animas propter Evangelium Christi, quomodo poterant secundum insitam opinionem hominibus loqui? Quod ipsum si fecissent, non paterentur: sed quoniam contraria his, qui non assentiebant veritati, praedicabant, ideo et passi sunt.

12. For all who are of evil doctrine, put off by the lawgiving which is according to Moses, and thinking it unlike and contrary to the teaching of the Gospel, have not turned to inquire into the causes of the difference between the two Testaments. Since, then, they have been forsaken by the Father's love and puffed up by Satan, they have turned to the doctrine of Simon Magus, have departed in their opinions from him who is God, and have thought that they themselves had found out more than the apostles, devising another God. And the apostles, they say, proclaimed the Gospel while still thinking the things of the Jews; but they themselves are purer and wiser than the apostles. Hence Marcion too, and those who are from him, have turned to cutting up the Scriptures, rejecting some of them altogether, and, curtailing the Gospel according to Luke and the Epistles of Paul, they say that these alone are legitimate, which they themselves have diminished. But we shall refute them, God granting, from the very things which are still kept among them, in another writing. All the rest, puffed up by the false name of knowledge, confess the Scriptures indeed, but turn their interpretations aside, as we have shown in the first book. And those who are from Marcion blaspheme the Fashioner outright, calling him the maker of evils, though the premise of their own beginning is more tolerable, since they say that there are two gods by nature, distant from each other, the one good and the other evil; but those who are from Valentinus, using more honourable names, and setting forth the one who is the Fashioner as Father and Lord and God, hold a premise, or a sect, more blasphemous, saying that he was emitted not by any of the Aeons within the Fullness, but from that defect which was cast out of the Pleroma. All this has come upon them from ignorance of the Scriptures and of the disposition of God. We shall set out, in what is to follow, both the cause of the difference between the Testaments and, again, their unity and harmony.

13. And that both the apostles and their disciples taught as the Church preaches, and that, teaching so, they were perfect, for which reason they were also called out to perfection: Stephen, teaching these things while he was still upon earth, saw the glory of God and Jesus at the right hand, and said: Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55–56). He said this and was stoned, and so fulfilled the perfect teaching, imitating in all things the master of martyrdom, and praying for those who were killing him, and saying: Lord, do not lay this sin against them (Acts 7:60). Thus were they perfect who knew one and the same God, standing by the human race from the beginning to the end through various dispositions; as the prophet Hosea says: I have fulfilled visions, and by the hands of the prophets I have been represented (Hos 12:11). How, then, could those who gave up their lives even to death for the Gospel of Christ speak to men according to the opinion implanted in them? Had they done that very thing, they would not have suffered; but because they preached things contrary to those who did not assent to the truth, for that reason they suffered.

Manifestum est ergo, quoniam non derelinquebant veritatem, sed cum omni fiducia Judaeis et Graecis praedicabant: Judaeis quidem, Jesum eum qui ab ipsis crucifixus est, esse Filium Dei, judicem vivorum et mortuorum, a Patre accepisse aeternum regnum in Israel, quemadmodum ostendimus; Graecis vero unum Deum qui omnia fecit, et hujus Filium Jesum Christum annuntiantes.

14. Manifestius autem hoc ostenditur ex apostolorum epistola quam neque Judaeis, neque Graecis, sed his qui ex gentibus in Christum credebant, confirmantes fidem ipsorum, miserunt. Cum enim descendissent quidam a Judaea in Antiochiam, in qua et primum omnium discipuli Domini pro fide quam in Christo habebant, vocati sunt Christiani, et suaderent eis qui crediderant in Dominum, circumcidi, et reliqua secundum legis observationem perficere; et ascendissent Paulus et Barnabas Hierosolymam ad alteros apostolos propter hanc quaestionem, et universa Ecclesia convenisset in unum, Petrus dixit eis: « Viri fratres, vos scitis quoniam a diebus antiquis in vobis Deus elegit, ut ex ore meo audirent gentes verbum Evangelii, et crederent: et cordis inspector Deus testimonium perhibuit eis, dans eis Spiritum sanctum, sicut et nobis, et nihil discrevit inter nos et ipsos, emundans per fidem corda illorum. Nunc igitur quid tentatis Deum, imponere jugum super cervicem discipulorum, quod neque patres nostri, neque nos valuimus portare? Sed per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi credimus nos posse salvari quomodo et illi. »

Post quem Jacobus dixit: « Viri fratres, Simon retulit quemadmodum Deus excogitavit accipere ex gentibus populum nomini suo. Et sic conveniunt sermones prophetarum, sicut scriptum est: Post haec revertar, et reaedificabo tabernaculum David quod cecidit, et disturbata ejus aedificabo, et erigam illud, uti requirant reliqui hominum Dominum, et omnes gentes, in quibus invocatum est nomen meum super eos, dicit Dominus, faciens haec. Cognitum a saeculo est Deo opus ejus: propterea ego secundum me judico, non molestari eos, qui ex gentibus convertuntur ad Deum; sed praecipiendum eis, uti abstineant a vanitatibus idolorum, et a fornicatione, et a sanguine: et quaecunque nolunt sibi fieri, aliis ne faciant. » Et cum haec dicta essent, et omnes consensissent, scripserunt eis sic: « Apostoli, et presbyteri fratres, his qui sunt in Antiochia, et Syria, et Cilicia, fratribus ex gentibus, salutem. Quoniam audivimus, quia ex nobis quidam exeuntes turbaverunt vos sermonibus, destruentes animas vestras, quibus non praecepimus, dicentes: Circumcidimini et servate legem; placuit nobis convenientibus in unum, electos viros mittere ad vos cum dilectissimis nostris Barnaba et Paulo, hominibus qui tradiderunt animam suam pro nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Misimus igitur Judam et Silam, et ipsos per sermonem annuntiantes nostram sententiam.

It is plain, then, that they did not forsake the truth, but preached with all boldness to Jews and to Greeks: to the Jews, that Jesus, who had been crucified by them, is the Son of God, the judge of the living and the dead, and that he has received from the Father an eternal kingdom in Israel, as we have shown; to the Greeks, proclaiming one God who made all things, and his Son Jesus Christ.

14. And this is shown still more manifestly from the letter of the apostles, which they sent neither to the Jews nor to the Greeks, but to those from the nations who believed in Christ, to confirm their faith. For when certain men had come down from Judaea to Antioch, where too, first of all, the disciples of the Lord were called Christians because of the faith which they had in Christ, and were urging those who had believed in the Lord to be circumcised and to perform the rest according to the observance of the Law; and when Paul and Barnabas had gone up to Jerusalem to the other apostles because of this question, and the whole church had come together, Peter said to them: Men, brothers, you know that from days of old God made choice among you, that by my mouth the nations should hear the word of the Gospel and believe; and God, who looks into the heart, bore witness to them, giving them the Holy Spirit as he did to us, and made no distinction between us and them, cleansing their hearts by faith. Now therefore why do you tempt God, by placing on the neck of the disciples a yoke which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we can be saved, in the same way as they (Acts 15:7–11).

After him James said: Men, brothers, Simon has related how God devised to take from the nations a people for his name. And so the words of the prophets agree, as it is written: After this I will return, and I will rebuild the tabernacle of David which has fallen, and I will build up its ruins, and I will raise it up, so that the rest of men may seek the Lord, and all the nations upon whom my name has been called, says the Lord, who does these things (Amos 9:11–12). His work is known to God from of old; therefore I for my part judge that those from the nations who turn to God are not to be troubled, but that they are to be commanded to abstain from the vanities of idols, and from fornication, and from blood; and whatever they do not wish to be done to themselves, let them not do to others (Acts 15:13–20). And when these things had been said and all had agreed, they wrote to them thus: The apostles and the presbyters, brothers, to the brothers from the nations who are in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, greeting. Since we have heard that some who went out from us have troubled you with words, unsettling your souls, though we gave them no command, saying: Be circumcised and keep the Law; it has seemed good to us, having come together, to send chosen men to you with our dearly beloved Barnabas and Paul, men who have given up their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have therefore sent Judas and Silas, who will themselves also announce our mind to you by word of mouth.

Placuit enim sancto Spiritui, et nobis, nullum amplius vobis pondus imponere, quam haec, quae sunt necessaria: ut abstineatis ab idolothytis, et sanguine, et fornicatione; et quaecunque non vultis fieri vobis, aliis ne faciatis: a quibus custodientes vos ipsos, bene agetis, ambulantes in Spiritu sancto. » Manifestum est igitur ex his omnibus, quoniam non alterum Patrem esse docebant, sed libertatis Novum Testamentum dabant his, qui nove in Deum per Spiritum sanctum credebant. Ipsi autem ex eo quod quaererent: An oporteret circumcidi adhuc discipulos, necne? manifeste ostenderunt, non habuisse se alterius Dei contemplationem.

15. Caeterum non talem timorem circa primum habuissent Testamentum, ut nec cum ethnicis quidem convesci vellent. Nam et Petrus, quamvis ad catechizandos eos missus esset, et tali visione conterritus fuisset, cum timore tamen multo locutus est ad eos, dicens: « Ipsi scitis quoniam non est fas viro Judaeo adjungi, aut convenire cum allophylo: mihi autem Deus ostendit, neminem communem, aut immundum dicere hominem: quapropter sine contradictione veni; » his sermonibus significans, quoniam non abisset ad eos, nisi jussus fuisset. Sic aeque ne baptisma quidem facile dedisset, nisi, Spiritu sancto requiescente super eos, prophetantes eos audisset. Et propter hoc dixit: « Nunquid aliquis aquam vetare potest ad baptizandum hos, qui Spiritum sanctum acceperunt, quemadmodum et nos? » Suadens simul his qui secum erant, et significans, quoniam nisi Spiritus sanctus super eos requievisset, exsisteret qui eos prohiberet a baptismate.

Hi autem qui circa Jacobum apostoli, gentibus quidem libere agere permittebant, concedentes nos Spiritui Dei. Ipsi vero eumdem scientes Deum, perseverabant in pristinis observationibus: ita ut et Petrus quoque, timens ne culparetur ab ipsis, ante manducans cum gentibus, propter visionem et propter Spiritum qui requieverat super eos; cum tamen advenissent quidam a Jacobo, separavit se, et non manducavit cum eis. Hoc ipsum autem dixit Paulus et Barnabam fecisse. Sic apostoli, quos universi actus, et universae doctrinae Dominus testes fecit, (ubique enim simul cum eo assistentes inveniuntur Petrus et Jacobus et Joannes) religiose agebant circa dispositionem legis, quae est secundum Moysem, ab uno et eodem significantes esse Deo. Quod quidem non fecissent secundum quae praediximus, si praeter eum qui legis dispositionem fecit, alterum patrem a Domino didicissent.

Caput XIII

Adversus eos qui dicunt, tantum Paulum ex apostolis cognovisse veritatem.

For it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay on you no greater burden than these things, which are necessary: that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from fornication; and whatever you do not wish to be done to you, do not do to others: if you keep yourselves from these, you will do well, walking in the Holy Spirit (Acts 15:23–29). It is plain, then, from all these things, that they did not teach that there was another Father, but gave the New Testament of liberty to those who were believing in God in a new way through the Holy Spirit. And by the very fact that they asked whether the disciples still ought to be circumcised or not, they themselves showed plainly that they had no conception of another God.

15. Otherwise they would not have had such fear concerning the first Testament as not to wish even to eat with the heathen. For Peter too, although he had been sent to instruct them and had been struck with fear by so great a vision, nevertheless spoke to them with much fear, saying: You yourselves know that it is not right for a Jewish man to join himself or to come together with one of another race; but God has shown me to call no man common or unclean; wherefore I came without objecting (Acts 10:28–29), signifying by these words that he would not have gone to them had he not been commanded. So likewise he would not even have given baptism readily, had he not heard them prophesying when the Holy Spirit had rested upon them. And for this reason he said: Can anyone forbid water for baptising these, who have received the Holy Spirit as we also have? (Acts 10:47) He was at once persuading those who were with him and signifying that, had the Holy Spirit not rested upon them, there would have been someone to keep them from baptism.

But the apostles who were with James allowed the nations to act freely, yielding us to the Spirit of God. They themselves, however, knowing the same God, persevered in their former observances; so much so that Peter too, fearing to be blamed by them, though he had been eating with the nations before, because of the vision and because of the Spirit who had rested upon them, yet, when certain men had come from James, separated himself and did not eat with them. And Paul says that Barnabas did this very thing as well (Gal 2:12–13). Thus the apostles, whom the Lord made witnesses of every deed and of every teaching (for everywhere Peter and James and John are found present with him), acted scrupulously with regard to the disposition of the Law which is according to Moses, signifying that it is from one and the same God. This they certainly would not have done, according to what we have said before, if they had learned from the Lord another father besides him who made the disposition of the Law.

Chapter 13

Against those who say that of the apostles Paul alone knew the truth.

1. Eos autem qui dicunt, solum Paulum veritatem cognovisse, cui per revelationem manifestatum est mysterium, ipse Paulus convincat eos, dicens, unum et ipsum Deum et operatum Petro in apostolatum circumcisionis, et sibi in gentes. Ipsius ergo Dei Petrus erat apostolus, cujus et Paulus: et quem Petrus in circumcisione annuntiabat Deum, et Dei Filium, hunc et Paulus in gentes. Neque enim solum Paulum salvare venit Dominus noster; nec sic pauper Deus, ut unum solum haberet apostolum, qui dispositionem Filii sui cognosceret. Et Paulus autem dicens: « Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium bona, evangelizantium pacem! » manifestum fecit, quoniam non unus, sed plures erant, qui veritatem evangelizabant. Et rursus in ea Epistola quae est ad Corinthios, cum praedixisset omnes qui Deum post resurrectionem viderunt, intulit: « Sive autem ego, sive illi, sic annuntiamus, et sic credidistis: » unam et eamdem praedicationem confitens omnium eorum, qui Deum viderunt post resurrectionem a mortuis.

2. Et Dominus autem Philippo volenti Patrem videre, respondit: « Tanto tempore vobiscum sum, et me non cognovisti? Philippe, qui videt me, videt et Patrem. Quomodo tu dicis: Ostende nobis Patrem? Ego enim in Patre, et Pater in me, et amodo cognovistis eum, et vidistis. » Quibus ergo Dominus testimonium dixit, quoniam et cognoverunt in ipso, et viderunt Patrem, (Pater autem veritas) hos dicere non cognovisse veritatem, est hominum falsa testantium, et eorum qui alienati sunt a Christi doctrina. Ad quid enim mittebat Dominus duodecim apostolos ad oves quae perierant domus Israel, si veritatem non cognoverunt? Quomodo autem septuaginta praedicabant, nisi ipsi prius virtutem praedicationis cognovissent? Aut quomodo Petrus ignorare potuit, cui Dominus testimonium dedit, quoniam caro et sanguis non revelavit ei, sed Pater qui in coelis est? Sicut ergo « Paulus apostolus non ab hominibus, neque per hominem, sed per Jesum, et Deum Patrem; » Filio quidem adducente eos ad Patrem, Patre vero revelante eis Filium.

3. Quoniam autem his, qui ad apostolos vocaverunt eum de quaestione, acquievit Paulus, et ascendit ad eos cum Barnaba in Hierosolymam, non sine causa, sed ut ab ipsis libertas gentilium confirmaretur, ipse ait in ea quae ad Galatas est Epistola: « Deinde post xiv annos ascendi Hierosolymam cum Barnaba, assumens et Titum. Ascendi autem secundum revelationem, et contuli cum eis Evangelium, quod praedico inter gentes. » Et iterum ait: « Ad horam cessimus subjectioni, uti veritas Evangelii perseveret apud vos. »

1. As for those who say that Paul alone knew the truth, to whom the mystery was made manifest by revelation, let Paul himself convict them, when he says that one and the same God worked both in Peter for the apostleship of the circumcision and in himself for the nations (Gal 2:8). Peter, then, was the apostle of the very same God as Paul; and the God whom Peter proclaimed among the circumcision, and the Son of God, these Paul too proclaimed among the nations. For our Lord did not come to save Paul alone; nor is God so poor as to have only one apostle who knew the disposition of his Son. And Paul too, when he says: How beautiful are the feet of those who bring good news of good things, who bring good news of peace! (Rom 10:15) made it clear that not one but many were those who brought the good news of the truth. And again, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, after first naming all who saw God after the resurrection, he added: Whether it was I or they, so we proclaim, and so you believed (1 Cor 15:11), confessing one and the same preaching of all those who saw God after the resurrection from the dead.

2. And the Lord too answered Philip, who wished to see the Father: Have I been with you so long a time, and you have not known me? Philip, he who sees me sees the Father also. How do you say: Show us the Father? For I am in the Father and the Father in me, and from now on you have known him and have seen him (John 14:7, 9–10). Those, then, to whom the Lord bore witness that they had both known and seen the Father in him (and the Father is truth): to say that these did not know the truth belongs to men who bear false witness and who are estranged from the teaching of Christ. For why did the Lord send the twelve apostles to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt 10:6), if they did not know the truth? And how did the seventy preach, unless they themselves had first known the power of the preaching? Or how could Peter be ignorant, to whom the Lord bore witness that flesh and blood had not revealed it to him, but the Father who is in heaven (Matt 16:17)? Just as, then, Paul is an apostle not from men nor through man, but through Jesus and God the Father (Gal 1:1): the Son leading them to the Father, and the Father revealing the Son to them.

3. And that Paul complied with those who called him to the apostles about the question, and went up to them with Barnabas to Jerusalem, not without cause, but so that the liberty of the Gentiles might be confirmed by them, he himself says in the Epistle to the Galatians: Then after fourteen years I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me. And I went up according to a revelation, and laid before them the Gospel which I preach among the nations (Gal 2:1–2). And again he says: For an hour we yielded to subjection, that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you (Gal 2:5).

Si quis igitur diligenter ex Actibus apostolorum scrutetur tempus, de quo scriptum est, « Ascendi Hierosolymam, » propter praedictam quaestionem, inveniet eos, qui praedicti sunt a Paulo, annos concurrentes. Sic est consonans, et velut eadem tam Pauli annuntiatio, quam et Lucae de apostolis testificatio.

Caput XIV

Si quae occultiora mysteria prae aliis scivisset Paulus, ea Lucas assiduus illius comes, laborumque consors ac particeps, ignorare non potuisset: nec veritas eum latere potuit, per quem solum plura ac maxime necessaria evangelicae historiae capita novimus.

1. Quoniam autem is Lucas inseparabilis fuit a Paulo, et cooperarius ejus in Evangelio, ipse facit manifestum, non glorians, sed ab ipsa productus veritate. Separatis enim, inquit, a Paulo, et Barnaba, et Joanne, qui vocabatur Marcus, et cum navigassent Cyprum, « nos venimus in Troadem; » et cum vidisset Paulus per somnium virum Macedonem, dicentem: « Veniens in Macedoniam opitulare nobis, Paule; statim, ait, quaesivimus proficisci in Macedoniam, intelligentes quoniam provocavit nos Dominus evangelizare eis. Navigantes igitur a Troade, direximus navigium in Samothracen; » et deinceps reliquum omnem ipsorum usque ad Philippos adventum diligenter significat, et quemadmodum primum sermonem locuti sunt: « Sedentes enim, inquit, locuti sumus mulieribus quae convenerant; » et quinam crediderunt, et quam multi. Et iterum ait: « Nos autem navigavimus post dies azymorum a Philippis, et venimus Troadem, ubi et commorati sumus diebus septem. » Et reliqua omnia ex ordine cum Paulo refert, omni diligentia demonstrans et loca, et civitates, et quantitatem dierum, quoadusque Hierosolymam ascenderent: et quae illic contigerint Paulo, quemadmodum vinctus Romam missus est, et nomen centurionis qui suscepit eum, et parasema navium, et quemadmodum naufragium fecerunt, et in qua liberati sunt insula, et quemadmodum humanitatem ibi perceperunt, Paulo curante principem ipsius insulae, et quemadmodum inde Puteolos navigaverunt, et inde Romam pervenerunt, et quanto tempore Romae commorati sunt. Omnibus his cum adesset Lucas, diligenter conscripsit ea, uti neque mendax, neque elatus deprehendi possit, eo quod omnia haec constarent, et seniorem eum esse omnibus qui nunc aliud docent, neque ignorare veritatem. Quoniam non solum prosecutor, sed et cooperarius fuerit apostolorum, maxime autem Pauli, et ipse autem Paulus manifestavit in epistolis, dicens: « Demas me dereliquit, et abiit Thessalonicam, Crescens in Galatiam, Titus in Dalmatiam; Lucas est mecum solus. » Unde ostendit quod semper junctus ei et inseparabilis fuerit ab eo.

If anyone, then, examines carefully from the Acts of the apostles the time of which it is written: I went up to Jerusalem, on account of the question mentioned, he will find that the years mentioned by Paul agree. So the proclamation of Paul and the testimony of Luke concerning the apostles are in harmony and, as it were, the same.

Chapter 14

If Paul had known any more hidden mysteries than the others, Luke, his constant companion and the sharer and partaker of his labours, could not have been ignorant of them; nor could the truth have been hidden from him through whom alone we know many, and those most necessary, chapters of the Gospel history.

1. And that this Luke was inseparable from Paul and his fellow worker in the Gospel, he himself makes manifest, not boasting, but drawn forth by the truth itself. For, he says, when Barnabas and John who was called Mark had parted from Paul and had sailed to Cyprus, we came to Troas; and when Paul had seen in a dream a man of Macedonia, saying: Come into Macedonia and help us, Paul; at once, he says, we sought to set out for Macedonia, understanding that the Lord had called us to bring them the good news. Sailing, then, from Troas, we set our course for Samothrace (Acts 16:8–11); and after that he carefully records all the rest of their journey as far as Philippi, and how they spoke their first discourse: For, sitting down, he says, we spoke to the women who had come together (Acts 16:13); and who believed, and how many. And again he says: But we sailed from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came to Troas, where we stayed seven days (Acts 20:6). And he relates all the rest in order with Paul, showing with all care the places and the cities and the number of days, until they went up to Jerusalem; and what befell Paul there, how he was sent bound to Rome, and the name of the centurion who took charge of him, and the figureheads of the ships, and how they suffered shipwreck, and on what island they were saved, and how they received kindness there, when Paul healed the chief man of that island, and how from there they sailed to Puteoli, and from there came to Rome, and how long they stayed at Rome. Since Luke was present at all these things, he wrote them down carefully, so that he cannot be found to be either a liar or boastful, because all these things are established, and he is earlier than all who now teach otherwise, and is not ignorant of the truth. That he was not only a follower but also a fellow worker of the apostles, and above all of Paul, Paul himself also made manifest in his epistles, saying: Demas has forsaken me and gone to Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia; Luke alone is with me (2 Tim 4:10–11). From this he shows that Luke was always joined to him and inseparable from him.

Et iterum in Epistola quae est ad Colossenses, ait: « Salutat vos Lucas medicus dilectus. » Si autem Lucas quidem, qui semper cum Paulo praedicavit, et dilectus ab eo est dictus, et cum eo evangelizavit, et creditus est referre nobis Evangelium, nihil aliud ab eo didicit, sicut ex verbis ejus ostensum est; quemadmodum hi qui nunquam Paulo adjuncti fuerunt, gloriantur abscondita et inenarrabilia didicisse sacramenta?

2. Quoniam autem Paulus simpliciter quae sciebat, haec et docuit, non solum eos qui cum eo erant, verum omnes audientes se, ipse facit manifestum. In Mileto enim convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus, quoniam ipse festinaret Hierosolymis Pentecosten agere, multa testificans eis, et dicens quae oportet ei Hierosolymis evenire, adjecit: « Scio quoniam jam non videbitis faciem meam: testificor igitur vobis hac die, quoniam mundus sum a sanguine omnium. Non enim subtraxi, uti non annuntiarem vobis omnem sententiam Dei. Attendite igitur et vobis, et omni gregi, in quo vos Spiritus sanctus praeposuit episcopos, regere Ecclesiam Domini, quam sibi constituit per sanguinem suum. » Deinde significans futuros malos doctores, dixit: « Ego scio quoniam advenient post discessum meum lupi graves ad vos, non parcentes gregi. Et ex vobisipsis exsurgent viri loquentes perversa, uti convertant discipulos post se. Non subtraxi, inquit, uti non annuntiarem omnem sententiam Dei vobis. » Sic apostoli simpliciter, et nemini invidentes, quae didicerant ipsi a Domino, haec omnibus tradebant. Sic igitur et Lucas nemini invidens, ea quae ab eis didicerat, tradidit nobis, sicut ipse testificatur dicens: « Quemadmodum tradiderunt nobis qui ab initio contemplatores, et ministri fuerunt verbi. »

3. Si autem quis refutet Lucam, quasi non cognoverit veritatem, manifestus erit projiciens Evangelium, cujus dignatur esse discipulus. Plurima enim et magis necessaria Evangelii per hunc cognovimus, sicut Joannis generationem, et de Zacharia historiam, et adventum angeli ad Mariam, et exclamationem Elisabeth, et angelorum ad pastores descensum, et ea quae ab illis dicta sunt, et Annae et Simeonis de Christo testimonium, et quod duodecim annorum in Hierusalem relictus sit, et baptismum Joannis, et quot annorum Dominus baptizatus sit, et quia in quintodecimo anno Tiberii Caesaris.

And again, in the Epistle to the Colossians, he says: Luke, the beloved physician, greets you (Col 4:14). Now if Luke, who always preached with Paul, and was called beloved by him, and brought the good news with him, and was entrusted with handing on the Gospel to us, learned nothing else from him, as has been shown from his words, how do these men, who were never joined to Paul, boast that they have learned hidden and inexpressible mysteries?

2. And that Paul simply taught what he knew, not only to those who were with him but to all who heard him, he himself makes manifest. For having called together at Miletus the bishops and presbyters who were from Ephesus and from the other neighbouring cities, since he was hastening to keep Pentecost at Jerusalem, testifying many things to them and saying what must befall him at Jerusalem, he added: I know that you will see my face no more; I testify to you therefore this day that I am clean of the blood of all. For I have not held back from proclaiming to you the whole counsel of God. Take heed, then, to yourselves and to the whole flock, over which the Holy Spirit has set you as bishops, to rule the Church of the Lord, which he has established for himself through his own blood (Acts 20:25–28). Then, pointing to the evil teachers to come, he said: I know that after my departure grievous wolves will come among you, not sparing the flock. And from among your own selves men will arise speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them. I have not held back, he says, from proclaiming to you the whole counsel of God (Acts 20:29–30, 27). Thus the apostles, simply and grudging no one, handed on to all what they themselves had learned from the Lord. Thus, then, Luke too, grudging no one, handed on to us what he had learned from them, as he himself testifies when he says: As they handed them on to us who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word (Luke 1:2).

3. But if anyone rejects Luke, as though he had not known the truth, he will plainly be casting away the Gospel of which he deigns to be a disciple. For through him we have known very many things of the Gospel, and those more necessary, such as the birth of John, and the story of Zechariah, and the coming of the angel to Mary, and the exclamation of Elizabeth, and the descent of the angels to the shepherds and what was said by them, and the testimony of Anna and Simeon concerning Christ, and that at twelve years of age he was left behind in Jerusalem, and the baptism of John, and at what age the Lord was baptised, and that it was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar.

Et in magisterio illud quod ad divites dictum est: « Vae vobis, divites, quoniam percipitis consolationem vestram; » et: « Vae vobis qui satiati estis, quoniam esurietis; et qui ridetis nunc, quia plorabitis; » et: « Vae vobis cum benedixerint vos homines omnes. Secundum haec enim faciebant et pseudoprophetis patres vestri; » et omnia hujusmodi per solum Lucam cognovimus, et plurimos actus Domini per hunc didicimus, quibus et omnes utuntur: ut multitudinem piscium, quam concluserunt hi qui cum Petro erant, jubente Domino ut mitterent retia; et illa quae per octodecim annos passa, curata fuerat mulier die Sabbatorum; et de hydropico, quem curavit Dominus die Sabbatorum, et quemadmodum disputavit quod curavit in hac die; et quemadmodum docuit discipulos primos discubitus non appetere: et quoniam pauperes et debiles vocare oportet, qui non habent retribuere.

Et qui pulsat nocte sumere panes, et propter instantiam importunitatis sumit; et quoniam apud Pharisaeum recumbente eo, peccatrix mulier osculabatur pedes ejus, et unguento ungebat, et quaecunque propter eam dixit ad Simonem Dominus de duobus debitoribus; et de parabola divitis illius qui reclusit quae ei nata fuerant, cui et dictum est: « In hac nocte expostulabunt animam tuam a te: quae autem praeparasti, cujus erunt? » similiter autem et divitis qui vestiebatur purpura, et jocundabatur nitide: et egenum Lazarum: et eam quam ad discentes suos dixit responsionem, quando dixerunt ei: « Adjice nobis fidem; » et eam quae ad Zacchaeum publicanum facta est, confabulationem; et de Pharisaeo et de Publicano, qui simul adorabant in templo. Et de decem leprosis, quos simul emundavit in via; et quoniam de vicis et plateis claudos et luscos jussit colligi ad nuptias; et parabolam judicis qui Deum non timebat, quem instantia viduae fecit ut vindicaret eam. Et de arbore fici, quae erat in vinea, quae non faciebat fructum. Et alia multa sunt, quae inveniri possunt a solo Luca dicta esse, quibus et Marcion et Valentinus utuntur. Et super haec omnia, post resurrectionem, in via ad discipulos suos quae locutus est, et quemadmodum cognoverunt eum in fractione panis.

4. Necesse est igitur et reliqua quae ab eo dicta sunt, recipere eos, aut et his renuntiare. Non enim conceditur eis, ab his qui sensum habent, quaedam quidem recipere ex his quae a Luca dicta sunt, quasi sint veritatis; quaedam vero refutare, quasi non cognovisset veritatem. Et si quidem refutaverint hi qui a Marcione sunt, non habebunt Evangelium: (hoc enim quod est secundum Lucam, quemadmodum praediximus, decurtantes, gloriantur se habere Evangelium) hi vero qui a Valentino sunt, cessabunt a plurimo vaniloquio suo: (ex hoc enim multas occasiones subtililoquii sui acceperunt, interpretari audentes male, quae ab hoc bene sunt dicta) si autem et reliqua suscipere cogentur, intendentes perfecto Evangelio, et apostolorum doctrinae, oportet eos poenitentiam agere, ut salvari a periculo possint.

And in his teaching, what was said to the rich: Woe to you, rich, for you receive your consolation; and: Woe to you who are full, for you shall hunger; and you who laugh now, for you shall weep; and: Woe to you when all men bless you. For so did your fathers also to the false prophets (Luke 6:24–26); and all things of this kind we have known through Luke alone; and through him we have learned very many acts of the Lord, which all also use: such as the multitude of fishes which those who were with Peter enclosed when the Lord bade them let down the nets; and the woman who had suffered for eighteen years and was healed on the Sabbath day; and the man with dropsy, whom the Lord healed on the Sabbath day, and how he argued about his having healed on that day; and how he taught the disciples not to seek the first places at table; and that one ought to invite the poor and the weak, who have nothing to repay.

And the one who knocks at night to get loaves, and gets them because of his persistent importunity; and that, as he reclined at table in the house of a Pharisee, a sinful woman kissed his feet and anointed them with ointment, and all that the Lord said to Simon because of her about the two debtors; and the parable of that rich man who stored up what had grown for him, to whom it was also said: This night they will demand your soul of you; and what you have prepared, whose will it be? (Luke 12:20); and likewise that of the rich man who was clothed in purple and feasted splendidly, and of the poor man Lazarus; and the answer he gave to his disciples when they said to him: Increase our faith (Luke 17:5); and the conversation he had with Zacchaeus the tax collector; and the Pharisee and the tax collector who were praying together in the temple. And the ten lepers, whom he cleansed together on the way; and that he ordered the lame and the one-eyed to be gathered from the lanes and the streets to the wedding; and the parable of the judge who did not fear God, whom the widow's persistence made avenge her. And the fig tree which was in the vineyard and bore no fruit. And there are many other things which can be found to have been said by Luke alone, which both Marcion and Valentinus use. And above all these, what he said to his disciples on the road after the resurrection, and how they knew him in the breaking of the bread.

4. They must therefore either receive the rest of what he has said as well, or renounce these things too. For those who have understanding do not grant them to receive some of the things said by Luke as being of the truth, and to reject others as though he had not known the truth. And if those who are from Marcion reject them, they will not have the Gospel (for, curtailing the one according to Luke, as we said before, they boast that they have the Gospel); and those who are from Valentinus will cease from most of their empty talk (for from it they have taken many occasions for their subtle talk, daring to interpret badly what has been well said by it); but if they are compelled to accept the rest as well, giving heed to the complete Gospel and to the teaching of the apostles, they must repent, that they may be saved from the danger.

Caput XV

Ebionaeos perstringit, qui Pauli auctoritatem elevabant, hancque confirmat ex Lucae scriptis, quae universa atque integra admitti necesse est. Tum Gnosticorum hypocrisi, dolis ac superbia castigatis, concludit ex hactenus dictis, apostolos, eorumque discipulos unicum Deum mundi creatorem novisse ac praedicasse.

1. Eadem autem dicimus iterum et his, qui Paulum apostolum non cognoscunt, quoniam aut reliquis verbis Evangelii, quae per solum Lucam in nostram venerunt agnitionem, renuntiare debent, et non uti eis; aut si illa recipiunt omnia, habent necessitatem recipere etiam eam testificationem, quae est de Paulo, dicente ipso, primum quidem Dominum ei de coelo locutum: « Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris? Ego sum Jesus Christus, quem tu persequeris: » deinde Ananiae, de eo dicentem: « Vade, quoniam vas electionis mihi est iste, ut portet nomen meum in gentibus, et regibus, et filiis Israel. Ego enim demonstrabo ei ex ipso, quanta oporteat eum pati propter nomen meum. » Qui igitur non recipiunt eum qui sit electus a Deo ad hoc, ut fiducialiter portet nomen ejus, quod sit missus ad quas praediximus gentes, electionem Domini contemnunt, et seipsos segregant ab apostolorum conventu. Neque enim contendere possunt Paulum non esse apostolum, quando in hoc sit electus: neque Lucam mendacem esse possunt ostendere, veritatem nobis cum omni diligentia annuntiantem. Fortassis enim et propter hoc operatus est Deus plurima Evangelii ostendi per Lucam, quibus necesse haberent omnes uti: ut sequenti testificationi ejus, quam habet de actibus et doctrina apostolorum, omnes sequentes, et regulam veritatis inadulteratam habentes, salvari possint. Igitur testificatio ejus vera, et doctrina apostolorum manifesta, et firma et nihil subtrahens, neque alia quidem in abscondito, alia vero in manifesto docentium.

2. Hoc enim fictorum, et prave seducentium, et hypocritarum est molimen, quemadmodum faciunt hi, qui a Valentino sunt. Hi enim ad multitudinem, propter eos, qui sunt ab Ecclesia, quos communes ecclesiasticos ipsi dicunt, inferunt sermones, per quos capiunt simpliciores, et illiciunt eos, simulantes nostrum tractatum, ut saepius audiant; qui etiam queruntur de nobis, quod cum similia nobiscum sentiant, sine causa abstineamus nos a communicatione eorum, et cum eadem dicant, et eamdem habeant doctrinam, vocemus illos haereticos, et cum dejecerint aliquos a fide per quaestiones, quae fiunt ab eis, et non contradicentes auditores suos fecerint, his separatim inenarrabile Plenitudinis suae enarrant mysterium. Decipiuntur autem omnes, qui quod est in verbis verisimile, se putant posse discernere a veritate. Suasorius enim et verisimilis est, et exquirens fucos error: sine fuco autem est veritas, et propter hoc pueris credita est.

Chapter 15

He censures the Ebionites, who belittled Paul's authority, and confirms it from the writings of Luke, which must be accepted entire and whole. Then, having rebuked the hypocrisy, the wiles and the pride of the Gnostics, he concludes from what has been said so far that the apostles and their disciples knew and preached the one God, the Creator of the world.

1. And we say the same again to those who do not acknowledge Paul as an apostle: that they must either renounce the other words of the Gospel which have come to our knowledge through Luke alone, and not use them; or, if they receive them all, they are under necessity to receive also the testimony which concerns Paul, when he himself says that first the Lord spoke to him from heaven: Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me? I am Jesus Christ, whom you persecute (Acts 9:4–5); and then that he said to Ananias concerning him: Go, for this man is a vessel of election to me, to carry my name among the nations and kings and the sons of Israel. For I will show him, from himself, how much he must suffer for my name (Acts 9:15–16). Those, then, who do not receive him who was chosen by God for this, to carry his name boldly, and that he was sent to the nations of which we have spoken, despise the election of the Lord and cut themselves off from the company of the apostles. For they cannot contend that Paul is not an apostle, since he was chosen for this; nor can they show that Luke is a liar, when he proclaims the truth to us with all diligence. Perhaps it was for this very reason that God brought it about that very many things of the Gospel were shown through Luke, which all would be obliged to use: so that all, following his later testimony concerning the acts and the teaching of the apostles, and holding the rule of truth unadulterated, might be saved. His testimony, therefore, is true, and the teaching of the apostles manifest and firm, holding nothing back, for they did not teach some things in secret and others in the open.

2. For this is the scheme of dissemblers, of those who wickedly lead astray, and of hypocrites, as those who are from Valentinus do. For these men speak to the multitude on account of those who are from the Church, whom they themselves call "common churchmen", and bring in discourses by which they catch the simpler and entice them, imitating our manner of treatment, so that they may listen more often; they even complain of us that, though they think as we do, we keep away from fellowship with them without cause, and that, though they say the same things and hold the same doctrine, we call them heretics; and when they have thrown some down from the faith by the questions which they raise, and have made their hearers no longer gainsay them, to these apart they tell the inexpressible mystery of their Fullness. But all are deceived who think they can distinguish from the truth what is plausible in words. For error is persuasive and plausible, and seeks out disguises; but truth is without disguise, and for this reason it has been entrusted to children.

Et si aliquis quidem ex his qui audiunt eos, quaerat solutiones, vel contradicat eis, hunc quasi non capientem veritatem, et non habentem de superioribus a Matre sua semen affirmantes, in totum nihil dicunt ei, mediarum partium dicentes esse illum, hoc est psychicorum. Si autem aliquis, quasi parvam ovem, deditum semetipsum ipsis praebeat, imitatione illorum et redemptionem illorum consecutus; est inflatus iste talis, neque in coelo, neque in terra putat se esse, sed intra Pleroma introisse, et complexum jam angelum suum; cum institorio, et supercilio incedit, gallinacei elationem habens. Sunt autem apud eos, qui dicunt, oportere bonam conversationem assequi eum hominem, qui sit desuper adveniens: propter hoc et fingunt quodam supercilio gravitatem. Plurimi autem et contemptores facti, quasi jam perfecti, sine reverentia, et in contemptu viventes, semetipsos spiritales vocant, et se nosse jam dicunt eum, qui sit intra Pleroma ipsorum, refrigerii locum.

3. Nos autem revertamur ad eumdem tractatum. Cum enim declaratum sit manifeste, quoniam neminem alium Deum vocaverunt, vel Dominum nominaverunt, qui veritatis fuerunt praedicatores, et apostoli libertatis, nisi solum verum Deum Patrem et Verbum ejus, qui in omnibus principatum habet; manifeste erit ostensum, factorem coeli et terrae, qui locutus sit cum Moyse, et legis dispositionem ei dederit, qui convocaverit patres, Dominum Deum confiteri eos, et alterum neminem nosse. Manifesta igitur et apostolorum, et discentium eorum ex verbis ipsorum de Deo facta est sententia.

Caput XVI

Ex apostolorum scriptis demonstrat, unum et eumdem esse Jesum Christum, unigenitum Dei Filium, verum Deum ac verum hominem.

1. Quoniam autem sunt qui dicunt, Jesum quidem receptaculum Christi fuisse, in quem desuper quasi columbam descendisse Christum, et cum indicasset innominabilem Patrem, incomprehensibiliter et invisibiliter intrasse in Pleroma: (non enim solum ab hominibus, sed ne ab his quidem, quae in coelo sunt, Potestatibus et Virtutibus apprehensum eum) et esse quidem Filium Jesum, Patrem vero Christum, et Christi Patrem, Deum: alii vero putative eum passum, naturaliter impassibilem exsistentem; qui autem a Valentino sunt, Jesum quidem, qui sit ex dispositione, ipsum esse, qui per Mariam transierit, in quem illum de superiori Salvatorem descendisse, quem et Christum dici, quoniam omnium qui emisissent eum, haberet vocabula: participasse autem cum eo, qui esset ex dispositione, de sua virtute et de suo nomine, ut mors

And if any of those who listen to them asks for answers, or contradicts them, they declare that he is one who does not contain the truth and does not have the seed from above from their Mother, and say nothing at all to him, saying that he is of the middle sort, that is, of the psychics. But if anyone, like a little sheep, gives himself up to them, and by imitating them has obtained their redemption too, such a man is puffed up, and thinks he is neither in heaven nor on earth, but has entered within the Pleroma and already embraced his angel; he struts about with a foreman's swagger and a lofty brow, with the haughtiness of a cock. And there are some among them who say that the man who comes from above ought to attain a good way of life; for this reason they also feign gravity with a certain lofty brow. But most of them, having become contemptuous, as though already perfect, living without reverence and in contempt, call themselves spiritual, and say that they already know the place of refreshment which is within their Pleroma.

3. But let us return to the same treatise. For since it has been plainly declared that those who were the preachers of the truth and the apostles of liberty called no other God, nor named any other Lord, but the only true God the Father and his Word, who holds the first place in all things, it will have been plainly shown that they confessed the Maker of heaven and earth, who spoke with Moses and gave him the disposition of the Law, who called together the fathers, as Lord God, and knew no other. Thus the doctrine of the apostles and of their disciples concerning God has been made manifest from their own words.

Chapter 16

From the writings of the apostles he demonstrates that Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, true God and true man, is one and the same.

1. Since, however, there are those who say that Jesus was the receptacle of Christ, and that Christ descended upon him from above as a dove, and that, when he had made known the Unnameable Father, he entered incomprehensibly and invisibly into the Pleroma (for, they say, he was apprehended not only by no man, but not even by the Authorities and Powers that are in heaven); and that Jesus is the Son, but Christ the Father, and the Father of Christ, God; others, again, that he suffered in seeming, being by nature impassible; while those who are from Valentinus say that Jesus, the one who is of the disposition, is the very one who passed through Mary, and that upon him descended that Saviour from above, who is also called Christ because he had the names of all those who had emitted him; and that he shared with the one of the disposition something of his own power and of his own name, so that through him death might be made void, and

per hunc evacuaretur, cognosceretur autem Pater per eum Salvatorem quidem qui desuper descendisset, quem et ipsum receptaculum Christi et universae Plenitudinis esse dicunt, lingua quidem unum Christum Jesum confitentes, divisi vero sententia: (etenim haec est ipsorum regula, quemadmodum praediximus, ut alterum quidem Christum fuisse dicant, qui ab Unigenito ad correctionem Plenitudinis praemissus est; alterum vero Salvatorem esse in glorificationem Patris missum; alterum vero ex dispositione, quem et passum dicunt, recurrente in Pleroma Salvatore, qui Christum portabat) necesse habemus, universam apostolorum de Domino nostro Jesu Christo sententiam adhibere et ostendere, eos non solum nihil tale sensisse de eo, verum amplius et significasse per Spiritum sanctum, qui inciperent talia docere, submissi a Satana, uti quorumdam fidem everterent, et abstraherent eos a vita.

2. Et quoniam Joannes unum et eumdem novit Verbum Dei, et hunc esse Unigenitum, et hunc incarnatum esse pro salute nostra, Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, sufficienter ex ipsius Joannis sermone demonstravimus. Sed et Matthaeus unum et eumdem Jesum Christum cognoscens, eam quae est secundum hominem generationem ejus ex Virgine exponens, sicut promisit Deus David, ex fructu ventris ejus excitaturum se aeternum Regem, multo prius Abrahae eamdem faciens promissionem, ait: « Liber generationis Jesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham. » Dehinc ut liberaret mentem nostram a suspicione, quae est circa Joseph, ait: « Christi autem generatio sic erat. Cum esset desponsata mater ejus Joseph, priusquam convenirent, inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu sancto. » Dehinc cum Joseph cogitaret dimittere Mariam, quoniam praegnans erat, assistentem ei angelum Dei, dicentem: « Ne timueris assumere Mariam conjugem tuam: quod enim habet in utero, de Spiritu sancto est. Pariet autem filium, et vocabis nomen ejus Jesum: hic enim salvabit populum suum a peccatis suis. Hoc autem factum est, ut impleretur quod dictum est a Domino per prophetam: Ecce, virgo accipiet in utero, et pariet filium, et vocabunt nomen ejus Emmanuel, quod est, Nobiscum Deus; » manifeste significans, et eam promissionem, quae fuerat ad patres, impletam, ex virgine natum Filium Dei, et hunc ipsum esse Salvatorem Christum, quem prophetae praedicaverunt: non, sicut ipsi dicunt, Jesum quidem ipsum esse, qui ex Maria sit natus, Christum vero qui desuper descendit. Caeterum potuerat dicere Matthaeus: « Jesu vero generatio sic erat, » sed praevidens Spiritus sanctus depravatores, et praemuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthaeum ait: « Christi autem generatio sic erat; » et quoniam hic est Emmanuel, ne forte tantum eum hominem putaremus, (« non enim ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex voluntate Dei, Verbum caro factum est ») neque alium quidem Jesum, alterum autem Christum suspicaremur fuisse, sed unum et eumdem sciremus esse.

the Father be known through that Saviour who had descended from above, whom they also say to be himself the receptacle of Christ and of the whole Fullness: confessing one Christ Jesus with the tongue, but divided in mind (for this is their rule, as we said before, that they say that one is Christ, who was sent ahead by the Only-begotten for the correction of the Fullness; that another is the Saviour, sent for the glorification of the Father; and another the one of the disposition, who, they say, also suffered, while the Saviour, who bore Christ, went back into the Pleroma): we find it necessary to bring forward the whole doctrine of the apostles concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and to show that not only did they think nothing of the kind about him, but that they even pointed out beforehand, through the Holy Spirit, those who were to teach such things, sent in secretly by Satan to overturn the faith of some and to draw them away from life.

2. And that John knew one and the same Word of God, and that he is the Only-begotten, and that he became incarnate for our salvation, Jesus Christ our Lord, we have sufficiently shown from John's own discourse. But Matthew too, acknowledging one and the same Jesus Christ, and setting forth his generation according to man from the Virgin, as God promised David that from the fruit of his womb he would raise up an eternal King, having made the same promise to Abraham long before, says: The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham (Matt 1:1). Then, to free our mind from the suspicion concerning Joseph, he says: Now the generation of Christ was thus. When his mother had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:18). Then, when Joseph was minded to put Mary away, since she was with child, there was the angel of God standing by him and saying: Do not fear to take Mary your wife: for what she has in her womb is of the Holy Spirit. And she will bear a son, and you shall call his name Jesus: for he will save his people from their sins. Now this was done that what was said by the Lord through the prophet might be fulfilled: Behold, a virgin shall receive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is, God with us (Matt 1:20–23; Isa 7:14); plainly signifying both that the promise made to the fathers was fulfilled, that the Son of God was born of a virgin, and that he himself is the Saviour Christ whom the prophets preached: not, as they say, that Jesus is the one who was born of Mary, but Christ the one who descended from above. Matthew, indeed, could have said: "Now the generation of Jesus was thus"; but the Holy Spirit, foreseeing the corrupters and guarding beforehand against their deceit, says through Matthew: Now the generation of Christ was thus (Matt 1:18); and that this is Emmanuel, lest perhaps we should think him only a man (for not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of the will of God, the Word was made flesh (John 1:13–14)), or suspect that Jesus was one and Christ another, but that we should know him to be one and the same.

3. Hoc ipsum interpretatus est Paulus, scribens ad Romanos: « Paulus apostolus Jesu Christi, praedestinatus in Evangelium Dei, quod promisit per prophetas suos in Scripturis sanctis de Filio suo, qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem, qui praedestinatus est Filius Dei in virtute, per Spiritum sanctificationis ex resurrectione mortuorum, Jesu Christi Domini nostri. » Et iterum ad Romanos scribens de Israel, dicit: « Quorum patres, et ex quibus Christus secundum carnem, qui est Deus super omnes benedictus in saecula. » Et iterum in Epistola quae est ad Galatas, ait: « Cum autem venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret, ut adoptionem percipiamus; » manifeste significans unum quidem Deum, qui per prophetas promissionem de Filio fecerit; unum autem Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, qui de semine David secundum eam generationem, quae est ex Maria; hunc destinatum Filium Dei Jesum Christum in virtute secundum Spiritum sanctitatis, ex resurrectione mortuorum, ut sit primogenitus mortuorum, quemadmodum et primogenitus in omni conditione; Filius Dei, hominis filius factus, ut per eum adoptionem percipiamus, portante homine, et capiente, et complectente Filium Dei. Propter hoc et Marcus ait: « Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi Filii Dei, quemadmodum scriptum est in prophetis; » unum et eumdem sciens Filium Dei Jesum Christum, qui a prophetis annuntiatus est, qui ex fructu ventris David Emmanuel, « magni consilii » Patris « nuntius, » per quem oriri fecit Deus domui David Orientem et justum, et erexit ei cornu salutis, et « suscitavit testimonium in Jacob, » quemadmodum David causas generationis ejus disserens ait, « et legem posuit in Israel, ut cognoscat generatio altera: filii qui nascentur ex his, et ipsi exsurgentes enarrabunt filiis suis, ut ponant in Deum spem suam, et praecepta ejus exquirant. » Et rursus angelus evangelizans Mariae, ait: « Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur, et dabit ei Dominus thronum David patris sui; » eum qui sit Filius Altissimi, hunc eumdem et David filium confitens. Cujus et David dispositionem adventus per Spiritum cognoscens, per quam dominans est omnium vivorum et mortuorum, Dominum eum confessus est, sedentem ad dextram Patris altissimi.

4. Et Simeon autem ille, qui responsum acceperat a Spiritu sancto, non visurum eum mortem, nisi prius videret Christum Jesum, hunc manibus accipiens Virginis primogenitum, benedixit Deum, et dixit: « Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace: quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum:

3. Paul interpreted this very thing, writing to the Romans: Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, predestined for the Gospel of God, which he promised through his prophets in the holy Scriptures concerning his Son, who was made to him of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined Son of God in power, through the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection of the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom 1:1–4). And again, writing to the Romans about Israel, he says: Whose are the fathers, and from whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is God over all, blessed for ever (Rom 9:5). And again in the Epistle to the Galatians he says: But when the fullness of time came, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the Law, that he might redeem those who were under the Law, that we might receive adoption (Gal 4:4–5); plainly signifying one God, who made the promise of the Son through the prophets; and one Jesus Christ our Lord, who is of the seed of David according to that generation which is from Mary; that this one was destined Son of God, Jesus Christ, in power according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead, that he might be the firstborn of the dead, as he is also the firstborn in all creation; the Son of God made Son of Man, that through him we might receive adoption, man bearing, and containing, and embracing the Son of God. For this reason Mark too says: The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as it is written in the prophets (Mark 1:1–2); knowing one and the same Son of God, Jesus Christ, who was proclaimed by the prophets, who from the fruit of David's womb is Emmanuel, the messenger of the great counsel of the Father (Isa 9:5), through whom God made the Dawn and the Just One rise for the house of David, and raised up for him a horn of salvation, and raised up a testimony in Jacob, as David says, discoursing on the causes of his generation, and set a law in Israel, that another generation might know it: the sons who shall be born of them, and they themselves, rising up, shall tell it to their sons, that they may set their hope in God and seek out his precepts (Ps 78:5–7). And again the angel, bringing the good news to Mary, says: He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord shall give him the throne of David his father (Luke 1:32); confessing that he who is the Son of the Most High is this same one, the son of David also. And David, knowing through the Spirit the disposition of his coming, by which he is Lord of all the living and the dead, confessed him Lord, seated at the right hand of the most high Father.

4. And Simeon too, he who had received an answer from the Holy Spirit that he would not see death until he had first seen Christ Jesus, taking in his hands this firstborn of the Virgin, blessed God and said: Now you dismiss your servant, Lord, according to your word, in peace: for my eyes have seen your saving power, which you have prepared before the

quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum, lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam populi tui Israel; » infantem, quem in manibus portabat Jesum, natum ex Maria, ipsum confitens esse Christum Filium Dei, lumen hominum, et gloriam ipsius Israel, et pacem et refrigerium eorum qui in dormitionem ierunt. Jam enim spoliabat homines, auferens ignorantiam ipsorum, suam autem agnitionem eis donans, et dispartitionem faciens eorum qui cognoscebant eum, quemadmodum Isaias: « Voca, inquit, nomen ejus, Velociter spolia, celeriter dispartire. » Haec sunt autem opera Christi. Ipse igitur erat Christus, quem portans Simeon benedicebat Altissimum; quem pastores cum vidissent, glorificabant Deum; quem Joannes, cum adhuc in ventre matris suae esset, et ille in vulva Mariae, Dominum cognoscens, exsultans salutabat; quem magi videntes, et adorantes, et afferentes munera, quae praediximus, et substernentes semetipsos aeterno Regi, per alteram abierant viam, non jam per Assyriorum revertentes viam. « Priusquam enim cognoscet puer vocare patrem, aut matrem, accipiet virtutem Damasci, et spolia Samariae, contra regem Assyriorum; » occulte quidem, sed potenter manifestans, quoniam absconsa manu expugnabat Dominus Amalech. Propter hoc et pueros eripiebat, qui erant in domo David, bene sortiti illo tempore nasci, ut eos praemitteret in suum regnum; ipse infans cum esset, infantes hominum martyres parans, propter Christum, qui in Bethleem natus est Judae, in civitate David, interfectos secundum Scripturas.

5. Propter quod et Dominus discipulis post resurrectionem dicebat: « O insensati, et tardi corde ad credendum in omnibus quae locuti sunt prophetae! Nonne haec oportebat pati Christum, et introire in claritatem suam? » Et iterum ait eis: « Hi sunt sermones, quos locutus sum ad vos, cum adhuc essem vobiscum, quoniam oportet impleri omnia scripta in lege Moysi et prophetis, et psalmis de me. Tunc adaperuit eorum sensum, ut intelligerent Scripturas, et dixit ad eos: Quoniam sic scriptum est, Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis, et praedicari in nomine ejus remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes. » Hic autem est, qui ex Maria natus est. « Oportet enim, inquit, Filium hominis multa pati, et reprobari, et crucifigi, et die tertio resurgere. » Non ergo alterum filium hominis novit Evangelium, nisi hunc qui ex Maria, qui et passus est; sed neque Christum avolantem ante passionem a Jesu; sed hunc qui natus est, Jesum Christum novit Dei Filium, et eumdem hunc passum resurrexisse, quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat, dicens: « Haec autem scripta sunt, ut credatis quoniam Jesus est, Filius Dei, et ut credentes vitam aeternam habeatis in nomine ejus; » providens has blasphemas regulas, quae dividunt Dominum, quantum ex ipsis attinet, ex altera et altera substantia dicentes eum factum.

face of all peoples, a light for the revelation of the nations, and the glory of your people Israel (Luke 2:29–32); confessing that the infant whom he was carrying in his hands, Jesus, born of Mary, was himself Christ, the Son of God, the light of men, and the glory of Israel itself, and the peace and refreshment of those who had gone to their sleep. For already he was despoiling men, taking away their ignorance and bestowing on them his own knowledge, and making a division of those who knew him, as in Isaiah: Call, he says, his name: Swiftly despoil, quickly divide (Isa 8:3). These, then, are the works of Christ. He, then, was the Christ whom Simeon carried as he blessed the Most High; at the sight of whom the shepherds glorified God; whom John, while he was still in his mother's womb, and he in Mary's, recognising him as Lord, greeted with leaping; whom the Magi saw, and adored, and to whom they brought the gifts we spoke of before, and before whom, the eternal King, they cast themselves down, and went away by another road, no longer returning by the road of the Assyrians. For before the child knows how to call father or mother, he shall take the power of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria against the king of the Assyrians (Isa 8:4); showing secretly indeed, but mightily, that the Lord was fighting against Amalek with a hidden hand. For this reason too he snatched away the children who were in the house of David, who had the good lot to be born at that time, so that he might send them ahead into his kingdom; being himself an infant, he prepared infants of men as martyrs, slain according to the Scriptures for the sake of Christ, who was born in Bethlehem of Judah, in the city of David.

5. Wherefore the Lord too said to the disciples after the resurrection: O senseless men, and slow of heart to believe in all that the prophets have spoken! Was it not necessary that Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory? (Luke 24:25–26) And again he said to them: These are the words which I spoke to you while I was still with you, that all things written about me in the Law of Moses and in the Prophets and in the Psalms must be fulfilled. Then he opened their understanding, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said to them: Thus it is written, that Christ should suffer and rise from the dead, and that remission of sins should be preached in his name to all nations (Luke 24:44–47). And this is he who was born of Mary. For, he says, the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected, and be crucified, and rise again on the third day (Mark 8:31). The Gospel, then, knows no other Son of Man than him who is of Mary, who also suffered; nor a Christ who flew away from Jesus before the Passion; but him who was born, Jesus Christ, it knows as the Son of God, and that this same one suffered and rose again, as John, the disciple of the Lord, confirms, saying: But these things are written, that you may believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that believing you may have eternal life in his name (John 20:31); foreseeing these blasphemous rules, which divide the Lord, as far as in them lies, saying that he was made of one substance and of another.

Propter quod et in epistola sua sic testificatus est nobis: « Filioli, novissima hora est, et quemadmodum audistis quoniam Antichristus venit, nunc Antichristi multi facti sunt: unde cognoscimus quoniam novissima hora est. Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis: si enim fuissent ex nobis, permansissent utique nobiscum: sed ut manifestarentur quoniam non sunt ex nobis. Cognoscite ergo quoniam omne mendacium extraneum est, et non est de veritate. Quis est mendax, nisi qui negat quoniam Jesus non est Christus? hic est Antichristus. »

6. Quia autem omnes, qui praedicti sunt, etsi lingua quidem confitentur unum Jesum Christum, semetipsos derident, aliud quidem sentientes, aliud vero dicentes; (etenim argumenta illorum varia, quemadmodum ostendimus) alterum quidem passum, et natum hunc esse Christum annuntiant, et esse alterum eorum Demiurgi, (autem) qui sit ex dispositione, vel eum qui sit ex Joseph, quemque passibilem argumentantur; alterum vero eorum ab invisibilibus et inenarrabilibus descendisse, quem et invisibilem, et incomprehensibilem, et impassibilem esse confirmant, errantes a veritate, eo quod absistat sententia eorum ab eo qui est vere Deus: nescientes quoniam hujus Verbum unigenitus, qui semper humano generi adest, unitus et consparsus suo plasmati secundum placitum Patris, et caro factus, ipse est Jesus Christus Dominus noster, qui passus est pro nobis, et surrexit propter nos; et rursus venturus in gloria Patris, ad resuscitandum universam carnem, et ad ostensionem salutis, et regulam justi judicii ostendere omnibus, qui sub ipso facti sunt. Unus igitur Deus Pater, quemadmodum ostendimus, et unus Christus Jesus Dominus noster, veniens per universam dispositionem, et omnia in semetipsum recapitulans. In omnibus autem est et homo, plasmatio Dei: et hominem ergo in semetipsum recapitulans est, invisibilis visibilis factus, et incomprehensibilis factus comprehensibilis, et impassibilis passibilis, et Verbum homo, universa in semetipsum recapitulans: uti sicut in supercoelestibus, et spiritalibus, et invisibilibus princeps est Verbum Dei; sic et in visibilibus, et corporalibus principatum habeat, in semetipsum primatum assumens, et apponens semetipsum caput Ecclesiae, universa attrahat ad semetipsum apto in tempore.

7. Nihil enim incomptum atque intempestivum apud eum, quomodo nec incongruens est apud Patrem. Praecognita sunt enim omnia a Patre, perficiuntur autem a Filio, sicut congruum et consequens est, apto tempore. Propter hoc properante Maria ad admirabile vini signum, et ante tempus volente participare compendii poculo, Dominus repellens ejus intempestivam festinationem, dixit: « Quid mihi et tibi est, mulier? nondum venit hora mea; » exspectans eam horam quae est a Patre praecognita.

For this reason he also bore witness to us thus in his epistle: Little children, it is the last hour; and as you have heard that the Antichrist is coming, now many antichrists have come to be: whence we know that it is the last hour. They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would surely have remained with us: but that they might be made manifest, that they are not of us. Know, therefore, that every lie is foreign, and is not of the truth. Who is the liar but he who denies that Jesus is the Christ? This is the Antichrist (1 John 2:18–22).

6. But since all those whom we have mentioned, although with the tongue they confess one Jesus Christ, make a mockery of themselves, thinking one thing and saying another (for their plots are various, as we have shown), they proclaim that one suffered and was born, and that this is Christ, and that one of them is of the Demiurge, he who is of the disposition, or he who is of Joseph, whom they also argue to be passible; but that the other of them descended from the invisible and inexpressible ones, and him they declare to be invisible, incomprehensible and impassible; straying from the truth, because their mind stands apart from him who is truly God: not knowing that his only-begotten Word, who is always present to the human race, united and kneaded together with his handiwork according to the good pleasure of the Father, and made flesh, is himself Jesus Christ our Lord, who suffered for us and rose again for us, and who will come again in the glory of the Father to raise up all flesh, and for the showing of salvation, and to show the rule of just judgement to all who were made under him. There is, then, one God the Father, as we have shown, and one Christ Jesus our Lord, coming through the whole disposition and recapitulating all things in himself. Now among all things is man too, the moulding of God: and so he recapitulates man too in himself, the invisible made visible, and the incomprehensible made comprehensible, and the impassible passible, and the Word man, recapitulating all things in himself: so that, as the Word of God is prince among the supercelestial and spiritual and invisible things, so too among the visible and corporeal he may hold the rule, and, taking the first place to himself and setting himself as head of the Church, he may draw all things to himself at the fitting time.

7. For nothing is out of order or untimely with him, just as nothing is incongruous with the Father. For all things are foreknown by the Father, and are accomplished by the Son, as is fitting and consistent, at the fitting time. For this reason, when Mary was hastening towards the wonderful sign of the wine, and wished before the time to share in the cup of the compendium, the Lord, checking her untimely haste, said: What is it to me and to you, woman? My hour has not yet come (John 2:4); awaiting that hour which was foreknown by the Father.

Propter hoc cum saepe vellent eum homines apprehendere: « Nemo, inquit, immisit manus ei: nondum enim venerat hora apprehensionis, » nec tempus passionis, quod praecognitum fuerat a Patre; quemadmodum et Habacuc propheta ait: « In eo cum appropinquarint anni, cognosceris, in adventu temporis ostenderis, in eo quod turbetur anima mea in ira, misericordiae tuae memoraberis. » Sed et Paulus ait: « Cum autem venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum. » Per quod manifestum est, quoniam omnia quae praecognita erant a Patre, ordine, et tempore, et hora praecognita et apta perfecit Dominus noster, unus quidem et idem exsistens, dives autem et multus. Diviti enim et multae voluntati Patris deservit, cum sit ipse Salvator eorum qui salvantur, et Dominus eorum qui sunt sub dominio, et Deus eorum quae constituta sunt, et Unigenitus Patris, et Christus qui praedicatus est, et Verbum Dei incarnatus, cum advenisset plenitudo temporis, in quo filium hominis fieri oportebat Filium Dei.

8. Igitur omnes extra dispositionem sunt, qui sub obtentu agnitionis alterum quidem Jesum intelligunt, alterum autem Christum, et alterum Unigenitum (ab hoc autem rursum esse Verbum); et alterum Salvatorem, quem etiam eorum qui in deminoratione facti sunt Aeones, emissionem esse dicunt hi qui sunt erroris discipuli: qui a foris quidem oves, (per eam enim quam habent extrinsecus loquelam, similes nobis apparent, eadem nobiscum loquentes) intrinsecus vero lupi. Sententia enim eorum homicidialis, deos quidem plures confingens, et patres multos simulans; comminuens autem et per multa dividens Filium Dei: quos et Dominus nobis cavere praedixit, et discipulus ejus Joannes in praedicta Epistola fugere eos praecepit dicens: « Multi seductores exierunt in hunc mundum; qui non confitentur Jesum Christum in carne venisse. Hic est seductor et Antichristus. Videte eos, ne perdatis quod operati estis. » Et rursus in Epistola ait: « Multi pseudo-prophetae exierunt de saeculo. In hoc cognoscite Spiritum Dei: Omnis spiritus qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, ex Deo est. Et omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum, non est ex Deo, sed de Antichristo est. » Haec autem similia sunt illi, quod in Evangelio dictum est, quoniam « Verbum caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis. » Propter quod rursus in Epistola clamat: « Omnis qui credit quia Jesus est Christus, ex Deo natus est; » unum et eumdem sciens Jesum Christum, cui apertae sunt portae coeli, propter carnalem ejus assumptionem: qui etiam in eadem carne in qua passus est, veniet, gloriam revelans Patris.

For this reason, when men often wished to seize him: No one, he says, laid hands on him: for the hour of the seizing had not yet come (John 7:30), nor the time of the Passion, which had been foreknown by the Father; as the prophet Habakkuk too says: In this, when the years draw near, you will be known; at the coming of the time you will be shown; in this, that my soul is troubled in wrath, you will remember your mercy (Hab 3:2). And Paul too says: But when the fullness of time came, God sent his Son (Gal 4:4). By which it is plain that all things that had been foreknown by the Father our Lord accomplished in the order, the time and the hour foreknown and fitting, being indeed one and the same, but rich and manifold. For he serves the rich and manifold will of the Father, since he himself is the Saviour of those who are saved, and the Lord of those who are under lordship, and the God of the things that have been established, and the Only-begotten of the Father, and the Christ who was preached, and the Word of God incarnate, when the fullness of time had come, in which the Son of God had to become Son of Man.

8. All, therefore, are outside the disposition who, under pretext of knowledge, understand Jesus to be one and Christ another, and the Only-begotten another (and from him, in turn, the Word), and the Saviour another, whom these disciples of error say to be an emission of their Aeons, those who came to be in the diminution: who outwardly are sheep (for by the speech they have on the outside they appear like us, saying the same things as we do), but inwardly wolves. For their doctrine is murderous, fashioning many gods and feigning many fathers, but breaking up the Son of God and dividing him into many: against whom the Lord too warned us beforehand to be on our guard, and his disciple John, in the Epistle mentioned before, commanded us to flee them, saying: Many deceivers have gone out into this world, who do not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh. This is the deceiver and the Antichrist (2 John 7). Watch them, that you may not lose what you have wrought (2 John 8). And again in the Epistle he says: Many false prophets have gone out from the world. By this know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God. And every spirit that dissolves Jesus is not of God, but is of the Antichrist (1 John 4:1–3). Now these things are like what was said in the Gospel, that the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us (John 1:14). Wherefore he cries out again in the Epistle: Everyone who believes that Jesus is the Christ is born of God (1 John 5:1); knowing one and the same Jesus Christ, to whom the gates of heaven were opened because of his taking up in the flesh: who will also come in the same flesh in which he suffered, revealing the glory of the Father.

9. Et Paulus autem his consentiens, Romanos alloquens, ait: « Multo magis hi, qui abundantiam gratiae et justitiae accipiunt in vitam, regnabunt per unum Jesum Christum. » Nescit ergo eum qui evolavit Christum a Jesu; neque eum novit Salvatorem qui sursum est, quem impassibilem dicunt. Si enim alter quidem passus est, alter autem impassibilis mansit; et alter quidem natus est, alter vero in eum, qui natus est, descendit, et rursus reliquit eum; non unus, sed duo monstrantur. Quoniam autem unum eum, et qui natus est, et qui passus est, Christum Jesum novit Apostolus, in eadem Epistola iterum dicit: « An ignoratis, quoniam quotquot baptizati sumus in Christo Jesu, in morte ejus baptizati sumus? ut quemadmodum resurrexit Christus a mortuis, sic et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus. »

Rursus autem significans Christum passum, et ipsum esse Filium Dei, qui pro nobis mortuus est, et sanguine suo redemit nos in praefinito tempore, ait: « Utquid enim Christus, cum adhuc essemus infirmi, secundum tempus pro impiis mortuus est? Commendat autem suam dilectionem Deus in nobis, quoniam cum adhuc essemus peccatores, pro nobis Christus mortuus est: multo magis justificati nunc in sanguine ejus, salvi erimus per ipsum ab ira. Si enim cum essemus inimici, reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem Filii ejus, multo magis reconciliati, salvi erimus in vita ejus. » Hunc eumdem qui apprehensus, et passus est, et effudit sanguinem suum pro nobis, hunc Christum, hunc Filium Dei manifestissime annuntians, qui etiam surrexit, et assumptus est in coelos, quemadmodum ipse ait: « Simul autem Christus mortuus est, imo et resurrexit, qui est in dextera Dei. » Et iterum: « Scientes quoniam Christus resurgens a mortuis, jam non moritur. » (Praevidens enim et ipse per Spiritum subdivisiones malorum magistrorum, et omnem ipsorum occasionem dissensionis volens abscindere, ait quae praedicta sunt.) « Si autem Spiritus ejus, qui suscitavit Jesum a mortuis, inhabitat in vobis; qui suscitavit Christum a mortuis, vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra. » Unum quod non exclamat ad eos, qui volunt audire: Nolite errare; unus et idem est Christus Jesus Filius Dei, qui per passionem reconciliavit nos Deo, et resurrexit a mortuis, qui est in dextera Patris, et perfectus in omnibus: qui cum vapularet, non repercutiebat; « qui cum pateretur, non est minitatus; » et cum tyrannidem pateretur, rogabat Patrem ut ignosceret his qui se crucifixerant. Ipse enim vere salvavit: ipse est Verbum Dei, ipse Unigenitus a Patre, Christus Jesus Dominus noster.

Caput XVII

Non Christum aut Salvatorem, sed Spiritum sanctum in Jesum descendisse docent apostoli. Cur descenderit, explicatur.

9. And Paul too, agreeing with these, addressing the Romans, says: Much more those who receive the abundance of grace and of justice into life shall reign through one Jesus Christ (Rom 5:17). He does not know, then, the Christ who flew away from Jesus; nor does he know the Saviour who is above, whom they say to be impassible. For if one suffered and the other remained impassible, and one was born and the other descended upon him who was born and left him again, not one but two are shown. But since the Apostle knew him as one, both him who was born and him who suffered, Christ Jesus, he says again in the same Epistle: Do you not know that all of us who have been baptised in Christ Jesus have been baptised in his death? that as Christ rose from the dead, so we too may walk in newness of life (Rom 6:3–4).

And again, signifying that Christ suffered, and that he himself is the Son of God, who died for us and redeemed us with his blood at the time appointed beforehand, he says: For why did Christ, when we were still weak, die at the due time for the ungodly? But God commends his love in us, in that, while we were still sinners, Christ died for us: much more, being now justified in his blood, shall we be saved through him from wrath. For if, when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved in his life (Rom 5:6–10). Proclaiming most plainly that this same one who was seized, and suffered, and shed his blood for us, is the Christ, is the Son of God, who also rose again and was taken up into the heavens, as he himself says: But at once Christ died, or rather also rose again, who is at the right hand of God (Rom 8:34). And again: Knowing that Christ, rising from the dead, dies no more (Rom 6:9). (For he too, foreseeing through the Spirit the subdivisions of the evil teachers, and wishing to cut off every occasion of dissension they might have, said what has been quoted above.) But if the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead dwells in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will give life also to your mortal bodies (Rom 8:11). He all but cries out to those who are willing to hear: "Do not go astray: one and the same is Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who by the Passion reconciled us to God, and rose from the dead, who is at the right hand of the Father, and perfect in all things: who, when he was beaten, did not strike back; who, when he suffered, did not threaten (1 Pet 2:23); and when he suffered tyranny, prayed the Father to forgive those who had crucified him." For he truly saved: he is the Word of God, he the Only-begotten from the Father, Christ Jesus our Lord.

Chapter 17

The apostles teach that it was not Christ or the Saviour, but the Holy Spirit, who descended upon Jesus. Why he descended is explained.

1. Etenim potuerunt dicere apostoli, Christum descendisse in Jesum; aut illum superiorem Salvatorem, in eum qui sit dispositionis; aut illum qui est ab invisibilibus, in eum qui est Demiurgi: sed nihil quidem tale neque scierunt, neque dixerunt; si enim scissent et dixissent utique: quod autem erat, hoc et dixerunt, Spiritum Dei sicut columbam descendisse in eum, hunc Spiritum, de quo ab Isaia dictum est: « Et requiescet super eum Spiritus Dei; » sicut praediximus. Et iterum: « Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me. » Iste Spiritus, de quo ait Dominus: « Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis. » Et iterum potestatem regenerationis in Deum dans discipulis, dicebat eis: « Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. » Hunc enim promisit per prophetas effundere in novissimis temporibus super servos et ancillas, ut prophetent: unde et in Filium Dei, filium hominis factum, descendit, cum ipso assuescens habitare in genere humano, et requiescere in hominibus, et habitare in plasmate Dei, voluntatem Patris operans in ipsis, et renovans eos a vetustate in novitatem Christi.

2. Hunc Spiritum petiit David humano generi, dicens: « Et Spiritu principali confirma me. » Quem et descendisse Lucas ait post ascensum Domini super discipulos in Pentecoste, habentem potestatem omnium gentium ad introitum vitae et adapertionem Novi Testamenti: unde et omnibus linguis conspirantes hymnum dicebant Deo, Spiritu ad unitatem redigente distantes tribus, et primitias omnium gentium offerente Patri. Unde et Dominus pollicitus est mittere se Paracletum, qui nos aptaret Deo. Sicut enim de arido tritico massa una fieri non potest sine humore, neque unus panis: ita nec nos multi unum fieri in Christo Jesu poteramus, sine aqua quae de coelo est. Et sicut arida terra, si non percipiat humorem, non fructificat; sic et nos, lignum aridum exsistentes primum nunquam fructificaremus vitam, sine superna voluntaria pluvia. Corpora enim nostra per lavacrum illam, quae est ad incorruptionem, unitatem acceperunt; animae autem per Spiritum. Unde et utraque necessaria, cum utraque proficiunt in vitam Dei, miserante Domino nostro Samaritanae illi praevaricatrici, quae in uno viro non mansit, sed fornicata est in multis nuptiis, et ostendente ei, et pollicente aquam vivam, ut ulterius non sitiret, neque occuparetur ad humectationem aquae laboriosae, habens in se potum salientem in vitam aeternam. Quod Dominus accipiens munus a Patre, ipse quoque his donavit qui ex ipso participantur, in universam terram mittens Spiritum sanctum.

1. For the apostles could have said that Christ descended upon Jesus; or that that higher Saviour descended upon the one of the disposition; or that he who is from the invisible ones descended upon him who is of the Demiurge: but they neither knew nor said anything of the kind; for had they known it, they would certainly also have said it: but what was the case, that they also said, that the Spirit of God descended upon him like a dove, this Spirit of whom it was said by Isaiah: And the Spirit of God shall rest upon him (Isa 11:2), as we said before. And again: The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me (Isa 61:1). This is the Spirit of whom the Lord says: For it is not you who speak, but the Spirit of your Father who speaks in you (Matt 10:20). And again, giving the disciples the power of regeneration into God, he said to them: Go, teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit (Matt 28:19). For this Spirit he promised through the prophets to pour out in the last times upon his servants and handmaids, that they might prophesy: whence also he descended upon the Son of God, made Son of Man, growing accustomed with him to dwell in the human race, and to rest in men, and to dwell in the handiwork of God, working the will of the Father in them, and renewing them from their oldness into the newness of Christ.

2. This Spirit David asked for the human race, saying: And confirm me with the principal Spirit (Ps 51:14). And Luke says that this Spirit descended upon the disciples after the ascension of the Lord, at Pentecost, having power over all the nations for their entrance into life and for the opening of the New Testament: whence also, joined in every tongue, they sang a hymn to God, the Spirit bringing the distant tribes back to unity and offering to the Father the first fruits of all the nations. Wherefore the Lord too promised that he would send the Paraclete, who would make us fit for God. For as from dry wheat one lump cannot be made without moisture, nor one loaf, so neither could we, being many, become one in Christ Jesus without the water that is from heaven. And as dry earth, if it does not receive moisture, bears no fruit, so we too, being at first a dry tree, would never bear life as fruit without the voluntary rain from above. For our bodies received through the washing that unity which is for incorruption, but our souls through the Spirit. Wherefore both are necessary, since both advance us to the life of God, our Lord having had mercy on that Samaritan woman, the transgressor, who did not remain with one husband but committed fornication in many marriages, and showing her and promising her living water, that she might thirst no more, nor be busied with drawing toilsome water, having in herself a drink springing up into eternal life. This gift the Lord, having received it from the Father, himself also bestowed on those who partake of him, sending the Holy Spirit into all the earth.

3. Hanc muneris gratiam praevidens Gedeon ille Israelita, quem elegit Deus, ut salvaret populum Israel de potentatu alienigenarum, demutavit petitionem, et super vellus lanae, in quo tantum primum ros fuerat, quod erat typus populi, ariditatem futuram prophetans; hoc est, non jam habituros eos a Deo Spiritum sanctum, sicut Isaias ait: « Et nubibus mandabo ne pluant super eam; » in omni autem terra fieri ros, quod est Spiritus Dei, qui descendit in Dominum, « spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et virtutis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, spiritus timoris Dei; » quem ipsum iterum dedit Ecclesiae, in omnem terram mittens de coelis Paracletum, ubi et diabolum, tanquam fulgur, projectum ait Dominus. Quapropter necessarius nobis est ros Dei, ut non comburamur, neque infructuosi efficiamur, et ubi accusatorem habemus, illic habeamus et Paracletum: commendante Domino Spiritui sancto suum hominem, qui inciderat in latrones, cui ipse misertus est, et ligavit vulnera ejus, dans duo denaria regalia, ut per Spiritum imaginem et inscriptionem Patris et Filii accipientes, fructificemus creditum nobis denarium, multiplicatum Domino annumerantes.

4. Spiritu itaque descendente super praedictam dispositionem, et Filio Dei unigenito, qui et Verbum est Patris, veniente plenitudine temporis, incarnato in homine propter hominem, et omnem secundum hominem dispositionem implente Jesu Christo Domino nostro, uno et eodem exsistente, sicut et ipse Dominus testatur, et apostoli confitentur, et prophetae annuntiant; mendaces ostensae sunt universae doctrinae eorum, qui octonationes et quaternationes putativas adinvenerunt, et subdivisiones excogitaverunt: qui Spiritum quidem interimunt, alium autem Christum, et alium Jesum intelligunt, et non unum Christum, sed plures fuisse docent: et si unitos eos dixerint, iterum ostendunt eum quidem participasse passionem, hunc autem impassibilem perseverasse; et hunc quidem ascendisse in Pleroma, hunc autem in medietate remansisse; et hunc quidem in invisibilibus et innominabilibus epulari et oblectari, hunc autem assidere Demiurgo, evacuantem eum virtute. Unde oportebit et te, et omnes qui intendunt huic scripturae, et solliciti sunt pro sua salute, non, cum audiunt forinsecus eorum sermones, sponte succumbere. Similia enim loquentes fidelibus, sicut praediximus, non solum dissimilia sapiunt, sed et contraria, et per omnia plena blasphemiis, per quae interficiunt eos, qui per similitudinem verborum dissimile affectionis eorum in se attrahunt venenum: sicut quis aquae mistum gypsum dans pro lacte, seducat per similitudinem coloris, sicut quidam dixit superior nobis, de omnibus qui quolibet modo depravant quae sunt Dei, et adulterant veritatem. In Dei lacte gypsum male miscetur.

3. Foreseeing this grace of the gift, Gideon, that Israelite whom God chose to save the people of Israel from the dominion of foreigners, changed his request, and prophesied a future dryness upon the fleece of wool, on which alone at first there had been dew, which was a type of the people; that is, that they would no longer have the Holy Spirit from God, as Isaiah says: And I will command the clouds not to rain upon it (Isa 5:6); but that the dew, which is the Spirit of God, would be on all the earth, he who descended upon the Lord, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and power, the spirit of knowledge and piety, the spirit of the fear of God (Isa 11:2–3); whom he in turn gave to the Church, sending the Paraclete from heaven into all the earth, whence also, the Lord says, the devil was cast down like lightning. Wherefore the dew of God is necessary to us, that we may not be burned up nor made unfruitful, and that where we have an accuser, there we may also have the Paraclete: the Lord commending to the Holy Spirit his own man, who had fallen among robbers, on whom he himself had mercy, and bound up his wounds, giving two royal denarii, so that, receiving through the Spirit the image and inscription of the Father and of the Son, we may make the denarius entrusted to us bear fruit, counting it back to the Lord multiplied.

4. The Spirit, then, descending upon the disposition foretold, and the only-begotten Son of God, who is also the Word of the Father, coming in the fullness of time, incarnate in man for man's sake, and Jesus Christ our Lord fulfilling the whole disposition according to man, being one and the same, as the Lord himself testifies, and the apostles confess, and the prophets proclaim: all the doctrines of those who devised seeming octonaries and quaternaries, and thought out subdivisions, have been shown to be lies: who do away with the Spirit, and understand Christ to be one and Jesus another, and teach that there was not one Christ but many: and if they say that these were united, they show again that the one shared in the passion, but the other remained impassible; and that the one ascended into the Pleroma, but the other stayed in the Midst; and that the one feasts and takes his delight among the invisible and unnameable ones, but the other sits beside the Demiurge, emptying him of power. Wherefore it will behove both you and all who give heed to this writing, and are concerned for their salvation, not to yield of their own accord when they hear their discourses from outside. For, saying things like those the faithful say, as we said before, they not only think unlike things, but even contrary ones, and in every way full of blasphemies, by which they kill those who, through the likeness of the words, draw into themselves the poison of their affection, unlike the words: as if someone, giving gypsum mixed with water instead of milk, should lead astray by the likeness of the colour; as one who came before us said of all who in any way corrupt the things of God and adulterate the truth: "In the milk of God gypsum is evilly mixed."

Caput XVIII

Redit ad susceptum argumentum, probatque tum ex Pauli, tum ex ipsius Domini verbis, Christum a Jesu dividendum non esse, nec Filium Dei specie tenus, sed vere hominem factum esse.

1. Ostenso manifeste, quod in principio Verbum exsistens apud Deum, per quem omnia facta sunt, qui et semper aderat generi humano, hunc in novissimis temporibus secundum praefinitum tempus a Patre, unitum suo plasmati, passibilem hominem factum; exclusa est omnis contradictio dicentium: Si ergo tunc natus est, non erat ergo ante Christus. Ostendimus enim, quia non tunc coepit Filius Dei, exsistens semper apud Patrem; sed quando incarnatus est, et homo factus, longam hominum expositionem in seipso recapitulavit, in compendio nobis salutem praestans, ut quod perdideramus in Adam, id est secundum imaginem et similitudinem esse Dei, hoc in Christo Jesu reciperemus.

2. Quia enim non erat possibile, eum hominem, qui semel victus fuerat, et elisus per inobedientiam, replasmare et obtinere bravium victoriae; iterum autem impossibile erat, ut salutem perciperet, qui sub peccato ceciderat: utraque operatus est Filius, Verbum Dei exsistens, a Patre descendens, et incarnatus, et usque ad mortem descendens, et dispensationem consummans salutis nostrae, cui credere nos indubitate adhortans, iterum dicit: « Ne dixeris in corde tuo: Quis ascendit in coelum? hoc est Christum deducere. Aut, quis descendit in abyssum? hoc est Christum a mortuis liberare. » Deinde infert: « Quoniam si confitearis in ore tuo Dominum Jesum, et credideris in corde tuo, quoniam Deus illum excitavit a mortuis, salvus eris. » Et rationem reddidit propter quam haec fecit Verbum Dei, dicens: « In hoc enim Christus et vixit, et mortuus est, et resurrexit, ut vivorum et mortuorum dominetur. » Et iterum ad Corinthios scribens ait: « Nos autem annuntiamus Christum Jesum crucifixum. » Et infert: « Calix benedictionis, quem benedicimus, nonne communicatio sanguinis est Christi? »

3. Quis est autem qui communicavit nobis de escis? Utrum is qui ab illis affingitur sursum Christus, superextensus Horo, id est fini, et formavit eorum Matrem: an vero qui ex virgine est Emmanuel, qui butyrum et mel manducavit, de quo ait propheta: « Et homo est, et quis cognoscet eum? » Hic idem a Paulo annuntiabatur: « Tradidi enim, inquit, vobis in primis, quoniam Christus mortuus est pro peccatis nostris secundum Scripturas, et quoniam sepultus est, et resurrexit tertia die secundum Scripturas. »

Chapter 18

He returns to the argument he had taken up, and proves both from Paul's words and from the Lord's own that Christ is not to be divided from Jesus, and that the Son of God was made man not in appearance only but truly.

1. It having been plainly shown that the Word, who existed in the beginning with God, through whom all things were made, who was also always present to the human race, this same one, in the last times, according to the time appointed beforehand by the Father, united to his own handiwork, was made a passible man, every objection of those who say: "If, then, he was born at that time, Christ, then, did not exist before," is excluded. For we have shown that the Son of God did not begin then, existing always with the Father; but when he became incarnate and was made man, he recapitulated in himself the long unfolding of men, granting us salvation in brief, so that what we had lost in Adam, that is, to be according to the image and likeness of God, this we might receive back in Christ Jesus.

2. For since it was not possible for the man who had once been conquered, and dashed down through disobedience, to be moulded anew and to win the prize of victory; and again it was impossible that he should receive salvation who had fallen under sin: the Son wrought both, being the Word of God, descending from the Father, and becoming incarnate, and descending even to death, and bringing to completion the dispensation of our salvation; and, exhorting us to believe in it without doubting, he says again: Do not say in your heart: Who has ascended into heaven? that is, to bring Christ down. Or: Who has descended into the abyss? that is, to free Christ from the dead (Rom 10:6–7). Then he adds: That if you confess with your mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved (Rom 10:9). And he gave the reason for which the Word of God did these things, saying: For to this end Christ both lived and died and rose again, that he might be Lord of the living and the dead (Rom 14:9). And again, writing to the Corinthians, he says: But we proclaim Christ Jesus crucified (1 Cor 1:23). And he adds: The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the fellowship of the blood of Christ? (1 Cor 10:16)

3. But who is it that shared food with us? Is it the Christ above, whom they fabricate, who stretched himself over Horos, that is, the limit, and formed their Mother; or rather he who is Emmanuel from the virgin, who ate butter and honey, of whom the Prophet says: And he is man, and who shall know him? (Jer 17:9) This same one was proclaimed by Paul: For I delivered to you, he says, first of all, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and rose again on the third day according to the Scriptures (1 Cor 15:3–4).

Manifestum est igitur, quoniam Paulus alterum Christum nescit, nisi hunc solum, qui et passus est, et sepultus est, et resurrexit, qui et natus est, quem et hominem dixit. Cum enim dixisset: « Si autem Christus annuntiatur, quoniam a mortuis resurrexit; » intulit, rationem reddens incarnationis ejus: « Quoniam per hominem mors, et per hominem resurrectio mortuorum. » Et ubique in passione Domini nostri, et humanitate, et mortificatione ejus, Christi usus est nomine, quemadmodum in illo: « Noli esca tua perdere illum, pro quo Christus mortuus est. » Et iterum: « Nunc autem in Christo vos, qui aliquando fuistis longe, facti estis proximi in sanguine Christi. » Et iterum: « Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis, factus pro nobis maledictum; quoniam scriptum est: Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno. » Et iterum: « Et periet infirmus in tua scientia frater, propter quem Christus mortuus est, » significans quoniam non Christus impassibilis descendit in Jesum, sed ipse, Jesus Christus cum esset, passus est pro nobis, qui decubuit et resurrexit, qui descendit et ascendit, Filius Dei, filius hominis factus: quemadmodum et ipsum nomen significat. In Christi enim nomine subauditur qui unxit, et ipse qui unctus est, et ipsa unctio in qua unctus est. Et unxit quidem Pater, unctus est vero Filius, in Spiritu, qui est unctio; quemadmodum per Isaiam ait sermo: « Spiritus Dei super me, propter quod unxit me; » significans et ungentem Patrem, et unctum Filium, et unctionem, qui est Spiritus.

4. Et ipse autem Dominus manifestum facit eum, qui est passus. Cum enim interrogasset discipulos: « Quem me homines dicunt esse filium hominis? » Petrus cum respondisset: « Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi; » et cum laudatus esset ab eo, « Quoniam caro et sanguis non revelavit ei, sed Pater qui est in coelis; » manifestum fecit, quoniam filius hominis hic est Christus Filius Dei vivi: « Ex eo enim, inquit, coepit demonstrare discentibus, quoniam oportet illum Hierosolymam ire, et multa pati a sacerdotibus, et reprobari, et crucifigi, et tertia die resurgere. » Ipse qui agnitus est a Petro Christus, qui eum beatum dixit, quoniam Pater ei revelavit Filium Dei vivi, dixit, semetipsum oportere multa pati et crucifigi: et tunc Petro increpavit, secundum opinionem hominum putanti eum esse Christum, et passionem ejus aversanti, et dixit discipulis: « Si quis vult post me venire, neget se, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me. Qui enim voluerit animam suam salvare, perdet illam; et qui eam perdiderit propter me, salvabit eam. » Haec enim Christus manifeste dicebat, ipse exsistens Salvator eorum, qui propter suam confessionem in mortem traderentur, et perderent animas suas.

It is plain, then, that Paul knows no other Christ but this one alone, who both suffered, and was buried, and rose again, who was also born, whom he also called man. For when he had said: But if Christ is proclaimed, that he rose from the dead (1 Cor 15:12), he added, giving the reason for his incarnation: For through man death, and through man the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15:21). And everywhere, in the Passion of our Lord, and in his humanity, and in his being put to death, he used the name of Christ, as in this: Do not with your food destroy him for whom Christ died (Rom 14:15). And again: But now in Christ you, who were once far off, have been made near in the blood of Christ (Eph 2:13). And again: Christ redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us; for it is written: Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree (Gal 3:13). And again: And the weak brother will perish in your knowledge, he for whom Christ died (1 Cor 8:11); signifying that it was not an impassible Christ who descended upon Jesus, but that he himself, being Jesus Christ, suffered for us, he who lay down and rose again, who descended and ascended, the Son of God made Son of Man: as the very name also signifies. For in the name of Christ is implied he who anointed, and he himself who was anointed, and the anointing itself with which he was anointed. And the Father anointed, and the Son was anointed, in the Spirit, who is the anointing; as the word says through Isaiah: The Spirit of God is upon me, because he has anointed me (Isa 61:1); signifying both the anointing Father, and the anointed Son, and the anointing, which is the Spirit.

4. And the Lord himself makes plain who it is that suffered. For when he had asked the disciples: Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am? and Peter had answered: You are the Christ, the Son of the living God; and he had been praised by him, for flesh and blood has not revealed it to him, but the Father who is in heaven (Matt 16:13–17), he made plain that this Son of Man is the Christ, the Son of the living God: From that time, he says, he began to show the learners that he must go to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the priests, and be rejected, and be crucified, and rise again on the third day (Matt 16:21). He himself who was acknowledged by Peter as the Christ, who called him blessed because the Father had revealed to him the Son of the living God, said that he himself must suffer many things and be crucified: and then he rebuked Peter, who, according to the view of men, thought him to be the Christ and shrank from his Passion, and said to the disciples: If anyone wishes to come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whoever wishes to save his life will lose it; and whoever loses it for my sake will save it (Matt 16:24–25). For these things Christ said plainly, he himself being the Saviour of those who for their confession would be delivered up to death and would lose their lives.

5. Si autem ipse non erat passurus, sed avolaret a Jesu, quid et adhortabatur discipulos tollere crucem, et sequi se, quam ipse non tollebat secundum ipsos, sed relinquebat dispositionem passionis? Quoniam enim non de agnitione superioris crucis dicit hoc, quemadmodum quidam audent exponere, sed de passione, quam oportebat illum pati, et ipsi discipuli ejus futurum erat ut paterentur, intulit: « Quicunque enim salvaverit animam suam perdet eam; et qui perdiderit, inveniet eam. » Et quoniam passuri erant discipuli ejus propter eum, dicebat Judaeis: « Ecce mitto ad vos prophetas, et sapientes, et doctores, et ex his interficietis, et crucifigetis. » Et discipulis dicebat: « Ante duces et reges stabitis propter me, et ex vobis flagellabunt, et interficient, et persequentur a civitate in civitatem. » Sciebat igitur et eos qui persecutionem passuri essent, sciebat et eos qui flagellari et occidi haberent propter eum. Et non altera de cruce, sed de passione, quam passurus esset ipse prior, post deinde discipuli ejus, erat ergo sermo ejus, adhortantis etiam illos: « Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus, animam autem non possunt occidere; timete autem magis eum, qui habet potestatem, et corpus, et animam mittere in gehennam; » et servare eas quae essent ad eum confessiones. Etenim ipse confessurum se promittebat coram Patre suo eos, qui confiterentur nomen suum coram hominibus; negaturum autem eos qui negarent eum, et confusurum qui confunderentur confessionem ejus.

Et cum haec ita se habeant, ad tantam temeritatem progressi sunt quidam, ut etiam martyres spernant, et vituperent eos qui propter Domini confessionem occiduntur, et sustinent omnia a Domino praedicta, et secundum hoc conantur vestigia assequi passionis Domini, passibilis martyres facti; quos et concedimus ipsis martyribus. Cum enim inquiretur sanguis eorum, et gloriam consequentur, tunc a Christo confundentur omnes qui inhonoraverunt eorum martyrium. Et ex hoc autem quod Dominus in cruce dixerit: « Pater, remitte eis, non enim sciunt quid faciunt; » longanimitas, et patientia, et misericordia, et bonitas Christi ostenditur, ut et ipse pateretur, et ipse excusaret eos qui se male tractassent. Verbum enim Dei quod nobis dixit: « Diligite inimicos vestros, et orate pro eis qui vos oderunt; » ipse hoc fecit in cruce, in tantum diligens humanum genus, ut etiam pro his, qui se interficerent, postularet. Si quis autem, quasi duorum exsistentium, judicium de his faciat, invenietur multo melior, et patientior, et vere bonus, qui in vulneribus ipsis, et plagis, et reliquis quae in eum commiserunt, beneficus est, nec memor est in se commissae malitiae, eo qui avolavit, nec ullam injuriam, neque opprobrium passus est.

5. But if he himself was not to suffer, but was to fly away from Jesus, why did he also exhort the disciples to take up the cross and to follow him, a cross which, according to them, he himself was not taking up; rather, he was leaving behind the disposition of the Passion? For since he does not say this of the knowledge of the upper Cross, as some dare to expound it, but of the passion which he himself had to suffer, and which his disciples themselves were to suffer, he added: For whoever saves his life will lose it; and whoever loses it will find it (Matt 16:25). And since his disciples were to suffer for his sake, he said to the Jews: Behold, I send to you prophets, and wise men, and teachers, and some of them you will kill and crucify (Matt 23:34). And to the disciples he said: You will stand before governors and kings for my sake, and some of you they will scourge, and kill, and persecute from city to city (Matt 10:17–18, 23). He knew, then, both those who would suffer persecution, and he knew those who were to be scourged and slain for his sake. And so his word was not about another cross, but about the passion which he himself would suffer first, and his disciples after him, as he exhorted them too: Do not fear those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul; but fear rather him who has power to send both body and soul into Gehenna (Matt 10:28); and to keep the confessions that concern him. For he promised that he would confess before his Father those who confessed his name before men; but that he would deny those who denied him, and be ashamed of those who were ashamed of confessing him.

And though these things are so, some have gone so far in rashness as even to scorn the martyrs, and to revile those who are slain for confessing the Lord, and who endure all that was foretold by the Lord, and in this way strive to follow in the footsteps of the Lord's Passion, having become martyrs of the passible one; these too we leave to the martyrs themselves. For when their blood is required, and they obtain glory, then all who dishonoured their martyrdom will be put to shame by Christ. And from this too, that the Lord said on the cross: Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they do (Luke 23:34), the long-suffering, and patience, and mercy, and goodness of Christ are shown, in that he himself both suffered and himself excused those who had ill-treated him. For the Word of God, who said to us: Love your enemies, and pray for those who hate you (Matt 5:44), himself did this on the cross, loving the human race so much that he prayed even for those who were killing him. But if anyone were to pass judgement on them as if there were two, he will be found far better, and more patient, and truly good, who in his very wounds and stripes, and the other things they committed against him, is beneficent and does not remember the wickedness committed against him, than he who flew away and suffered no injury nor reproach.

6. Hoc autem idem et illis occurrit, qui dicunt eum putative passum. Si enim non vere passus est, nulla gratia ei, cum nulla fuerit passio: et nos, cum incipiemus vere pati, seducens videbitur, adhortans nos vapulare, et alteram praebere maxillam, si ipse illud non prior in veritate passus est: et quemadmodum illos seduxit, ut videretur eis ipse hoc quod non erat; et nos seducit, adhortans perferre ea, quae ipse non pertulit. Erimus autem et super magistrum, dum patimur et sustinemus, quae neque passus est, neque sustinuit magister. Sed quoniam solus vere magister Dominus noster; et bonus vere Filius Dei, et patiens, Verbum Dei Patris filius hominis factus. Luctatus est enim, et vicit: erat enim homo pro patribus certans, et per obedientiam inobedientiam persolvens: alligavit enim fortem, et solvit infirmos, et salutem donavit plasmati suo, destruens peccatum. Est enim piissimus et misericors Dominus, et amans humanum genus.

7. Haerere itaque fecit et adunivit, quemadmodum praediximus, hominem Deo. Si enim homo non vicisset inimicum hominis, non juste victus esset inimicus. Rursus autem, nisi Deus donasset salutem, non firmiter haberemus eam. Et nisi homo conjunctus fuisset Deo, non potuisset particeps fieri incorruptibilitatis. Oportuerat enim mediatorem Dei et hominum, per suam ad utrosque domesticitatem, in amicitiam et concordiam utrosque reducere, et facere, ut et Deus assumeret hominem, et homo se dederet Deo.

Qua enim ratione filiorum adoptionis ejus participes esse possemus, nisi per Filium eam, quae est ad ipsum, recepissemus ab eo communionem; nisi Verbum ejus communicasset nobis, caro factum? Quapropter et per omnem venit aetatem, omnibus restituens eam, quae est ad Deum communionem. Igitur qui dicunt eum putative manifestatum, neque in carne natum, neque vere hominem factum, adhuc sub veteri sunt damnatione, advocationem praebentes peccato, non devicta secundum eos morte, quae « regnavit ab Adam usque ad Moysem, etiam in eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem transgressionis Adae. » Veniens autem lex, quae data est per Moysem, et testificans de peccato, quoniam peccator est, regnum quidem ejus abstulit, latronem et non regem eum detegens, et homicidam eum ostendit: oneravit autem hominem, qui habebat peccatum in se, reum mortis ostendens eum. Spiritalis enim cum lex esset, manifestavit tantummodo peccatum, non autem interemit: non enim Spiritui dominabatur peccatum, sed homini.

6. And the same thing befalls those too who say that he suffered in seeming. For if he did not truly suffer, no thanks are due to him, since there was no passion: and when we begin truly to suffer, he will appear to be leading us astray, exhorting us to be beaten and to offer the other cheek, if he himself did not first suffer it in truth; and as he led them astray, so that he seemed to them to be what he was not, so he leads us astray too, exhorting us to endure what he himself did not endure. And we shall even be above the master, while we suffer and endure what the master neither suffered nor endured. But since our Lord alone is truly master; and the Son of God is truly good and patient, the Word of God the Father made Son of Man. For he struggled and conquered: for he was man contending for the fathers, and through obedience paying off disobedience: for he bound the strong man, and loosed the weak, and gave salvation to his handiwork, destroying sin. For the Lord is most tender and merciful, and a lover of the human race.

7. He made man, then, cleave to God and united him with God, as we said before. For if man had not conquered the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been justly conquered. And again, unless God had given salvation, we should not possess it securely. And unless man had been joined to God, he could not have become a partaker of incorruptibility. For it had behoved the mediator of God and men, by his kinship with both, to bring both back into friendship and concord, and to bring it about that God should assume man, and man give himself to God.

For in what way could we be partakers of his adoption of sons, unless we had received from him, through the Son, communion with him; unless his Word, made flesh, had shared with us? Wherefore he also came through every age, restoring to all communion with God. Those, therefore, who say that he was manifested in seeming, and was neither born in the flesh nor truly made man, are still under the old condemnation, pleading the cause of sin, since according to them death has not been vanquished, which reigned from Adam to Moses, even over those who did not sin in the likeness of the transgression of Adam (Rom 5:14). But the Law, coming, which was given through Moses, and testifying of sin that it is a sinner, took away its kingdom, unmasking it as a robber and not a king, and showed it to be a murderer: but it laid a burden on man, who had sin in himself, showing him guilty of death. For since the Law was spiritual, it only made sin manifest, but did not destroy it: for sin was not lord over the Spirit, but over man.

Oportebat enim eum qui inciperet occidere peccatum, et mortis reum redimere hominem, id ipsum fieri quod erat ille, id est hominem: qui a peccato quidem in servitium tractus fuerat, a morte vero tenebatur, ut peccatum ab homine interficeretur, et homo exiret a morte. Quemadmodum enim per inobedientiam unius hominis, qui primus de terra rudi plasmatus est, peccatores facti sunt multi, et amiserunt vitam; ita oportuit et per obedientiam unius hominis, qui primus de virgine natus est, justificari multos, et percipere salutem. Sic igitur Verbum Dei homo factus est, quemadmodum et Moyses ait: « Deus, vera opera ejus. » Si autem non factus caro, parebat quasi caro, non erat verum opus ejus. Quod autem parebat, hoc et erat; Deus hominis antiquam plasmationem in se recapitulans, ut occideret quidem peccatum, evacuaret autem mortem, et vivificaret hominem: et propter hoc vera opera ejus.

Caput XIX

Jesum Christum non merum hominem exstitisse ex Josephi satu progenitum; sed verum Deum ab altissimo Patre genitum, et verum hominem ex Virgine natum.

1. Rursus autem qui nude tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, perseverantes in servitute pristinae inobedientiae moriuntur; nondum commisti Verbo Dei Patris, neque per Filium percipientes libertatem, quemadmodum ipse ait: « Si Filius vos manumiserit, vere liberi eritis. » Ignorantes autem eum, qui ex Virgine est Emmanuel, privantur munere ejus, quod est vita aeterna: non recipientes autem Verbum incorruptionis, perseverant in carne mortali, et sunt debitores mortis, antidotum vitae non accipientes. Ad quos Verbum ait, suum munus gratiae narrans: « Ego dixi: Dii estis, et filii Altissimi omnes: vos autem sicut homines moriemini. » Ad eos indubitate dicit, qui non percipiunt munus adoptionis, sed contemnunt incarnationem purae generationis Verbi Dei, fraudantes hominem ab ea ascensione quae est ad Dominum, et ingrati exsistentes Verbo Dei, qui incarnatus est propter ipsos. Propter hoc enim Verbum Dei homo; et qui Filius Dei est, filius hominis factus est, commistus Verbo Dei, ut adoptionem percipiens fiat Filius Dei. Non enim poteramus aliter incorruptelam et immortalitatem percipere, nisi adunati fuissemus incorruptelae et immortalitati. Quemadmodum autem adunari possemus incorruptelae et immortalitati, nisi prius incorruptela et immortalitas facta fuisset id quod et nos; ut absorberetur, quod erat corruptibile, ab incorruptela, et quod erat mortale, ab immortalitate, ut filiorum adoptionem perciperemus?

For it behoved him who was to kill sin and to redeem man, who was guilty of death, to become that very thing which that one was, that is, man: who had been dragged into servitude by sin, and was held by death, so that sin might be slain by man, and man might go out from death. For as through the disobedience of one man, who was the first to be moulded from untilled earth, many were made sinners and lost life; so it behoved also that through the obedience of one man, who was the first to be born of a virgin, many should be justified and receive salvation. So, then, the Word of God was made man, as Moses too says: God, his works are true (Deut 32:4). But if, not having been made flesh, he appeared as flesh, his work was not true. But what he appeared to be, that he also was: God recapitulating in himself the ancient moulding of man, that he might kill sin, make death void, and give life to man: and for this reason his works are true.

Chapter 19

That Jesus Christ was not a mere man begotten of the seed of Joseph, but true God begotten of the most high Father, and true man born of the Virgin.

1. And again, those who say that he was a mere man begotten of Joseph die persevering in the servitude of the old disobedience; not yet mingled with the Word of God the Father, nor receiving freedom through the Son, as he himself says: If the Son sets you free, you will be truly free (John 8:36). But not knowing him who is Emmanuel from the Virgin, they are deprived of his gift, which is eternal life: and not receiving the Word of incorruption, they remain in mortal flesh and are debtors to death, not receiving the antidote of life. To them the Word says, telling of his own gift of grace: I said: You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High: but you shall die like men (Ps 82:6–7). Without doubt he says it to those who do not receive the gift of adoption, but despise the incarnation of the pure generation of the Word of God, defrauding man of that ascent which is to the Lord, and being ungrateful to the Word of God, who was incarnate for their sake. For to this end the Word of God was made man, and he who is the Son of God the Son of Man, that [man], mingled with the Word of God and receiving adoption, might become a son of God. For we could not otherwise have received incorruption and immortality, unless we had been united to incorruption and immortality. But how could we be united to incorruption and immortality, unless incorruption and immortality had first become what we also are, so that what was corruptible might be swallowed up by incorruption, and what was mortal by immortality, that we might receive the adoption of sons?

2. Propter hoc « generationem ejus quis enarrabit? » quoniam « homo est, et quis agnoscet eum? » Cognoscit autem illum is, cui Pater qui est in coelis revelavit, ut intelligat, quoniam is qui « non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri natus est » filius hominis, hic est Christus Filius Dei vivi. Quoniam enim nemo in totum ex filiis Adae, Deus appellatur secundum eum, aut Dominus nominatur, ex Scripturis demonstravimus. Quoniam autem ipse proprie praeter omnes qui fuerunt tunc homines, Deus, et Dominus, et Rex aeternus, et Unigenitus, et Verbum incarnatum praedicatur et a prophetis omnibus, et apostolis, et ab ipso Spiritu, adest videre omnibus qui vel modicum de veritate attigerint. Haec autem non testificarentur Scripturae de eo, si, similiter ut omnes, homo tantum fuisset. Sed quoniam praeclaram praeter omnes habuit in se eam, quae est ab altissimo Patre, genituram, praeclara autem functus est et ea, quae est ex Virgine, generatione; utraque Scripturae divinae de eo testificantur: et quoniam homo indecorus et passibilis, et super pullum asinae sedens, aceto et felle potatur, et spernebatur in populo, et usque ad mortem descendit; et quoniam Dominus sanctus, et mirabilis consiliarius, et decorus specie, et Deus fortis, super nubes veniens universorum judex, omnia de eo Scripturae prophetabant

3. Sicut enim homo erat, ut tentaretur; sic et Verbum, ut glorificaretur: requiescente quidem Verbo, ut posset tentari, et inhonorari, et crucifigi, et mori; absorpto autem homine in eo quod vincit, et sustinet, ... et resurgit, et assumitur. Hic igitur Filius Dei Dominus noster, exsistens Verbum Patris, et filius hominis: quoniam ex Maria, quae ex hominibus habebat genus, quae et ipsa erat homo, habuit secundum hominem generationem, factus est filius hominis. Propter hoc et ipse Dominus dedit nobis signum in profundum, in altitudinem sursum, quod non postulavit homo, quia nec speravit virginem praegnantem fieri posse, quae erat virgo, et parere filium, et hunc partum Deum esse nobiscum, et descendere in ea quae sunt deorsum terrae, quaerentem ovem quae perierat, quod quidem erat proprium ipsius plasma, et ascendere in altitudinem, offerentem et commendantem Patri eum hominem, qui fuerat inventus, primitias resurrectionis hominis in semetipso faciens: ut quemadmodum caput resurrexit a mortuis, sic et reliquum corpus omnis hominis, qui invenitur in vita, impleto tempore condemnationis ejus, quae erat propter inobedientiam, resurgat, per compagines et conjunctiones coalescens, et confirmatum augmento Dei, unoquoque membrorum habente propriam et aptam in corpore positionem. Multae enim mansiones apud Patrem, quoniam et multa membra in corpore.

Caput XX

2. For this reason, who shall tell his generation? (Isa 53:8) since he is man, and who shall recognise him? (Jer 17:9) But he knows him to whom the Father who is in heaven has revealed him, so that he may understand that he who was born not of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man (John 1:13), the Son of Man, this is the Christ, the Son of the living God. For that no one at all of the sons of Adam is called God according to him, or named Lord, we have shown from the Scriptures. But that he himself, properly, beyond all the men who were then, is proclaimed God, and Lord, and eternal King, and Only-begotten, and Word incarnate, both by all the prophets and the apostles and by the Spirit himself, all may see who have attained even a little of the truth. But the Scriptures would not testify these things of him if, like all others, he had been only a man. But since he had in himself, beyond all others, that illustrious begetting which is from the most high Father, and also underwent that illustrious generation which is from the Virgin, the divine Scriptures testify both of him: that he is a man without comeliness and passible, and, sitting on the foal of an ass, is given vinegar and gall to drink, and was despised among the people, and descended even to death; and that he is the holy Lord, and wonderful counsellor, and comely in appearance, and mighty God, coming upon the clouds as judge of all; all this the Scriptures prophesied of him.

3. For as he was man so that he might be tempted, so too he was the Word so that he might be glorified: the Word being quiescent, so that he could be tempted, and dishonoured, and crucified, and die; but the man being swallowed up in this, that he conquers, and endures, ... and rises again, and is taken up. This, then, is the Son of God, our Lord, being the Word of the Father, and the Son of Man: since from Mary, who had her descent from men and was herself a human being, he had a generation according to man, he was made Son of Man. For this reason the Lord himself also gave us a sign in the depth below and in the height above, which man did not ask for, because he did not even hope that a virgin, while a virgin, could become pregnant and bear a son, and that this offspring would be God with us, and would descend into the lower parts of the earth, seeking the sheep that was lost, which was indeed his own handiwork, and would ascend into the height, offering and commending to the Father that man who had been found, making in himself the first fruits of the resurrection of man: so that, as the head rose from the dead, so too the rest of the body of every man who is found in life, the time of his condemnation, which was because of disobedience, being fulfilled, may rise again, growing together through the joints and bands, and strengthened by the growth of God, each of the members having its own proper and fitting place in the body. For there are many dwellings with the Father, since there are also many members in the body.

Chapter 20

Deum ex lapsu hominis patefecisse, quam sit patiens, benignus, misericors et potens ad salvandum; atque idcirco ingratissimum esse hominem, si suae sortis acceptique beneficii immemor gratiam non referat.

1. Magnanimus igitur fuit Deus deficiente homine, eam, quae per Verbum esset, victoriam reddendam ei praevidens. Cum enim perficiebatur virtus in infirmitate, benignitatem Dei et magnificentissimam ostendebat virtutem. Sicut enim patienter sustinuit absorberi Jonam a ceto, non ut absorberetur, et in totum periret, sed ut evomitus magis subjiceretur Deo, et plus glorificaret eum, qui insperabilem salutem ei donasset, et firmam poenitentiam faceret Ninivitis, ut converterentur ad Dominum, qui eos liberaret a morte, conterritos ab eo signo, quod factum erat circa Jonam, quemadmodum Scriptura de his dicit: « Et reversi sunt unusquisque a via sua mala, et injustitia, quae erat in manibus eorum, dicentes: Quis scit si poenitebit Deus, et avertat iram suam a nobis, et non peribimus? » Sic et ab initio fuit patiens Deus hominem absorberi a magno ceto, qui fuit auctor praevaricationis, non ut absorptus in totum periret, sed praestruens et praeparans adinventionem salutis, quae facta est a Verbo per signum Jonae, his qui eamdem cum Jona de Domino sententiam habuerunt, et confessi fuerunt, et dixerunt: « Servus Domini ego sum, et Dominum Deum coeli ego colo, qui fecit mare et aridam: » ut insperabilem homo a Deo percipiens salutem, resurgat a mortuis, et clarificet Deum, et eam quae a Jona prophetata est, dicat vocem: « Clamavi ad Dominum Deum meum in tribulatione mea, et exaudivit me de ventre inferni; » et semper permaneat glorificans Deum, et sine intermissione gratias referens pro ea salute quam consecutus est ab eo: « ut non glorietur in conspectu Domini omnis caro, » nec unquam de Deo contrarium sensum accipiat homo, propriam naturaliter arbitrans eam, quae circa se esset, incorruptelam, et non tenens veritatem, inani supercilio jactaretur, quasi naturaliter similis esset Deo. Ingratum enim magis eum hoc ei, qui eum fecerat, perficiens et dilectionem quam habebat Deus in hominem offuscabat, et excaecabat sensum suum ad non sentiendum, quod sit de Deo dignum, comparans et aequalem se judicans Deo.

2. Haec ergo fuit magnanimitas Dei, ut per omnia pertransiens homo, et morum agnitionem percipiens, dehinc veniens ad resurrectionem quae est a mortuis, et experimento discens unde liberatus est, semper gratus exsistat Domino, munus incorruptelae consecutus ab eo, ut plus diligeret eum (cui enim plus dimittitur plus

That by the fall of man God made plain how patient, kind, merciful and mighty to save he is; and that man is therefore most ungrateful if, forgetful of his lot and of the benefit received, he gives no thanks.

1. God, then, was long-suffering when man failed, foreseeing that victory which was to be given back to him through the Word. For when power was being made perfect in weakness, it showed the kindness of God and his most magnificent power. For as he patiently endured that Jonah should be swallowed by the sea-monster, not that he should be swallowed up and perish altogether, but that, being vomited out, he might be more subject to God, and glorify the more him who had given him an unhoped-for salvation, and might bring the Ninevites to a firm repentance, so that they might turn to the Lord, who would free them from death, terrified by that sign which had been wrought concerning Jonah, as the Scripture says of them: And they turned back, each from his evil way, and from the injustice that was in their hands, saying: Who knows whether God will repent, and turn away his wrath from us, and we shall not perish? (Jonah 3:8–9) So too from the beginning God was patient while man was swallowed by the great sea-monster, who was the author of the transgression, not that, swallowed up, he should perish altogether, but preparing beforehand and making ready the device of salvation, which was wrought by the Word through the sign of Jonah for those who had the same mind as Jonah concerning the Lord, and confessed, and said: I am a servant of the Lord, and I worship the Lord, the God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land (Jonah 1:9); so that man, receiving from God an unhoped-for salvation, may rise from the dead and glorify God, and say that word which was prophesied by Jonah: I cried to the Lord my God in my tribulation, and he heard me from the belly of hell (Jonah 2:3); and that he may always continue glorifying God, and giving thanks without ceasing for that salvation which he has obtained from him, that no flesh may glory in the sight of the Lord (1 Cor 1:29); and that man may never form a contrary sense concerning God, thinking the incorruption that was about him to be his own by nature, and, not holding the truth, be puffed up with empty haughtiness, as though he were by nature like God. For this, making him the more ungrateful to him who had made him, both darkened the love which God had for man and blinded his understanding, so that he did not perceive what is worthy of God, comparing himself with God and judging himself equal to God.

2. This, then, was the long-suffering of God: that man, passing through all things, and receiving the knowledge of conduct, then coming to the resurrection which is from the dead, and learning by experience from what he has been freed, may always be grateful to the Lord, having obtained from him the gift of incorruption, so that he might love him the more (for he to whom

diligit): cognoscat autem semetipsum, quoniam mortalis et infirmus est; intelligat autem et Deum, quoniam in tantum immortalis et potens est, uti et mortali immortalitatem et temporali aeternitatem donet: intelligat autem et reliquas virtutes Dei omnes in semetipsum ostensas, per quas edoctus sentiat de Deo, quantus est Deus. Gloria enim hominis, Deus; operationes vero Dei, et omnis sapientiae ejus, et virtutis receptaculum, homo. Quemadmodum medicus in his, qui aegrotant, probatur; sic et Deus in hominibus manifestatur. Quapropter et Paulus ait: « Conclusit autem Deus omnia in incredulitate, ut omnium misereatur; » non de spiritalibus Aeonibus dicens hoc, sed de homine qui fuit inobediens Deo, et projectus de immortalitate, dehinc misericordiam consecutus est, per Filium Dei eam, quae est per ipsum, percipiens adoptionem. Hic enim tenens sine inflatione et jactantia veram gloriam de his quae facta sunt, et de eo qui fecit, qui est potentissimus omnium Deus, quique omnibus ut sint praestitit; et manens in dilectione ejus, et subjectione, et gratiarum actione, majorem ab eo gloriam percipiet, provectus accipiens, dum consimilis fiat ejus qui pro eo mortuus est; quoniam et ipse in similitudinem carnis peccati factus est, uti condemnaret peccatum, et jam quasi condemnatum projiceret illud extra carnem; provocaret autem in similitudinem suam hominem, imitatorem eum assignans Deo, et in paternam imponens regulam, ad videndum Deum; et capere Patrem donans Verbum Dei quod habitavit in homine, et Filius hominis factus est, ut assuesceret hominem percipere Deum, et assuesceret Deum habitare in homine, secundum placitum Patris.

3. Propter hoc ergo signum salutis nostrae eum, qui ex Virgine Emmanuel, est ipse Dominus: quoniam ipse Dominus erat qui salvabat eos, quia per semetipsos non habebant salvari. Et propter hoc Paulus infirmitatem hominis annuntians, ait: « Scio enim quoniam non habitat in carne mea bonum; » significans, quoniam non a nobis, sed a Deo est bonum salutis nostrae. Et iterum: « Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? » Deinde infert liberatorem: « Gratia Jesu Christi Domini nostri. » Hoc autem et Isaias: « Confortamini, inquit, manus resolutae, et genua debilia: adhortamini, pusillanimes sensu, confortamini, ne timeatis: ecce, Deus noster judicium retribuit, et retributurus est: ipse veniet, et salvabit nos. » Hoc, quoniam non a nobis, sed a Dei adjumento habuimus salvari.

4. Rursus, quoniam neque homo tantum erit, qui salvat nos, neque sine carne (sine carne enim angeli sunt), praedicavit enim, dicens: « Neque senior, neque angelus, sed ipse Dominus salvabit eos, quoniam diligit eos, et parcet eis, ipse liberabit eos. » Et quoniam hic ipse homo verus visibilis incipiet esse, cum sit Verbum salutare, rursus Isaias ait: « Ecce, Sion civitas, salutare nostrum oculi tui videbunt. »

more is forgiven loves more); and that he may know himself, that he is mortal and weak; and may understand God too, that he is so immortal and mighty that he gives immortality to the mortal and eternity to the temporal; and may understand also all the other powers of God shown towards himself, by which, being taught, he may perceive concerning God how great God is. For the glory of man is God; and of the workings of God, and of all his wisdom and power, the receptacle is man. As a physician is proved in those who are sick, so God too is made manifest in men. Wherefore Paul too says: But God has shut up all things in unbelief, that he may have mercy on all (Rom 11:32); not saying this of the spiritual Aeons, but of man, who was disobedient to God and cast out from immortality, and then obtained mercy, receiving through the Son of God that adoption which is through him. For he who holds, without being puffed up or boastful, the true glory concerning the things that were made and him who made them, who is the most mighty God of all and who granted to all things that they should be, and who abides in his love, and subjection, and thanksgiving, will receive greater glory from him, receiving advancement until he becomes like him who died for him; since he too was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, to condemn sin, and to cast it, as already condemned, out of the flesh; and to call man forth into his own likeness, appointing him an imitator of God, and placing him under the Father's rule, so that he may see God; and granting man to contain the Father, the Word of God, who dwelt in man, was also made the Son of Man, that he might accustom man to receive God, and accustom God to dwell in man, according to the good pleasure of the Father.

3. For this reason, then, the sign of our salvation, he who is Emmanuel from the Virgin, is the Lord himself: since it was the Lord himself who saved them, because by themselves they could not be saved. And for this reason Paul, proclaiming the weakness of man, says: For I know that good does not dwell in my flesh (Rom 7:18); signifying that the good of our salvation is not from us but from God. And again: Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from the body of this death? (Rom 7:24) Then he brings in the deliverer: The grace of Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom 7:25). And Isaiah too says this: Be strong, he says, you slack hands and feeble knees: take courage, you who are faint of understanding, be strong, do not fear: behold, our God repays judgement, and will repay: he himself will come and save us (Isa 35:3–4). This, because we were to be saved not by ourselves but by the help of God.

4. Again, since he who saves us would be neither a mere man nor without flesh (for the angels are without flesh), he proclaimed it, saying: Neither an elder nor an angel, but the Lord himself will save them, because he loves them, and will spare them; he himself will set them free (Isa 63:9). And since this very one was to be a true and visible man, though he is the saving Word, Isaiah says again: Behold, Zion, the city: your eyes shall see our saving power (Isa 33:20).

Et quoniam non solum homo erat, qui moriebatur pro nobis, Isaias ait: « Et commemoratus est Dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum, qui dormierant in terra sepultionis: et descendit ad eos evangelizare salutem quae est ab eo, ut salvaret eos. » Hoc autem idem et Amos propheta ait: « Ipse convertetur, et miserebitur nostri: dissolvet injustitias nostras, et projiciet in altitudinem maris peccata nostra. » Et rursus significans locum adventus ejus, ait: « Dominus ex Sion locutus est, et ex Hierusalem dedit vocem suam. » Et quoniam ex ea parte, quae est secundum Africum haereditatis Judae, veniet Filius Dei, qui Deus est, et qui erat ex Bethleem, ubi natus est Dominus, in omnem terram emittet laudationem ejus, sicut ait Habacuc propheta: « Deus ab Africo veniet, et sanctus de monte Ephrem. Cooperuit coelum virtus ejus, et laudatione ejus plena est terra. Ante faciem ejus praeibit Verbum, et progredientur in campis pedes ejus. » Manifeste significans, quoniam Deus, et quoniam in Bethleem adventus ejus, et ex monte Ephrem, qui est secundum Africum haereditatis, et quoniam homo. « Progredientur enim, inquit, in campis pedes ejus: » hoc autem signum proprium hominis.

Caput XXI

Prophetiam Isaiae vii, 14, a prava interpretatione Theodotionis, Aquilae, Ebionitarum, ac Judaeorum vindicat, auctoritatemque versionis Septuaginta interpretum commendat, ac demum pluribus argumentis confirmat Christum e virgine natum esse.

1. Deus igitur homo factus est, et ipse Dominus salvabit nos, ipse dans Virginis signum. Non ergo vera est quorumdam interpretatio, qui ita audent interpretari Scripturam: « Ecce adolescentula in ventre habebit, et pariet filium; » quemadmodum Theodotion Ephesius est interpretatus, et Aquila Ponticus, utrique Judaei proselyti; quos sectati Ebionei, ex Joseph generatum eum dicunt: tantam dispositionem Dei dissolventes, quantum ad ipsos est; frustrantes prophetarum testimonium, quod operatus est Deus. Prophetatum est quidem, priusquam in Babylonem fieret populi transmigratio, id est, antequam Medi et Persae acciperent principatum: interpretatum vero in Graeco ab ipsis Judaeis multum ante tempora adventus Domini nostri, ut nulla relinquatur suspicio, ne forte morem nobis gerentes Judaei, haec ita sint interpretati. Qui quidem si cognovissent nos futuros, et usuros his testimoniis quae sunt ex Scripturis, nunquam dubitassent ipsi suas comburere Scripturas, quae et reliquas omnes gentes manifestant participare vitae, et eos qui gloriantur domum se esse Jacob, et populum Israel, et exhaereditatos ostendunt a gratia Dei.

And since it was not only a man who died for us, Isaiah says: And the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, remembered his dead, who had fallen asleep in the land of burial; and he went down to them to bring them the good news of the salvation that is from him, to save them. And the prophet Amos too says the same: He himself will turn and have mercy on us: he will undo our injustices, and cast our sins into the depth of the sea (Mic 7:19). And again, signifying the place of his coming, he says: The Lord has spoken from Zion, and from Jerusalem he has given forth his voice (Amos 1:2). And that the Son of God, who is God, will come from that part of the inheritance of Judah which lies towards the south-west, and that he who was from Bethlehem, where the Lord was born, will send forth his praise into all the earth, as the prophet Habakkuk says: God will come from the south-west, and the Holy One from Mount Ephraim. His power covered heaven, and the earth is full of his praise. Before his face shall go the Word, and his feet shall go forth in the plains (Hab 3:3–5). Signifying plainly that he is God, and that his coming is in Bethlehem, and from Mount Ephraim, which is towards the south-west of the inheritance, and that he is man. For, he says, his feet shall go forth in the plains (Hab 3:5): and this is a sign proper to man.

Chapter 21

He defends the prophecy of Isa 7:14 from the perverse interpretation of Theodotion, Aquila, the Ebionites and the Jews, commends the authority of the version of the Seventy translators, and finally confirms by many arguments that Christ was born of a virgin.

1. God, then, was made man, and the Lord himself will save us, himself giving the sign of the Virgin. Not true, then, is the interpretation of some, who dare to render the Scripture thus: Behold, a young woman shall have in the womb, and shall bear a son; as Theodotion of Ephesus translated it, and Aquila of Pontus, both Jewish proselytes; following whom the Ebionites say that he was begotten of Joseph: dissolving, as far as in them lies, so great a disposition of God, and setting aside the testimony of the prophets, which God wrought. It was prophesied, indeed, before the transmigration of the people to Babylon took place, that is, before the Medes and Persians received the rule; but it was translated into Greek by the Jews themselves long before the times of the coming of our Lord, so that no suspicion remains that perhaps the Jews translated these things thus to humour us. Indeed, had they known that we would exist and would use these testimonies from the Scriptures, they would never have hesitated to burn their own Scriptures, which both declare that all the other nations share in life, and show that those who boast that they are the house of Jacob and the people of Israel are disinherited from the grace of God.

2. Prius enim quam Romani possiderent regnum suum, adhuc Macedonibus Asiam possidentibus, Ptolemaeus Lagi filius, cupiens eam bibliothecam, quae a se fabricata esset in Alexandria, omnium hominum dignis conscriptionibus ornare, petiit ab Hierosolymitis in Graecum sermonem interpretatas habere Scripturas eorum. Illi vero (obediebant enim tunc adhuc Macedonibus), eos quos habebant perfectiores Scripturarum intellectores et utriusque loquelae, septuaginta seniores miserunt Ptolemaeo, facturos hoc quod ipse voluisset. Ille autem experimentum eorum sumere volens, et metuens ne forte consentientes, eam veritatem, quae esset in Scripturis, absconderent per interpretationem; separans eos ab invicem, jussit omnes eamdem interpretari Scripturam: et hoc in omnibus libris fecit. Convenientibus autem ipsis in unum apud Ptolemaeum, et comparantibus suas interpretationes, Deus glorificatus est, et Scripturae vere divinae creditae sunt, omnibus eadem, et eisdem verbis, et eisdem nominibus, recitantibus ab initio usque ad finem, uti et praesentes gentes cognoscerent, quoniam per aspirationem Dei interpretatae sunt Scripturae. Et non esse mirabile Deum hoc in eis operatum, quando in ea captivitate populi, quae facta est a Nabuchodonosor, corruptis Scripturis, et post septuaginta annos Judaeis descendentibus in regionem suam, post deinde temporibus Artaxerxis Persarum regis inspiravit Esdrae sacerdoti tribus Levi, praeteritorum prophetarum omnes rememorare sermones, et restituere populo eam legem, quae data est per Moysem.

3. Cum tanta igitur veritate et gratia Dei interpretatae sint Scripturae, ex quibus praeparavit et reformavit Deus fidem nostram, quae in Filium ejus est, et servavit nobis simplices Scripturas in Aegypto, in qua adolevit et domus Jacob, effugiens famem, quae fuit in Chanaan, in qua et Dominus noster servatus est effugiens eam persecutionem quae erat ab Herode; et haec earum Scripturarum interpretatio priusquam Dominus noster descenderet, facta sit, et antequam Christiani ostenderentur, interpretata sit (natus est enim Dominus noster circa primum et quadragesimum annum Augusti imperii, multo autem vetustior fuit Ptolemaeus, sub quo interpretatae sunt Scripturae); vere impudorati et audaces ostenduntur, qui nunc volunt aliter interpretationes facere, quando ex ipsis Scripturis arguantur a nobis, et in fidem adventus Filii Dei concludantur. Firma est autem, et non ficta, et sola vera, quae secundum nos est fides, manifestam ostensionem habens ex his Scripturis, quae interpretatae sunt illo modo, quo praediximus; et Ecclesiae annuntiatio sine interpolatione. Etenim apostoli, cum sint his omnibus vetustiores, consonant praedictae interpretationi, et interpretatio consonat apostolorum traditioni. Etenim Petrus, et Joannes, et Matthaeus, et Paulus, et reliqui deinceps, et horum sectatores, prophetica omnia ita annuntiaverunt, quemadmodum seniorum interpretatio continet.

2. For before the Romans possessed their kingdom, while the Macedonians still held Asia, Ptolemy son of Lagus, wishing to adorn the library which he had built in Alexandria with the worthy writings of all men, asked the people of Jerusalem to have their Scriptures translated into the Greek tongue. And they (for they were still subject to the Macedonians at that time) sent to Ptolemy seventy elders, the most accomplished they had in the understanding of the Scriptures and in both languages, to do what he wished. But he, wishing to make trial of them, and fearing lest perhaps, by agreeing together, they should hide by their translation the truth that was in the Scriptures, separated them from one another and commanded them all to translate the same Scripture: and this he did for all the books. And when they came together before Ptolemy and compared their translations, God was glorified, and the Scriptures were believed to be truly divine, since all of them recited the same things, in the same words and the same names, from the beginning to the end, so that even the nations present might know that the Scriptures had been translated by the inspiration of God. And it is no wonder that God wrought this in them, since in that captivity of the people which was brought about by Nebuchadnezzar, when the Scriptures had been corrupted, and the Jews, after seventy years, had gone down into their own country, then afterwards, in the times of Artaxerxes king of the Persians, he inspired Ezra the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to recall all the words of the former prophets, and to restore to the people the Law which was given through Moses.

3. Since, then, the Scriptures were translated with such truth and grace of God, from which God prepared and re-formed our faith, which is in his Son, and preserved for us the Scriptures pure in Egypt, where the house of Jacob too grew up, fleeing the famine that was in Canaan, where our Lord too was kept safe, fleeing the persecution that came from Herod; and since this translation of those Scriptures was made before our Lord came down, and was completed before Christians appeared (for our Lord was born about the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus, and Ptolemy, under whom the Scriptures were translated, was much earlier), truly shameless and bold do they show themselves who now wish to make other translations, when they are refuted by us from the Scriptures themselves and are shut up to faith in the coming of the Son of God. Firm, however, and unfeigned, and alone true is the faith which is ours, having a manifest proof from these Scriptures, which were translated in the way we said before; and the proclamation of the Church is without interpolation. For the apostles, since they are older than all these, are in harmony with the translation mentioned before, and the translation is in harmony with the tradition of the apostles. For Peter, and John, and Matthew, and Paul, and the rest in turn, and their followers, proclaimed all the prophetic things just as the translation of the elders contains them.

4. Unus enim et idem Spiritus Dei, qui in prophetis quidem praeconavit, quis et qualis esset adventus Domini, in senioribus autem interpretatus est bene quae bene prophetata fuerant; ipse et in apostolis annuntiavit plenitudinem temporum adoptionis venisse, et proximasse regnum coelorum, et inhabitare intra homines credentes in eum, qui ex Virgine natus est, Emmanuel, quemadmodum ipsi testificantur, quoniam priusquam convenisset Joseph cum Maria (manente igitur ea in virginitate), « inventa est in utero habens de Spiritu sancto; » et quoniam dixit ei Gabriel angelus: « Spiritus sanctus adveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit te: quapropter quod nascetur ex te sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei; » et quoniam angelus in somnis dixit ad Joseph: « Hoc autem factum est, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est ab Isaia propheta: Ecce virgo in utero concipiet. » Seniores autem sic interpretati sunt dixisse Isaiam: « Et adjecit Dominus loqui ad Achaz: Pete tibi signum a Domino Deo tuo in profundum deorsum, aut in altitudinem sursum. Et dixit Achaz: Non postulabo, nec tentabo Dominum. Et dixit: Non pusillum vobis agonem praebere hominibus, et quemadmodum Dominus praestat agonem? Propter hoc Dominus ipse dabit vobis signum. Ecce virgo in ventre accipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabitis nomen ejus Emmanuel. Butyrum et mel manducabit: priusquam cognoscat aut eligat mala, commutabit bonum: quoniam priusquam cognoscat infans bonum vel malum, non consentiet nequitiae, uti eligat bonum. » Diligenter igitur significavit Spiritus sanctus per ea quae dicta sunt, generationem ejus, quae est ex Virgine, et substantiam, quoniam Deus (Emmanuel enim nomen hoc significat): et manifestat quoniam homo, in eo quod dicit: « Butyrum et mel manducabit; » et in eo quod infantem nominat eum, et, « priusquam cognoscat bonum et malum: » haec enim omnia signa sunt hominis infantis. Quod autem « non consentiet nequitiae, ut eligat bonum, » proprium hoc est Dei, uti non per hoc quod manducabit butyrum et mel, nude solummodo eum hominem intelligeremus, neque rursus per nomen Emmanuel, sine carne eum Deum suspicaremur.

5. Et in eo quod dicit: « Audite domus David; » significantis erat, quoniam quem promisit Deus David, de fructu ventris ejus aeternum suscitaturum se regem, hic est qui ex Virgine quae fuit de genere David, generatus est.

Propter hoc enim et de fructu ventris ejus regem promisit, quod erat proprium Virginis praegnantis; et non de fructu lumborum ejus, nec de fructu renum ejus, quod est proprium viri generantis, et mulieris ex viro conceptionem facientis. Circumscripsit igitur genitalia viri in promissione Scriptura: imo vero nec commemoratur, quoniam non ex voluntate viri erat, qui nascebatur.

4. For one and the same Spirit of God, who in the prophets proclaimed what the coming of the Lord would be and of what kind, and in the elders translated well what had been well prophesied, himself also in the apostles announced that the fullness of the times of adoption had come, and that the kingdom of heaven had drawn near, and that it dwells within men who believe in him who was born of the Virgin, Emmanuel; as they themselves testify that, before Joseph had come together with Mary (while she, therefore, remained in virginity), she was found with child of the Holy Spirit (Matt 1:18); and that the angel Gabriel said to her: The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will overshadow you: wherefore the holy one that will be born of you will be called the Son of God (Luke 1:35); and that the angel said to Joseph in a dream: Now this was done, that what was spoken by Isaiah the prophet might be fulfilled: Behold, a virgin shall conceive in the womb (Matt 1:22–23). And the elders translated Isaiah as having said thus: And the Lord spoke again to Ahaz: Ask for yourself a sign from the Lord your God, in the depth below or in the height above. And Ahaz said: I will not ask, nor will I tempt the Lord. And he said: Is it not a small thing for you to offer a contest to men, and how does the Lord offer a contest? Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign. Behold, a virgin shall receive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and you shall call his name Emmanuel. He shall eat butter and honey: before he knows or chooses evil things, he will exchange them for the good: for before the infant knows good or evil, he will not consent to wickedness, that he may choose the good (Isa 7:10–16). Carefully, then, the Holy Spirit signified by what was said his generation, which is from the Virgin, and his substance, that he is God (for the name Emmanuel signifies this): and he makes plain that he is man, in that he says: He shall eat butter and honey; and in that he names him an infant, and before he knows good and evil: for all these are signs of a human infant. But that he will not consent to wickedness, that he may choose the good, this is proper to God; so that we should not, because he will eat butter and honey, understand him to be merely a bare man, nor again, because of the name Emmanuel, suspect him to be God without flesh.

5. And in that he says: Hear, house of David (Isa 7:13), he was signifying that he whom God promised David to raise up from the fruit of his womb as an eternal king is he who was begotten of the Virgin, who was of the race of David.

For this reason, indeed, he promised a king from the fruit of his womb, which was proper to the Virgin with child; and not from the fruit of his loins, nor from the fruit of his reins, which is proper to a man who begets and to a woman who conceives by a man. The Scripture, then, set aside the generative organs of man in the promise: or rather they are not even mentioned, since he who was being born was not of the will of man.

Statuit autem et confirmavit fructum ventris, ut generationem ejus, qui erat futurus ex virgine, pronuntiaret, quemadmodum Elizabeth impleta Spiritu sancto testificata est, dicens ad Mariam: « Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui; » significante Spiritu sancto audire volentibus, repromissionem quam repromisit Deus, de fructu ventris ejus suscitare regem, impletam esse in Virginis, hoc est in Mariae partu. Qui igitur transmutant id quod apud Isaiam: « Ecce adolescentula in ventre concipiet; » et Joseph filium eum volunt esse, illud transmutent quod est repromissionis, quod apud David positum est ubi promisit illi Deus, de fructu ventris ejus suscitare cornu, Christi regnum. Sed non intellexerunt: caeterum autem hoc quoque ausi fuissent demutare.

6. Quod autem dixerit Isaias: « In profundum deorsum, vel in altitudinem sursum; » significantis fuit, quoniam « qui descendebat, ipse erat et qui ascendebat. » In eo autem quod dixerit: « Ipse Dominus dabit signum; » id quod erat inopinatum generationis ejus significavit, quod nec factum esset aliter, nisi Deus Dominus omnium Deus ipse dedisset signum in domo David. Quid enim magnum, aut quod signum fieret in eo, quod adolescentula concipiens ex viro peperisset, quod evenit omnibus quae pariunt mulieribus? Sed quoniam inopinata salus hominibus inciperet fieri, Deo adjuvante, inopinatus et partus Virginis fiebat, Deo dante signum hoc, sed non homine operante illud.

7. Propter hoc autem et Daniel praevidens ejus adventum, lapidem sine manibus abscissum advenisse in hunc mundum (hoc est enim quod, « sine manibus ») significabat; quod non operantibus humanis manibus, hoc est, virorum illorum qui solent lapides caedere, in hunc mundum ejus adventus erat, id est, non operante in eum Joseph, sed sola Maria cooperante dispositioni. Hic enim lapis a terra, ex virtute et arte constat Dei. Propter hoc autem et Isaias ait: « Sic dicit Dominus: Ecce, ego mitto in fundamenta Sion lapidem pretiosum, electum, summum, angularem, honorificum; » uti non ex voluntate viri, sed ex voluntate Dei, adventum ejus qui secundum hominem est, intelligamus.

8. Propter hoc autem et Moyses ostendens typum, projecit virgam in terram, ut ea incarnata omnem Aegyptiorum praevaricationem, quae insurgebat adversus Dei dispositionem, argueret et absorberet: et ut ipsi Aegyptii testificarentur, quoniam digitus est Dei, qui salutem operatur populo, et non Josephi filius. Si enim Joseph filius esset, quemadmodum plus poterat quam Salomon, aut plus quam Jonas habere, aut plus esse David, cum esset ex eadem seminatione generatus, et proles exsistens ipsorum? Ut quid autem et beatum dicebat Petrum, quod eum cognosceret esse Filium Dei vivi?

But it established and confirmed the fruit of the womb, to declare the generation of him who was to be from a virgin, as Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Spirit, testified, saying to Mary: Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of your womb (Luke 1:42); the Holy Spirit signifying to those who are willing to hear that the promise which God promised, to raise up a king from the fruit of his womb, was fulfilled in the childbearing of the Virgin, that is, of Mary. Those, then, who alter what is in Isaiah: Behold, a young woman shall conceive in the womb; and will have it that he is the son of Joseph, let them alter what belongs to the promise, which is set down in David, where God promised him to raise up from the fruit of his womb a horn, the kingdom of Christ. But they did not understand it: otherwise they would have dared to change this too.

6. And in that Isaiah said: In the depth below or in the height above (Isa 7:11), he was signifying that he who descended was the same who also ascended (Eph 4:10). And in that he said: The Lord himself will give a sign (Isa 7:14), he signified what was unexpected in his generation, which would not have come about otherwise, unless God, the Lord of all things, God himself, had given a sign in the house of David. For what great thing, or what sign, would there be in this, that a young woman, conceiving by a man, had given birth, which happens to all women who give birth? But since an unexpected salvation was to come about for men, with God helping, the childbearing of the Virgin too was unexpected, God giving this sign, and not man working it.

7. For this reason too Daniel, foreseeing his coming, signified that a stone cut out without hands had come into this world (for this is what without hands means); that his coming into this world was not by the working of human hands, that is, of those men who are accustomed to cut stones; that is, not by Joseph working in it, but by Mary alone co-operating with the disposition. For this stone from the earth consists of the power and the art of God. For this reason too Isaiah says: Thus says the Lord: Behold, I put into the foundations of Zion a precious stone, chosen, the highest, a cornerstone, honoured (Isa 28:16); so that we may understand that his coming according to man is not of the will of man, but of the will of God.

8. For this reason too Moses, showing a type, cast his rod on the ground, so that, made incarnate, it might refute and swallow up all the transgression of the Egyptians, which was rising up against the disposition of God; and so that the Egyptians themselves might testify that it is the finger of God that works salvation for the people, and not the son of Joseph. For if he were the son of Joseph, how could he have more than Solomon, or more than Jonah, or be more than David, since he was begotten of the same seed and was their offspring? And why did he also call Peter blessed, because he knew him to be the Son of the living God?

9. Super haec autem nec rex esse posset, si quidem Joseph filius fuisset; nec haeres, secundum Jeremiam. Joseph enim Joachim et Jechoniae filius ostenditur, quemadmodum et Matthaeus generationem ejus exponit. Jechonias autem, et qui ab eo, omnes abdicati sunt a regno, Jeremia dicente sic: « Vivo ego, dicit Dominus, si factus fuerit Jechonias filius Joachim, rex Juda, signaculum in manu dextera mea, inde abstraham eum, et tradam eum in manu quaerentium animam tuam. » Et iterum: « Inhonoratus est Jechonias, quemadmodum vas quod non est opus, quoniam projectus est in terram, quam non sciebat. Terra, audi sermonem Domini: scribe virum hunc abdicatum hominem, quoniam non augebit de semine ejus sedens super thronum David, princeps in Juda. » Et iterum Deus ait super Joachim patrem ejus: « Propter hoc sic dicit Dominus super Joachim patrem ejus, regem Judaeae: Non enim erit ex eo sedens super thronum David, et mortificatum ejus erit projectum in aestu diei, et in glacie noctis, et respiciam super eum, et super filios ejus, et inferam super eos, et super inhabitantes Jerusalem, super terram Juda, omnia mala, quae locutus sum super eos. » Qui ergo eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, et in eo habere spem, abdicatos se faciunt a regno, sub maledictione et increpatione decidentes, quae erga Jechoniam et in semen ejus. Propter hoc enim dicta sunt haec de Jechonia, spiritu praesciente ea quae a malis doctoribus dicuntur: uti discant, quoniam ex semine ejus, id est ex Joseph, non erit natus, sed secundum repromissionem Dei de ventre David suscitatur rex aeternus, qui recapitulatur omnia in se, et antiquam plasmationem in se recapitulatus est.

10. Quia quemadmodum per inobedientiam unius hominis introitum peccatum habuit, et per peccatum mors obtinuit; sic et per obedientiam unius hominis justitia introducta vitam fructificet his, qui olim mortui erant, hominibus. Et quemadmodum protoplastus ille Adam de rudi terra, et de adhuc virgine (« nondum enim pluerat Deus, et homo non erat operatus terram ») habuit substantiam; et plasmatus est manu Dei, id est Verbo Dei (« omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt »), et sumpsit Dominus limum a terra, et plasmavit hominem: ita recapitulans in se Adam, ipse Verbum exsistens ex Maria, quae adhuc erat virgo, recte accipiebat generationem Adae recapitulationis. Si igitur primus Adam habuit patrem hominem, et ex semine viri natus est; merito dicerent, et secundum Adam ex Joseph esse generatum. Si autem ille de terra quidem sumptus est, et Verbo Dei plasmatus est, oportebat id ipsum Verbum recapitulationem Adae in semetipsum faciens, ejusdem generationis habere similitudinem. Quare igitur non iterum sumpsit limum Deus, sed ex Maria operatus est plasmationem fieri? Ut non alia plasmatio fieret, neque alia esset plasmatio quae salvaretur, sed eadem ipsa recapitularetur, servata similitudine.

9. Besides these things, he could not even be king, if he had been the son of Joseph; nor heir, according to Jeremiah. For Joseph is shown to be the son of Jehoiakim and of Jeconiah, as Matthew too sets out his generation. But Jeconiah, and those who came from him, were all disowned from the kingdom, Jeremiah saying thus: As I live, says the Lord, if Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, should become a signet on my right hand, I will pull him off from there, and deliver him into the hand of those who seek your life (Jer 22:24–25). And again: Jeconiah is dishonoured, like a vessel for which there is no use, because he has been cast out into a land which he did not know. Land, hear the word of the Lord: write this man down as a man disowned, for there shall not grow from his seed one sitting upon the throne of David, a prince in Judah (Jer 22:28–30). And again God says concerning Jehoiakim his father: Therefore thus says the Lord concerning Jehoiakim his father, king of Judaea: There shall not be from him one sitting upon the throne of David, and his dead body shall be cast out in the heat of the day and in the frost of the night; and I will look upon him and upon his sons, and I will bring upon them, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, upon the land of Judah, all the evils that I have spoken against them (Jer 36:30–31). Those, therefore, who say that he was begotten of Joseph, and set their hope in him, make themselves disowned from the kingdom, falling under the curse and rebuke that are against Jeconiah and his seed. For this reason, indeed, these things were said of Jeconiah, the Spirit foreknowing what is said by the evil teachers: so that they may learn that he would not be born of his seed, that is, of Joseph, but that according to the promise of God an eternal king is raised up from the womb of David, who recapitulates all things in himself, and has recapitulated in himself the ancient moulding.

10. For as through the disobedience of one man sin made its entrance, and through sin death prevailed; so too, through the obedience of one man, justice, being brought in, may bear life as fruit for those men who were once dead. And as that protoplast, Adam, had his substance from untilled earth, and earth still virgin (for God had not yet sent rain, and man had not tilled the earth (Gen 2:5)), and was moulded by the hand of God, that is, by the Word of God (for all things were made through him (John 1:3)), and the Lord took clay from the earth and moulded man: so, recapitulating Adam in himself, he himself, being the Word, rightly received from Mary, who was still a virgin, the generation of the recapitulation of Adam. If, then, the first Adam had a man for father and was born of the seed of a man, they would rightly say that the second Adam too was begotten of Joseph. But if that one was taken from the earth and moulded by the Word of God, it behoved that very Word, making the recapitulation of Adam in himself, to have the likeness of the same generation. Why, then, did God not again take clay, but caused the moulding to be wrought from Mary? So that no other moulding should come to be, nor should it be another moulding that was saved, but that the very same should be recapitulated, the likeness being preserved.

Caput XXII

Christum veram carnem ex Virgine conceptam et natam sumpsisse.

1. Errant igitur qui dicunt, eum nihil ex Virgine accepisse, ut abjiciant carnis haereditatem, abjiciant autem et similitudinem. Si enim ille quidem de terra, et manu et artificio Dei plasmationem et substantiam habuit, hic autem non manu et artificio Dei; jam non servavit similitudinem hominis, qui factus est secundum imaginem ipsius et similitudinem, et inconstans artificium videbitur, non habens circa quod ostendat sapientiam suam. Hoc autem dicere est, et putative apparuisse eum tanquam hominem, cum non esset homo: et factum eum hominem, nihil assumentem de homine. Si enim non accepit ab homine substantiam carnis, neque homo factus est, neque filius hominis: et si hoc non factus est, quod nos eramus, non magnum faciebat, quod passus est et sustinuit. Nos autem quoniam corpus sumus de terra acceptum, et anima accipiens a Deo spiritum, omnis quicunque confitebitur. Hoc itaque factum est Verbum Dei, suum plasma in semetipsum recapitulans: et propter hoc filium hominis se confitetur, et beatificat mites, quoniam ipsi haereditabunt terram. Et apostolus autem Paulus in ea Epistola, quae est ad Galatas, manifeste ait: « Misit Deus Filium suum, factum de muliere. » Et rursus in ea quae est ad Romanos: « De Filio autem, inquit, ejus, qui factus est ex semine David secundum carnem, qui praedestinatus est Filius Dei in virtute, secundum Spiritum sanctificationis, ex resurrectione mortuorum, Jesu Christi Domini nostri. »

2. Caeterum supervacua est in Mariam descensio ejus. Quid enim in eam descendebat, si nihil incipiebat sumere ab ea? Aut si nihil sumpsisset ex Maria, nunquam eas, quae a terra erant, percepisset escas, per quas id, quod a terra sumptum est, nutritur corpus: nec quadraginta diebus, quemadmodum Moyses et Elias, jejunans esurisset corpus ejus, suam quaerens escam: sed nec Joannes discipulus ejus de eo scribens dixisset: « Jesus autem fatigatus in itinere sedebat; » nec David praeclamasset in eum: « Et super dolorem vulnerum meorum apposuerunt; » nec lacrymasset super Lazarum; nec sudasset globos sanguinis; nec dixisset: « Tristis est anima mea; » nec percusso latere exisset sanguis et aqua. Haec enim omnia signa carnis, quae a terra sumpta est, quam in se recapitulatus est, suum plasma salvans.

Chapter 22

That Christ took true flesh, conceived and born of the Virgin.

1. They err, then, who say that he received nothing from the Virgin, so that they may cast away the inheritance of the flesh, and cast away the likeness too. For if that one had his moulding and substance from the earth and by the hand and craftsmanship of God, but this one not by the hand and craftsmanship of God, then he did not preserve the likeness of the man who was made according to his image and likeness, and the craftsmanship will seem inconsistent, having nothing in which to show its wisdom. And this is to say both that he appeared in seeming as a man when he was not a man, and that he was made man assuming nothing from man. For if he did not receive the substance of flesh from a human being, he was made neither man nor Son of Man: and if he was not made what we were, it was no great thing that he suffered and endured. But that we are a body taken from the earth, and a soul receiving spirit from God, everyone whoever he may be will confess. This, therefore, the Word of God was made, recapitulating his own handiwork in himself: and for this reason he confesses himself Son of Man, and blesses the meek, because they shall inherit the earth. And the apostle Paul too, in the Epistle to the Galatians, says plainly: God sent his Son, made of a woman (Gal 4:4). And again in the one to the Romans: Concerning his Son, he says, who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, who was predestined Son of God in power, according to the Spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection of the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord (Rom 1:3–4).

2. Otherwise his descent into Mary is superfluous. For why did he descend into her, if he was to take nothing from her? Or if he had taken nothing from Mary, he would never have partaken of the foods that were from the earth, by which the body taken from the earth is nourished; nor would his body, fasting forty days, like Moses and Elijah, have hungered, seeking its food; nor would John his disciple, writing of him, have said: Now Jesus, wearied from the journey, was sitting (John 4:6); nor would David have proclaimed beforehand of him: And they have added to the pain of my wounds (Ps 69:27); nor would he have wept over Lazarus; nor sweated clots of blood; nor said: My soul is sorrowful (Matt 26:38); nor, when his side was pierced, would blood and water have come out. For all these are signs of the flesh that was taken from the earth, which he recapitulated in himself, saving his own handiwork.

3. Propter hoc Lucas genealogiam, quae est a generatione Domini nostri usque ad Adam, septuaginta duas generationes habere ostendit; finem conjungens initio, et significans, quoniam ipse est qui omnes gentes exinde ab Adam dispersas, et universas linguas, et generationem hominum cum ipso Adam in semetipso recapitulatus est. Unde et a Paulo « typus futuri » dictus est ipse Adam: quoniam futuram circa Filium Dei humani generis dispositionem in semetipsum fabricator omnium Verbum praeformaverat, praeformante Deo primum animalem hominem, videlicet ut a spiritali salvaretur. Cum enim praeexsisteret salvans, oportebat et quod salvaretur fieri, uti non vacuum sit salvans.

4. Consequenter autem et Maria virgo obediens invenitur, dicens: « Ecce ancilla tua, Domine, fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum. » Eva vero inobediens: non obedivit enim, adhuc cum esset virgo. Quemadmodum illa virum quidem habens Adam, virgo tamen adhuc exsistens (« erant enim utrique nudi » in paradiso, « et non confundebantur, » quoniam paulo ante facti, non intellectum habebant filiorum generationis; oportebat enim illos primo adolescere dehinc sic multiplicari) inobediens facta, et sibi, et universo generi humano causa facta est mortis: sic et Maria habens praedestinatum virum, et tamen virgo, obediens, et sibi, et universo generi humano causa facta est salutis. Et propter hoc lex eam, quae desponsata erat viro, licet virgo sit adhuc, uxorem ejus, qui desponsaverat, vocat; eam quae est a Maria in Evam recirculationem significans: quia non aliter quod colligatum est solveretur, nisi ipsae compagines alligationis reflectantur retrorsus; ut primae conjunctiones solvantur per secundas, secundae rursus liberent primas. Et evenit primam quidem compaginem a secunda colligatione solvere, secundam vero colligationem primae solutionis habere locum. Et propter hoc Dominus dicebat, primos quidem novissimos futuros, et novissimos primos. Et Propheta autem hoc idem significat, dicens: « Pro patribus nati sunt tibi filii. » « Primogenitus » enim « mortuorum » natus Dominus, et in sinum suum recipiens pristinos patres, regeneravit eos in vitam Dei, ipse initium viventium factus, quoniam Adam initium morientium factus est. Propter hoc et Lucas initium generationis a Domino inchoans, in Adam retulit, significans, quoniam non illi hunc, sed hic illos in Evangelium vitae regeneravit. Sic autem et Evae inobedientiae nodus solutionem accepit per obedientiam Mariae. Quod enim alligavit virgo Eva per incredulitatem, hoc virgo Maria solvit per fidem.

Caput XXIII

3. For this reason Luke shows that the genealogy which runs from the generation of our Lord back to Adam has seventy-two generations; joining the end to the beginning, and signifying that it is he who recapitulated in himself all the nations dispersed from Adam onwards, and all the tongues, and the generation of men together with Adam himself. Hence Adam himself was called by Paul a type of the one to come (Rom 5:14): because the Word, the Fashioner of all things, had formed beforehand in himself the future disposition of the human race concerning the Son of God, God forming beforehand the first, animal man, namely so that he might be saved by the spiritual one. For since he who saves pre-existed, it behoved that what would be saved should also come to be, so that he who saves should not be in vain.

4. In accordance with this, Mary the virgin is found obedient, saying: Behold your handmaid, Lord: be it done to me according to your word (Luke 1:38). But Eve was disobedient: for she did not obey, while she was still a virgin. As she, having indeed a husband, Adam, but being still a virgin (for they were both naked in paradise and were not ashamed (Gen 2:25), since, having been made a little before, they had no understanding of the begetting of children; for it behoved them first to grow up and then so to multiply), becoming disobedient, was made the cause of death both for herself and for the whole human race: so too Mary, having a husband destined for her beforehand, and yet a virgin, by being obedient was made the cause of salvation both for herself and for the whole human race. And for this reason the Law calls her who was betrothed to a man, although she is still a virgin, the wife of him who had betrothed her; signifying the recirculation from Mary to Eve: because what had been tied together would not otherwise be loosed, unless the very fastenings of the binding were turned back in reverse; so that the first connections might be loosed by the second, and the second in turn set free the first. And it comes about that the first fastening is loosed by the second tying, and the second tying takes the place of the loosing of the first. And for this reason the Lord said that the first would be last, and the last first. And the Prophet too signifies this same thing, saying: In place of the fathers, sons have been born to you (Ps 45:17). For the Lord, born the firstborn of the dead (Col 1:18), and receiving into his bosom the fathers of old, regenerated them into the life of God, himself made the beginning of the living, since Adam was made the beginning of the dying. For this reason Luke too, beginning the genealogy from the Lord, carried it back to Adam, signifying that it was not they who regenerated him, but he who regenerated them into the Gospel of life. And so too the knot of Eve's disobedience received its loosing through the obedience of Mary. For what the virgin Eve bound through unbelief, this the virgin Mary loosed through faith.

Chapter 23

Contendit adversus Tatianum, divinae aequitati ac misericordiae consentaneum fuisse, ut Adam primus omnium salutem a Christo consequeretur.

1. Necesse ergo fuit, Dominum ad perditam ovem venientem, et tantae dispositionis recapitulationem facientem, et suum plasma requirentem, illum ipsum hominem salvare, qui factus fuerat secundum imaginem et similitudinem ejus, id est, Adam adimplentem tempora ejus condemnationis, quae facta fuerat propter inobedientiam, « quae Pater posuit in sua potestate; » quoniam et omnis dispositio salutis, quae circa hominem fuit, secundum placitum fiebat Patris, uti non vinceretur Deus, neque infirmaretur ars ejus. Si enim qui factus fuerat a Deo homo, ut viveret, hic amittens vitam laesus serpente qui depravaverat eum, jam non reverteretur ad vitam, sed in totum projectus esset morti; victus esset Deus, et superasset serpentis nequitia voluntatem Dei. Sed quoniam Deus invictus et magnanimis est, magnanimem quidem se exhibuit ad correptionem hominis, et probationem omnium, quemadmodum praediximus; per secundum autem hominem alligavit fortem, et diripuit ejus vasa, et evacuavit mortem, vivificans eum hominem, qui fuerat mortificatus. Primum enim possessionis ejus vas Adam factus est, quem et tenebat sub sua potestate, hoc est, praevaricationem inique inferens ei, et per occasionem immortalitatis, mortificationem faciens in eum. Etenim promittens futuros eos tanquam deos (quod ei non est omnino possibile), mortem fecit in eis: unde et juste a Deo recaptivatus, qui hominem captivum duxerat; solutus est autem condemnationis vinculis, qui captivus ductus fuerat homo.

2. Hic est autem Adam, si oportet verum dicere, primiformis ille homo, de quo Scriptura ait dixisse Dominum: « Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; » nos autem omnes ex ipso: et quoniam sumus ex ipso, propterea quoque ipsius haereditavimus appellationem. Cum autem salvetur homo, oportet salvari eum qui prior formatus est homo. Quoniam nimis irrationabile est, illum quidem, qui vehementer ab inimico laesus est, et prior captivitatem passus est, dicere non eripi ab eo qui vicerit inimicum; ereptos vero filios ejus, quos in eadem captivitate generavit. Nec victus quidem adhuc parebit inimicus, ipsis veteribus spoliis manentibus apud eum. Quemadmodum si hostes expugnaverint quosdam, et vinctos duxerint captivos, et multo tempore in servitute possederint eos, ita ut generent apud eos; et aliquis dolens pro his qui servi facti sunt, eosdem hostes expugnet: non tamen juste faciet, si filios quidem eorum qui

He contends against Tatian that it was in keeping with God's justice and mercy that Adam should be the first of all to obtain salvation from Christ.

1. It was necessary, therefore, that the Lord, coming to the lost sheep, and making the recapitulation of so great a disposition, and seeking his own handiwork, should save that very man who had been made according to his image and likeness, that is, Adam, who was fulfilling the times of his condemnation, which had come about because of disobedience, which the Father has set in his own power (Acts 1:7); since the whole disposition of salvation that concerned man also came about according to the good pleasure of the Father, so that God should not be conquered, nor his art be weakened. For if the man who had been made by God that he might live, losing life, injured by the serpent that had corrupted him, were no longer to return to life, but had been wholly cast away to death, God would have been conquered, and the wickedness of the serpent would have prevailed over the will of God. But since God is unconquered and long-suffering, he showed himself long-suffering for the correction of man and the testing of all, as we said before; and through the second man he bound the strong man, and plundered his vessels, and made death void, giving life to that man who had been put to death. For Adam became the first vessel of his possession, whom he also held under his power, that is, wickedly bringing transgression upon him, and, under the pretext of immortality, working death in him. For, promising that they would be as gods (which is not at all possible for him), he wrought death in them: whence he who had led man captive was also justly taken captive in turn by God; while man, who had been led captive, was loosed from the bonds of condemnation.

2. But this is Adam, if we must speak the truth, that first-formed man, of whom the Scripture says that the Lord said: Let us make man to our image and likeness (Gen 1:26); and we are all from him: and since we are from him, we have for that reason also inherited his name. But since man is to be saved, it is fitting that he who was first formed as man should be saved. For it is very unreasonable to say that he who was grievously injured by the enemy, and was the first to suffer captivity, is not rescued by him who has conquered the enemy, but that his sons are rescued, whom he begot in that same captivity. Nor will the enemy yet appear to be conquered, while the old spoils themselves remain with him. As if enemies had overcome some people, and led them away bound as captives, and held them in servitude for a long time, so that they begot children among them; and someone, grieving for those who had been made slaves, were to overcome those same enemies: he will not act justly if he frees from the power of those who

captivi ducti sunt, liberet de potestate eorum, qui in servitutem deduxerant patres eorum; ipsos vero qui captivitatem sustinuerunt, subjectos relinquat inimicis, propter quos et tuitionem fecit: consecutis libertatem filiis ex causa paternae vindicationis, sed non relictis ipsis patribus, qui ipsam captivitatem sustinuerunt. Neque enim infirmus est Deus, neque injustus, qui opitulatus est homini, et in suam libertatem restauravit eum.

3. Propter hoc et in initio transgressionis Adae, sicut enarrat Scriptura, non ipsum maledixit Adam, sed terram in operibus ejus, quemadmodum ex veteribus quidam ait: quoniam quidem transtulit Deus maledictum in terram, ut non perseveraret in homine. Condemnationem autem transgressionis accepit homo taedia et terrenum laborem, et manducare panem in sudore vultus sui, et converti in terram, ex qua assumptus est; similiter autem mulier taedia, et labores, et gemitus, et tristitias partus, et servitium, id est ut serviret viro suo: ut neque maledicti a Deo in totum perirent, neque sine increpatione perseverantes Deum contemnerent. Omnis autem maledictio decurrit in serpentem, qui seduxerat eos. « Et dixit, inquit, Deus serpenti: Quoniam fecisti hoc, maledictus tu ab omnibus pecoribus, et ab omnibus bestiis terrae. » Hoc idem autem et Dominus in Evangelio his qui a sinistris inveniuntur, ait: « Abite, maledicti, in ignem aeternum, quem praeparavit Pater meus diabolo et angelis ejus; » significans quoniam non homini principaliter praeparatus est aeternus ignis, sed ei qui seduxit, et offendere fecit hominem, et, inquam, qui princeps apostasiae est, principi abscessionis, et his angelis qui apostatae facti sunt cum eo: quem quidem juste percipient etiam hi, qui similiter ut illi, sine poenitentia et sine regressu in malitiae perseverant operibus.

4. Quemadmodum Cain, cum accepisset consilium a Deo, uti quiesceret in eo, quod non recte divisisset eam, quae erga fratrem erat, communicationem, sed cum zelo et malitia suspicatus est posse dominari ejus, non solum non acquievit, sed et adjecit peccatum super peccatum, manifestans sententiam suam per operationem suam. Quod enim cogitavit, hoc et operatus est, dominatus est, et interfecit eum, subjiciente Deo justum injusto, ut ille quidem ex iis, quae passus est, justus ostendatur; hic vero per ea, quae commisit, detegeretur injustus. Et ne sic quidem mitigatus est, nec quievit super factum malum; sed interrogatus ubi esset frater ejus? « Nescio, ait: nunquid custos fratris mei sum ego? » extendens et multiplicans malum per responsionem. Etenim si malum est occidere fratrem, multo pejus sic audacter et irreverenter respondere omnia scienti Deo, quasi possit frustrari eum. Propter hoc et ipse maledictionem portavit, quoniam a se peccatum tulit, non reveritus Deum, neque confusus in fratricidio.

had led their fathers into servitude the sons of those who were led captive, but leaves subject to the enemies those very men who endured the captivity, for whose sake he also undertook the defence: the sons obtaining freedom by reason of the rescue of their fathers, but the fathers themselves, who endured the captivity itself, not being left behind. For God is neither weak nor unjust, he who helped man and restored him to his own freedom.

3. For this reason too, at the beginning of Adam's transgression, as the Scripture relates, he did not curse Adam himself, but the earth in his works; as one of the ancients says: "God transferred the curse to the earth, so that it should not remain in man." And man received as the condemnation of his transgression weariness and earthly labour, and to eat bread in the sweat of his face, and to return to the earth from which he was taken; and likewise the woman weariness, and labours, and groans, and the sorrows of childbirth, and servitude, that is, that she should serve her husband: so that, cursed by God, they should neither perish altogether, nor, remaining without rebuke, despise God. But the whole curse ran down upon the serpent, which had led them astray. And God said, it says, to the serpent: Because you have done this, cursed are you above all cattle and above all the beasts of the earth (Gen 3:14). And the Lord too says this same thing in the Gospel to those who are found on the left: Go away, you cursed, into the eternal fire which my Father prepared for the devil and his angels (Matt 25:41); signifying that the eternal fire was not prepared principally for man, but for him who led astray and made man stumble, and, I say, for him who is the prince of the apostasy, the prince of the falling-away, and for those angels who became apostates with him: which those too will justly receive who, like them, persevere in the works of wickedness without repentance and without return.

4. Just as Cain, when he had received counsel from God to be still, because he had not rightly divided the fellowship he had with his brother, but with envy and malice thought that he could lord it over him, not only did not acquiesce, but even added sin to sin, showing his mind by his deed. For what he thought, that he also did: he lorded it over him and killed him, God subjecting the just to the unjust, so that the one might be shown just by what he suffered, and the other be exposed as unjust by what he committed. And not even so was he softened, nor did he rest after the evil deed; but, being asked where his brother was, I do not know, he said: am I the keeper of my brother? (Gen 4:9); extending and multiplying the evil by his reply. For if it is evil to kill a brother, it is much worse to answer so boldly and irreverently God who knows all things, as though he could deceive him. For this reason he himself also bore the curse, because he brought forth the sin of himself, neither revering God nor being ashamed of the fratricide.

5. Circa Adam autem nihil tale factum est, sed omnia in contrarium. Ab altero enim seductus sub occasione immortalitatis, statim timore corripitur, et absconditur: non quasi possit effugere Deum, sed confusus, quoniam transgressus praeceptum ejus, indignus est venire in conspectum et colloquium Dei. « Timor » autem « Domini initium intelligentiae; » intellectus vero transgressionis fecit poenitentiam: poenitentibus autem largitur benignitatem suam Deus. Etenim per succinctorium in facto ostendit suam poenitentiam, foliis ficulneis semetipsum contegens, exsistentibus et aliis foliis multis, quae minus corpus ejus vexare potuissent: condignum tamen inobedientiae amictum fecit, conterritus timore Dei; et retundens petulantem carnis impetum, quoniam indolem et puerilem amiserat sensum, et in cogitationem pejorum venerat, frenum continentiae sibi et uxori suae circumdedit, timens Deum, et adventum ejus exspectans, et velut tale quid significans: Quoniam, inquit, eam quam habui a Spiritu, sanctitatis stolam amisi per inobedientiam, et nunc cognosco quod sim dignus tali tegumento, quod delectationem quidem nullam praestat, mordet autem et pungit corpus. Et hoc videlicet semper habuisset indumentum, humilians semetipsum, nisi Dominus, qui est misericors, tunicas pelliceas pro foliis ficulneis induisset eos. Propter hoc autem et interrogat eos, uti ad mulierem veniret accusatio; et illam rursus interrogat, uti ad serpentem transmitteret causam. Dixit enim quod fuerat factum: « Serpens, ait, seduxit me, et manducavi. » Serpentem vero non interrogavit, sciebat enim eum principem transgressionis factum: sed maledictum primo immisit in eum, uti secunda increpatio veniret in hominem. Eum enim odivit Deus, qui seduxit hominem; ei vero qui seductus est, sensim paulatimque misertus est.

6. Quapropter et ejecit eum de paradiso, et a ligno vitae longe transtulit: non invidens ei lignum vitae, quemadmodum quidam audent dicere, sed miserans ejus, ut non perseveraret semper transgressor; neque immortale esset quod esset circa eum peccatum, et malum interminabile et insanabile. Prohibuit autem ejus transgressionem, interponens mortem, et cessare faciens peccatum, finem inferens ei per carnis resolutionem, quae fieret in terra: uti cessans aliquando homo vivere peccato, et moriens ei, inciperet vivere Deo.

7. Quapropter inimicitiam posuit inter serpentem et mulierem, et semen ejus, observantes invicem: illo quidem cui morderetur planta, et potente, calcare caput inimici; altero vero mordente, et occidente et interpediente, ingressus hominis, quoadusque venit semen praedestinatum calcare caput ejus, quod fuit partus Mariae, de quo ait Propheta: « Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis

5. But with Adam nothing of the kind happened, but everything the contrary. For, led astray by another under the pretext of immortality, he is at once seized with fear and hides himself: not as though he could escape God, but ashamed, because, having transgressed his precept, he is unworthy to come into the presence and converse of God. Now the fear of the Lord is the beginning of understanding (Ps 111:10; Prov 1:7); and the understanding of the transgression brought about repentance: and to those who repent God grants his kindness. For by the girdle he showed his repentance in deed, covering himself with fig leaves, though there were many other leaves too which would have chafed his body less: yet he made a garment worthy of his disobedience, terrified by the fear of God; and, checking the wanton impulse of the flesh, since he had lost his natural character and childlike understanding and had come to the thought of worse things, he put a bridle of continence round himself and his wife, fearing God and awaiting his coming, and as if signifying something like this: "Since," he says, "I have lost through disobedience the robe of holiness that I had from the Spirit, I now acknowledge that I am worthy of such a covering, which affords no pleasure, but bites and pricks the body." And he would surely have kept this garment always, humbling himself, had not the Lord, who is merciful, clothed them with tunics of skin instead of fig leaves. For this reason he also questions them, so that the accusation might come to the woman; and her in turn he questions, so that she might pass the charge on to the serpent. For she told what had been done: The serpent, she said, led me astray, and I ate (Gen 3:13). But he did not question the serpent, for he knew that it had become the prince of the transgression: but he first sent the curse upon it, so that the second rebuke might come upon man. For God hated him who led man astray; but on him who was led astray he had mercy gradually and little by little.

6. Wherefore he also cast him out of paradise and removed him far from the tree of life: not grudging him the tree of life, as some dare to say, but having pity on him, so that he should not remain a transgressor for ever, nor should the sin that was about him be immortal, and the evil endless and incurable. But he checked his transgression, interposing death, and causing sin to cease, putting an end to it through the dissolution of the flesh, which would take place in the earth: so that man, ceasing at length to live to sin, and dying to it, might begin to live to God.

7. Wherefore he put enmity between the serpent and the woman and her seed, watching each other: the one, whose sole was bitten, being able also to tread on the head of the enemy; the other biting, and killing, and hindering the steps of man, until the predestined seed came to tread on its head, which was what Mary bore, of whom the Prophet says: You shall walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and you shall trample the

leonem et draconem; » significans quia illud quod erigeretur et dilataretur adversus hominem peccatum, et frigidum reddebat eum, evacuaretur cum regnante morte; et conculcaretur ab eo in novissimis temporibus insiliens humano generi leo, hoc est Antichristus; et draconem illum, serpentem vetustum, alligans et subjiciens potestati hominis, qui fuerat victus, ad calcandam omnem ejus virtutem. Victus autem erat Adam, ablata ab eo omni vita: propter hoc victo rursus inimico recepit vitam Adam; « novissima » autem « inimica evacuatur mors, » quae primum possederat hominem. Quapropter liberato homine, « fiet quod scriptum est: Absorpta est mors in victoria; ubi est mors victoria tua? Ubi est mors aculeus tuus? » Quod non poterit juste dici, si non ille liberatus fuerit, cui primum dominata est mors. Illius enim salus, evacuatio est mortis. Domino igitur vivificante hominem, id est Adam, evacuata est et mors.

8. Mentiuntur ergo omnes qui contradicunt ejus saluti, semper seipsos excludentes a vita, in eo quod non credant inventam ovem quae perierat. Si autem illa non est inventa, adhuc possidetur in perditione omnis hominis generatio. Mendax ergo is, qui prior hanc sententiam, imo hanc ignorantiam et caecitatem induxit, Tatianus; connexio quidem factus omnium haereticorum, quemadmodum ostendimus: hoc autem a semetipso adinvenit, uti novum aliquid praeter reliquos inferens, vacuum loquens, vacuos a fide auditores sibi praepararet, affectans magister haberi, tentans et subinde uti hujusmodi a Paulo assidue dictis: Quoniam « in Adam omnes morimur; » ignorans autem, quoniam « ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit gratia. » Ostenso ergo hoc manifeste, erubescant omnes qui ab eo sunt, et concertant de Adam, quasi magnum aliquid lucrentur, si ille non salvetur, quando magis nihil proficiant; quemadmodum et serpens nihil profecit dissuadens homini, nisi illud quod eum transgressorem ostendit, initium et materiam apostasiae suae habens hominem; Deum autem non vicit. Sic et hi, qui contradicunt saluti Adae, nihil proficiunt, nisi hoc, quod semetipsos haereticos et apostatas faciunt veritatis, et advocatos se serpentis et mortis ostendunt.

Caput XXIV

Summatim repetit quae hactenus adversus varias Gnosticorum impietates disseruit. Haereticis vero ad omnem doctrinae ventum fluctuantibus opponit unam, sibique semper et ubique constantem Ecclesiae doctrinam.

lion and the dragon (Ps 91:13); signifying that sin, which was raised up and spread out against man, and made him cold, would be made void together with death that reigned; and that the lion that leaps upon the human race in the last times, that is, the Antichrist, would be trampled by him; and binding that dragon, the ancient serpent, and subjecting it to the power of man, who had been conquered, to tread on all its power. Now Adam had been conquered, all life having been taken from him: for this reason, the enemy being conquered in turn, Adam received life again; and the last enemy, death, is made void (1 Cor 15:26), which first had possessed man. Wherefore, man being set free, there shall come to pass what is written: Death is swallowed up in victory; where, O death, is your victory? Where, O death, is your sting? (1 Cor 15:54–55) And this could not justly be said, if that man had not been set free over whom death first had dominion. For his salvation is the making void of death. When, therefore, the Lord gave life to man, that is, to Adam, death too was made void.

8. All, therefore, lie who contradict his salvation, always shutting themselves out from life, in that they do not believe that the sheep which was lost has been found. But if it has not been found, the whole generation of man is still held in perdition. A liar, then, is he who first introduced this doctrine, or rather this ignorance and blindness, Tatian; who became, indeed, the knot of all the heretics, as we have shown: but this he devised of himself, so that, bringing in something new beyond the rest, and speaking emptiness, he might make ready for himself hearers empty of faith, affecting to be held a master, and trying from time to time to use such sayings as are often found in Paul: that in Adam we all die (1 Cor 15:22); but not knowing that where sin abounded, grace has superabounded (Rom 5:20). This, then, having been plainly shown, let all blush who are from him and who quarrel about Adam, as if they gained some great thing if he is not saved, when rather they gain nothing; just as the serpent too gained nothing by dissuading man, except this, that it showed him a transgressor, having man as the beginning and material of its own apostasy; but God it did not conquer. So too those who contradict the salvation of Adam gain nothing, except this, that they make themselves heretics and apostates from the truth, and show themselves advocates of the serpent and of death.

Chapter 24

He briefly repeats what he has argued so far against the various impieties of the Gnostics. To the heretics, tossed by every wind of doctrine, he opposes the one doctrine of the Church, always and everywhere consistent with itself.

1. Traductis igitur omnibus, qui nefandas inferunt sententias de factore et plasmatore nostro, qui et hunc mundum fabricatus est, super quem alius Deus non est; et ipsis ostensionibus eversis his, qui de substantia Domini nostri, et de dispositione quam fecit propter hominem suum, falsa docent; praedicationem vero Ecclesiae undique constantem, et aequaliter perseverantem, et testimonium habentem a prophetis et ab apostolis, et ab omnibus discipulis, quemadmodum ostendimus per initia, et medietates, et finem, et per universam Dei dispositionem, et eam quae secundum salutem hominis est solitam operationem, quae est in fide nostra; quam perceptam ab Ecclesia custodimus, et quae semper a Spiritu Dei, quasi in vase bono eximium quoddam depositum juvenescens, et juvenescere faciens ipsum vas in quo est. Hoc enim Ecclesiae creditum est Dei munus, quemadmodum ad inspirationem plasmationi, ad hoc ut omnia membra percipientia vivificentur: et in eo disposita est communicatio Christi, id est Spiritus sanctus, arrha incorruptelae, et confirmatio fidei nostrae, et scala ascensionis ad Deum. « In Ecclesia enim, inquit, posuit Deus apostolos, prophetas, doctores, » et universam reliquam operationem Spiritus: cujus non sunt participes omnes, qui non currunt ad Ecclesiam, sed semetipsos fraudant a vita, per sententiam malam et operationem pessimam. Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia, et omnis gratia: Spiritus autem veritas. Quapropter qui non participant eum, neque a mammillis matris nutriuntur in vitam, neque percipiunt de corpore Christi procedentem nitidissimum fontem: sed effodiunt sibi lacus detritos de fossis terrenis, et de coeno putidam bibunt aquam, effugientes fidem Ecclesiae, ne traducantur; rejicientes vero Spiritum, ut non erudiantur.

2. Alienati vero a veritate, digne in omni volutantur errore, fluctuati ab eo, aliter atque aliter per tempora de eisdem sentientes, et nunquam sententiam stabilitam habentes; sophistae verborum magis volentes esse quam discipuli veritatis. Non enim sunt fundati super unam petram, sed super arenam, habentem in seipsa lapides multos. Propter hoc et multos deos fingunt, et quaerere quidem semper in excusatione habent (caecutiunt enim) invenire vero nunquam possunt. Blasphemant enim fabricatorem, hoc est, eum qui est vere Deus, qui et praestat invenire; putantes se super Deum alterum invenisse Deum, vel alteram plenitudinem, vel alteram dispositionem. Quapropter et lumen, quod est a Deo, non lucet eis, quoniam inhonoraverunt et spreverunt Deum, minimum arbitrantes eum, quoniam propter dilectionem suam, et immensam benignitatem, in agnitionem venit hominibus: (in agnitionem autem non secundum magnitudinem, nec secundum substantiam; nemo enim mensus est eam, nec palpavit; sed secundum illud, ut sciremus, quoniam qui fecit, et plasmavit, et insufflationem vitae insufflavit

1. All, then, having been exposed who bring in wicked doctrines about our Maker and Moulder, who also fashioned this world, above whom there is no other God; and those who teach falsely about the substance of our Lord, and about the disposition which he made for the sake of his man, having been overthrown by the proofs themselves; and the preaching of the Church, everywhere consistent and persevering equally, and having testimony from the prophets and from the apostles and from all the disciples, as we have shown through the beginnings, and the middles, and the end, and through the whole disposition of God, and that accustomed working which concerns the salvation of man, which is in our faith; which, having received it from the Church, we guard, and which always, by the Spirit of God, like some excellent deposit in a good vessel, grows young, and makes the very vessel in which it is grow young. For this gift of God has been entrusted to the Church, as breath was to the moulding, so that all the members, receiving it, may be given life: and in it has been disposed the fellowship of Christ, that is, the Holy Spirit, the earnest of incorruption, and the confirmation of our faith, and the ladder of ascent to God. For in the Church, he says, God has set apostles, prophets, teachers (1 Cor 12:28), and all the rest of the working of the Spirit: of which all those are not partakers who do not run to the Church, but defraud themselves of life by evil doctrine and the worst action. For where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and all grace: and the Spirit is truth. Wherefore those who do not partake of him are neither nourished into life from the breasts of the mother, nor do they receive the most clear fountain that proceeds from the body of Christ: but they dig for themselves worn-out cisterns out of earthly ditches, and drink foul water out of the mire, fleeing the faith of the Church lest they be exposed, and rejecting the Spirit, so as not to be taught.

2. Estranged from the truth, they deservedly wallow in every error, tossed about by it, thinking now one thing and now another about the same things at different times, and never having a settled doctrine; wishing rather to be sophists of words than disciples of the truth. For they are not founded upon the one rock, but upon sand, which has many stones in itself. For this reason they also fashion many gods, and they always have seeking as their excuse (for they are blind), but they can never find. For they blaspheme the Fashioner, that is, him who is truly God, who also grants us to find; thinking that they have found another God above God, or another fullness, or another disposition. Wherefore the light that is from God does not shine for them either, since they have dishonoured and despised God, holding him of least account because, through his love and immeasurable kindness, he came into the knowledge of men (into knowledge, however, not according to his greatness, nor according to his substance; for no one has measured it, nor handled it; but in this way, that we might know that he who made and moulded and breathed into them the breath of life, and

in eis, et per conditionem nutrit nos, Verbo suo confirmans, et Sapientia compingens omnia, hic est qui est solus verus Deus); eum vero, qui non est, somniantes super hunc, ut magnum Deum putentur adinvenisse, quem nemo possit cognoscere humano generi communicantem, nec terrena administrantem: Epicuri videlicet invenientes Deum, neque sibi, neque aliis aliquid praestantem, id est, nullius providentiam habentem.

Caput XXV

Regi hunc mundum providentia unius Dei qui infinita simul praeditus sit justitia, ut malos plectat, atque bonitate, ut piis benefaciat et salutem impertiatur.

1. Providentiam autem habet Deus omnium, propter hoc et consilium dat; consilium autem dans adest his, qui morum providentiam habent. Necesse est igitur ea, quae providentur et gubernantur, cognoscere suum directorem; quae quidem non sunt irrationabilia, neque vana, sed habent sensibilitatem perceptam de providentia Dei. Et propter hoc ethnicorum quidam, qui minus illecebris ac voluptatibus servierunt, et non in tantum superstitione idolorum coabducti sunt, providentia ejus moti, licet tenuiter, tamen conversi sunt, ut dicerent fabricatorem hujus universitatis Patrem omnium providentem, et disponentem secundum nos mundum.

2. Rursus ut increpativum auferrent a Patre, et judiciale, indignum id Deo putantes, et sine iracundia et bonum arbitrantes se adinvenisse Deum, alterum quidem judicare, et alterum quidem salvare dixerunt; nescientes, utrorumque auferentes sensum et justitiam. Si enim judicialis non et bonus sit, ad donandum quidem his quibus debet, et ad exprobrandum his quibus oportet, neque justus neque sapiens videbitur judex. Rursus bonus, si hoc tantum sit bonus, non et probator, in quos immittat bonitatem; extra justitiam erit et bonitatem, et infirma bonitas ejus videbitur, non omnes salvans, si non cum judicio fiat.

3. Marcion igitur ipse dividens Deum in duo, alterum quidem bonum, et alterum judicialem dicens, ex utrisque interimit Deum. Hic enim qui judicialis, si non et bonus sit, non est Deus, quia Deus non est, cui bonitas desit: et ille rursus qui bonus, si non et judicialis, idem quod hic patietur, ut auferatur ei ne sit Deus. Quemadmodum autem et sapientem dicunt Patrem omnium, si non et judiciale ei assignent? Si enim sapiens, et probator est; probatori autem subest judiciale; judiciale autem assequitur justitia, ut juste probet; justitia provocat judicium; judicium autem, cum fit cum justitia, transmittet ad sapientiam. Sapientia igitur praecellet Pater super omnem humanam et angelicam sapientiam, quoniam Dominus, et judex, et justus, et dominator super omnes.

nourishes us through the creation, establishing all things by his Word and binding them together by Wisdom, he is the only true God); but dreaming of him who is not, above this one, so that they may be thought to have found a great God, whom no one can know as having dealings with the human race or administering earthly things: finding, namely, the God of Epicurus, who provides nothing either for himself or for others, that is, who has providence of nothing.

Chapter 25

That this world is ruled by the providence of the one God, who is endowed at once with infinite justice, to punish the wicked, and with goodness, to do good to the godly and bestow salvation.

1. Now God has providence of all things, and for this reason he also gives counsel; and, giving counsel, he is present to those who exercise providence over their conduct. It is necessary, then, that the things which are provided for and governed should know their director; things which indeed are not irrational nor vain, but have a perception received from the providence of God. And for this reason some of the heathen, who were less enslaved to allurements and pleasures, and were not so far carried away by the superstition of idols, moved by his providence, though faintly, were nevertheless converted, so as to say that the Fashioner of this universe is the Father who provides for all things and disposes this world of ours.

2. Again, to take away from the Father the power to rebuke and to judge, thinking it unworthy of God, and thinking that they had found a God without anger and good, they said that one judges and the other saves; not knowing that they take away from both understanding and justice. For if the judicial one is not also good, so as to give to those to whom he ought and to reproach those whom he should, he will appear as a judge neither just nor wise. Again, the good one, if he is only good and not also one who tests on whom he is to send his goodness, will be outside justice and goodness, and his goodness will appear weak, not saving all, if it is not done with judgement.

3. Marcion himself, then, dividing God into two, and saying that one is good and the other judicial, does away with God on both sides. For this one who is judicial, if he is not also good, is not God, because he is not God who lacks goodness; and that one again who is good, if he is not also judicial, will suffer the same as this one, that it should be taken from him to be God. And how do they call the Father of all wise, if they do not also assign to him the power to judge? For if he is wise, he is also one who tests; and the power to judge belongs to him who tests; and justice follows the power to judge, that he may test justly; justice calls forth judgement; and judgement, when it is done with justice, will pass on to wisdom. The Father, therefore, will excel in wisdom above all human and angelic wisdom, since he is Lord, and judge, and just, and ruler over all.

Est enim et bonus, et misericors, et patiens, et salvat quos oportet: neque bonum ei deficit juste effectum, neque sapientia deminoratur: salvat enim quos debet salvare, et judicat dignos judicio: neque justum immite ostenditur, praeeunte scilicet et praecedente bonitate.

4. Qui igitur solem suum oriri facit omnibus benigne Deus, et pluit super justos et injustos, judicabit eos, qui ex aequo benignitatem ejus percipientes, non similiter secundum dignationem munerationis ejus conversati sunt; sed in deliciis et luxuriis versati sunt adversus benevolentiam ejus, adhuc et blasphemantes eum, qui tanta beneficia in eos fecerit.

5. Quibus religiosior Plato ostenditur, qui eumdem Deum et justum, et bonum confessus est, habentem potestatem omnium, ipsum facientem judicium, sic dicens: « Et Deus quidem, quemadmodum et vetus sermo est, initium, et finem, et medietates omnium quae sunt habens, recte perficit, secundum naturam circumiens: hunc autem semper consequitur justitia ultrix in eos qui deficiunt a lege divina. » Et iterum factorem et fabricatorem hujus universitatis bonum ostendit. « Bono autem, inquit, nulla unquam de quoquam nascitur invidia: » hoc initium et causam fabricationis mundi constituens bonitatem Dei; sed non ignorantiam, nec Aeonem qui erravit, nec labis fructum, nec Matrem plorantem et lamentantem, nec alterum Deum, vel Patrem.

6. Juste autem eos Mater planget, talium excogitatores et adinventores: digna enim commentati, et commentiti sunt in capita sua, quoniam Mater ipsorum extra Plenitudinem est, id est extra Dei agnitionem, et collectio eorum abortio facta est, informis et sine specie: nihil enim de veritate apprehendit; in vacuum et in umbram decidit; vacua enim doctrina ipsorum et intenebrata: et Horus eam non permisit introire in Pleroma; non enim recepit eos Spiritus in refrigerium. Pater enim ipsorum ignorantiam generans, mortis passiones in eis operatus est. Haec non nos diffamamus, sed ipsi confirmant, ipsi docent, gloriantur in ipsis, altum sentiunt de Matre, quam sine patre dicunt genitam, hoc est sine Deo, feminam a femina, quod est ex errantia corruptelam.

7. Nos autem precamur non perseverare eos in fovea, quam ipsi foderunt, sed segregari ab hujusmodi Matre, et exire a Bytho, et absistere a Vacuo, et Umbram derelinquere: et legitime eos generari, conversos ad Ecclesiam Dei, et formari Christum in eis, et cognoscere eos fabricatorem et factorem hujus universitatis, solum verum Deum, et Dominum omnium. Haec precamur de illis, utilius eos diligentes, quam ipsi semetipsos putant diligere. Quae enim est a nobis dilectio, cum sit vera, salutaris est eis, si quidem eam recipiant.

For he is also good, and merciful, and patient, and saves those whom he should: neither does the good, justly carried out, fail him, nor is his wisdom diminished: for he saves those whom he ought to save, and judges those worthy of judgement: nor is what is just shown to be harsh, goodness, that is, going before it and preceding it.

4. God, then, who makes his sun rise kindly on all, and sends rain on the just and the unjust, will judge those who, receiving his kindness equally, did not live in like manner according to the worth of his bounty, but spent their lives in delights and luxuries against his benevolence, even blaspheming him who has conferred such great benefits on them.

5. More religious than these is Plato shown to be, who confessed that the same God is both just and good, having power over all things, himself executing judgement, saying thus: "And God indeed, as the ancient saying also is, holding the beginning, and the end, and the middle of all things that are, accomplishes rightly, going round according to nature; and justice the avenger always follows him against those who fall away from the divine law." And again he shows that the Maker and Fashioner of this universe is good. "But in the good," he says, "no envy ever arises about anything"; establishing this, the goodness of God, as the beginning and cause of the fashioning of the world; and not ignorance, nor an Aeon who went astray, nor the fruit of a defect, nor the Mother weeping and lamenting, nor another God or Father.

6. And justly will the Mother bewail them, the contrivers and devisers of such things: for they have contrived and feigned things worthy of them, upon their own heads, since their Mother is outside the Fullness, that is, outside the knowledge of God, and their gathering has become an abortion, formless and without shape: for it grasped nothing of the truth; it fell into the void and into shadow; for their teaching is empty and darkened: and Horos did not allow her to enter the Pleroma; for the Spirit did not receive them into refreshment. For their Father, begetting ignorance, worked in them the passions of death. We do not slander them with these things, but they themselves affirm them, they themselves teach them, they glory in them, they think highly of the Mother, whom they say was begotten without a father, that is, without God, a female from a female, that is, corruption from error.

7. But we pray that they may not remain in the pit which they themselves have dug, but be separated from such a Mother, and go out from Bythus, and depart from the Void, and leave the Shadow: and that they may be lawfully begotten, being converted to the Church of God, and that Christ may be formed in them, and that they may know the Fashioner and Maker of this universe, the only true God and Lord of all. These things we pray for them, loving them more profitably than they think they love themselves. For the love that is from us, since it is true, is saving for them, if indeed they receive it.

Est enim austero medicamini similis, absumens impropriorem ac superfluam vulneris carnem: elationem enim illorum et inflationem evacuat. Quapropter tentantes omni virtute manum porrigere eis, non taedebit nos. Prorogabimus autem super haec, quae dicta sunt, in sequenti libro Domini sermones inferre, si quos ex his per ipsam Christi doctrinam convincentes, suadere possimus cessare ab ejusmodi errore, et absistere ab ea blasphemia, quae est in fabricatorem ipsorum, qui et solus est Deus, et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.

For it is like a harsh medicine, consuming the improper and superfluous flesh of the wound: for it makes void their pride and their puffing up. Wherefore it will not weary us to try with all our strength to stretch out a hand to them. And, beyond what has been said, we shall go on in the following book to bring forward the words of the Lord, to see whether, convincing some of them by the very teaching of Christ, we may persuade them to cease from such error and to depart from that blasphemy which is against their Fashioner, who is also the only God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.