

M A N
IN HIS ORIGINAL STATE
AND IN THE STATE OF SIN
According to St. Cyril of Alexandria

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P R E F A C E

Man's being in his original state and in his state of sin has been a difficult problem for christian theology. This question is particularly important for the theological dialogue between the Christian Churches to-day. That is why we have to see this question under the light of the early Church doctrine. The teaching of the Holy Fathers is to be considered and accepted as a standard and correct interpretation of the biblical and generally the christian doctrine.

St. Cyril of Alexandria was no doubt one of the great Fathers and theologians of the early Church. Thus his teaching concerning our question is of the greatest significance.

In this short essay I have used St. Cyril's writings as they have been published by: a) P. E. PUSEY, Oxford 1872-7 and b) J. MIGNE, in *Patrologia Graeca* Vols. 68-77, Paris 1863-4 (=PG).

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PART ONE
ADAM IN HIS ORIGINAL STATE

CHAPTER ONE
THE CAUSE AND THE GOAL OF MAN'S CREATION

Christian theology has always had a doctrine of Man. Christ Who revealed God to man, also revealed the real mystery of Man to us. Since Christ's Incarnation we know what man really is¹. We can neither understand nor value the great redemptive work of the Incarnate Logos, Jesus Christ, unless we know man's original state, his corruption as the consequences of his sin and his absolute need for Salvation. In this work I deal with Cyril's teaching about Man and particularly man's creation, original state, Image of God in Man, his sin and its destructive consequences. The question of man's creation in Cyril's teaching is to be considered within the whole problem of creation under two aspects: Creation in relation to God the Creator and Creation in relation to man the creature. In the work of man's creation we see three stages: God's eternal plan or idea of creation of man, the act of creation, and the results of creation.

According to Cyril, creation of Man was an act of God's free Will. «God's Will was sufficient for the creation of everything»². God's Will is to be understood as a cause existing within God. God created man because He wanted so and not out of necessity. Therefore it was not impossible for God not to create. «God is free and not bound to anything»³. That is why Cyril lays stress on the truth that «God lies beyond all need»⁴. God cannot be controlled by any other external necessity, even if this «external necessity» agrees with His Will because there would be some-

1. Adam K. *Der Christus des Glaubens*, Tübingen, 1954 (E.T. by J. Grick. N. York 1957. p. 330).

2. «Μόνη βούλησις τῷ Θεῷ εἰς τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἡρκασε δημιουργίαν, καὶ βουληθεὶς παραχρημα τὰ μὴ ὄντα ἔδειξεν ὄντα» (Dial. de Trinit. IX. PG 75, 1157).

3. «Ἐλεύθερον τὸ Θεῖον». (Glaphyra in Deuteron. A. 6. PG 69, 648).

4. «Πέραν ἀνάγκης τὸ Θεῖον». (In Isaiam, 30, 1. PG 70, 1084).

thing external higher and stronger than God. The phrase «Only God's Will was sufficient for the creation of everything» is to be understood in the sense that (a) God's Will was the only source of creation and (b) God's Will was sufficient for creation. God needed no external help at all. To act from need belongs to imperfect beings. But God is perfect in His Power.

Thus Man's creation is the product of God's free Will, of His loving freedom, of His free Thought and of His free Action. At least in one passage Cyril speaks of a sort of obligation in God for the creation of men. Since God is good or rather goodness itself, «it was necessary that earth should be full of logical beings which would be able to glorify Him»⁵. Cyril speaks of a moral obligation of God. He created men because He wished so, not because He could not do otherwise. God wanted to create other beings, participants of His happiness, beatitude and glory.

Being an act of God's Will, man's creation is neither a necessary process of the divine nature nor an emanation from the substance of God. «God the Father did not create us from His own Nature»⁶. Thus the crucial theological question of «Analogia Entis» is understood by Cyril only in the sense that the difference between God and man as far as their nature is concerned is not only quantitative but also qualitative. It is only the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity who are of the same Substance. Man is an adopted son of God^{6α}.

Speaking of creation «out of nothing» Cyril does not understand creation as a production out of nothing as if this «nothing» were a substance out of which God formed the created world and man. In Cyril, like all the other Fathers, creation out of nothing means creation without using any pre-existing material. Thus Cyril says:

«Matter was not co-eternal with God, nor unborn like God, nor co-existed with God the Eternal, since it has been brought once into existence, though God existed always. Nor was the changeable material similar to God Who is always the same and unchangeable, nor was the corruptible similar to the incorruptible God. But the material world was brought from not being into existence according to God's Will. Again we do not say that God formed the world only from pre-existing ma-

5. «Ἔδει πλήρη γενέσθαι τὴν γῆν τῶν εἰδόντων δοξολογεῖν, καὶ ἀπὸ καλλονῆς, καθὰ γέγραπται, τὴν τοῦ δεδημιουργηκότος κατασκέπτεσθαι δόξαν». (Glaph. in Gen. I. PG 69, 20).

6. De Consubstant. Trinitate. A.2. PG 75, 749.

6α. Thesaurus 15. PG 74, 277-80.

terial, but with His divine Power He brought into existence that which did not exist at all before»⁷.

In this passage, the phrase «He brought into existence that which did not exist at all before» does not mean a mere formulation of pre-existing material but a real bringing into existence of what did not exist before.

How God created the world and especially man remains a mystery which should be accepted by faith. Cyril says: «The Holy Scripture says that God created man. Therefore it is true and beyond any doubt and we accept it by faith. But how, whence or from what God created the world, heaven and earth and all creation is not injurious to discuss. What the Bible says not very clearly should be accepted in silence»⁸.

While all that we have said hitherto speaks of a Cause, it does not however refer to a final goal of man's creation. We cannot however, separate these two ideas, i. e. the cause from the goal of man's creation. Since man was created by the free Will of God and not by fate, it is necessary to think of an «end» in man's creation. God is the absolutely rational Being and His actions cannot be unreasonable. God is wise⁹. Furthermore the question of the end or purpose of the world and therefore of man, as well, is directly implied in the Christian faith in God as Love. The world and man, as well, have their end in the Love of God¹⁰.

That is why in his writings Cyril presents a special purpose and End of man's creation. And this end should be, no doubt, the best of goals, a goal worthy of God and best for man's happiness. «We have been crea-

7. «Οὐ γάρ τοι συνάναρχον και συναΐδιον τῷ Θεῷ και ἀγέννητον, κατά τινας, ἐφίησι και αὐτὸς ὁ Μωϋσῆς νοεῖσθαι τὴν ὕλην, σύνδρομόν τε και συνυφεστηκὸς τῷ αἰδίῳ τὸ οὐκ ὄν ποτε τῷ αἰεῖ ὄντι, τὸ ἐν καιρῷ και μόλις παρενεχθὲν εἰς γένεσιν· οὔτε μὴν τῷ κατά τὰ αὐτὰ και ὡσαύτως ἔχοντι τὸ κεινημένον, τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τὸ ὑπὸ φθοράν. Χρόνῳ δὲ μᾶλλον και ἐν ἀρχῇ καλούση πρὸς γένεσιν, περιορίζει τὴν κτίσιν ὡς ἐξ ὄντων ἐπεξηγμένων κατά βούλησιν Θεοῦ, πρὸς γε τὸ εἶναι τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστίν, και οὐ δήπου φησι, ἔτι προυποκειμένης και προεξευρημένης τῆς ὕλης κοσμήτορα και τεχνίτην ἀπλῶς γενέσθαι Θεὸν εἰδοποιούντα τὸ κίμορφον καθ' ὃν ἂν εἰδείη τρόπον και ποιότητων διαφοράς, μεγέθη τε και ὄγκους ἐπιριψάμενον αὐτῇ. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀρρήτῳ τινι και ἀφράστῳ δυνάμει, τὸ οὐκ ὄν οὐδὲ ὑπάρχον ὅλως εἰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ εἶναι παραγαγών. Τίνα δὲ τρόπον δημιουργεῖ, νῶ μὲν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνεφικτον ἰδεῖν. Εἶναι δὲ φημι και πέρα λόγου παντός. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις φράσαι τὰ ὑπὲρ νοῦν; Ὑπερανέστηκε δέ, οἶμαι, τοσοῦτον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, τὰ τῆς ἀνωτάτω πασῶν οὐσίας εὐρήματα, και ἡ πρὸς πᾶν ὄτιοῦν τῶν πρακτέων ὁδός, ὅσον περ αὐτῆς και κατά φύσιν ἡττήμεθα». (C. Jul. II. PG 76, 584).

8. «Παρατρέχειν ἐν σιωπῇ». (C. Anthropomorphitas B' PG 76, 1080).

9. «Ὁ σοφὸς τῶν ὄλων πρῶτανις». (De Incarnar. C. PG 75, 1421).

10. Hearing Th. Der Christliche Glauben. E.T. by J. Dickie - G. Ferries, London 1915. Vol. I, p. 390.

ted in order to adore Him alone and to offer Him our hymns of thankfulness»¹¹. Cyril finds the special goal of man's creation in God Himself, in His Glory, in the glorification of His Name and of His properties.

If the end of man were outside God, then He would appear as dependent. But God, because of His perfection, is worthy of any glorification. Since there is nothing else greater than God, we can easily find the end of creation, not in the creation, but in God. Faith in the Revelation of the Love of God in Christ assures the Christian Church that the world and man as well have their source and purpose in God, that is from God and for God¹².

Man does belong to God. His end is found in his remaining faithful to his Creator, in his being in harmony with his God, and in the glorification of God's name. Cyril speaks of man in terms of a creature and understands the relation between God and man as the relation between Creator and creature. «The world is the property of God because it has been created by God»¹³. Cyril finds man's end in God's glorification when he speaks on man's part. On the other hand God has no need at all and so He needs not any glorification from outside, from any creature. He is the God of Glory by Himself. In glorifying God man does not add any more glory or any more beatitude to the Creator because He Himself is the Happiness¹⁴. Man glorifies God and is conscious of what he is doing because he is a rational being¹⁵. Man was created in a special and different way from all other creatures, and so he was specially honoured¹⁶.

Finally, God's glorification is considered by Cyril even as the end of the whole of creation. God is glorified through all His creation¹⁷. Man and the whole creation manifest God's glory since they show the fulfilment of God's Will¹⁸ and the perfect attributes of God, His Wisdom, His Power, His Love¹⁹. God's glory is manifested by itself in creation.

11. «Εἰ δὲ παρήχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὑπαρξιν πῶς οὐκ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πάντως πού καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γεγόναμεν, ἵνα προσκυνῶμεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ μόνῳ, καὶ γενεσιουργὸν ὄντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιγινώσκοντες χαριστήριους φιδᾶς ἀναφέρωμεν;» (In Is. 45, 18-19. PG 70, 977).

12. Haering op. c. 415.

13. «Ἰδιος μὲν σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἐστὶ τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τε τὸν τοῦ πεποιθῆσθαι λόγον, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ παρήχθαι πρὸς γένεσιν». (In Ioa. 1,11. PG 73, 152).

14. Ibid. 8, 54. PG 73, 928.

15. «...τῶν εἰδῶτων δοξολογεῖν». Glaphyra in Genes. 1,5. PG 69).

16. «Τετίμηκε μὲν ὁ τῶν ἄλλων Θεὸς αὐτουργία τὸν ἄνθρωπον. Οὐ γὰρ λόγῳ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κτισμάτων ἀπεσχεδιάζετο καὶ αὐτός» (In Isaiam 2,8-9. PG 70,81).

17. De Trinit. Dial. IV'. PG 75, 897.

18. De Vivif. Trinit. 14. PG 75, 1157.

19. Adv. Julian. 7. PG 76, 861. In Isaiam. 16,8. PG 70, 413.

To this objective aspect of God's glorification, man, as a rational creature, adds only his desire for a subjective glorification of God. Man does more perfectly what nature can do elementarily. And thus all creation glorifies God in all ways.

While Cyril finds man's first and main goal in God, in His Glory, he, nevertheless, examines the same question of man's creation from another aspect and finds another, secondary, end of man's creation. Cyril says that «True knowledge of God is connected with God's glorification²⁰. The more man knows God, the more he loves and glorifies Him.

This knowledge is not a mere intellectual knowledge of God but a real new Life in which man obtains all the blessing and Grace of God. Thus desiring this end in God man desires his blessedness and happiness because nothing is good and happy except as far as it participates in the beatitude of God.

This real knowledge of which Cyril speaks is the state in which man is in union with God. This union is the source of true blessedness and of real beatitude for man; God is the cause of all good things²¹. Thus to fulfil man's end means to participate in God's blessedness. Cyril expresses this idea more clearly in another passage. «In the beginning God created man in His image... in order that he may live in happiness and holiness»²². Glory of God, happiness of man and virtuous life are inseparable in Cyril's teaching. Holy life is the best expression of Glory to God. «Holiness is given to man by God»²³. Real happiness consists of the possession of a desirable good. The subjective end of man may be his happiness. The objective goal of man is the glory of God. But God is man's happiness. Thus God becomes also the subjective end of man, as well. Man apart from God is not real man. Man fulfils his personality only in God since He is the basis of man's existence. The two elements, holiness and happiness, are inseparable since holiness, in other words, man's union with God makes man really and truly happy.

It is God who, in His eternal love, puts into man's heart the great desire for virtue. Even more all good gifts are given to man by God in order that man may always live in holiness, blessedness and happiness.

Since God is Love and not simply «good» but goodness itself, His

20. «Ζωή ἡ Γνωσις». (Ibid. 7. PG 76, 861).

21. «Ἀπάντων ἀτίος καὶ δοτῆρ τῶν καλῶν». (Adv. Julian. VII. PG 76, 861).

22. «Ἰνα διαβιώη... ἐν ἀγιότητι καὶ μακαρισμῶ». (In Ioan. 1, 1-2. PG 71, 601).

23. «Κτίσει μὲν καὶ ποιήμασι δοτὸς ὁ ἀγιασμὸς». (De Trinit. Dial. VI. PG 75, 1016).

Love is manifested in the cause and in the fulfilment of the goal of man's creation. God wanted to create the human world as the area where His glory could be manifested and this glorious manifestation was to be the source of man's happiness. Since God is Love, His end and ours coincide²⁴.

This union, this relation between man and God, cannot be static; it is progressive. The more man's end is fulfilled, the more man's happiness becomes greater. This union, and therefore this happiness becomes perfect in Christ. This idea leads us to understand the relation between man's creation and man's re-creation through Jesus Christ, in other words, the relation between creation and redemption of man in Cyril's theology.

We can see this relation where Cyril lays stress upon both sides of christian Salvation, i.e. upon the negative one, the deliverance from sin and upon the positive one, man's participation in divine blessedness. Man's salvation in Christ becomes the real fulfilment and completion of the work and the goal of creation since salvation means restoration of all gifts given by God to man at the moment of his creation, gifts which were corrupted and nearly destroyed because of man's sin²⁵. The goal of man, which was given by God at creation, and which was hindered for a little while because of sin, was completed in Christ²⁶.

Thus Cyril understands the work of salvation in relation to creation. However, the work of man's salvation in Christ was far greater than the work of creation because in Christ man received not only gifts from God but God Himself and through Christ man is justified, although he was personally guilty for his Sin and Fall. Creation was neither reconciliation nor redemption. Salvation in Christ is a real healing²⁷ and restoration²⁸ of the corrupted man and reception of the first good things²⁹. These two aspects of man's goal are inseparable and constitute one final end. Man glorifies God, knows Him more, loves Him more, lives in deeper union with Him, and this union becomes the source of man's happiness now and eternally. There is something more to say. In this unity God communicates His perfections to men according to their measure. God is full of joy in making man a participant of his

24. Hearing op. c. p. 365.

25. Glaphyra In Genesis 1 PG 69, 28.

26. «Ἦργησε μὲν ἡ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δοθεῖσα χάρις, ἀνεκαινίσθη δὲ ἐν Χριστῷ». (In Joel. 2, 28. PG 71, 377).

27. «Θεραπεία». (Glaph. in Genes. I. PG 69, 25).

28. «Ἐπανόρθωσις». (In Ioan. A' PG. 71, 601).

29. «Φθορᾶς ἀναίρεσις, τῶν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἀγαθῶν ἀνάληψις». (Glaph. in Genes. 1 PG 69,25).

beatitude. Man tries to acquire God's perfection. So God becomes the end of man even from this point of view. Feeling beatitude in his unity with God and in glorifying God, man feels the need to glorify God more and more. Both purposes are different aspects of the same purpose. God created man for His glory, not in order to increase His Glory but in order to show it and offer it to men, who glorify God and fulfil their goal and participate in the ultimate good³⁰ which is God. As Cyril says³¹, God shows Himself as the God of Love and Goodness³². Man's creation cannot be understood apart from God's Love.

Cyril finds this special love of God for man in the particular way He created him with special gifts, i. e. in the Image of God³³. It was because of his divine image that man could participate in happiness³⁴. Cyril is clear in explaining God's desire for the beatitude of man. Man would have been able to live for ever in this first state if he had not rebelled against God³⁵.

Both the subjective and objective aspects of the goal of man's creation are identified. Again we can also use another distinction of primary and secondary goal. The primary end of man could be the glory of God, the secondary man's happiness. The latter could also be called intermediate, while the glory of God is the very ultimate end of man. Even in the second case God is the final goal of man.

30. Trembelas P. Dogmatics of the Orthodox Catholic Church vol. I'. Athens 1959, p. 351.

31. In Ioan. 10, 17. PG 73, 1053.

32. «Ἀγάπη ὑπάρχων ὁ Θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθὸς ἀπλῶς, αὐτὸ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ἀγαθὸν» (In Ioan. 10,17. PG 73, 1053).

33. «Πεποιήται κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ πλάσαντος αὐτόν», (Adv. Julian. 8. PG 76, 925).

34. De Incarn. Unig. 1 PG 75, 1421.

35. «Διέμεινεν ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῆς φύσεως ἀγαθοῖς, εἰ μὴ ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς ἀποστασίαν καὶ παρακοήν». (In Rom. PG 74, 792).

CHAPTER TWO
THE IMAGE OF GOD IN ADAM

I. As we have seen, according to Cyril, man, the consummation of all creatures is constituted of two essential elements, soul and body. «Man constitutes one being, composed of soul and body, the body being of one kind of substance and the soul being of a different substance, each for its own reason, but both coming together to make one living being, and both being not separated at all after their union»¹. According to this, man is an undivided whole, one human being: this human being is constituted of two essential elements, soul and body: Cyril puts soul first and then body because «the soul is more honourable than the body»²: Each of these two elements are of different substance. Each element is not confused with the other: therefore both do not constitute one element, but each one exists in its character: both, however, are inseparably united and constitute one perfect³ human being, the whole human nature, the whole man: this constitution of one human being is realised only through the union of the two elements together, and not before that. That is why every human being is a new one, unrepeated and unrepeatable. These elements, the one being spiritual and the other material make man the link between the spiritual and the material world.

Cyril asserts that man was created according to the image of God and in His likeness⁴. Here I may have to say that in Cyril's teaching

1. «Συγκείμεθα γὰρ εἰς ἓνα ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, ἑτέρου μὲν ὄντος τοῦ σώματος, ἑτέρας δὲ αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι ψυχῆς, κατὰ γε τὸν ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ λόγον, πλὴν εἰς ἑνὸς ζώου συνθεόντων ἀνάδειξιν, καὶ διαιρεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἀνεχομένον μετὰ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα συμπλοκὴν» (In Ioa. 20,30. PG 74, 737). See also:

«Σύνθετόν τι ζῶον κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἄνθρωπος, ἐκ ψυχῆς δηλονότι καὶ σώματος, καὶ ἡ μὲν κατὰ σάρκα δουλεία, περὶ τὴν σάρκα ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ ἐν ψυχῇ, καὶ περὶ ψυχὴν τελομένη βάρβαρον ἔχει μητέρα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ σάρκα τῆς δουλείας ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσία κέκεται, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐλευθεροῦν μόνον μὲν ἂν πρέπον κατετήσθω Θεῷ, ἀρμόσει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενί» (In Ioa. 8, 34 PG 73, 860).

2. «Ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τοῦ σώματος οὐσίας τιμιωτέρα ἐστίν». (In Matth. 6,23. PG 62, 384).

3. «Πρὸς ἰδιότητα τῆς τελείας φύσεως δι' ἀμοιβῶν». (In Ioan. 14,20. PG 74, 277).

4. «Πεποίηκε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν ἀρχῇ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν». (In Ioan. 1, 1-2 PG 72, 384).

«Image» and «Likeness» are usually used as synonyms and express the general moral and spiritual relationship of Adam to God and the whole original state of Man⁵. That is why Cyril finds the «Imago Dei» in Adam's rationality⁶, or in his sovereignty⁷, or in his love for virtue⁸, or in his righteousness⁹, or in his self-controlling¹⁰, or in some of all these together¹¹.

A difficult question is to be raised here. What is the relation between the Image of God in man and the two essential elements of human nature? Where does the Divine Image exist? Does it exist (a) in the whole man, namely in both elements, soul and body, together: (b) only in man's body or (c) only in man's soul?

This question is of great importance because it is intimately related to the whole Christian Anthropology and therefore to Soteriology. In his writings Cyril characterises the «whole man» in general as being created according to the Image of God¹². But when he comes to examine the problem theologically in detail, he is very clear in limiting distinctively the Image of God only to the Soul of Man. «The Soul is

5. «Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως λόγοις τὸ ζῶον ἀπῆρτιστο τεχνουργοῦντος Θεοῦ, κατεπλούτει τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμοίωσιν. Ἐνεχάραττετο γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς θείας φύσεως ἡ εἰκών, ἐμψοσηθέντος ἁγίου Πνεύματος». (De Ado. rat. PG 68, 145). See also: ('In Ioan. 14, 20, PG 74, 277).

6. «Οὐκοῦν κατὰ τὸ ζῶον εἶναι λογικὸν καὶ καθ' ὃ φιλάρετον καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀρχικόν, ἐν εἰκόνι λέγεται πεποιῆσθαι Θεοῦ». (C. Anthrop. PG 76, 1069-72).

7. *ibid.*

8. «...οὐκ ἄν, οἶμαι, τίς εὐφρονῶν τὸ ἐκ τῆς θείας οὐσίας προελθὼν ἐμφύσημα ψυχὴν οἶοτο γενέσθαι τῷ ζῳῳ, ψυχωθέντι δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ πρὸς ἰδιότητα τῆς τελείας φύσεως δι' ἀμφοῖν ἀφιγμένῳ ψυχῆς δὴ λέγω καὶ σώματος, καθάπερ τινα σφραγίδα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἐπέτηξεν ὁ Δημιουργὸς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τούτεστι, τὴν πνοὴν τῆς ζωῆς, δι' ἧς πρὸς τὸ ἀρχέτυπον διεπλάττετο κάλλος, ἀπετελεῖτο δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος, πρὸς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀρετῆς δυνάμει τοῦ ἐνοικισθέντος αὐτῷ διακρατούμενος Πνεύματος». (In. Ioan. 14,20. PG 74, 277).

9. «Τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὕτω κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ γενέσθαι φημὲν καθ' ὃ καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπέφυκε τὸ ζῶον. (C. Anthrop. B'. PG 76, 1081)».

10. «Ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοπροαίρετος ὢν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων θελημάτων πεπιστευμένος ἦν, ἐτρέπη καὶ πέπτωκε (μοῖρα γὰρ τῆς εἰκόνας καὶ αὐτῆ' κατεξουσιάζει γὰρ τῶν οικείων θελημάτων Θεός). (In Ioa. 14,2. PG 74, 277).

11. See notes 6, 9. Also: «Τὸ δὲ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον πεποιῆσθαι ἑτέρας ἐμφάσεις καὶ ὑπονοίας ἔχει. Μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῶα λογικὸς ἐστί, φιλοκίρμων, ἐπιτηδειότητα πρὸς πᾶσαν ἔχων ἀρετὴν, λαχὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχειν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καθ' ὁμοιότητα καὶ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ». (C. Anthrop. PG 76, 1069-72).

12. In Ioan. 1, 1-2. PG 71, 601.

more honourable than the body because the soul is the Image of God»¹³. «Ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τοῦ σώματος οὐσίας τιμιωτέρα ἐστὶν ὡς εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ». In the Greek text the word «Image» εἰκὼν put in nominative refers to the word «Soul» put also in nominative. Cyril sees the Image of God only in man's soul. He never calls the human body Image of God; on the contrary, as we shall see later, he denies it categorically. He calls the body ὄργανον of the Soul in man's way towards God¹⁴.

II. In examining Cyril's writings we find Biblical, Theological, and Logical arguments, which he presents in order to explain his teaching on this theme with which we are now dealing.

F i r s t: Because of ignorance¹⁵ some of the monks in the Mountain Calamon in Egypt had begun spreading strange ideas of an anthropomorphic understanding of some passages of the Holy Scripture, and consequently, of an anthropomorphic understanding of God himself. According to their opinion, as the Bible says that man was created according to the Image of God, we should believe that God is like a man with a human face¹⁶. As the good shepherd, taking care of his spiritual sheep and protecting them from heretical teachings, Cyril had no hesitation in writing that such an anthropomorphic understanding of God is nonsense and impiety¹⁷. The reason given by Cyril as an answer to our question is contained in the following passage, taken from his work against Anthropomorphitas. «Unquestionably man is (created) according to the Image of God. But this likeness (Image) is not corporeal, for God is incorporeal. And the Saviour Himself teaches it by saying that God is spirit. If they think that God Himself, Who is above all, was formed according to the nature of the human body, let them say whether He has feet with which to walk, hands with which to work, and eyes with which to see. Where does He move and to which places does He go? He Who fills all things? Or which hands does He

13. «Ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τοῦ σώματος οὐσίας τιμιωτέρα ἐστὶν ὡς εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἐμφύσημα· τὸ δὲ σῶμα ὄργανον ἐστὶν αὐτῆς καὶ συνεργὸν πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα. Χρὴ οὖν ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρων φροντίζειν, τοῦ τε σώματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ἐφ' ὅσον ἰκανὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν· αὐτῇ δὲ δοτέον αἰεὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ ἐπιμελητέον παντοίως καὶ ἀνακτέον διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῆς τὴν δημιουργικὴν». (In Matth 6,23. PG 72, 384.).

14. *ibid.*

15. «Ἐξ ἀμαθείας» (C. Anthropomorphitas 1, PG 76, 1065). The genuity of this work has been denied. See: Bardenhewer O. Patrologie. E.T. by J. Shahan. St. Luis, 1908. p. 364.

16. *Ibid.* PG 76, 1068.

17. «Ἀσύνητον καὶ ... ἐσχάτης δυσσεβείας...». (PG 76, 1068).

move, He Who creates through the living Logos. If He, like us, has His eyes towards us, then He does not see anything at His back, and when He looks towards the East, He does not know what the people in the West are doing. But let them who say these things, close their mouths. For God is above all creation. He is not understood either as in bodily forms or in bodily shapes, but He is simple, immaterial, formless, uncompounded. He is not composed of members or parts, as we are. He is Spirit, according to the Scripture. He is present everywhere and fills all things. He is lacking in nothing, for He fills heaven and earth. But man's having been created in the Image of God has another explanation and another meaning as he alone of all living beings on earth is rational, compassionate, capable of any virtue and has superiority over all things on earth, according to the likeness and the Image of God. So the living being (man) is said to have been created in the Image of God inasmuch as he can be said to be rational and superior to all things on earth¹⁸.

We have given here this long passage because we wanted to let Cyril himself explain, in his own words, his ideas about our question. Commenting on the above passage, we could underline some important points. Likeness, generally speaking, can be either bodily and corporeal or spiritual and incorporeal. That depends on the quality of the elements between which the likeness exists. Likeness exists only between elements which are similar (a) either absolutely or relatively, (b) either by nature or by creation and grace. Man's soul is made in the Image of God by creation, by Grace and not by nature. Man's Soul comes from God¹⁹ and for this reason the Soul is «more honourable than the body»²⁰, and while the body was made from the earth, the Soul was created to the Image of God. If the Divine Image in man were corporeal, then either (a) God were to be considered as corporeal and bodily; but God is Spirit or (b) man's body ought to be considered as spiritual; but man's body is an earthly creature²¹. The Divine Image cannot exist in man's body

18. C. Anthropomorphitas. PG 76, 1068-9.

19. This idea neither means that the Soul is of the same substance as God, «We confess that the soul is not of the same substance with the divine and timeless Nature of God» «εἰ καὶ ἀθάνατον ὀρίζομεθα εἶναι τὴν νοερὰν ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς θειοτάτης ἐκείνης καὶ ἀνάρχου φύσεως ὁμοούσιον». (In Ioan. 20,33. PG 74, 737), nor denies the truth that the human body, too, was created by God. Here we have Cyril's answer to the question of Analogia Entis. Man is the Image of God not by nature but by creation and he, therefore, is not of the same substance with God.

20. «Ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τοῦ σώματος οὐσίας τιμιωτέρα ἐστίν». (In Matth. 6,23. PG 72, 384).

21. «Γήϊνον πλάσμα καὶ ἐκ γῆς πεπλασμένον». (In Psalm. 32,9. PG 69, 876).

because, if it could, God should be understood in terms of outward forms and shapes, like the body. But God is formless, simple. The body is composed of many parts, but God is uncompounded. The existence of many members in the body indicates limitation, but God is limitless. So, since God is not corporeal, then either there is not any Image of God at all in man, or there is one, which, not existing in man's body, must be found somewhere else in man.

That is why Cyril sees the Image of God only in man's Soul.

S e c o n d

In the following passage Cyril brings a second argument in order to show what he explained directly in the text which we have already examined. «If the Image were referred to the form of the body, it would not be illogical to say that God is similar even to the irrational animals. For we see that even these animals are composed of the same parts as we are, having feet, eyes, nose and tongue together with the other members of the body»²².

Let us suppose for the moment that the Divine Image can exist in the body of man and God can be anthropomorphous. The substantial elements of the human body are the same as the elements of the body of the irrational animals. Both have flesh and members. Thus if God is to be found in the human body, then He must be found also in the bodies of the irrational animals. In this case, God would be not only anthropomorphic but also zoomorphic (= animal - morphic). Then by looking at the body of an irrational animal we could recognise the Image of God, God Himself. But this idea would be irrational and impious, a blasphemy.

Proportionally the Image of God cannot be in the material bodies either of the animal or of man. Yet the Divine Image exists really in man. Consequently, not existing in man's body this Image must be found in man's soul.

T h i r d

Cyril comes to another argument which has a logical as well as an organic relation to the previous.

22. «Εἰ δὲ νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σώματος λέγεσθαι τὴν εἰκόνα οὐδὲν λυπεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ζώων ἀλόγοις σύμμορφον εἶναι λέγειν τὸν Θεόν. Ὁρῶμεν γάρ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὰ ἐκ τῶν ἡμῶν μορίων εἰσι, πόδας ἔχοντα καὶ ὀφθαλμούς καὶ ῥίνας καὶ γλῶσσαν καὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν. Τοίνυν ἢ σὴ θεοσέβεια παυέτω τοὺς τοιοῦτους, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶτω τοῖς τοιαῦτα φληναφεῖν εἰωθόσιν». (C. Anthropol. PG 76, 1073).

«If we are images of God according to the idea of virtue, and since this virtue exists in the holy Angels, too, more than in us, then all rational creation, through holiness and all virtue, become the Image of God. For if the Divine and Supernatural Beauty is appropriate to us on earth, how much more is it to the rational Powers in heaven, where God abides? That is why the Holy Scripture calls the Heaven His Divine Throne»²³. Here we can form a simple syllogism. The Image of God can be found in the Angels. The Angels are unquestionably incorporeal spirits. The Divine Image, therefore is to be found in spirits, incorporeal elements. This analogy can be transferred to man. The Divine Image is to be found in the spiritual element of man, i. e. in man's Soul.

F o u r t h

Finally, Cyril uses another argument which seems to be more theological. «We are formed in the Image of God, firstly and most importantly through virtue and holiness, for the Divine is Holy and is the beginning, source and origin of all virtue. If man's having been created in the Image of God resided in the nature of the human body, how would it be possible for people to lose this Image? Because we have lost nothing of those elements which are substantial to us. And because holiness and righteousness make us Images of God, we say that those, who never lived in virtue and holiness, have lost this august and excellent beauty»²⁴.

We have to examine this passage carefully. Cyril sees an organic but neither confused nor identified, as we shall see, relation between the Divine Image and the holiness of man. If the Divine Image were found in the body of man, then the corruption of the Image ought to be followed by the loss of the substantial elements of the human body. But the Substance of the human body remains the same; it has not lost its essential elements. Cyril does not see the Image in man's body.

Conclusion: Cyril (a) characterises the whole man in general as created in the Image of God, but (b) distinctively limits this Divine Image only to man's Soul. After what I have said, we can see the relation between Man and the Image of God. Cyril apparently admits and clearly teaches that both Adam and Eve have been created and formed to the Image of the One God. In the case of woman, Cyril accepts that while Adam was created immediately by God to the Image of God, Eve was created immediately by the same God, in the image of Adam, and

23. C. Anthropol. PG 76, 1084-5.

24. Ibid. PG 76, 1084.

hence mediately to the image of God, through the Image of God, namely through Adam. Consequently, Eve differs a little from Adam²⁵. This difference does not appear «in the content of the Image but simply in the fact that her resemblance to the Divine comes through Adam» and that is why Cyril finds man and woman equally images of God²⁶. Here we have to remember that it is only Jesus Christ Who is the unique and absolute Image of God the Father by Nature. Man was an Image by creation, by Grace.

(Continued)

25. «Κατ' εικόνα μὲν καὶ αὕτη (ἡ γυνή) καὶ ὁμοίωσιν Θεοῦ πλην ὡς διὰ μέσου τοῦ ἀνδρός ὥστε κατὰ τι παραλλάττει βραχὺ τὴν φύσιν». (In I' Ep. ad Cor. 11,4. PG 74, 881).

26. Burghardt W. *The Image of God in Man according to Cyril of Alexandria*. Washington 1957, pp. 135, 137.