



DICCIONARIO
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Tent. = *in tentationem domini nostri Iesu Christi*.

Carter 1997.pdf

A GREEK HOMILY ON THE TEMPTATION (CPG 4906)
BY SEVERIAN OF GABALA: INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL
EDITION AND TRANSLATION

BY ROBERT E. CARTER

The Greek church of southern Italy and Sicily commemorated the temptation of Jesus on the first Sunday of Lent. Homiliaries for the liturgical year presented one or both of two homilies attributed to John Chrysostom, Ἡλιος μὲν (PG 61, 683–88) and Ἐξηγήθην ὁ κύριος (CPG 4906). The former is now known to be a composite homily drawn from three homilies of Nestorius edited by Nau.¹ The latter, as will be maintained later, is by Severian of Gabala.

The eastern Greek church around the middle of the ninth century instituted Orthodoxy Sunday on the first Sunday of Lent to celebrate the restoration of the icons in 843. Ehrhard, who believed that the western commemoration of the temptation of Christ reflected earlier eastern practice, noted that even before the ninth century parts of the eastern church may not have commemorated the temptation on this Sunday.² This helps explain why our homily is found only in Italo-Greek codices of the tenth to the seventeenth centuries and in no eastern manuscript. Another reason for this pattern of transmission may be that the temptation of Jesus was uncongenial to the trend in eastern christology to stress Christ's divinity over his humanity. Moreover, the homilist's repeated emphasis on the distinction between the *prosopon* of the humanity and the *prosopon* of the divine dignity may have sounded heretical after the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the ten codices from which our text is established are all from Magna Graecia.

¹J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (Paris, 1965), no. 183. The following abbreviations are used throughout: Aubineau = Michel Aubineau, *Un traité inédit de christologie de Sévérien de Gabala in centurionem et contra Manichaeos et Apollinaristas. Exploitation par Sévère d'Antioche (519) et le Synode du Latran (649)*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 5 (Geneva, 1983); CPG = M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum 2. Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostomum* (Turnhout, 1974); Ehrhard = A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, TU 50–52 (Leipzig, 1937–52); Giannelli = Cyrus Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1485–1683* (Vatican City, 1950); Lampe = G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961); Loofs = Friedrich Loofs, *Nestoriana. Die Fragmente gesammelt, untersucht und herausgegeben* (Halle, 1905); LSJ = Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968); Zellinger = Johannes Zellinger, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala, Münsterische Beiträge zur Theologie* 8 (Münster i. W., 1926).

²Ehrhard 2, 247 notes that Saloniki Vlatadon cod. 6 (7), s. IX exeunte, has for the first Sunday of Lent Basil of Seleucia (? = Nestorius) *On Moses* (PG 85, 128), and *In Matthaeum* 11:28 (PG 85, 325).

The Manuscript Tradition

Ehrhard found our homily in nine Italo-Greek liturgical manuscripts dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century and in no eastern panegyrika or liturgical collections. In addition, our work is found in one other manuscript from southern Italy, a tenth-century collection of works attributed to Chrysostom with no apparent liturgical orientation, Barocci 55 in the Bodleian Library.³

The text derived from our manuscripts is defective. Many passages are corrupt, often one suspects because of omissions. Many codices have their own proper omissions, usually owing to homoeoteleuton, and there are several omissions common to two or more manuscripts. It is characteristic of Italo-Greek texts to be abbreviated. At times this is certainly the result of scribal carelessness; at other times it may be deliberate. If a satisfactory text of our homily is ever to be found it will probably be in an eastern library.

O = Oxford, Barocci 55, saec. X, fols. 234v-240, non-liturgical in the sense that it does not belong to any of the categories of homiletic collections for the liturgical year that have been delineated by Ehrhard (Michel Aubineau, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci 1. Codices Britanniae et Hiberniae* [Paris, 1968], 170–72).

A brief survey of the genres of the liturgical manuscripts may be a helpful introduction to their description. Ehrhard distinguished four types of hagiographical and homiletic manuscripts:

1) Menologies (*Menologien*) contain only hagiographical writings, mostly on martyrs, for the immovable feasts (Ehrhard 1: vi and 326).

2) Homiliaries (*Homiliarien*) contain homilies for the movable feasts (Ehrhard 2: 1).

3) Panegyrika (*Panegyriken*) contain homilies for both the movable and the immovable feasts (Ehrhard 2: 2).

4) Year and half-year collections (*Jahres- and Halbjahressammlungen*) gather together hagiographical and homiletic texts for both the movable and the immovable feasts (Ehrhard 1: vii and 154).

H = Vaticanus graecus 1636, saec. X-XI, fols. 155–58, is the only representative known to Ehrhard of the *Jahrespanegyrikon* Type B (Ehrhard 2: 12 and 175–82). It was written by at least three different hands, the latest (fols. 211–42v) being that of the monk Leon in the year 1063/64. Our homily, on fols. 155–58, is dated tenth to eleventh century by Giannelli, 333.

Q = the hypothetical source of the other eight codices, which are Panegyrika Type A or their derivatives. These are:

K = Vaticanus graecus 2013, saec. X, fols. 28v–31v, Year Panegyrikon Type

³Michel Aubineau, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci 1* (Paris, 1968), no. 177.

A, an uncontaminated representative of the older system of pericopes for Lent (Ehrhard 2: 143–46). Our homily is on fols. 28v–31v.

V = Vaticanus graecus 1633, saec. X-XI, fols. 158–60v, Year Panegyrikon Type A, according to Ehrhard “das ausführlichste Exemplar des italogriechischen Jahrespanegyrikums” (Ehrhard 2: 134–43; Giannelli, 319–31).

E = Vaticanus graecus 1216, saec. X-XI, fols. 58–61, Year Panegyrikon Type A, according to Ehrhard closely related to K and V (Ehrhard 2: 149–52).

P = Vaticanus Pianus graecus 23, saec. X-XI, fols. 5–10v. Year Panegyrikon Type A, des. mut. 75 (Ehrhard 2: 152–54).

A = Ambrosianus A 60 sup. (Gr. 8), saec. XIII, fols. 26v–30. Shorter Year Panegyrikon derived from Type A (Ehrhard 2: 172–73; Robert E. Carter, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci 5. Codicum Italiae pars prior* [Paris, 1983] 67–68).

B = Vaticanus Barberinianus graecus 547, saec. XI-XII, fols. 86–88v, Year Panegyrikon Type A (Ehrhard 2: 157–58).

J = Vaticanus graecus 2048 (fols. 1–140v saec. XI), fols. 93v–95v, Year Collection (Ehrhard 1: 302–6).

S = Vaticanus graecus 1631, saec. XI, fols. 219v–22v, Winter Half-year Collection (Ehrhard 1: 323–25) which extends beyond the usual limit (and therefore may be a truncated Jahressammlung?).

O has over thirty proper readings that separate it from the nine liturgical codices. None of these proper readings is clearly superior and several are patently inferior: 13 κάτωθεν ἄνω, 16 om. προφέρων, 71 πτυκτεύω, 77 ναὸν: θάνατον cett., 84 καταπετάσαντι: καταπατήσαντι cett. O also consistently reads Μωσης instead of Μωυσης.

H has two proper omissions, both the result of homoeoteleuton: 54 Εἰ καὶ μοι, and 94 Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν . . . αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε. Several other proper readings are clearly inferior: 22 οὐκ ἐχόμεθα: οὐ δεχόμεθα cett., 27 τὸ ὑπὸ: τοῦτο cett., 95 χρεῖ: χρεῖα cett., 96 ταφήναι: τὸ φανῆναι cett. But two proper readings of H are clearly superior: 10 σημαίνει: om. cett., and 32 οὐχ: οὐκ cett. These however may both be corrections by H rather than the original reading. Thus H by itself is no more reliable than O by itself, but when HO agree against the others (or with some of the others) their reading must be given serious weight. Three passages in HO are omitted in all the other manuscripts: 27 οὐ βάλλω . . . τὸν θεὸν, 38 τῇ γνώμῃ . . . νομοθετοῦμεν, and 51 μετασχηματίζεσθαι . . . μετασχηματίζεται: uarr.cett. In these three passages HO are clearly transmitting an earlier stage of the manuscript tradition. Of the several variant readings common to HO against the rest at least two are clearly superior: 69 ἐν τέλει: ἐν τῷ τέλει K, ἐντελεῖται cett., and 95 βασιλέα: βασιλεία cett. Only one variant common to HO is notably inferior: 44 ἥδη τὸν: ἴδιον or ἥδιον cett. This can be best explained by itacism.

HO are independent from each other and from Q. Among the descendants of Q three codices, BJS, are closely related:

35 post εικόνη add. τῇ χρυσῇ **BJS**

35 δύναται **BJS** (a superior reading that is probably an emendation): δυνήσεται
rell.

38 οἶδα: οἶδαμεν **BJS**

47 ἐστὼς post τόπῃ transp. **BJS**

50 καὶ τηλικαύτην om. **BJS**

55 οὐκ om. **BJS**

69 τῶν ἀγώνων: τὸν ἀγῶνα **BJS**

87 ὁ Χριστὸς δε: ὁ ὁ Χριστὸς **BJS**

94 τὸν νόμον (2) om. **BJS**.

JS also share readings in common against **B** and the other codices:

2 ὅπερ . . . δαιμόνων om. **JS**

6 ἀγωνιζόμενον: ἀνταγωνιζόμενον **JS**

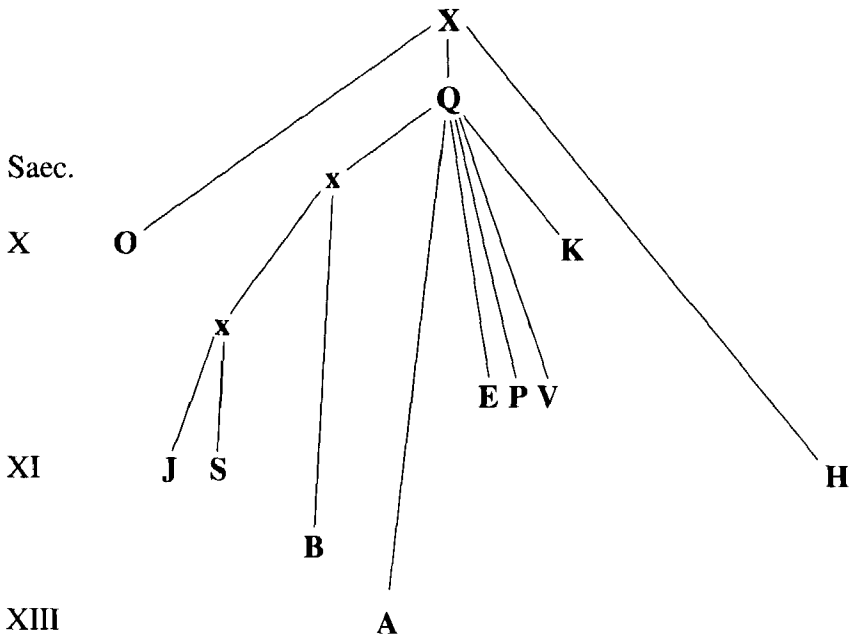
22 ὁμολογούντες: ὁμολογοῦμεν **JS**

46 εὐπορον: ἀπειρον **JS**

47 ἰδεῖν ὁ τὰ πάντα om. **JS**

49 πόλεις: βασιλείας **JS**.

These variants suggest that the Year Collection (**J**) and the Half-year Collection (**S**) are derived from a representative of the Panegyricon Type A, from which our codex **B** also comes. No clear pattern of relationships can be seen among the other descendants of **Q**. The stemma that emerges is this:



Theology

The basic thrust of this homily is that it was in and by his humanity (ἀνθρωπότης), not the dignity (ἀξία) of his divinity, that Christ went into the desert and defeated the devil. The author again and again distinguishes between the πρόσωπον of the Lord's humanity and that of his divine dignity. His reasons for this are soteriological and christological. Our homilist's soteriology is based on the belief that fallen humanity in Christ triumphed over the devil by resisting temptation, and therefore that same human nature is now empowered in us to triumph by resisting temptation. Obviously Christ's humanity is central to the christology underlying this soteriology.

Because Christ's humanity is indispensable to the οἰκονομία of our salvation the author opposes those who would attribute the human words and actions of Christ to his divine dignity:

Our Savior said to him, "It has been written: You shall not tempt the Lord your God." Many think that referring to himself he said to the devil: "Do not tempt *me*, the Lord your God," and they want to refer the saying to the dignity of the Only-begotten. But we do not accept this attribution to his dignity (20–22).

Who are the "many" who would refer the human words and actions of Jesus to the divine dignity? Arians are one possibility. By attributing the limited human qualities of Jesus to the dignity of the divine Logos they would lessen the divinity of the Logos, reducing it to the created order, whether unlike (ἀνόμοιος) or of similar being (ὁμοιοῦσιος) with the Father. But our homily is not concerned about the dignity of the Only-begotten with respect to the dignity of the Father, but rather about the reality of the two natures of Christ, and especially his humanity, as seen concretely in the πρόσωπον of the humanity and in that of the divinity. The opponents whom our author has in mind are more probably the Apollinarists who, believing in the one nature incarnate of the Logos (μία φύσις τοῦ Λόγου σεσαρκωμένη), would deny the full reality of Christ's human nature, thereby depriving human nature in us of the power to defeat Satan that was achieved by Christ in his and our common human nature.

Our homilist has rejected the older Word-Flesh christology of the Arians and Apollinarists, replacing it with the newer Word-Man christology of the later fourth century. Two advantages of this newer christology are: (1) it preserves the divine transcendence by not having the divine Logos enter into composition with the created order, and (2) it assures the full humanity of Christ. Its great difficulty, of course, is the problem it raises for our understanding of the unity of Christ, a problem seen and addressed by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and which became the center of the controversy between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius in the second and third decades of the fifth century. In the course of the fifth century the word πρόσωπον came to be understood in a more ontological sense as "person," losing its older meaning of "countenance," the "form in which a

physis or *hypostasis* appears.”⁴ In our homily *πρόσωπον* is used in the earlier sense. This suggests a date of composition between 375 and 410.

Authorship

Our homily, rightly rejected by Montfaucon (PG 64, 1349), is not by Chrysostom, whose style is quite different. Nor is its christology that of what may be called the central Antiochene tradition, namely that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorius and Theodoret. Sullivan summarized Theodoret’s position as follows:

The distinction of two natures in Christ, and their union in one *prosopon*, is the characteristic of Theodoret’s christology at every period of his career. We find this formula not only in his later theological works . . . but also in his earliest exegetical work, the *Commentary on the Psalms*. Moreover, the doctrine of the union in one *prosopon* is by no means a minor element in Theodore’s teaching; in the *Catechetical Homilies* it receives a markedly prominent place. There is no question but that Theodore realized that the lack of unity had been a grave weakness in the doctrine of his predecessors, and he was determined to remedy it.⁵

Nestorius, following Theodore, spoke of two φύσεις and ἓν πρόσωπον κατὰ μίαν ἀξίαν (Loofs, 196, 15–17); ἓν γὰρ ἦν ἀμφοτέρων τὸ πρόσωπον ἀξία καὶ τιμῆ (Loofs, 224, 11–15); τὰ τῶν φύσεων χωρίζοντες ἴδια, τὴν τῆς ἐνώσεως ἀξίαν συνάπτωμεν (Loofs, 242, 14–15); οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς συναφείας ἀξίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν (Loofs, 273, 12–13); ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ εἰς ἐστὶ διπλοῦς, οὐ τῇ ἀξίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει (Loofs, 281, 6–9); Τῶν φύσεων μενούσων ὁμολογεῖ τὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἐνότητα (Loofs, 354, 7–11). Clearly for Nestorius ἡ ἀξία is not the equivalent of the divinity as distinct from the humanity, but characterizes the πρόσωπον τῆς συναφείας. The πρόσωπον τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος and the πρόσωπον τῆς ἀξίας, or simply ἡ ἀξία as divinity distinct from ἡ ἀνθρωπότης, are alien to Nestorius’s expression and thought.

The same is true for the later Antiochene Theodoret. His *De providentia oratio 10* (PG 83, 739–73), a christological homily partly devoted to the temptations (752B4–753B1), often employs φύσις, but never uses πρόσωπον or ἀξία christologically. In his letters 104, 130, and 146 (PG 83) he makes it clear that for him there are not two πρόσωπα in Christ, but only the one πρόσωπον of the eternal Son of God.

But another homilist in the Antiochene tradition, Severian of Gabala, did use ἀξία to refer to the divinity. In his *In centurionem et contra Manichaeos et*

⁴ Aloys Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, vol. 1: *From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*, 2nd rev. ed., trans. J. S. Bowden (Atlanta, 1975). For the meaning of *prosopon* in the fourth century see esp. 365, 375 and 396; for *prosopon* = *hypostasis* see 481 and 544.

⁵ Francis A. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia*, *Analecta Gregoriana* 82, (Rome, 1956), 201.

Apollinaristas, edited by Aubineau, Severian uses ἀξία 17 times, of which 15 refer to divinity. Two occurrences in particular deserve our attention: ὅτε γὰρ βούλεται γνωρίζει τὴν ἀξίαν, ὅτε βούλεται πληροῖ τὴν οἰκονομίαν (9.2), and θεὸν διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἄνθρωπον διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν (33.3). In this work ἀξία is contrasted with οἰκονομία rather than with the abstract ἀνθρωπότης, which is used only once (33.4). In our homily, section 6, we read Ὁ δὲ σωτὴρ κρύβων τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ προφέρων τὴν οἰκονομίαν, contrasting the two terms that run through *In centurionem*. Aubineau cites four occurrences in other works of Severian where ἀνθρωπότης is contrasted with θεότης.⁶

In section 6 of our homily Christ's humanity is referred to as τὸν πεσόντα. In Aubineau's text we read, Μάθε ὅτι πάντα ἄνθρωπον τὸν πεσόντα Χριστὸς ἀνέλαβεν (32. 6–7), and in the homily *In dictum Apostoli: Non quod volo facio*, 5, ὄλην πεσοῦσαν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα ὄλην ἤγειρεν, ὄλον πεσόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὄλον ἀνεκαίνισεν (PG 59, 672, line 36). The use of ἀξία to designate the divinity in contrast to the humanity and the characterization of the humanity assumed by Christ as fallen certainly point to Severian of Gabala as the author of our homily. But perhaps one should hesitate to make this identification. As we have seen, the expressions τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος and τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀξίας or simply ἡ ἀξία are central to the christology of our homily, yet in Aubineau's *In centurionem* πρόσωπα (plural) occurs only once (28.8), and that in a non-christological context, while the singular does not occur at all. Yet, Severian's homily *In illud: Pater, transeat a me calix iste* has the expression ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος (ed. Zellinger, 16, lines 33–34), and in *In dictum illud: In qua potestate haec facis?* we find ἐκ προσώπου τῆς σαρκὸς ἐλέγετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ προσώπου τῆς θεότητος (PG 56, 425, lines 9–8 ab imo). Thus we see that Severian did use these expressions.⁷

The attribution of the words and actions of Christ to one or the other of his πρόσωπα has a long tradition in Christian writings going back to Justin Martyr, and had theatrical associations (παράγειν τὸ πρόσωπον = “bring on stage such-and-such a character”).⁸ This procedure was used in commentaries on the Psalms from the third to the fifth centuries.⁹ Kecskeméti has identified Amphilochius of Iconium and Severian of Gabala as the two preachers who introduced this

⁶ *In dictum Apostoli: Non quod volo facio*, 5 (PG 59, 672, line 16), *De incarnatione*, 4 and 5 (PG 59, 695, line 2 ab imo, and 697, lines 7 and 15), *De mundi creatione* hom. 4, 7 (PG 56, 465, line 34).

⁷ Judit Kecskeméti, “Sévérien de Gabala exégète et théologien antiochien méconnu,” *Euphrosyne* n. s. 24 (1996): 99–126. See esp. the section on christology, 111–16.

⁸ C. Andresen, “Zur Entstehung und Geschichte des trinitarischen Personbegriffes,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 52 (1961): 1–39.

⁹ M.-J. Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (IIIe–Ve siècles)*. 2. *Exégèse prosopologique et théologique*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 220 (Rome, 1985).

type of dramatic homily, distinguishing between the man who suffers and the impassible divinity, in their polemic against Arians and Apollinarists.¹⁰

Up to this point we have considered our homilist's theological expressions. Sever Voicu rejects such formulations, which for him reveal only the influence of the same ambience.¹¹ Voicu's basic principle is that *ogni autore tende a ripetersi*; the only parallelisms that can lead to the identification of an author are lexical, provided they are sufficiently numerous and could be substituted by traditional formulations. Voicu provides a list of expressions characteristic of Severian. Other lists have been made by Zellinger and Aubineau. Expressions in our text that are characteristic of Severian's style are: ἀδελφοί 73; ἀντὶ τοῦ 26; ἀκόλουθον 11; τὰ ἀκόλουθα 18; τὴν ἀκολουθίαν 15, 16; βλέπε 10, 14; βλέπετε 37; γέγραπται 63; δείκνυμι 3, 6, 23, 42; τὰ ἐξῆς 15; ἐρμηνεύεται 16; ἔχε ταῦτα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ 14; ἠλέγχθη 13; πρόσεχε ἀκριβῶς 3; προαναφώνεω 93; σημαίνω 10.

These seem sufficiently numerous to rule out coincidence. In the light of the christological and lexical evidence and the genre of dramatic homily one may reasonably conclude that this homily is by Severian of Gabala.

Integrity

Uthemann, in his *édition provisoire*, believes that the original ending of our homily has been lost and that the present ending is the conclusion of a homily on the Transfiguration.¹² This is possible, if a quaternion or two fell out of the archetype of all our codices at the end of section 86. Less convincing is his supposition that the text from the beginning of section 87 through the first two words of 89 is an attempt of a copyist to join the two texts. A more likely bridge passage would be section 86. In spite of experience in identifying the sources of over 120 composite homilies for the Appendices of *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*,¹³ I have not been able to locate any other homily with the ending of ours. In favor of the present ending as the original conclusion of the homily is that by comparing Christ's fasting for forty days in the wilderness with Moses' and Elijah's fasting, the homilist stresses the soteriological import (victory over

¹⁰Judit Kecskeméti, "Doctrine et drame dans la prédication grecque," *Euphrosyne* n. s. 21 (1993): 29–67, esp. 31–34.

¹¹Sever J. Voicu, "In illud, Quomodo ipsi subiciet omnia (CPG 4761), una homelia di Severiano di Gabala?" *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* n. s. 17–19 [27–29] (1980–82): 5–11.

¹²Karl-Heinz Uthemann et al., *Homiliae Pseudochrysostomicae*, 1 (Turnhout, 1994), 64. It is surprising and troubling that the eminent house of Brepols, publisher of CPG, which clearly stated that I was preparing an edition of 4906, has published Uthemann's text with no prior consultation.

¹³Robert E. Carter, *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* 2 (Paris, 1968), 85–87; 3 (1970), 127–38; 5 (1983), 233–50.

the devil) of Christ's fasting and temptation. Thus, with a kind of aesthetically satisfying *inclusio*, Severian brings us back to the beginning of the homily.

Of course, our homily, like its companion piece in the Italo-Greek liturgical tradition, "Ἡλιος μὲν, may be a composite work. This would perhaps account for some of the apparent lacunae. However, since I have not been able to find any sources from which our homily would have been derived, it is best at present to consider it an integral work whose manuscript tradition is less than ideal.

Addendum

Uthemann's provisional edition is based on our codices **B, E, H, J, S** and **V**. Unfortunately, Oxford Barocci 55 (our **O**), on which another of Uthemann's texts, *In Psalmum 71* (CPG 5074), was based, was not used for this text. Of the 48 differences I have noted between our texts 38 are very minor. The ten more important differences are noted in my comments.

[Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
τοῦ χρυσοστόμου]

Λόγος εἰς τὸν πειρασμόν

1 Ἐξήλθεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ σωτὴρ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὀπλιζόμενος κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου· αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστιν φωνὴ λέγοντος· «*Οὐδεὶς δύναται τὰ σκεύη τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ διαρπάσαι, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δῆσῃ, καὶ τότε τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.*» 2 Εἰσάγει τοίνυν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, καὶ τὸ πλάσμα ὅπερ ἐνεδύσατο εἰσάγει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ἐμπολιτεύων τῇ νίκῃ κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου [εἰς] τὸ σῶμα ὄπλον κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων. 3 Καὶ πρόσεχε ἀκριβῶς· ὅτε ἠγωνίζετο, οὐδαμοῦ ἔδειξεν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀξίας. 4 Εἰ δὲ θέλεις γνωρίσαι τῷ διαβόλῳ ὅτι οὐ πρὸς υἱὸν θεοῦ καὶ μονογενῆ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον < . . . > 5 καὶ ὁ πάσαις ἀκοαῖς λέγει ὁ διάβολος· «*Εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰπέ ἵνα οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται.*» 6 Ὁ δὲ σωτὴρ κρύβων τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ προφέρων τὴν οἰκονομίαν (πανταχοῦ γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ σκοπὸς οὗτος ἦν, δεῖξαι ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον καὶ τὸν πεσόντα τοῦτον στεφανούμενον) λέγει αὐτῷ· «*Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτων μόνων ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένην διὰ στόματος θεοῦ.*» 7 Ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος ἀγωνίζεται. 8 Εἰ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀξίας διελέγετο, ἔλεγεν ἄν· «*Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτων*

1 Mc 3:27; cf. Mt 12:29

5 Mt 4:3

6 Mt 4:4; Dt 8:3

Titulus: Ἰω . . . χρυσοστόμου] τοῦ αὐτοῦ **O** ante Ἰωάννου add. τοῦ ἀγίου **BSV** add. τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν **H** post πειρασμόν add. τοῦ Χριστοῦ **AEPS** add. τοῦ Κυρίου **K** add. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ **BJV**

1 φωνὴ λέγοντος] **OH** ἢ φωνὴ λέγοντος **AEP** ἢ φωνὴ λέγουσα **V** ἢ φωνὴ ἢ λέγουσα **BJKS**

2 ὅπερ . . . δαιμόνων] om. **JS**; εἰς] **ABEHKPV** εἰ **O**; post σῶμα] add. ὅπερ ἐπλασεν **O**

6 κρύβων] κρύπτων **BO**; οὗτος] **HO** τοῦτο **JKPS** τούτος **BV** τούτοις **AE**; πεσόντα] **AHPS** πεσότα tell.

[John, Archbishop of Constantinople, the Golden Mouth]

SERMON ON THE TEMPTATION

1 Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ went out into the desert armed against the devil, for his is the voice that says, **“No one can take away the goods of the strong one unless first with boldness he binds the strong one, and then he will take away his goods”** (Mk 3:27; cf. Mt 12:29). 2 Accordingly, he brings in his humanity, and the created form that he put on he brings into the desert, associating in his victory over the devil his body as a weapon against the demons. 3 And observe carefully that when he was contending he nowhere showed the *prosopon* of his [divine] dignity. 4 And if you wish to make known to the devil that he is involved not with the Son of God and the Only-begotten but with the human being < . . . > 5 and what the devil says for all to hear: **“If you are the Son of God, command these stones to become bread”** (Mt 4:3). 6 But our Savior, concealing his dignity and advancing the work of salvation (for everywhere his aim was this, to show himself as the contender and this fallen one victorious), says to him: **“Not by bread alone will a human being live, but by every word coming forth from the mouth of God”** (Mt 4:4; Dt 8:3). 7 Thus it is from the *prosopon* of his humanity that he struggles. 8 For if it were a question of his dignity he would have said: “not by bread alone will the Son of

1 φωνὴ λέγοντος in **HO** is a characteristic expression of Severian of Gabala (hereafter SG). It may be modeled after φωνὴ βοῶντος of Is 40:3 (LXX) quoted in Mt 3:3 and Lk 3:4.

τόλμη is found in all the codices (**HOQ**). It was probably the common reading of Mk 3:27 in southern Italy, since scribes tend to “adjust” biblical quotations to their text of the Bible.

2 τὸ σῶμα with ὄπλον in apposition are taken as the object of ἐμπολιτεύων, “associating,” a meaning not given to this verb in LSJ or Lampe.

3 πρόσεχε ἀκριβῶς is a very characteristic expression of SG, who regularly addresses his congregation in the singular.

ἔδειξεν τὸ πρόσωπον: the use of the verb δείκνυμι with πρόσωπον brings out the latter’s older meaning of “concrete manifestation,” “countenance,” the “form in which a *physis* or *hypostasis* appears,” rather than the later ontological “person.” Cf. δείξαι in 6 and 9, δείκνυται in 23, and ἔδειξεν in 42.

4 Εἰ δὲ θέλεις γνωρίσαι: is the homilist addressing his audience or Christ? Probably the former. Obviously there is a lacuna after ἀνθρώπων.

μόνῳ ζήσεται ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.» 9 Ἄλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον βουλόμενος δεῖξαι στεφανίτην καὶ τοῦτον τοίνυν ἀγωνιζόμενον καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν φέρων τὰ βραβεῖα τῆς νίκης, λέγει· «*Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτων μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι*», φησίν, «καὶ οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχω ἄρτου· ἰκανεῖ γὰρ καὶ λόγος θεοῦ θρέψαι.»

10 Βλέπε τὸν πονηρόν. Ὁ διάβολος ἀπὸ λογισμῶν, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ἀπὸ γραφῶν διαφορὰν ἐκκλησίας καὶ αἰρετικῶν σημαίνει· οἱ αἰρετικοὶ διαλεκτικοί, ἡ ἐκκλησία πιστή. 11 Τότε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἶπεν <ἄν> ὅτι οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ἄρτοι γένωνται ἀκόλουθον ἦν λογισμῷ· τῷ δὲ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρμόζει καὶ μεταβάλλει<ν>. 12 Ὁ δὲ σωτὴρ προκρίνας τῷ λογισμῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν γραφῶν μαρτυρίαν καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· «*Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτων μόνῳ ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ*».

13 Μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅτε ἠλέγχθη ὁ διάβολος, μετέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὰς γραφὰς καὶ λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ περύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ· «*Εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, βάλε σεαυτὸν ἄνωθεν κάτω*»· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο· «*Μὴ πληγῆς*», φησίν, «*τοῦτο γὰρ γέγραπται*.» 14 Βλέπε τὸν διάβολον πῶς τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ὄπλοις κέχρηται, καὶ ἔχε ταῦτα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ· «*γέγραπται ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε, μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου*.» 15 Εἰπέ, διάβολε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις τὴν ἀκολουθίαν; 16 Διὰ τί κρύπτεις ὥσπερ ὁ αἰρετικός, προφέρων τὰ συμφωνοῦντα αὐτῷ τῇ διανοίᾳ, κρύπτει δὲ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν δι' ἧς ἡ καθάρσεις αὐτοῦ ἐρμηνεύεται; 17 «*Γέγραπται ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀροῦσίν σε, μήποτε προσκόψῃς πρὸς λίθον τὸν πόδα σου*.» 18 Ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα· «*Ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβῆσθαι καὶ κα-*

9 Mt 4:4; Dt 8:3

12 Mt 4:4; Dt 8:3

13 Mt 4:6

14 Mt 4:6; Ps 90 (91):11–12

17 Mt 4:6; Ps 90 (91):11–12

18 Ps 90 (91):13

9 τοίνυν] **HO** νῦν **Q**; αὐτὸν] εαυτὸν **JO**; φέρων] φέροντα **AEHV**; ἰκανεῖ] **KV** ἰκανῆ **EHOP** ἰκανοῖ **A** εἰνίκα **B** ἀρκεῖ **JS**

10 σημαίνει] **H** om. rell.

11 ἄν] addidi: non invenitur in codd.; ὅτι . . . θεοῦ] om. **B**

13 post πρὸς] add. αὐτὸν **H**; ἄνωθεν κάτω] κάτωθεν ἄνω **O** ἄνωθεν om. **ABS**

14 post γέγραπται] add. γὰρ **ABJO**

16 προφέρων] om. **O** προσφέρων **ABEJKS**

17 post γέγραπται] add. γὰρ **BO**

18 ἀκόλουθα] ἐξῆς **O**

God live.” 9 But both wanting to show that it is the human being who is crowned and who therefore is the one contending, and also bringing to him the prizes of victory, he says: **“Not by bread alone will a human being live”** (Mt 4:4; Dt 8:3), and “I am a human being,” he says, “and I do not need bread, for God’s word is enough for nourishment.”

10 Look at the evil one. The devil relying on arguments and Christ relying on the scriptures show the difference between the Church and heretics. The heretics are dialecticians, the Church is faithful. 11 That the Son of God would have said: “Let these stones become bread,” was the conclusion of a syllogism, because it befits the Son of God to transform. 12 But our Savior, preferring the truth to syllogisms, goes to the testimony of the scriptures and says to him: **“Not by bread alone will a human being live, but by every word coming forth from the mouth of God”** (Mt 4:4; Dt 8:3).

13 After this, when the devil had been refuted, he himself also turns to the scriptures and says to Jesus as he takes him up to the pinnacle of the temple: **“If you are the Son of God throw yourself down.”** And after this: **“You will not be hurt,”** he says, **“for so it has been written”** (Mt 4:6). 14 Look at the devil, how he has made use of alien weapons, and keep this in mind: **for it has been written: “He will give his angels charge over you and they will lift you up in their hands lest you strike your foot against a stone”** (Mt 4:6; Ps 90 [91]:11–12). 15 Say, devil, also what follows. Don’t you know the conclusion? 16 Why do you hide it like the heretic, who preferring what agrees with his thought, hides the conclusion through which his refutation is made known? 17 **It has been written: “He will give his angels charge over you and they will lift you up in their hands lest you strike your foot against a stone”** (Mt 4:6; Ps 90 [91]:11–12). 18 Read now what follows: **“You will step on the asp and the basilisk and you will trample under foot the lion and the dragon”** (Ps 90 [91]:13). 19 But since the prophecy is against the devil he does not cite what is against him but only what he thinks is in his favor.

9 ἱκανεῖ: a rare form. Lampe cites only one occurrence of the verb ἱκανέω, in Theodorus Studita (ob. 826). Uthemann (30) reads ἀρκεῖ.

10 Βλέπε is another characteristic of SG: cf. 14 and 37 (βλέπετε); σημαίνει is also characteristic of SG.

11 My emendation is εἶπεν<ἄν>, Uthemann’s (35) is <οὐκ> εἶπεν.

14 ἔχε ταῦτα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ is another characteristic expression of SG.

15–18 The homilist addresses the devil directly, as also in 55 and 82. This adds to the dramatic quality of the homily. Cf. J. Kecskeméti’s article cited in the Introduction, n. 11.

τὰ ἐξῆς is characteristic of SG, as is ἡ ἀκολουθία and in 18 τὰ ἀκόλουθα.

ταπατήσεις λέοντα και δράκοντα.» 19 Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ προφητεία κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, οὐ προφέρει τὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ νομισθέντα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

20 Ὁ σωτὴρ πρὸς αὐτόν· «Γέγραπται· οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου.» 21 Πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν ὅτι <ε>αὐτῷ τῷ διαβόλῳ ἔλεγεν· «Μὴ πειράσης με κύριον τὸν θεόν σου»· καὶ βούλονται ἐπαγαγεῖν τῇ ἀξίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς τὸ ῥῆμα. 22 Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δεχόμεθα αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀρνούμενοι ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν ὁμολογοῦντες. 23 Οὐκ ἐκ τούτου δείκνυται ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ μονογενής· εἰσὶν γὰρ μαρτυρίαι ἄπειροι τὴν ἀξίαν κηρύττουσαι, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος φθέγγεται. 24 Ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν· «Βάλε σεαυτὸν ἄνωθεν κάτω», ἴδωμεν εἰ οὐκ ἀδικῆσαι <. . .> 25 «Γέγραπται ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σοῦ.» 26 Ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος λέγει· «Οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου» ἀντὶ τοῦ «Γέγραπται ἐμοὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ μὴ πειράζεις τὸν θεόν. 27 Οὐ βάλλω ἐμαυτὸν ἵνα μὴ πειράσω τὸν θεόν· οὐ πειράζω, οὐ δοκιμάζω εἰ δύναται βοηθεῖν ἡ μὴ· τοῦτο εὐσεβείας ἀλλότριον.» 28 Ταῦτα λέγει οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀξίας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ὄψεως· «ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπος εἰμι καὶ δίκαιός εἰμι καὶ θεὸν οὐ πειράζω.»

29 Οὐδέποτε γὰρ οἱ δίκαιοι πειράζουσι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐπερχομένην ἀνάγκην φέρουσιν· καὶ κὰν θέλῃ ὁ θεὸς πειράσαι, δέχονται. 30 Μὴ γὰρ οἱ

20 Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16

24 Mt 4:6

25 Mt 4:6; Ps 90 (91):11

26 Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16

21 <ε>αὐτῷ] coniecti αὐτῷ **HOQ**; με] om. **BHJSV**; ἐπαγαγεῖν] **HV** ἐπαναγαγεῖν **ABEJKPS** εἰσαγαγεῖν **O**

24 ἀδικῆσαι] ἀδικῆσε **EPV** ἀδικεῖσαι **AK**

27 οὐ βάλλω . . . θεόν **H** (βάλλω **H**) **O** om. **Q**; ἡ μὴ] ἡμῖν **HJO** εἰ μὴν **B**

29 οὐδέποτε] οὐδέπω **H**

20 Our Savior said to him: **“It has been written: You shall not tempt the Lord your God”** (Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16). 21 Many think that referring to himself he said to the devil: “Do not tempt *me*, the Lord your God,” and they want to refer the saying to the dignity of the Only-begotten. 22 But we do not accept this attribution to his dignity, not because we deny his dignity but because we confess his power. 23 Not from this is it shown that the Only-begotten is the Lord God, for there are countless testimonies announcing his dignity, but now he is speaking from the *prosopon* of his humanity. 24 When he said: **“Throw yourself down from above”** (Mt 4:6) let us see whether he was trying to do harm< . . . > 25 **It has been written: “He will give his angels charge over you”** (Mt 4:6; Ps 90 [91]:11). 26 From the *prosopon* of the humanity he says: **“You will not tempt the Lord your God”** (Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16) instead of: “It has been written for me the human being not to tempt God.” 27 “I do not throw myself in order not to tempt God. I do not tempt. I do not test to see whether he is able to help or not. That would be alien to piety.” 28 He says this not from his dignity but from his human appearance: “But I too am a human being and I am righteous and I do not tempt God.”

29 Never do the righteous tempt God, but they bear whatever necessity comes upon them, and if God wishes to try them they accept it. 30 For did those who

21 Five codices, including **H**, omit $\mu\epsilon$, and five, including **O**, read $\mu\epsilon$, which latter reading clarifies the homilist’s point. The five scribes who omitted $\mu\epsilon$ were evidently “adjusting” the homilist’s text to fit their biblical text. Uthemann (65) omits $\mu\epsilon$.

The reading $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ has been preferred here because of manuscript authority, but the reading $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\alpha\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ is characteristic of SG.

22 What is the homilist’s understanding of $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$? Here it is contrasted with $\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\iota}\alpha$, as is $\omicron\iota\kappa\nu\nu\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in 6. Are we to understand that the power ($\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$) to carry out the plan of salvation ($\omicron\iota\kappa\nu\nu\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$) belongs to Christ’s humanity rather than to the $\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\iota}\alpha$ of his divinity? This would be in sharp contrast to Nestorius (Loofs 196.15–17), for whom “The two natures have *one* Lordship ($\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and *one* power ($\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$) or might ($\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and *one* *prosopon* in the *one* dignity ($\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and in the same honor ($\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}$).” Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (n. 4 above), 462. The difference here between our homilist and Nestorius points to the advantage of the latter’s $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu$ τῆς συναφείας and to our homilist’s less developed christology.

24 After $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ there is another lacuna.

26 $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$ τοῦ is also characteristic of SG.

28 $\delta\omicron\psi\iota\varsigma$ = $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu$, illustrating again the latter’s sense of “concrete manifestation.”

ρυσθέντες ἀπὸ πυρὸς καμίνου ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς πειρατηρίου πειράζοντες τὸν θεὸν ἑαυτοὺς ἐνέβαλον; 31 Μὴ εἶπεν Δανιήλ· «Ἐμβαλέ με εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων» ἢ οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες εἶπαν· «Ἐμβαλε ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς· ῥύεται γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός»; 32 Εἰ γὰρ τοὺς προσέχοντας ἑαυτῷ παρέδωκεν, ἢ ἀμεριμνία αὐτοὺς ὥπλισεν, οὐχ ἡ εὐσέβεια παρεσκεύασεν.

33 Ἀπεκρίνατο Ναβουχοδοноσορ τοῖς τρισὶ μάρτυσι λέγων· «*Ἦν ἂν ὥραν ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος, σύριγγός τε καὶ κιθάρας, σαμβύκης τε καὶ ψαλτηρίου καὶ συμφωνίας καὶ παντὸς γένους μουσικοῦ, πίπτοντες προσκυνεῖτε τῇ εἰκόνι.*» 34 Ὅτε ταῦτα εἶπεν, ἐπήγαγεν· «*καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ θεὸς ὃς ἐξελεῖται ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου;*» 35 Λέγουσιν οἱ μάρτυρες· «*Γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς σου οὐ λατρεύομεν καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι ἢ ἑστησας οὐ προσκυνούμεν· ἐστὶν γὰρ θεὸς ὃς δύναται ἡμᾶς ἐξελέσθαι.*» 36 Καὶ οὐκ εἶπαν· «ὃς ἐξελεῖται», ἀλλ' «ὃς δύναται». 37 Βλέπετε εὐσεβῆ γνώμην. «Δύναται μὲν ἐξελέσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ θέλῃ, οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀρνούμεθα. 38 Τῷ δυνατῷ γὰρ μαρτυροῦμεν τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐ πειράζομεν δέ· μαρτυροῦμεν τῇ δυνάμει, οὐ νομοθετοῦμεν τῇ δυνάμει.» Οἶδα ὅτι δύναται· οὐ βιάζω δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ. 39 «*Ἔστιν θεὸς ὃς δύναται ἡμᾶς ἐξελέσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ, γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς σου οὐ λατρεύομεν καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ ἢ ἑστησας οὐ προσκυνούμεν.*» 40 Οὕτως οὐκ ἐπείρασαν οἱ δίκαιοι τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐπενεχθεῖσαν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐδέχοντο καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀπήλαιον.

41 Λέγει οὖν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος· «*Οὐ πειράσεις*

33 Dn 3:5

34 Dn 3:15

35 Dn 3:18,17

39 Dn 3:17–18

41 Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16

31 ἔμβαλε] **HO** ἔμβάλετε **Q**; γὰρ] om. **AJO**

32 παρέδωκεν] **AEO** παραδέδωκεν rell.

33 ἦν ἂν] **H** ἢ ἂν **BEJKPS** οἴαν **AOV**; ὥραν] ὥρα **S**; μουσικοῦ] μουσικῶν **AV**

34 ὅ] om. **ABHJV**

35 post εἰκόνι add. τῇ χρυσῇ **BJS**; δύναται] **BSJ** δυνήσεται rell.

36 ἀλλ'] **JO** om. rell.; ὃς?] **EHJOP** ὡς rell.

37 post μὲν] add. φησὶν **ABEJKPS**; post ἐξελέσθαι] add. φησὶν **H**; τοῦτο] τοῦτου **BJKS**

38 γὰρ] om. **Q**; τῇ γνώμῃ (τὴν γνώμην **H**) . . . νομοθετοῦμεν (νομοθετῶ δὲ **H**)] **HO** om. **Q**; Οἶδα] Οἶδαμεν **BJS**; post δύναται] add. οὐ νομοθετῶ τῇ δυνάμει **B**; βιάζω δὲ] **HO** βιάζομεν **JS** βιάζομαι rell.; γνώμῃ?] δυνάμει **O**

39 post Ἔστιν] add. ὁ **EOPV** δὲ **JS** ὡς **A**; ἔστω σοι] transp. **BEHKPS**

were saved from the fiery furnace or from any other trial throw themselves into it as a way of tempting God? 31 Did Daniel say, “Cast me into the lions’ den,” or did the three young men say, “Cast us into the fiery furnace, for God will deliver us”? 32 Now if he gave up those who turned to him it was because they had armed themselves with overconfidence, and had not prepared themselves with piety.

33 Nebuchadnezzar answered the three martyrs by saying: **“During whatever hour you hear the sound of the trumpet and the pipe and the lyre, the sambuca and the psaltery and the playing together of every kind of instrument, you must fall down and worship the image”** (Dn 3:5). 31 And when he had said this he added: **“And who is the god who will save you from my hands?”** (Dn 3:15). 35 The martyrs say: **“Be it known to you, king, that we do not adore your gods, and the image that you set up we do not worship, for there is a God who is able to deliver us”** (Dn 3:18,17). 36 And they did not say, “who will deliver us,” but “who is able to.” 37 Consider their reverent attitude: “He is able to deliver us, but if he does not wish to, not for that reason do we deny our devotion to him. 38 For we deliberately give witness to him who is able, but we do not tempt him. We give witness to his power, we do not dictate to his power. I know that he can but I don’t try to force him with my will. 39 **There is a God who can deliver us, and if he doesn’t, be it known to you, king, that we still won’t adore your gods and won’t worship the golden image you set up”** (Dn 3:17–18). 40 Thus the righteous did not tempt God but accepted the misfortune that befell them and then, unexpectedly, they enjoyed his benefaction.

41 So our Savior says from the *prosopon* of his humanity: **“You will not**

38 Uthemann (108) omits οὐ νομοθετοῦμεν τῇ δυνάμει.

κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου.» 42 Ἐπαγαγὼν ἔδειξεν ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὸν δαίμονα ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν οἰκονομίαν τὸ ὄνομα· «Γέγραπται· οὐκ ἐκπειράσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου· οὐ πειράζω τὸν θεόν.» 43 Ἐλαβεν οὖν δευτερον βέλος μετὰ τοῦ πρώτου καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. 44 Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἀπῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ ἀναισχυντίᾳ· ἴδιον γὰρ τῆς κακίας ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν μανίαν.

45 Παραλαμβάνει τὸν κύριον πάλιν εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν λίαν καὶ δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου. 46 Πῶς ἔδειξεν; Θεῷ μὲν γὰρ πάντα δυνατά, τῷ δὲ διαβόλῳ πῶς εὐπορον ἐφάνη δείξαι; 47 Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν· εἶδεν Ἰησοῦς. Ἠδύνατο γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ καὶ μιᾷ γωνίᾳ ἐστῶς τὰ πάντα ἰδεῖν ὁ τὰ πάντα περιλαμβάνων. 48 Ἀλλὰ ζητῶ πῶς ὁ διάβολος ἔδειξεν τὰς βασιλείας. 49 Καὶ ἐὰν γὰρ τις εἰς ὑψηλὸν τόπον ἀνέλθοι καὶ ἴδοι πάσας τὰς πόλεις, ὁρᾷ τὰ κτήματα ἐν μέσῳ στρεφόμενα. 50 Πῶς οὖν τοσαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ποικιλίαν ἔδειξεν ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου ὁ διάβολος; 51 Εὐκοπον γὰρ τῷ διαβόλῳ εἰς κακίαν μετασχηματίζεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ μετασχηματίζεται εἰς ἄγγελον φωτός, πολλῶ μᾶλλον καὶ εἰς τὴν ὀρωμένην φαντασίαν.

52 Εἶτα φησὶν· «Ταῦτα πάντα σοι δώσω ἐὰν πεσὼν προσκυνήσῃς μοι.» Οὕτω, ὅτι πρὸς ἀνθρωπότητα ἐλάλει. 53 Προβάλλει οὖν καὶ τὴν τρίτην πείραν καὶ λέγει· «Ταῦτα πάντα σοι δώσω, ἐὰν πεσὼν προσκυνήσῃς μοι.» 54 Εἰ καὶ πικρὰ τὰ τοῦ διαβόλου ῥήματα, ἀλλ' ἀσφαλῆ, οὐκ αὐτῷ τῷ λέγοντι ἀλλ' ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν· ἐὰν πεσὼν προσκυνήσῃς μοι. 55 Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν σοι προσκυνή-

42 Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16

45 Mt 4:8; Lc 4:5

51 2 Cor 11:14

52 Mt 4:9

53 Mt 4:9

54 Mt 4:9

55 Mt 4:9

42 πειράζω] πειράζων **H**

44 μᾶλλον . . . ἀπῆλθεν] om. **S**; δὲ] om. **H**; ἴδιον] **ABEJV** ἥδιον **KPS** ἥδη τὸν **HO**; ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι] **ABEHKP** ἐναγ- **OV** ἀγ- **JS**

47 γωνίᾳ] **HO** γνώμη **Q**; ἰδεῖν ὁ τὰ πάντα] om. **JS**

49 ἀνέλθοι] **HO** ἀνέλθη **Q**; πόλεις] βασιλείας **JS**; κτήματα] κτίσματα **EJKS**; στρεφόμενα] τρεφόμενα **ABEHV**

50 καὶ τηλικαύτην] om. **BJS**

51 μετασχηματίζεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ] om. **ABV** εἰ γὰρ μετασχηματίζεται] om. **EJKS**; γὰρ μετασχηματίζεται εἰς] om **P**

52 μοι] με **EHKPV** Οὕτω . . . μοι (53)] om. **S**; ὅτι] om. **JO**; post πρὸς] add. τὴν **AV**

53 μοι] με **EHPV**

54 Εἰ . . . μοι] om. **H**

55 οὐκ] om. **BJS**; μοι] με **EHKPV**

tempt the Lord your God" (Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16). 42 Continuing, he showed that the saying was not directed to the demon, but for our salvation the word has been written: "**You shall not tempt the Lord your God** (Mt 4:7; Dt 6:16), I do not tempt God." 43 So he received his second shot along with the first and went away. 44 Rather, he did not go away but remained in his impudence, for it is characteristic of evil to add its own madness to the struggle.

45 He takes the Lord in turn **to a very high mountain and shows him all the kingdoms of the world and their glory** (Mt 4:8) **in a moment of time** (Lk 4:5). 46 How did he show them? For to God all things are possible, but for the devil how did it appear easy to show them? 47 For it did not say: "Jesus saw." For he who embraces all things was able to stand in one place, in one corner, and see all things. 48 But I am asking how the devil showed the kingdoms. 49 For if someone were to go up to a high place and see all the cities, he sees the things that are going on in their midst. 50 How then did the devil show such great variety of detail in a moment of time? 51 Now it is easy for the devil to transform himself into evil, for if he transforms himself into an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14), how much more into a visible fantasy.

52 Then he said: "**All this I will give to you if you fall down and worship me**" (Mt 4:9). Thus, because he was talking to the humanity. 53 So he proposes the third temptation and says: "**All this I will give you if you fall down and worship me**" (Mt 4:9). 54 And if the devil's words are harsh, yet they provide safety, not for him who says them but for us who hear "**if you fall down and worship me**" (Mt 4:9). 55 So then it is not possible to worship you without

45 ἐν στιγμή ἡ χρόνου is taken from Lk 4.5 and incorporated into Mt 4:8.

49 Uthemann (134–35) reads κτήνη . . . τρεφόμενα for κτήματα στρεφόμενα.

σαι, μὴ πρότερον πεσόντα; Ταῦτα πάντα σοι δώσω, εἰν πεσὼν προσκυνήσης μοι. Ἐπαγγέλεται πῶσιν, εἶτα δόσιν.

56 Ὁ δὲ σωτήρ τὸ μέτρον αὐτοῦ τῆς μανίας διαλύων φησὶν πρὸς αὐτόν· «Υπαγε, σατανᾶ.» 57 Καὶ φωνὴ θεοῦ ἀπόφασις, τὸ «Υπαγε, σατανᾶ. Γέγραπται γὰρ· κύριον τὸν θεὸν σου προσκυνήσεις καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.» 58 Καὶ ἀπήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβολος. 59 Φωνὴ αὐτὸν διώκει. 60 Ὡσπερ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἰουδαίους καὶ θεομάχους τότε διὰ φωνῆς ὀπίσω βέβληκεν (λεγόντων γὰρ αὐτῶν· «Ποῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς;» λέγει αὐτοῖς· «Ἐγὼ εἰμι,» καὶ ἡ φωνὴ πάντας εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω κατέβαλεν)· 61 οὕτω καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ «Υπαγε, σατανᾶ.» 62 Καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτὸν ἐξώθησεν καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἀπέρριπεν.

63 Καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ διάβολος ἄχρι καιροῦ. Τοῦτο δὲ γέγραπται εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἡμῶν. 64 Ἐπειδὴ πανταχοῦ διὰ τῆς εἰκόνοσ ἧς ἀνέλαβεν χαρακτηριστῆρα ἡμῖν πολιτείας καταλιμπάνων διδάσκει σε, ἐπειδὴν παλαίσης τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ νικήσης μὴ εἰς ἀμεριμνίαν ἐλθεῖν ἀλλ' εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀνακύπτει πάλιν μετὰ τὴν νίκην. 65 Πολλῆς οὖν πολλακίς εἰκότως προσβαλλούσης ἡμῖν ὀρέξεωσ ἢ ἐπιθυμίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸσ τῶν παθημάτων καὶ συμπλακέντοσ ἡμῖν ὡσ πάλῃ, ὁ νοὺσ ἐρρωμένον φέρων τὸν λογισμὸν κατηγωνίσαστο πάθη. 66 Καὶ αὐτὸσ ὁ νικήσασ νῦν ἐτέρῳ προσβολῇ ἠττάται. 67 Διὸ χρῆ ἡμᾶσ εἰς ἀμεριμνίαν μὴ ἔρχεσθαι ἀλλ' εἰδέναι ὅτι ἄχρι καιροῦ ἡ νίκη καὶ ἄχρι καιροῦ ἡ ἀμεριμνία. 68 Ἡ δὲ τῶν παθῶν νίκη πρόσκαιροσ· ἕωσ ἐσμεν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ νικῶμεν καὶ παλαιῶμεν.

69 Ἡ δὲ τελεία νίκη ἐν τέλει τῶν ἀγώνων. 70 Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Παῦλοσ νικῶν οὐκ ἀμεριμνοσ ἦν ἀλλ' ἠγωνία τὸ μέλλον καὶ ἔλεγεν· 71 «Οὕτωσ τρέχω οὐχ ὡσ ἀθῆλωσ, οὕτωσ πυκτεῦω οὐχ ὡσ ἀέρα δέρων, ἀλλ' ὑποπιᾶζω μου τὸ σῶμα

56 Mt 4:10

57 Mt 4:10

60 Cf. Jn 18:4–6

63 Lc 4:13

67 Cf. Lc 4:13

71 1 Cor 9:26–27

57 καὶ . . . σατανᾶ] om. EJS

61 ἐξώθησεν] HO ἐξωθήσατο Q

64 ἀνακύπτει] HO ἀνακάμπτει Q

65 προσβαλλούσης] προβαλλ- BEO; συμπλακέντοσ] K -κέντων E -κέντες rell.; πάθη] τὰ πάθη JS τῷ πάθει O παθεῖν B

68 παλαιῶμεν] -ομεν AK -οῦμεν V

69 ἐν τέλει] HO ἐν τῷ τέλει K ἐντελεῖται rell.

70 ἠγωνία τὸ μέλλον] HKOP ἠγωνιάτο μάλλον rell.

71 οὐχ ὡσ!] ὡσ οὐκ BEJS οὐχ ὡσ?] ὡσ οὐκ BJOS

first falling down? **“All this I will give you if you fall down and worship me”** (Mt 4:9). He commands a fall, then promises a gift.

56 But our Savior, putting an end to his ongoing madness, says to him: **“Begone, Satan!”** (Mt 4:10). 57 And the voice of God is a command: **“Begone, Satan! For it has been written: You shall worship the Lord your God, and Him only shall you adore”** (Mt 4:10). 58 And the devil went away from him. 59 A voice expels him. 60 Just as his sons the Jews and enemies of God at that other time (cf. Jn 18:4–6) he drove back with his voice (for when they said: “Where is Jesus?” he said to them: **“I am he”** [Jn 18:5], and his voice threw them all back), 61 so also to the devil: **“Begone, Satan!”** 62 And his word cast him out and drove him back.

63 And the devil **stayed away from him until an opportune moment** (Lk 4:13). This was written for our protection. 64 Since everywhere through the image that he assumed he left behind for us a model of behavior, he teaches you: when you struggle against the devil and win do not become overconfident but know that he will show up again after your victory. 65 And so, as was to be expected when a great appetite or desire or any other passion kept assaulting us again and again and involved us in a kind of wrestling match, our mind, engaging in a formidable thought process, overcame the passions. 66 And he who is a victor now is overcome by the next assault. 67 Therefore we must not become overconfident but know that our victory is **until an opportune moment** (Lk 4:13), and **until an opportune moment** (Lk 4:13) is our overconfidence. 68 Our victory over our passions is temporary. As long as we are in the world let us continue both to win and to keep on struggling.

69 The final victory comes at the end of all our struggles. 70 This is why Paul, when victorious, did not become overconfident but continued to be anxious about the future and said: 71 **“Thus I run, not as one without a goal, thus I box, not as one who beats the air, but I mortify my body and bring it into**

63 The homilist follows the order of temptations and the wording of Matthew’s gospel, but here, as in 45, he draws from Luke (4:13).

καὶ δουλαγωγῶ μὴ πως ἄλλοις κηρύξας αὐτὸς ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.» 72 Ὅτε δὲ εἰς τὸ τέλος ἔδραμεν τῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ ἔμελλεν στεφανοῦσθαι, ἔλεγεν· «Τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίσαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα, τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα.»

73 Οὕτως, ἀδελφοί, τελείωσις τῶν ἀγῶνων ἢ τελείωσις τοῦ βίου ἐστίν. 74 Καὶ μὴ νομίσης ἄνθρωπον πρὸ τελευτῆς στεφανοῦσθαι, τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης· «Μὴ μακαρίσης ἄνθρωπον πρὸ τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ.» 75 Ὁ σωτὴρ τέλειος ἐν πᾶσιν· ὁ δόλος οὐ συνεπολιτεύσατο, ὁ δόλος οὐ συνέζησεν, ἢ κακία οὐ συμπαρήν. 76 Αὐτὸς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγει· «Ἐΐπατε τῇ ἀλώπεκι ταῦτη· σήμερον καὶ αὔριον ποιῶ σημεῖα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ τελειοῦμαι.» 77 Εἰ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον τελείωσιν ἐκάλεσεν, τίς πρὸ θανάτου τελείωσιν φαντάζεται;

78 Καὶ ἀπέστη ἄχρι καιροῦ καὶ λοιπὸν προσήλθον ἄγγελοι καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ. 79 Τέλος τῆς ἀσκήσεως τὸ ὑπ' ἀγγέλων διακονεῖσθαι. 80 Ὁ μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀκαιρῶς παρήγαγεν ὁ διάβολος, εὐθέως ἐδίδαξεν ὁ φιλόανθρωπος. 81 Ἐλεγεν γὰρ ὁ διάβολος ὅτι «τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται περὶ σου.» 82 Σὺ ἀκαιρῶς παρήγαγες, ὁ θεὸς εὐκαιρῶς καὶ οικονομικῶς, ἵνα δειχθῆ ὅτι τέλος μένει τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις. 83 Προσήλθον ἄγγελοι καὶ διηκόνουν αὐτῷ. 84 Τίνι; Τῷ σχήματι τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, τῷ καταπατήσαντι τοὺς δαίμονας, τῷ πατήσαντι ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον, τῷ ἐπιβάντι ἐπὶ λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα. 85 Εἰ μὴ γὰρ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπάτησεν, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν πατεῖν ἐπὶ λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα.

86 Πρῶτος ἀγὼν ὁ κατὰ δαιμόνων ἐστίν. 87 Ἐπειδὴ Μωϋσῆς καὶ Ἡλίας ἴστανται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, Μωϋσῆς ἐνήστευσεν, οὐχ ἵνα κατορθώσῃ· ὁ Χριστὸς δὲ κατῴρθωσεν. 88 Ὁ γὰρ Μωϋσῆς οὐ νηστεύσας τοὺς δαίμονας

72 2 Tim 4:7

74 Sir 11:28

76 Lc 13:32

78 Lc 4:13; Mt 4:11; cf. Mc 1:13

81 Cf. Ps 90 (91):11

83 Mt 4:11

84 Cf. Ps 90 (91):13

87 Cf. Ex 34:28

88 Cf. 1 (3) Reg. 19:8

72 καλὸν] post ἀγῶνα transp. **O**; τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα] post τὴν πίστιν τετήρηκα transp. **ABEKPV**

73 τῶν ἀγῶνων ἢ τελείωσις] om. **HJS**

75 ante συμπαρήν] des. mut. **P**

77 θάνατον] ναὸν **O**

87 Μωϋσῆς] Μωσῆς **O** et passim; ὁ Χριστὸς δὲ] δὲ ante Χριστὸς transp. **O** ὁ ὁ Χριστὸς **BJS**

88 Ὁ . . . οὐ] οὐ . . . ὁ **BJS**; ἐχώρισεν] ἐδίωξεν **J** ἐχώρησεν tell.

subjection lest after preaching to others I be found reprobate” (1 Cor 9:26–27). 72 **When he had run to the end of his races and was about to be crowned he said, “I have fought the good fight, I have completed the course, I have kept the faith”** (2 Tim 4:7).

73 So, brothers, the end of our life is the end of our struggles. 74 And don't think that anyone is crowned before the end, since Scripture says: **“Call no one blessed before his end”** (Sir 11:28). 75 Our Savior is perfect in all things. Deceit did not associate with him, deceit did not dwell with him, wickedness was not present with him. 76 He says about himself: **“Say to that fox: Today and tomorrow I perform signs and on the third day I shall be perfected”** (Lk 13:32). 77 If Christ called his own death a perfection, who imagines perfection before death?

78 **“And he kept away from him until an opportune moment, and then angels came and ministered to him”** (Lk 4:13; Mt 4:11; cf. Mk 1:13). 79 To be ministered to by angels is the goal of asceticism. 80 What the devil introduced wickedly and out of season the lover of humanity taught in due order. 81 For the devil said: **“He will give his angels charge over you”** (cf. Ps 90 [91]:11). 82 You introduced that prematurely; God did so at the proper time and for our salvation, in order that it might be shown what goal is set for those who struggle. 83 **“Angels came and ministered to him”** (Mt 4:11). 84 To whom? To the frame of the humanity that scorned the demons, that trod on the asp and the basilisk, that trampled the lion and the dragon (cf. Ps 90 [91]:13). 85 If he had not first walked over them he could not have given us the power to walk over the lion and the dragon.

86 The principal struggle is against demons. 87 When Moses and Elijah stand for forty days, Moses fasted (cf. Ex 34:28), not in order to triumph, but Christ triumphed. 88 For Moses did not expel the demons by fasting, nor did Elijah

73 ἀδελφοί is characteristic of SG, as ἀγαπητοί is of Chrysostom.

84 τῷ σχήματι = τῷ προσώπῳ: cf. 28 and 3.

ἐχώρισεν, οὐδὲ Ἡλίας ἐνήστευσεν ἵνα τὸν διάβολον καθέλη. 89 Μᾶλλον δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἠτιάτο τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ κατορθοῖ τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ἔλεγεν προειπών. 90 Παρέστησεν Μωϋσῆν καὶ Ἡλίαν ὁ δεσπότης νόμου καὶ προφητῶν, παρέστησεν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον ὁ δεσπότης τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν. 91 Καὶ γίνεται μία νεφέλη εἰς τύπον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 92 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἐπισημήνας ἐνάξω ὅτι ἦν εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς φωνὴν ζῶσαν, ταύτην ὁ πατὴρ ἐκύρωσεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει λέγων· «Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.» 93 Μωϋσῆς γὰρ προανεφώνησεν λέγων· «Προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.» 94 Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν· «αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε» καὶ ὁ πατήρ· «αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε», ἵνα δείξη ὅτι ἡ χάρις οὐκ ἐβιάσατο τὸν νόμον, ἀλλ' ἐπλήρωσεν τὸν νόμον, οὐχ ὑβρίζων Μωϋσῆν, ἀλλὰ πληρῶν τὸ ῥῆμα.

95 Οὐ χρειά ἀλλ' ὑπὸ νόμου καὶ προφήτου βασιλέα τῆς ἀληθείας λαμβάνοντες < . . . > 96 Ὡσπερ γὰρ εἰκόνες βασιλέως πρὸ ἐπιδημίας τιμώνται, μετὰ δὲ τὸ φανῆναι τὸν βασιλέα ἀργεὶ πᾶσα ἡ ὄψις τῆς εικόνας καὶ ἀντιμεταστρέφει τὸ ὄνομα, 97 οὕτω πρὸς τὸ πρωτότυπον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νόμος καὶ προφήται, μετὰ δὲ Χριστὸν λάμπει τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ ἀργεὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων. 98 Λάμπει τὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἐν ἧ γένηται πάντας ἡμᾶς σωθῆναι, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα, κράτος καὶ τιμὴ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

90–94 Cf. Mt 17:1–5; Mc 9:2–7; Lc 9:28–35

91 Cf. Ex 24:15–18

93 Dt 18:15

94 Dt 18:15; Mt 17:5; Mc 9:7; Lc 9:35; cf. Mt 5:17

89 ἠτιάτο] ἠτίσατο **HV** <οὐχ> ἠτήσατο con. Uthemann; καὶ] om. **H**

92 ἐνάξω] **O** ἐνάξια **BJS** ἐνάξιω rell.; ὅτι ἦν] ἦν **O** ὅτι ἂν **J** τί ἂν rell.; ἐκύρωσεν] **OJ** ἐχειρώσεν **EH** ἐχώρισεν **ABV** ἐχειροτόπισεν **K** om. **S**; αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε] transp. **AEHKV**

94 Μωϋσῆς . . . ἀκούετε] om. **H**; πληρῶν] **BJ** πληροὶ rell.

95 βασιλέα] **HO** βασιλεία **Q**

96 ἀντιμεταστρέφει] -στρέφουσιν **O**

97 λάμπει] λαμβάνει **O**

98 post θεότητος add. καὶ ἀργεὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος **J**; γένηται] γένοιτο **AEJK** γεγένητε **H** om. **V**; ante Χριστῷ add. κω ἡμῶν ἰϋ **O**; post δόξα add. κράτος τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις **O** add. κράτος καὶ τιμὴ **H** add. καὶ τὸ κράτος **BJS** τῶν αἰώνων om. **EK**

fast in order to put down the devil (1 [3] Kgs 19:8). 89 Rather it was Jesus who was responsible for these things and who set these matters straight, as he said in prophecy. 90 The master of the law and the prophets presented Moses and Elijah, the master of the evangelists presented Peter and John and James (cf. Mt 17:1–3; Mk 9:2–4, Lk 9:28–30). 91 And one cloud is made into a type of the Church (cf. Ex 24:15–18; Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7; Lk 9:34). 92 Having indicated that, I will propose that the living word spoken by Moses was ratified by the Father on the mountain when he said: **“This is my beloved Son: hear him!”** (Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7; Lk 9:35). 93 For Moses had previously said: **“The Lord our God will set up for you a prophet as he has me: hear him!”** (Dt 18:15). 94 Moses had said: **“Hear him!”** and the Father said: **“Hear him!”** in order to show that grace did not do violence to the law, but fulfilled the law, not insulting Moses but fulfilling his word (Dt 18:15; Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7; Lk 9:35; cf. Mt 5:17).

95 Not out of necessity, but from the law and the prophet, receiving the king of truth < . . . > 96 For just as images of a king are honored before his visit but after his appearance all display of his images is pointless and his name is now shouted back and forth, 97 so with respect to the prototype, before Christ there were the law and the prophets, but after Christ the glory of his truth shines forth and the words of the fathers have lost their force. 98 The works of the Godhead shine forth, by which may we all be saved, in Christ himself, unto whom be glory, power, and honor for ages of ages. Amen.

89 Ἐπειδὴ 87 through δὲ 89 is bracketed by Uthemann (210–15) as a copyist’s bridge passage. ἠτιᾶτο = “was responsible for,” the reading of most mss., does not have this meaning in LSJ, and the verb αἰτιάζομαι is not included in Lampe. However, the latter translates αἰτιατέον in Synesius as “one must regard as responsible” and αἰτιατέος (not found in LSJ) as “to be held responsible.” Uthemann’s emendation (215) <οὐχ> ἠτήσατο, based on the reading ἠτίσατο of HV, deserves consideration.

93 προαναφώνεω is found twice in *In centurionem* (ed. Aubineau 11, 4 and 12, 8).

94 Μωϋσῆς . . . ἀκούετε² is omitted by Uthemann (225).

95 There is another lacuna after λαμβάνοντες. Uthemann reads λαμβάνονται without lacuna.

→ 96 ἀντιμεταστρέφει is found neither in LSJ nor in Lampe.

98 After θεότητος Uthemann (235–36) adopts J’s καὶ ἀργεὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος.