

SUPPLEMENTS TO
VIGILIAE CHRISTIANAE

Formerly Philosophia Patrum

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LIFE
AND LANGUAGE

EDITORS

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PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE
AND THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN
IN LATE ANTIQUITY

HOMILIES 1-5, TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

BY

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Proclus, Homily 1



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Proclus of Constantinople

Homily 1

*On the Holy Virgin Theotokos Delivered while Nestorius
was seated in the Great Church of Constantinople*

Ὁμιλία Προκλου ἐπισκόπου Κυζίκου
λεχθεῖσα καθεζομένου Νεστορίου ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ
ἐκκλησίᾳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως

I. Παρθενική πανήγυρις σήμερον τὴν γλῶτταν, ἀδελφοί, πρὸς εὐφημίαν
5 καλεῖ καὶ ἡ παροῦσα ἑορτὴ τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ὠφελείας γίνεται πρόξε-
νος. καὶ μάλα εἰκότως· ἀγνείας γὰρ ἔχει ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν
γυναικῶν καύχημα τὸ τελούμενον καὶ δόξα τοῦ θήλεος διὰ τὴν ἐν και-
ρῷ μητέρα καὶ παρθένον. ἐπέραστος ἡ σύνοδος· ἰδοὺ γὰρ γῆ καὶ θά-
λαττα δορυφορεῖ τῇ παρθένῳ. ἡ μὲν τὰ νῶτα ταῖς ὀκλασίαις γαληνῶς ὑφα-
10 πλώσασα, ἡ δὲ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν βαδιζόντων ἀκωλύτως παραπέμπουσα. σκιρ-
τάτω ἡ φύσις, καὶ γυναῖκες τιμῶνται· χορευέτω ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, καὶ παρ-
θένοι δοξάζονται. “ὅπου γὰρ ἐπλέονασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν
ἡ χάρις.”¹ συνεκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς ἡ ἅγια Μαρία, τὸ ἀμόλυντον τῆς παρθενί-
ας κειμήλιον, ὁ λογικὸς τοῦ δευτέρου Ἀδάμ παράδεισος,² τὸ ἐργαστήριον
15 τῆς ἐνότητος τῶν φύσεων, ἡ πανήγυρις τοῦ σωτηρίου συναλλάγματος, ἡ
παστᾶς ἐν ἧ ὁ Λόγος ἐνυμφεύσατο τὴν σάρκα, ἡ ἔμψυχος τῆς φύσεως βά-
τος, ἦν τὸ τῆς θείας ὠδίνος πῦρ οὐ κατέκαυσεν,³ ἡ ὄντως κούφη νεφέλη⁴ ἡ
τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ μετὰ σώματος βαστάσασα, ὁ τοῦ ἐξ οὐρανῶν ὑετοῦ
καθαρώτατος πόκος⁵ ἐξ οὗ ὁ ποιμὴν τὸ πρόβατον ἐνεδύσατο,⁶ ἡ δούλη
20 καὶ μήτηρ,⁷ ἡ παρθένος καὶ οὐρανός, ἡ μόνη Θεῶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους γέ-
φυρα, ὁ φρικτὸς τῆς οἰκονομίας ἱστός ἐν ᾧ ἀρρήτως ὑφάνθη ὁ τῆς ἐνώσε-
ως χιτῶν,⁸ οὐπερ ἱστουργὸς μὲν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἕριθος δὲ ἡ ἐξ ὕψους
ἐπισκιάσασα δύναμις,⁹ ἕριον δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τοῦ Ἀδάμ κώδιον, κρόκη δὲ
ἡ ἐκ παρθένου ἀμόλυντος σάρξ, κερκὶς δὲ ἡ ἀμέτρητος τοῦ φορέσαντος
25 χάρις, τεχνίτης δὲ ὁ δι’ ἀκοῆς εἰσπηδήσας Λόγος.

I. The Virgin’s festival, my brethren, summons us today to words of 5
praise, and the present feast has benefits to bestow on those who
assemble to keep it. And surely this is right, for its subject is chastity.
What we celebrate is the pride of women and the glory of the female,
thanks to the one who was at once both mother and virgin. Lovely is
the gathering! See how both the earth and the sea serve as the Virgin’s 10
escorts: the one spreading forth her waves calmly beneath the ships,
the other conducting the steps of travelers on their way unhindered.
Let nature leap for joy, and let women be honored! Let all humanity
dance, and let virgins be glorified! For “where sin increased, grace
abounded yet more.”¹ She who called us here today is the Holy Mary; 15
the untarnished vessel of virginity; the spiritual paradise of the second
Adam;² the workshop for the union of natures; the market-place of
the contract of salvation; the bridal chamber in which the Word took
the flesh in marriage; the living bush of human nature, which the fire
of a divine birth-pang did not consume;³ the veritable swift cloud⁴ 20
who carried in her body the one who rides upon the cherubim; the
purest fleece⁵ drenched with the rain which came down from heaven,
whereby the shepherd clothed himself with the sheep;⁶ handmaid and
mother,⁷ virgin and heaven, the only bridge for God to mankind; the
awesome loom of the divine economy upon which the robe⁸ of union 25
was ineffably woven. The loom-worker was the Holy Spirit; the wool-
worker the overshadowing power from on high.⁹ The wool was the
ancient fleece of Adam; the interlocking thread the spotless flesh of the
Virgin. The weaver’s shuttle was propelled by the immeasurable grace
of him who wore the robe; the artisan was the Word who entered in 30
through her sense of hearing.

¹Rom. 5.20 ²cf. Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49 ³Ex. 3.2 ⁴Is. 19.1 ⁵Jg. 6.37–38
⁶cf. Jn. 10.11 ⁷cf. Lk. 1.38, 43. ⁸Jn. 19.23 ⁹Lk. 1.35

13 post ἡμᾶς add. ἐνταῦθα VPSW | ἡ ἅγια μαρία MAR ἅγια καὶ θεοτόκος παρθένος
VPS ἅγια θεοτόκος D ἅγια παρθένος καὶ θεοτόκος W 15 ἐνότητος codd. ἐνώσεως D

¹Rom. 5.20 ²cf. Rom. 5.14; 1 Cor. 15.21–22, 45–49 ³Ex. 3.2 ⁴Is. 19.1 ⁵Jg. 6.37–38
⁶cf. Jn. 10.11 ⁷cf. Lk. 1.38, 43 ⁸Jn. 19.23 ⁹Lk. 1.35

II. Τίς εἶδεν, τίς ἤκουσεν ὅτι μήτραν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπεριγράπτως ὤκησεν; ὄν οὐρανὸς οὐκ ἐχώρησεν, γαστήρ οὐκ ἐστενοχώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐγεννήθη ἐκ γυναικὸς Θεὸς οὐ γυμνὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐ ψιλὸς, καὶ πύλην σωτηρίας ὁ τεχθεὶς τὴν πάλαι τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐδειξεν θύραν. ὅπου γὰρ ὁ ὄφις διὰ 30 τῆς παρακοῆς τὸν ἰὸν ἐνέχεεν, ἐκεῖ ὁ Λόγος διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς εἰσελθὼν τὸν ναὸν ἐξωπλάσθησεν· ὄθεν ὁ πρῶτος μαθητὴς τῆς ἁμαρτίας Κάιν προέκυψεν, ἐκεῖθεν ὁ τοῦ γένους λυτρωτὴς Χριστὸς ἀσπόρως ἐβλάστησεν. οὐκ ἠσχύνθη ὁ φιλόανθρωπος τὴν ἐκ γυναικὸς ὠδίνα· ζῶη γὰρ ἦν τὸ πραγματευόμενον. οὐκ ἐμίανθη οἰκήσας μόρια, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἀνυβρίστως ἐδημιούργησεν. εἰ μὴ παρθένος ἔμεινεν ἡ μήτηρ, ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁ τεχθεὶς καὶ οὐ 35 παράδοξος ὁ τόκος· εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τόκον ἔμεινεν παρθένος, ἐκεῖνος ἀφράστως ἐγεννήθη ὁ καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἀκαλύτως εἰσελθὼν,¹⁰ οὐ τὴν συζυγίαν τῶν φύσεων ὁ Θωμᾶς ἀνακεκράγει λέγων “ὁ Κύριός μου καὶ ὁ Θεός μου.”¹¹

III. Μὴ ἐπαισχυνθῆς τὴν ὠδίνα, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν γέγονε σωτηρίας ἀφορμή. εἰ μὴ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐγεννήθη, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν· εἰ μὴ ἀπέθανεν, οὐκ ἂν “διὰ τοῦ θανάτου κατήργησεν τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τουτέστι τὸν διάβολον.”¹² οὐχ ὕβρις ἀρχιτέκτονι μείναι ἐν οἷς ὠκοδόμησεν, οὐ μαίνει πηλὸς τὸν κεραμέα ἀνακαινίζοντα ὅπερ ἐπλασεν· οὕτως οὐδὲ μαίνει τὸν ἀχραντὸν τὸ ἐκ παρθενικῆς γαστρὸς προελθεῖν. ἦν γὰρ πλάσσων οὐκ ἐμολύνθη, διὰ ταύτης προελθὼν οὐκ ἐμίανθη. ὦ γαστήρ ἐν ἧ τὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας γραμματεῖον συνετάγη· ὦ κοιλία ἐν ἧ τὸ κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου ὄπλον ἐχαλκεύθη· ὦ ἄρουρα ἐν ἧ ὁ τῆς φύσεως γεωργὸς Χριστὸς ὡς στάχυς ἀσπόρως ἐβλάστησεν· ὦ ναὸς ἐν ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς 50 γέγονεν ἱερεὺς, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὸν “κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ”¹³ δι’ οἷκτον ἐνδυσάμενος. “ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο”¹⁴ κἂν Ἰουδαῖοι ἀπιστῶσιν εἰπόντι τῷ Κυρίῳ· ὁ Θεὸς μορφήν ἀνθρώπου ἐφόρεσεν,¹⁵ κἂν Ἕλληνας κωμωδῶσι τὸ θαῦμα. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο “Ἰουδαίους μὲν σκάνδαλον, ἔθνεσιν δὲ μωρία” τὸ μυστήριον,¹⁶ ἐπειδὴ ὑπὲρ λόγον τὸ θαῦμα. εἰ μὴ ὁ 55 Λόγος ὤκησεν γαστέρα, οὐκ ἂν ἐκαθέσθη ἡ σὰρξ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου· εἰ τῷ

¹⁰Jn. 20.19, 26 ¹¹Jn. 20.28 ¹²Heb. 2.14 ¹³cf. Heb. 6.20; 7.11; Ps. 109.4 ¹⁴Jn. 1.14
¹⁵cf. Phil. 2.7 ¹⁶1 Cor. 1.23

27 post γαστήρ add. παρθένου AR τῆς παρθένου D 54 post θαῦμα add. ὁ παῦλος ἐβόα τοῦ γὰρ μυστηρίου τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἐγνωσαν SA δύναμιν οὐκ ἐγνωσαν ἐπειδὴ ὑπὲρ λόγον τὸ θαῦμα εἰ γὰρ ἐγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης ἐσταύρωσαν VPSDW

II. Who ever saw, who ever heard, of God dwelling without restriction in a woman's womb? Heaven itself cannot contain him, and yet a womb did not constrict him. He was born from a woman, God but not solely God, and man but not merely man, and by his birth what 35 was once the door of sin was made the gate of salvation. Through ears that disobeyed, the serpent poured in his poison; through ears that obeyed, the Word entered in order to build a living temple. From the place where Cain, the first disciple of sin, emerged, from there also did Christ, the redeemer of the race, sprout unsown into life. The loving 40 God was not ashamed of the birth pangs of a woman, for the business at hand was life. He was not defiled by dwelling in places which he himself had created without dishonor. If the mother had not remained a virgin, then the child born would have been a mere man and the birth no miracle. But if she remained a virgin even after birth, then 45 indeed he was wondrously born who also entered unhindered “when the doors were sealed,”¹⁰ whose union of natures was proclaimed by Thomas who said, “My Lord and my God!”¹¹

III. So do not be ashamed of the birth pangs, O man! For they were the beginning of our salvation. Had he not been born of a woman, he 50 would not have died. Had he not died, he would not “through death have destroyed him who has the power of death, that is, the devil.”¹² A master builder is not dishonored if he dwells in buildings of his own design. Clay does not defile the potter who repairs what he himself had fashioned. Neither was the pure one defiled by coming forth from a 55 virgin's womb. From what he formed without pollution he came forth without defilement. O womb, in which was drawn up the bond that gave us all liberty! O belly, in which was forged the sword that defeated death! O field, in which Christ, nature's farmer, himself sprouted forth unsown as an ear of corn! O temple, in which God became a priest, not 60 by changing his nature, but by his mercy clothing himself with him who was “according to the order of Melchizedek”¹³ “The Word became flesh,”¹⁴ even if the Jews disbelieve the Lord who said so. God has put on the form of a human being,¹⁵ even if the Greeks ridicule the wonder. For this reason, the mystery is a “scandal to the Jews” and “folly to the 65 Greeks”¹⁶ because the miracle transcends reason. Had the Word not dwelt in a womb, the flesh would never have sat on the throne. Were it

¹⁰Jn. 20.19, 26 ¹¹Jn. 20.28 ¹²Heb. 2.14 ¹³cf. Heb. 6.20; 7.11; Ps. 109.4 ¹⁴Jn. 1.14
¹⁵cf. Phil. 2.7 ¹⁶1 Cor. 1.23

Θεῷ ὕβρις εἰς μήτραν εἰσελθεῖν, ἄρα καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ὕβρις ἀνθρώπῳ διακονεῖν.¹⁷

IV. Ὁ οὖν κατὰ φύσιν ἀπαθῆς γέγονε δι' οἶκτον πολυπαθῆς. οὐκ ἐκ προκοπῆς γέγονε Θεὸς ὁ Χριστός, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ δι' οἶκτον γέγονεν ἀνθρώπος, ὡς πιστεύομεν. οὐκ ἀνθρώπον ἀποθεωθέντα κηρύττομεν, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν σαρκωθέντα ὁμολογοῦμεν. τὴν οἰκειάν δούλην ἐπεγράφατο μητέρα ὁ κατ' οὐσίαν ἀμήτωρ καὶ κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἀπάτωρ. ἐπεὶ πῶς ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ Παῦλον “ἀμήτωρ” καὶ “ἀπάτωρ”;¹⁸ εἰ φιλὸς ἀνθρώπος, οὐκ ἀμήτωρ· ἔχει γὰρ μητέρα. εἰ γυμνὸς Θεὸς, οὐκ ἀπάτωρ· ἔχει γὰρ πατέρα. νῦν δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμήτωρ μὲν ὡς πλάστης, ἀπάτωρ δὲ ὡς πλάσμα.

V. Αἰδέσθητι κἀν τὴν προσηγορίαν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου. ὁ τὴν Μαριάμ εὐαγγελισάμενος Γαβριὴλ ἐλέγετο.¹⁹ τί δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται “Γαβριὴλ”; Θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπος. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιζόμενος Θεὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπος, προέλαβεν ἢ προσηγορία τὸ θαῦμα, ἵνα πιστώσῃται τὴν οἰκονομίαν. μάθε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς παρουσίας καὶ δόξασον τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ σαρκωθέντος. πολλὰ ὤφειλεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γένος καὶ πρὸς τὸ χρέος ἠπόρει. διὰ τοῦ Ἀδάμ πάντες τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐχειρογραφήσαμεν· δούλους ἡμᾶς κατείχεν ὁ διάβολος· τὰς ὠνάς ἡμῶν προέφερεν, χάριτη κεχηρμένος τῷ πολυπαθεῖ σώματι. εἰστήκει ὁ κακὸς πλαστογράφος, ἐπεισεῖων ἡμῖν τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπαιτῶν ἡμᾶς τὴν δίκην. ἔδει τοίνυν δυοῖν ἴατερον, ἢ πᾶσιν ἐπαχθῆναι τὸν ἐκ τῆς δίκης θάνατον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ “πάντες ἡμαρτον,”²⁰ ἢ τοιοῦτον δοθῆναι πρὸς ἀντίδοσιν ὃ πᾶν ὑπῆρχεν δικαίωμα πρὸς παραίτησιν. ἀνθρώπος μὲν οὖν σῶσαι οὐκ ἠδύνατο· ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ χρεεῖ. ἄγγελος ἐξαγοράσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσε· ἠπόρει γὰρ τοιοῦτου λύτρου. ἀναμάρτητος ὑπέρ τῶν ἡμαρτηκῶτων ἀποθανεῖν ὤφειλεν· αὕτη γὰρ ἐλείπετο μόνη τοῦ κακοῦ ἢ λύσις.

VI. Τί οὖν; αὐτὸς ὁ πᾶσαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγών, ὃ μηδὲν πρὸς παροχὴν ἄπορον, ἐξεῦρε τοῖς κατακρίτοις ζωὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ λύσιν εὐπρεπεστάτην, καὶ γίνεται ἀνθρώπος ὡς οἶδεν αὐτός (λόγος γὰρ ἐρμηνεύσαι τὸ θαῦμα οὐ δύναται), καὶ ἀποθνήσκει ὃ ἐγένετο, καὶ λυτροῦται ὃ ὑπῆρχεν κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν λέγοντα· “ἐν ὃ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν παραπτωμάτων.”²¹

¹⁷Mt. 4.11; cf. Heb. 1.14 ¹⁸Heb. 7.3 ¹⁹Lk. 1.26 ²⁰Rom. 3.23 ²¹Eph. 1.7

58 post φύσιν add. ὡς θεός R 60 οὐκ ἀνθρώπον codd. τὸν γὰρ χριστὸν οὐκ SW 66 μαριάμ VM μαρίαν PSDAW 73 χάριτη SDA γραφή VMPW 74 ὁ κακὸς πλαστογράφος codd. τῶν παθῶν πλαστογράφος DAR 84 post ἀνθρώπος add. ἐκ παρθένου VMPDASW

a disgrace for God to have entered a womb, it would also be a disgrace for angels to serve a man.¹⁷

IV. So he who is by nature impassible became in mercy most possible. Christ did not by progress become God—heaven forbid!—but in mercy he became man, as we believe. We do not preach a divinized man, but instead we confess an incarnate God. His own handmaid he acknowledged as mother, he who in essence is without mother and in the incarnation is without father. How otherwise could Paul speak of one and the same (Christ) as both “without mother” and “without father”?¹⁸ Were he merely man, he would not be without mother; and yet he has a mother. Were he solely God, he would not be without father, and yet he has a Father. But now the same one is both without mother, as Creator, and without father, as creature.

V. You should also pay attention to the name of the archangel. He who brought the glad tidings to Mary was called Gabriel.¹⁹ What is the meaning of “Gabriel”? God and man. Now he of whom Gabriel was bringing these tidings was God and man, and thus his name was an anticipation of the miracle, given to assure us of the incarnation. Listen to the reason for his coming and glorify the power of the one who became flesh. The human race was deep in debt and incapable of paying what it owed. By the hand of Adam we all signed a bond to sin. The devil held us all in slavery. He kept producing our bills, using our suffering body as his paper. There he stood, the wicked forger, threatening us with our debts and demanding satisfaction. One of two things had to happen: either the penalty of death had to be imposed on all, because “all had sinned,”²⁰ or else a substitute had to be provided who was fully entitled to plead on our behalf. No man could save us; the debt would have been his liability too. No angel could buy us out, for such a ransom was beyond his powers. One who was sinless had to die for those who had sinned; that was the only way left by which to break the bonds of evil.

VI. What happened then? The very one who brought every creature into existence and whose bounty never fails, he it was who for the condemned won life most sure and for death secured a fitting dissolution. He became man (he alone knows how—to explain the miracle is beyond the power of speech). By what he became he died; by what he was, he redeemed—as Paul says, “in him we have redemption through

¹⁷Mt. 4.11; cf. Heb. 1.14 ¹⁸Heb. 7.3 ¹⁹Lk. 1.26 ²⁰Rom. 3.23

ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων· ἄλλοις ἐπραγματεύσατο τὸ ἀθάνατον, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὑπῆρ-
 χεν ἀθάνατος. τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἄλλος κατ' οἰκονομίαν οὔτε ἦν οὔτε γέγονεν
 90 οὔτε ἔστιν οὔτε ἔσται ἢ μόνος ὁ ἐκ παρθένου τεχθεὶς Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος,
 οὐκ ἀντιταλαντεύουσιν μόνον ἔχων τὴν ἀξίαν τῷ πλήθει τῶν ὑποδικῶν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσαις ψήφοις ὑπερέχουσιν, ἐν μὲν τῷ υἱὸς εἶναι τὸ ἀπαράλ-
 λακτον σφῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, ἐν δὲ τῷ δημιουργὸς τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως
 ἀπροσδεῆς ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῷ φιλοκτίρμων τὸ εἰς συμπάθειαν ἀνυπέροβλητον
 95 δημοσιεύων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀρχιερεὺς τὸ πρὸς παραίτησιν ἀξιόπιστον φέρων,²²
 ὧν οὐδὲν εὔροι τις ἂν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἴσον ἢ παραπλήσιον πώποτε. ὄρα γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν· ἐκὼν κατακρυθεὶς τὸν κατὰ τῶν σταυρωσάντων
 ἔλυσεν θάνατον καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὴν τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ἀνομίαν εἰς τὴν
 τῶν ἀνομησάντων σωτηρίαν.

100 **VII.** Ἀνθρώπου τοίνυν ψιλοῦ τὸ σῶσαι οὐκ ἦν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδεῖτο
 τοῦ σφῶντος κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν λέγοντα· “πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον.”²³ ἢ
 ἁμαρτία τῷ διαβόλῳ προσῆγεν, ὁ διάβολος τῷ θανάτῳ παρέπεμπε, ἐν
 μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς προῆγεν, ὑπῆρχεν ἐν ἀπόροις ἢ λύσις, οἱ
 πεμφθέντες ἰατροὶ κατηγοροῦν. τί οὖν; ὡς εἶδον οἱ προφήται κρεῖττον τέ-
 105 χνης ἀνθρωπείας τὸ τραῦμα, τὸν ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐπεβῶν ἰατρόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 ἔλεγεν “κλῖνον οὐρανοῦς σου καὶ κατὰβηθι.”²⁴ ἄλλος “ἴασαι με, Κύριε, καὶ
 ἰαθήσομαι.”²⁵ ἕτερος “ἐξέγειρον τὴν δυναστείαν σου καὶ ἐλθέ εἰς τὸ σῶσαι
 ἡμᾶς.”²⁶ ἄλλος “εἰ ὄντως κατοικήσει Θεὸς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων;”²⁷ ἄλλος “τα-
 χύ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοὶ σου, Κύριε, ὅτι ἐπρωχέυσαμεν
 110 σφόδρα.”²⁸ ἕτερος “οἴμοι ψυχῇ, ὅτι ἀπόλωλεν εὐλαβῆς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὁ
 κατορθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ὑπάρχει.”²⁹ ἄλλος “ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν
 μου πρόσχες, Κύριε, εἰς τὸ βοηθησαί μοι σπεῦσον.”³⁰ ἄλλος “ὅσον ὅσον
 ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἤξει καὶ οὐ χρονεῖ.”³¹ ἄλλος “ἐπλανήθην ὡς πρόβατον ἀπο-
 115 ἔφανως ἤξει, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται.”³² οὐ περιεῖδεν τοί-
 νυν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν φύσιν τυραννομένην ὁ φύσει βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν εἰς
 τέλος εἶναι τῷ διαβόλῳ ὑπεύθυνον ὁ φιλοκτίρμων Θεός, ἀλλ' ἦλθεν ὁ αἰεὶ
 παρῶν καὶ κατέβαλεν λύτρον τὸ οἰκεῖον αἷμα καὶ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους
 ἀνάλλαγμα τῷ θανάτῳ ὁ ἐκ παρθένου ἐφόρεσεν σῶμα, καὶ ἐξηγοράσατο

his blood, the remission of our trespasses.”²¹ What a transaction! It was 105
 for others that he procured immortality, since he himself was immortal.
 Another, able to do this work, there neither was nor has been nor is
 nor will be, beside him alone who was born of a virgin, God and
 man. His dignity was such as not only to outweigh the multitude of
 the condemned, but also to prevail against all sentences given against 110
 them. For he was the Son, maintaining his unchangeable likeness to the
 Father; the creator, possessed of unfailing power; the merciful, revealing
 his unsurpassable compassion; the high priest, who was worthy to plead
 on our behalf.²² None of these qualities could ever be found in another,
 whether in equal or in similar degree. Behold his love! Freely accepting 115
 condemnation, he destroyed the death that was due to those who
 crucified him; and the transgression of those who killed him he turned
 into the salvation of the transgressors.

VII. A mere man could not save; for he would have needed a savior 120
 himself, since, as Paul said, “all have sinned.”²³ By sin we were delivered
 to the devil, and by the devil handed over to death. Our affairs were
 in utmost peril; there was no means of rescue. This was the verdict
 of the physicians who were sent to us. What happened then? When
 the prophets saw that our wounds were beyond human resource, they
 cried for the heavenly physician. “Bow thy heavens and come down,”²⁴ 125
 says one. Another, “Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed.”²⁵ One
 says, “Stir up thy might, and come to save us!”²⁶ Another, “Will God
 indeed dwell with men?”²⁷ One says, “Let thy mercies speedily overtake
 us, for we are brought into great poverty.”²⁸ And another, “Alas my 130
 soul, for the godly man has perished from the earth, and there is none
 upright among men.”²⁹ Another says, “O God, come to my help; O
 Lord, make haste to help me.”³⁰ Another, “Yet a little while and the
 coming one shall come and not tarry.”³¹ Another, “I have gone astray
 like a sheep that is lost; seek thy servant whose hope is in thee.”³²
 And another, “God, even our God, shall come manifestly and shall 135
 not keep silence.”³³ So our natural King did not allow our nature to
 remain for ever under tyranny. The merciful God did not permit us
 to remain subject to the devil to the end. He came, who was always
 present. He paid the ransom of his own blood. He gave to death in

²²cf. Heb. 3.1 ²³Rom. 3.23 ²⁴Ps. 143.5 ²⁵Jer. 17.14 ²⁶Ps. 79.2 ²⁷3 Kg. 8.27
²⁸Ps. 78.8 ²⁹Mic. 7.1-2 ³⁰Ps. 69.1 ³¹Hab. 2.3; cf. Heb. 10.37 ³²Ps. 118.176
³³Ps. 49.3

103 post λύσις add. τοῦ θανάτου VA

²¹Eph. 1.7 ²²cf. Heb. 3.1 ²³Rom. 3.23 ²⁴Ps. 143.5 ²⁵Jer. 17.14 ²⁶Ps. 79.2
²⁷3 Kg. 8.27 ²⁸Ps. 78.8 ²⁹Mic. 7.1-2 ³⁰Ps. 69.1 ³¹Hab. 2.3; cf. Heb. 10.37
³²Ps. 118.176 ³³Ps. 49.3

120 τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νόμου κατάρας θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον καταργήσας
καὶ βοᾷ Παῦλος: “Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν ἐκ τῆς κατάρας τοῦ νόμου.”³⁴

VIII. Ὁ τοίνυν ἀγοράσας οὐ ψιλὸς ἄνθρωπος, ὃ Ἰουδαίῃ ἢ γὰρ
τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσις τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ δεδούλωτο. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ Θεὸς γυμνὸς
ἀνθρωπότητος· σῶμα γὰρ εἶχεν, ὃ Μανιχαίῃ· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐνεδύσατο ἐμέ,
125 οὐκ ἂν ἔσωσεν ἐμέ. ἀλλ’ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς παρθένου ὁ ἀποφηνάμενος τὸν
κατάδικον ἐνεδύσατο καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ φρικτὸν γέγονεν συνάλλαγμα. δοῦς γὰρ
πνεῦμα ἔλαβεν σάρκα· ὁ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῆς παρθένου καὶ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου· ὃ
μὲν ἐπεσκίασεν,³⁵ μετ’ αὐτῆς· ὃ δὲ ἐσαρκώθη, ἐξ αὐτῆς. εἰ ἄλλος ὁ Χριστὸς
καὶ ἄλλος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, οὐκέτι τριάς, ἀλλὰ τετράς. μὴ σχίσῃς τὸν τῆς
130 οἰκονομίας χιτῶνα τὸν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντόν·³⁶ μὴ μαθητεύσῃς Ἀρειῶ. ἀσεβῶς
ἐκείνος τὴν οὐσίαν τέμνει· σὺ τὴν ἔνωσιν μὴ μέριξέ, ἵνα μὴ μερισθῇς ἀπὸ
τοῦ Θεοῦ. τίς “ἐπέφανεν τοῖς ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου καθημένους;”³⁷
ἄνθρωπος; καὶ πῶς; ὅς γε ἐν “σκότει” διῆγεν κατὰ Παῦλον τὸν λέγοντα·
“ὅς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκοτόυς”³⁸ καὶ πάλιν “ἦτε γὰρ
135 ποτε σκοτός.”³⁹ τίς οὖν ἐπέφανεν; Δαυὶδ σε διδάσκει λέγων “εὐλογημένος
ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.”⁴⁰ εἰπέ φανερώς, ὃ Δαυὶδ, “ἀναβόησον
τῇ ἰσχύι καὶ μὴ φείσῃ· ὡς σάλπιγγα ὑψώσον τὴν φωνὴν σου,”⁴¹ εἰπέ τίς
οὗτος; Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων “Θεὸς Κύριος, καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν.”⁴²
“ὁ Λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο”⁴³ συνῆλθον αἱ φύσεις καὶ ἀσύγχυτος ἔμεινεν ἡ
140 ἔνωσις.

IX. Ἦλθεν σῶσαι, ἀλλ’ ἐχρῆν καὶ παθεῖν. πῶς ἦν δυνατὸν ἐκάτερα;
ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς σῶσαι οὐκ ἴσχυσεν· Θεὸς γυμνὸς παθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο.
τί οὖν; αὐτὸς ὢν Θεὸς [ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ] γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὃ μὲν ἦν,
ἔσωσεν, ὃ δὲ γέγονεν, ἔπαθεν. διὰ τοῦτο ὡς εἶδεν ἡ ἐκκλησία στεφανώ-
145 σασαν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἀκάνθαις τὴν συναγωγὴν, θρηνοῦσα τὴν τόλμαν ἔλεγεν·
“θυγατέρες Ἰερουσαλήμ, ἐξέλθατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν στέφανον, ὃ ἔστεφάνω-
σεν αὐτὸν ἢ μῆτηρ αὐτοῦ.”⁴⁴ αὐτὸς γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἀκανθῶν ἐφόρεσεν
στέφανον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἔλυσεν ἀπόφασιν.⁴⁵ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν κόλποις

³⁴Gal. 3.13 ³⁵cf. Lk. 1.35 ³⁶cf. Jn. 19.23 ³⁷Lk. 1.79 ³⁸Col. 1.13 ³⁹Eph. 5.8
⁴⁰Ps. 117.26 ⁴¹Is. 58.1 ⁴²Ps. 117.27 ⁴³Jn. 1.14 ⁴⁴Song 3.11 ⁴⁵cf. Gen. 3.18–19

131 ἔνωσιν DR συνάφειαν VMPSAW 143 ὁ ἔμμανουήλ codd. om. AR

exchange for mankind the body taken from the virgin that he bore. And 140
he redeemed the world from the curse of the law, by death destroying
death—as Paul cries, “Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law.”³⁴

VIII. So he who bought us was no mere man, you Jew! For the
nature of man was enslaved to sin. Nor was he solely God, without 145
humanity. For he had a body, you Manichee! Had he not clothed him-
self in me, he would not have saved me. Rather, when he appeared
in the Virgin’s womb he clothed himself in him who was condemned;
there it was that the awesome contract was concluded. He gave spirit 150
and took flesh. The same one was both with the Virgin and of the Vir-
gin; by his “overshadowing,”³⁵ he was with her; by becoming incarnate, 150
he was of her. If Christ is one (person) and God the Word another,
then there is no longer a Trinity, but a quaternity. Do not rend the
robe of the incarnation which was “woven from above.”³⁶ Do not be
the disciple of Arius, for he in his impiety divided the divine essence;
you must take care not to sunder the union, lest you be sundered from 155
God. Who was it that “shone on those who sat in darkness and in the
shadow of death”?³⁷ A man? But how? For men dwelt in “darkness,”
as Paul says: “He has delivered us from the power of darkness,”³⁸ and
again: “Once you were darkness.”³⁹ Then who was it who “shone”?
David teaches you when he says, “Blessed is he who comes in the name 160
of the Lord!”⁴⁰ Tell us plainly, David: “Cry with strength and spare not;
lift up thy voice like a trumpet,”⁴¹ and tell us who this is. The Lord the
God of hosts! “The Lord is God, and he has shined upon us!”⁴² For
“the Word became flesh,”⁴³ the natures came together and the union
remained unconfused. 165

IX. He came to save, but he also had to suffer. How were both
possible? Mere man had no power to save. One who was solely God
could not suffer. What happened then? He who was God became man.
By what he was, he saved; and by what he became, he suffered. When
therefore the church saw the synagogue crowning him with thorns, she 170
bewailed the outrage in these words: “Daughters of Jerusalem, go forth
and behold the crown with which his mother crowned him.”⁴⁴ For he
both wore the crown of thorns and undid the sentence of the thorns.⁴⁵

³⁴Gal. 3.13 ³⁵cf. Lk. 1.35 ³⁶cf. Jn. 19.23 ³⁷Lk. 1.79 ³⁸Col. 1.13 ³⁹Eph. 5.8
⁴⁰Ps. 117.26 ⁴¹Is. 58.1 ⁴²Ps. 117.27 ⁴³Jn. 1.14 ⁴⁴Song 3.11 ⁴⁵cf. Gen. 3.18–19

πατρὸς⁴⁶ καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ παρθένου, ἐν ἀγκάλαις μητρὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πτερύ-
 150 γων ἀνέμων,⁴⁷ ὑπ' ἀγγέλων προσεκυνεῖτο⁴⁸ καὶ τελώναις συνανέκειτο⁴⁹ τὰ
 σεραφεῖμ οὐ προσέβλεπεν⁵⁰ καὶ Πιλάτος ἠρώτα⁵¹ ὁ δοῦλος ἐράπιζεν⁵² καὶ
 ἢ κτίσις ἔφριπτεν. ἐπὶ σταυροῦ ἐπήγγυτο καὶ ὁ θρόνος οὐκ ἐγυμνοῦτο·
 ἐν τάφῳ κατεκλείετο καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐξέτεινεν ὡσεὶ δέρριν⁵³ ἐν νεκροῖς
 155 ἅγιος ἐδοξολογεῖτο. ὦ τοῦ μυστηρίου· βλέπω τὰ θαύματα καὶ ἀνακηρύττω
 τὴν θεότητα· ὄρω τὰ πάθη καὶ οὐκ ἄρνοῦμαι τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἀλλ'
 ὁ Ἐμμανουὴλ φύσεως μὲν πύλας ἀνέφωξεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, παρθεναίας δὲ
 κλειῖθρα οὐ διέρρηξεν ὡς Θεὸς, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐκ μήτρας ἐξῆλθεν, ὡς δι' ἀκο-
 ῆς εἰσήλθεν· οὕτως ἐτέχθη, ὡς συνελήφθη. ἀπαθῶς εἰσήλθεν, ἀφράστως
 160 ἐξῆλθεν κατὰ τὸν προφήτην Ἰεζεκιὴλ τὸν λέγοντα· “ἐπέστρεψέν με, φησί,
 Κύριος κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς πύλης τῶν ἁγίων τῆς ἐξωτέρας τῆς βλεπούσης
 κατὰ ἀνατολάς, καὶ αὕτη ἦν κεκλεισμένη. καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς με· υἱὲ
 ἀνθρώπου, ἡ πύλη αὕτη κεκλεισμένη ἔσται, οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται. οὐδεὶς οὐ
 μὴ διέλθῃ δι' αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' ἡ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, μόνος αὐτὸς εἰσελεύ-
 165 σεται καὶ ἐξελεύσεται, καὶ ἔσται ἡ πύλη κεκλεισμένη.”⁵⁵ ἰδοὺ ἀπόδειξις ἐν-
 αργῆς τῆς ἁγίας καὶ Θεοτόκου Μαρίας· λελύσθω λοιπὸν ἀντιλογία πᾶσα,
 καὶ τῆ τῶν γραφῶν φωτιζώμεθα διδασκαλία, ἵνα καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν
 τύχωμεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, αὐτῷ ἢ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
 τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

⁴⁶cf. Jn. 1.18 ⁴⁷Ps. 103.3 ⁴⁸Heb. 1.6 ⁴⁹Mt. 9.10; Mk. 2.15 ⁵⁰cf. Is. 6.2 ⁵¹Mk. 15.2,
 4 ⁵²Jn. 18.22 ⁵³Ps. 103.2 ⁵⁴Mt. 27.63 ⁵⁵Ezek. 44.1-2

152 post θρόνος add. τῆς δόξης VMPSDW 154 κάτω AR ὡδε VMPSDW 159
 ἀπαθῶς codd. ἀφθάρτως VPS 166 τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου παρθένου μαρίας S

For the same one was in the “Father’s bosom”⁴⁶ and in the Virgin’s
 womb, in his mother’s arms and on the “wings of the wind,”⁴⁷ adored 175
 by angels⁴⁸ and “dining with tax collectors.”⁴⁹ Seraphim would not look
 at him,⁵⁰ and “Pilate interrogated him.”⁵¹ A “servant struck him,”⁵² and
 creation trembled. While nailed on the cross, he did not depart from his
 throne; while shut in the tomb, he was “stretching out the heavens like
 a curtain”;⁵³ while numbered with the dead, he was plundering Hades. 180
 Below he was accused as a “deceiver,”⁵⁴ above he was glorified as the
 Holy One. What a mystery! Beholding his miracles, I extol his divinity;
 seeing the sufferings, I cannot deny his humanity. As man, Emmanuel
 opened the gates of human nature; as God, he left the bars of virginity 185
 unbroken. As he entered through the ear, so too did he come out from
 the womb; as he was conceived, so was he born. His entering in was
 altogether without passion, and his coming out was altogether beyond
 understanding—as the prophet Ezekiel said: “The Lord brought me
 back by the way of the outer gate of the sanctuary, which faces east;
 and it was shut. And the Lord said to me, ‘Son of man, this gate shall 190
 be shut; it shall not be opened. No one shall pass through it, but the
 Lord, the God of Israel, he alone shall enter and come out, and the
 gate shall be shut.’”⁵⁵ There you have a clear testimony to the Holy
 and ‘God-bearing’ Mary. Let all contradiction now cease, and let us be
 enlightened by the teaching of the Scriptures, so that we may attain to 195
 the kingdom of heaven in Christ Jesus our Lord. To him be glory for
 ever and ever. Amen.

⁴⁶cf. Jn. 1.18 ⁴⁷Ps. 103.3 ⁴⁸Heb. 1.6 ⁴⁹Mt. 9.10; Mk. 2.15 ⁵⁰cf. Is. 6.2 ⁵¹Mk. 15.2,
 4 ⁵²Jn. 18.22 ⁵³Ps. 103.2 ⁵⁴Mt. 27.63 ⁵⁵Ezek. 44.1-2