

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF DIADOCHUS OF PHOTICE*

BY
Archim. Dr. THEODORITUS POLYZOGOPOULOS

CHAPTER III

THE SALVATION OF MAN THROUGH JESUS CHRIST AND ITS ACCEPTANCE BY MAN.

I

1. *The Incarnation of the Word of God.*

The connection between Christology and Soteriology in Diadochus' thought is inward and indissoluble. In this chapter we shall make the distinction between them only for methodological reasons.

The whole work of the Holy Economy, as it is often characterized in Diadochus' writings,¹ took place because of the fall of man and it achieves not only the re-establishment of the relationship between God and man, but also the possibility of the realization of man's destiny, that is, the likeness to God. While through His disobedience the first Adam led mankind into the fall, the second Adam by His obedience re-established the possibility of eternal life. Adam rejected humility; for this reason he fell. Christ was obedient to His Father and so he has freed mankind from the sin of disobedience². The plan of the Holy Economy became a reality through the Incarnation of the Word of God, who at a moment in history became man.³ The Word of God took a human body, density of nature πυκνότητα φύσεως⁴ and thus the incorporeal took shape.⁵ Diadochus emphasizes the completeness of Christ's human nature against Docetism. Diadochus probably viewed

* Συνέχεια ἐκ τῆς σελ. 1101 τοῦ προηγούμενου τόμου.

1. *Cent.* 41 (109, 3).

2. *Cent.* 41 (109, 1-7).

3. *Vision* 21 (175, 18-19)... ηὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔλθειν διὰ τῆς σαρκώσεως εἶδος...

4. *Sermon* 6 (168, 13), *Vision* 21 (175, 20).

5. *Sermon* 5 (167, 25-26). 'Ὁ γὰρ ἀσώματος, ἑαυτὸν τῇ προσλήψει τῆς σαρκὸς εἰδοποιήσας. *Vision* 21 (176, 1-2)... διὰ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ εἰς εἶδος ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος παρήν.

the teaching of Eutyches as a revival of the docetic denial of Christ's bodily existence.⁶

The divinity of Christ is presupposed in Diadochus' writings. He does not refer to this theme clearly because in his time Arianism was not a problem for the Church. Diadochus speaks about Christ as God Incarnate and not as deified man.⁷ The obedience of the Word of God to the Holy Economy does not mean any diminution of His divinity, any more than Paul means it in Phil. 2, 6-8.⁸ The divinity of Christ is pointed out very clearly in certain passages: «It was because of this that the Holy Logos of God took flesh and, being God,...»⁹

Christ is also omnipresent because of His infinite nature.¹⁰ Diadochus also characterises Christ as King of glory, Lord, Saviour.

In fact, Diadochus is more concerned, in his Sermon on the Ascension, with the manner of unity of Christ's divine and human natures, a subject which had been examined by the fourth Ecumenical Council held in Chalcedon (45/1). Photius, in his «Bibliotheca» cod. 231, has mentioned information obtained from the Synodical letters of Sophronius of Jerusalem, according to which Diadochus of Photice was one of the opponents of Monophysitism.¹¹

Diadochus was faithful to the Chalcedonian confession, and he attacked Monophysitism not because he liked theoretical analyses of a theological subject but because he wanted to give an answer in the soteriological teaching of the Church. Of course the distinction between the terms «nature» and «prosopon» or «hypostasis» helped the development of the correct phraseology about the Christological doctrine, δύο φύσεις, ἐν πρόσωπον properly distinguished. Prosopon or hypostasis contains both natures. In the person of Christ, divinity and humanity are united... Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πιστεύσωμεν Κύριον ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει,¹² according to Diadochus' phrase. The bishop of Photice rejected the idea that Christ after the incarnation had only one nature... Ἔνα μὲν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν οἱ προφηῆται ἐκήρυττον Κύριον, τῆς δὲ σαρκώσεως αὐτοῦ τὸ σχῆμα εἰς μίαν, ὡς τινες εἰσηγοῦνται νῦν, οὐ συνέχεαν

6. *Sermon* 6 (168, 13-14)... τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ἥνπερ οὐσιωδῶς κοινωνήσας ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος...

7. *Cent.* 78 (136, 1).

8. *Cent.* 41 (109, 1-7).

9. *Cent.* 78 (136, 1-2); *Sermon* 5 (168, 3-4).

10. *Vision* 28 (178, 22-25).

11. See above p. 773 (1984) and 791 (1984).

12. *Sermon* 4 (167, 5-6).

φύσιν.¹³ He does not accept either any confusion or change between the two natures,¹⁴ but he teaches that even after the unity of the two natures in one person, the character of each nature remains unchanged: ὁ μὲν ἔστιν, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχει, ὁ δὲ γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου, μένει ἀνθρώπος, εἷς ὧν ἐν εἶδει καὶ εἷς ἐν ὑποστάσει.¹⁵

According to Diadochus this unity of the two natures in the Person of Christ was not only an historical event of his earthly presence, but the Lord with His deified body will come again in the end of history.¹⁶

2. *The redemptive work of Christ*

It is hopeless to look for any systematic treatment of the doctrine of redemption in Diadochus' writings. This is also true of almost all the Greek Fathers, who usually do not discuss atonement separately, but in combination with Christology. Although the redemption through Christ is the motive force of Diadochus' faith, no final definition of Christ's achievement has been formulated by our author.

After the fall man was not completely destroyed, but he could not re-establish his relationship with God. Firstly, he needed to be released from the power of sin, death and the Devil, which kept him away from communion with God, and secondly he needed to gain the possibility of becoming like God.

It has often been said¹⁷ that the Platonic conception of human nature as a universal was inherited by the Christian writers and played an important role in their conception of redemption by Christ. New Adam assumed human nature; in this way all mankind is seen to share in what Christ achieves. Thus what we lost in the first Adam we recovered in the second Adam.

The incarnation of the Logos of God took place because of Adam's disobedience, so that man might be reborn through Christ's baptism in the water of salvation.¹⁸

13. *Sermon* 5 (167, 18-20).

14. *Sermon* 6 (168, 12-16). Μηδεις οὖν ὑπολαμβάνετω... ἡλλοιωῖσθαι τὴν τῶν ἐκατέρων ἐν αὐτῷ ἀχωρίστως ἀλήθειαν φύσεων.

15. *Sermon* 5 (167, 23-25).

16. *Sermon* 5 (168, 4-6).

17. See for instance, J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, London 1960, p. 381, 386.

18. *Cent.* 78 (135, 22-24; 136, 1-3).

Diadochus emphasizes that since the essence of Adam's sin was disobedience, the obedience of Christ was indispensable to free mankind from the guilt of original sin. «It was because He loved humility that Lord, in accordance with the divine purpose, was obedient to His Father... and so through His own obedience He has freed mankind from the sin of disobedience and leads back to the blessedness of eternal life all who live in obedience.»¹⁹ Hence, it is obedience that God requires and in which man's progress consists.

On the other hand, the incarnation took place in order that, through the Logos' communion with man, the inclination of evil could be destroyed and mankind restored as it was before the fall.

Οὐ γὰρ ἵνα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσμα φαντάσῃ ἐσαρκώθῃ ὁ ἔνδοξος ἀλλ' ἵνα τὴν ἐνσπαρεῖσαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔξιν ἐκ τοῦ ὄφους τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κοινωνίας ἀναλώσῃ εἰς τέλος. «Ὡστε ἔξιν, οὐ γὰρ φύσιν, ἤλλαξεν ἢ σάρκωσις τοῦ Λόγου, ἵνα τὴν μὲν μνήμην ἐκδυσώμεθα τοῦ κακοῦ, τὴν δὲ ἀγάπην ἐνδυσώμεθα τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐκ εἰς ὅπερ μὴ ἤμεν ἀλλασσόμενοι ἀλλ' εἰς ὅπερ ἤμεν τῇ ἀλλαγῇ μετὰ δόξης ἀνακαινιζόμενοι.»²⁰

The obedience of Christ to His Father led Him even to the cross and death.²¹ In Diadochus' thought there is no legal concept of redemption by the crucifixion of Christ as a necessity or reparation for offences committed: an idea which was introduced into Christian Theology by Tertullian, that good deeds accumulate merit with God, while bad deeds demand «satisfaction.»²²

Just as Adam was the originator of a race disobedient and doomed to death, so Christ can be regarded as the leader of a new redeemed humanity. The first Adam introduced the principle of sin and death, but the second Adam by His obedience has reintroduced the principle of life and immortality. The gift of incorruptibility lost at the fall is restored by Christ's resurrection. Ἐκ γὰρ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τοῦ θανάτου διὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀναστάσεως λαβάν τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.²³

Christ's burial and resurrection have positive influence on the human race.²⁴ Thus, just as death entered the world by one man, so by

19. *Cent.* 41 (109, 1-7).

20. *Sermon* 6 (168, 17-23).

21. *Cent.* 41 (109, 3-4)... ἄχρι σταυροῦ καὶ θανάτου ὑπήκουσε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ πατρί...

22. De poen. 5f; De exhort. cast. I; scorp. 6.

23. *Sermon* 2 (165, 19-21).

24. *Sermon* 2 (165, 13-16)... ...τῶν τοῦ Ἄδου δυνάμεων τὴν συντριβὴν προεωαγγελιζόμενος τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν ἔτι τοῦ θανάτου καθημένους· ἦντινα ἐνεργεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ταφῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως...

Christ's resurrection the principle of life has been given back to mankind.

Through the incarnation man recovers the true knowledge of God Adam enjoyed in Paradise before the fall. The Logos of God chose to manifest the true light to creation through His own flesh.²⁵ Even more, through the incarnation the Word of God became visible.²⁶

Finally, through the incarnation of Christ the fundamental purpose of man's existence has been achieved, that is man's deification. With Christ human and divine nature began to be together so that by fellowship with divinity human nature might become divine, not only in Christ Himself, but also in all those who believe and live according to His commandments: ὁ γὰρ ἀρμόττει τῷ σαρκωθέντι Θεῷ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς θεωθησομένοις διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, Θεοῦς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι φιλοτιμησαμένου Θεοῦ.²⁷ This doctrine, that by the incarnation human nature is deified and made to participate in the divine nature, is a favourite theme of patristic thought.²⁸ Γέγονε ἄνθρωπος, ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεοποιήσῃ: God become man in order that man might become God in Him; this is the classical teaching of Irenaeus²⁹ and Athanasius,³⁰ which most of the Eastern Fathers repeated.³¹

In conclusion, Diadochus does not seem to accept salvation only as a negative event, that is, the deliverance from the original sin and its effects, but mainly as a positive realization through the creation of a new life by Christ and the possibility of man becoming God. On the other hand, he does not emphasize only the crucifixion of Christ, but he refers also to all events of His soteriological activity such as the incarnation, resurrection, ascension and the sending of the Holy Spirit, which together explain better the redemptive work of Christ. Thus the salvation of man through Jesus Christ has been achieved, and now the responsibility for the participation of Christ's redemptive work belongs to every individual person.

25. *Cent.* 80 (138, 5-10); *Sermon* 3 (166, 15-18)... ἵνα γνῶμεν σαφῶς ὅτι ἡ ἐνανθρώπησις τοῦ Κυρίου... Θεοῦ γνώσεως τὸν κόσμον ἐπλήρωσεν.

26. *Vision* 21 (175, 26-27; 176, 1-2).

27. *Sermon* 6 (168, 9-12).

28. See also the corresponding biblical passage 2 *Pet.* 1,4.

29. *Adv. Haer* 5, 1, 1, ed. A. Rousseau, SC, vol. 153, Paris 1969, p. 19-21.

30. *Ad adelphium* 4 PG 26, 1077A; *De Incarn.* 54 PG 35, 192b.

31. See for instance, Gregory of Nanzianzus, *Poem. dogm.* 10 PG 37, 465; Gregory of Nyssa, *Oratio Catech.* 25 PG 45, 65D.

II

3. *Baptismal grace*

Diadochus is deeply absorbed by the question of baptism, and it has a significant position in his anthropology. Baptism confers two things at the same time: first of all cleansing from sin and secondly the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit.

Diadochus teaches that baptism effects a full and entire cleansing from sin. By baptism man is purified completely from all sins actual and original. For this reason he calls it λουτρὸν ἀγιότητος³² because man is free from all sins, and he gains the beginning of a holy life, while by the description as λουτρὸν ἀφθαρσίας³³ he means that man is released from death, which has entered the world through sin. These two phrases are well known in patristic literature,³⁴ and they make clear the capacities of baptism. First then, it removes from man the «defilement of sin»³⁵ while on the other hand it puts man εἰς τὸ ὕπερ ἦν,³⁶ in the same position as Adam was before the fall. Sin is expelled from the shrine of the intellect, and the divine grace renews and cleanses the image of God in man, by washing away sin.³⁷ Thus through baptismal grace renews the image and gives the capacity for attaining the divine likeness. When the intellect begins to have direct experience of the Holy Spirit, man should realise that grace is beginning to paint the likeness over the image.³⁸ In the *New Homilies* Macarius teaches also that baptism restores man to the position of Adam before the fall.³⁹ Nevertheless Diadochus declares that baptism does not remove the duality of the will, τὸ διπλοῦν τῆς θελήσεως, which Adam acquired as a result of the fall and which all his descendants inherit from him.⁴⁰ In other words,

32. *Cent.* 78 (136, 18-19).

33. *Cent.* 78 (136, 15-16).

34. See for instance, Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procat.* 7, 11; *Cat.* 33.

35. *Cent.* 78 (136, 18-19) τὸ γὰρ λουτρὸν τῆς ἀγιότητος τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀμαρτίας περιαιρεί ἐξ ἡμῶν ρύπον...

36. *Cent.* 89 (149, 16).

37. *Cent.* 89 (149, 4-7).

38. *Cent.* 89 (149, 8-11).

39. *New Hom.* 1, 2, ed. E. Klostermann, H. Berthold, p. 3. ...ἐπελθόντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ βαπτίσματος φθάνουσιν εἰς τὸ πρότερον μέτρον τοῦ Ἀδάμ...

40. *Cent.* 78 (136, 20) τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν τῆς θελήσεως ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀλλάσσει νῦν... see also *Cent.* 25 (96, 19-20; 97, 1); 29 (100, 1-6).

the newly baptized Christian does not at once return to the situation of the first man in Paradise. Adam, before the fall, was endowed with a «donum integritatis» which baptism by itself does not restore. The duality can only be eliminated by prolonged ascetic effort.⁴¹

Diadochus' baptismal theology also can be seen reflected in his interpretation of Romans 7,23... Βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου ἀντιστρατευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοῦς μου καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἀμαρτίας· τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσίν μου. For Diadochus,⁴² as for Origen,⁴³ the above passage of Paul refers not only to the condition of the unbaptized but also to the Christian's condition after baptism. For in this particular matter many Greek writers stand close to the Augustinian view. According to Augustine, after baptism man still remains subject to «concupiscentia». Baptism in the Augustinian view free us from the guilt of original sin but not from all its effects, «concupiscentiae reatus in baptisate salvitur, sed infirmitas manet,»⁴⁴ and «qui baptizatur... omni peccato caret, non omni malo.»⁴⁵ This Augustinian theory has been generally followed in the West. The *Macarian Homilies* also hold that the «veil of the passions» persists after baptism.⁴⁶

Diadochus emphasizes the role of the Spirit in baptismal grace. Regeneration takes place through baptism by the action of the Holy Spirit, who is given to us immediately at baptism and cleanses the whole man, soul and body⁴⁷ and it is placed in the depth of the soul⁴⁸ or mind.⁴⁹ Diadochus believes that before baptism, grace encourages the soul towards good from the outside, while Satan lurks in its depths trying to block all the intellect's ways of approach to the divine. But from

41. *Cent.* 25 (97, 1-6); 78 (136, 23).

42. *Cent.* 82 (140, 14-22).

43. *In Rom.* 6, 10 (PG 14, 1091 A-B) and *In Matt.* 14,3, ed. Klostermann, p. 278-9.

44. *Retract* 1, 15, 2 (PL 32, 609).

45. *Contra Julian*, 6, 16, 49 (PL 44, 850-1).

46. *New Hom.* 5,1, ed. Klostermann, p. 20. Οἱ ἀναχωρήσαντες τοῦ κόσμου καὶ γνησίως λόγον Θεοῦ ἐπακούσαντες καὶ σεμνῶς πολιτευόμενοι, ὄντες δὲ ἔτι ὑπὸ τὸ τῶν παθῶν κάλυμμα, ὅπερ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ Ἀδάμ πάντες ἐκτίσαντο.

47. *Cent.* 78 (136, 3-8). Ἀναγεννώμεθα δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὅθεν εὐθέως καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, εἴπερ ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου διαθέσεως προσέρχεται τις τῷ Θεῷ καθαριζόμεθα τοῦ μὲν ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς ἡμᾶς κατασκηνοῦντος τῆς δὲ ἀμαρτίας φυγαδευομένης.

48. *Cent.* 79 (137, 5-6).

49. *Cent.* 77 (135, 1-2).

the moment that we are reborn through baptism, the demon is outside and grace is within. In other words, whereas before baptism error ruled the soul, after baptism truth rules it.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, even after baptism Satan still acts on the soul to a greater degree than before.⁵¹ In fact, God allows him to do this so that a man can cooperate with grace for his salvation. Because of this, the Messalians have imagined that both grace and sin, that is the spirit of truth and the spirit of error, are hidden at the same time in the intellect of the baptized. As a result one of these two spirits urges the intellect to good, the other to evil.⁵² On this point Diadochus stands opposed to the Messalians.

According to Messalians, in every man's soul from the moment of his birth there dwells a demon who holds the man completely in his power. This is a consequence of Adam's fall. Λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐκάστῳ ἀνθρώπῳ τικτομένῳ παραντίκα δαίμων οὐσιωδῶς συνάπτεται, ἐκ τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ Ἀδάμ τούτου κεκληρωμένου...⁵³ Thus, before baptism the Devil dominates man in the full sense, and he consciously feels union with the evil spirit with the soul. After baptism there is a continual struggle in the soul between the evil spirit and the Holy Spirit, a coexistence of sin and grace.⁵⁴ This means that for the Messalians, baptism is powerless by itself to free the soul from this diabolic presence. Baptism does not confer the presence of the Holy Spirit: τὸ μὲν βάπτισμά φασι μηδὲν ὄνειν τοὺς προσιόντας, ξυροῦ γὰρ δίκην ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὰ πρότερα, τὴν δὲ ρίζαν οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τῆς ἀμαρτίας.⁵⁵

It is their fundamental error — belief in the primacy of feeling and experience — which leads the Messalians to deny the efficacy of bap-

50. *Cent.* 76 (134, 16-18).

51. The heretic Jovinian argued that once baptized a man could no longer be tempted by the Devil to sin (see Augustine, *De haer* 82). It fell to Jerome to refute him (*Adv. Jov.* 2, 1-4) adducing numerous scriptural passages to show that the baptized are not only exposed to temptation but are quite capable of succumbing to it.

52. *Cent.* 76 (134, 8-10).

53. Timothy of Constantinople, *De iis qui ad ecclesiam accedunt*, PG 86, 45 prop. 1. See also John of Damascus, *De haeresibus compendium*, PG 94, 729 prop. 1 and 2.

54. John of Damascus, prop. 3: ὅτι συνοικοῦσιν ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι καθαρὸι ἦσαν τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐνεργείας.

55. Theodoret of Cyr, *Haeticarum fabularum compendium*, PG 82, 429-432. See Timothy prop. 2. Ἐπι λέγουσιν ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα συμβάλλεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος τούτου δίωξιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἱκανὸν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, τὰς ρίζας τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τὰς συνοισιωμένας ἀρχῆθεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκτεμεῖν, and John of Damascus, prop. 4-6.

tism. Their reason is not so much theological as psychological. Baptism changes nothing in the psychology of the baptized, since even after baptism man is still subject to temptation. Nor does baptism by itself confer the Holy Spirit; the baptized often are not consciously aware of His presence; and if they do not feel the Spirit, He cannot be dwelling within them. The Messalians have no idea of unconscious grace; for them it is not possible that God should act secretly in a man's soul and the man himself not realize it.

In the Pseudomacarian literature we can see very clearly this Messalian deviation, that grace and sin are hidden at the same time in man's soul.⁵⁶

What in fact does Macarius say about the sacrament of baptism? In the fifty Homilies there is only one clear and specific reference to sacramental baptism, and this could unfortunately be interpreted in a Messalian sense ...ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα πολλὰὶ ἁμαρτίαι γίνονται καὶ πολλοὶ ἁμαρτάνουσιν. Ἐχει οὖν νομὴν καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα εἰσελθεῖν ὁ ληστής καὶ πράττειν ἃ θέλει.⁵⁷

This reticence about baptism, in a semi-Messalian context, is certainly very disquieting. But the balance is redressed in other Macarian material. The *Great Letter*, edited by Jaeger, includes a long passage on baptism, which contains nothing clearly Messalian. The author states that the Paraclete is bestowed at the moment of baptism: ...οὐ τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τῆς ἀρρήτου εὐεργεσίας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς μακαρίας Τριάδος βαπτίσματος οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐδεξάμεθα, εἰς αὐξήσιν καὶ προκοπὴν τῆς τελείας κληρονομίας καὶ πολλαπλασιασμὸν τοῦ ταλάντου τοῦτο τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄχραντον μυστήριον πιστευθέντες. Τὸ γὰρ θεῖον καὶ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα... ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος ὥρας κατ' ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως διαφόρως καὶ πολυτρόπως σύνεστιν (τὸ πνεῦμα) ἐκάστῳ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως εἰλικρινοῦς τῷ βαπτίσματι προσελθόντι.⁵⁸

In the *New Homilies*, Macarius stresses the completeness of baptism: «In possessing the pledge of baptism, you possess the «talent» in its completeness, but if you fail to work with it, you yourself will remain incomplete; and not only that, but you will be deprived of it.»⁵⁹

56. *Hom.* 16, 6, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, P. 162. See also *Hom.* 17, 4, p. 169; *Hom.* 26, 25 p. 217.

57. *Hom.* 15, 14 p. 136. Compare John of Damascus, prop. 5. "Ὅτι συμπέφυρται ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα.

58. See, W. Jaeger, *Two rediscovered Works of ancient Christian literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*, Leiden, 1954, p. 236, 1-8.

59. *New Hom.* 28, 3, ed. E. Klostermann, H. Berthold, p. 166, 13-15. Ἐχουσα

In the Homilies recently edited by H. Berthold, we find that Macarius deviates markedly from the extreme Messalian view of baptism and approaches surprisingly close to Diadochus. Macarius argues that the indwelling presence of the Spirit, conferred at baptism, is something of which we are initially unconscious. The Spirit's working is at first so slight that a man «is ignorant of His activity», but then gradually His ἐνέργεια increases and begins to manifest itself openly. So Macarius concludes: «Our baptism is true and steadfast, and it is from this source that we receive the life of the Spirit; and if we abide and make progress in all the virtues, with all eagerness and exertion, the Spirit will increase and is revealed in us, making us perfect in His own grace.»⁶⁰ In another Homily, Macarius again presupposes a progress from an «unconscious» to a «conscious» presence of grace. At the start the Spirit is present «invisibly» so that at first the soul does not feel His activity, then slowly He is revealed, until at last the soul experiences Him ἐνεργῶς καὶ πεπληροφημένως.⁶¹

After this reference to the Messalian deviation and its relationship with the Macarian writings we return to our author. Diadochus writes against the Messalian deviation on baptism in several chapters of his «Century». Through baptism, he says, man is reborn, so that he is immediately purified by the Holy Spirit, who dwells in man and drives out sin. Thus there is not any place for the Devil. Diadochus tries to support the Orthodox faith with all his ability and particularly by the use of the Scriptures. He quotes the passage from St. Matt. 12,19, and he asks: How can such an intruder, cast out in this shameful way, return and dwell together with the true master who now lives freely in his own house?⁶² From the passage of St. Luke 10,18 he draws a logical conclusion: if Satan may not share the company of the angels, he cannot dwell in the intellect together with God Himself. Of course, he said, the Messalians will say that this is possible because God recedes a little and makes room for Devil. But this explanation, according to Diadochus,

οὖν τὸν ἀρραβῶνα τοῦ βαπτίσματος, τὸ μὲν «τάλαντον» τέλειον ἔχεις, μὴ ἐπεργασαμένη δὲ ἀτελής ἔσῃ, οὐ μόνον δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ στερηθήσῃ αὐτοῦ.

60. *Hom.* 42, 6, ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus* 694 (B), Berlin 1973, vol. 2 p. 75. See also T. K. Ware, «The sacrament of baptism and the ascetic life in the teaching of Mark the Monk», in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 10 Berlin 1970, p. 450.

61. *Hom.* 25, 2, 3-4, see above vol. 1 p. 242.

62. *Cent.* 84 (144, 2-9).

is inadequate. God recedes in order to educate us and this receding does not by any means deprive the soul of divine light.⁶³

In another chapter, he quotes the passage from St. Matt. 12, 43-45 from which he concludes that as long as the Holy Spirit is in us, Satan cannot enter the depths of the soul and remain there.⁶⁴ Finally, he refers to the use of Jo. 1,5 by the Messalians, and Diadochus gives the answer with the help of other biblical quotations, and in the end, he says, the Evangelist does not say that it is Satan who has failed to grasp the true light. Satan was a stranger to it from the beginning, since it does not shine in him. Rather, the Evangelist is censuring men who hear of the powers and wonders of the Son of God, and yet in the darkness of their hearts refuse to draw near to the light of knowledge.⁶⁵ Thus, according to Diadochus, the Holy Spirit is the only master of man after baptism, and he requires our co-operation to begin the likeness in man.

Can we also lose the Holy Spirit after baptism? Diadochus says that there are two different ways in which God recedes. According to the first, *παιδευτική παραχώρησις*, God recedes in order to educate man. This receding does not deprive the soul of divine light; all that happens is that grace often hides its presence so that the soul may advance in spiritual progress. The second kind of receding, *κατὰ ἀποστροφὴν παραχώρησις*, is when God withdraws altogether from the soul that does not want Him; and this indeed delivers the soul a captive to the demons.⁶⁶ The second case seems to be a definite abandonment by God, but in chapter 87 Diadochus implies that this is not the case. Even in this state man, if he will offer to God ceaseless confession, his incessant tears and his labour, he may eventually induce God to reveal His presence in his heart as before.⁶⁷ Thus baptismal grace is something permanent and objective, and does not depend for its existence upon any subjective, moral attitude on man's part; but at the same time God demands man's co-operation.

In conclusion, baptism is the most important event of the Christian's life because from this moment man is free from all original and actual sins, and he has the Holy Spirit within to guide him to the way of perfection.

63. *Cent.* 86 (145, 25-27; 146, 1-9).

64. *Cent.* 82 (140, 9-15).

65. *Cent.* 80 (137, 23-26; 138, 1-28).

66. *Cent.* 86 (146, 3-17).

67. *Cent.* 87 (147, 10-14).

While Diadochus deals fully with baptism, he says nothing about the eucharist. He certainly took this second sacrament for granted as a normal part of the Christian life, and he does not seem to regard it as a subject of controversy.

4. *The co-operation of grace and man*

The salvation of man through Jesus Christ is only the presupposition of Christian spiritual life. Of course grace is given immediately at baptism,⁶⁸ but spiritual achievement depends on man's effort as well.

In fact, the Greek Fathers have not written any systematic piece of work to define the mysterious ways of grace, while in the West the Latin theologians and some local councils developed the teaching of grace and salvation because of the controversy between Augustine, Pelagius and Cassian. According to Diadochus, the renewal of the Christian is not due to the workings of grace alone.

Further, grace does not soften man's will compulsorily: οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαστικῶς τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἡμῶν προμαλάξει ἢ χάρις.⁶⁹ but Diadochus teaches, man's free will shall not be at all constrained by the bonds of grace... τὸ αὐτεξούσιον ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ πᾶν μὴ ἦ δεδεμένον τῷ δεσμῷ τῆς χάριτος.⁷⁰ God, in order that man may come freely to the full enjoyment of divine blessings, gives him the choice by allowing the Devil to act on the soul.⁷¹

Diadochus would also not accept that salvation depends on man as the British monk Pelagius maintains. Pelagians and Messalians are very close in this respect, because the Messalian idea in which the grace of baptism and the other sacraments are powerless by themselves to free the soul from the presence of evil without prayer, means emphasis on human power. According to Diadochus and the Eastern Fathers, grace and human will are manifested simultaneously and cannot be conceived apart from each other. We have a co-operation or a synergy of two wills, that of man and that of God. Συνέργεια or συνεργία,⁷² co-operation, is a term employed by the majority of the Greek Fathers to express the fundamental interconnection between divine grace and human freedom. This term, co-operation, implies that God's grace is essen-

68. *Cent.* 89 (149, 1-8).

69. *Cent.* 95 (158, 7-8).

70. *Cent.* 85 (145, 16-17).

71. *Cent.* 76 (134, 23-25).

72. 1 *Cor.* 3,9: Θεοῦ γὰρ ἐσμὲν συνεργοί.

tial, but God waits for man's free consent; we can do nothing without God, but God will do nothing without us. Grace is the real presence of God within us, which continually demands our efforts.

In particular, Diadochus says that from the instant man is baptized grace is hidden in the intellect, concealing its presence.⁷³ Grace is waiting to see the soul's inclination, *πρόθεσις*, because God is not prepared to grant any gift for anyone who has not first prepared himself.⁷⁴ But when the whole man begins to love God with full resolve and make progress in keeping the commandments, then in a mysterious way grace reveals to the heart its presence, once again waiting to see which way the soul inclines.⁷⁵ In other words, Diadochus teaches that at baptism grace is hidden within man, and through the fulfilment of the commandments, *τῇ τηρήσει τῶν ἐντολῶν*, it becomes active and manifest.

He further clarifies this point by the distinction between *εἰκῶν* and *ὁμοίωσις*. At baptism man receives at once the restoration and renewal of the image, but attainment of the likeness is only achieved with human co-operation.⁷⁶ Mark the Hermit, in order to define more precisely the relation between baptismal grace and the fulfilment of the commandments, avows the same fundamental distinction. At baptism, he argues, the fullness of grace and the indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit are given to us mystically, or secretly, *μυστικῶς* or *κρυφίως*, but if we faithfully observe the commandments then we shall become aware of this grace consciously and actively, *ἐνεργῶς*.⁷⁷ In the Macarian Homilies the will of man has an essential position, for without it God does nothing.⁷⁸

In the New Homilies the same idea is also expressed.⁷⁹ Thus the salvation of man depends on grace and man's co-operation. Human co-operation takes the form of faith and good works. Diadochus stresses

73. *Cent.* 77 (135, 2-4).

74. *Cent.* 85 (144, 16-19).

75. *Cent.* 85 (144, 24-25; 145, 1-3); 93 (155, 1-5).

76. *Cent.* 89 (149, 1-8). Δύο ἡμῖν καλὰ ἡ ἀγία χάρις διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ποιεῖ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως, ὧν τινων τὸ ἐν ἀπειρώς τοῦ ἐνὸς ὑπερβάλλει. Ἄλλὰ τὸ μὲν εὐθέως χαρίζεται· ἀνακαινίζει... τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα... Τὸ δὲ ἐκδέχεται ἵνα σὺν ἡμῖν ἐργάσῃται, ὅπερ ἔστι τὸ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.

77. *De Bapt.* 1004 D. See T. K. Ware, *The ascetic writings of Mark the Hermit*, Oxford 1965, p. 210.

78. *Hom.* 37, 10, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 270: παρόντος δὲ τοῦ θελήματος, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεός τι ποιεῖ, καίπερ δυνάμενος, διὰ τὸ αὐτεξούσιον. Ἡ οὖν τελεσιουργία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κεῖται.

79. *New Hom.* 28, 3, ed. E. Klostermann, H. Berthold, p. 166.

the intimate connection between faith and works. Man is justified not only through faith without works and not only through works without faith. In both cases men will be condemned. Real faith is shown in actions. Works are the fruits of faith. «Faith without works and works without faith will both alike be condemned, for he who has faith must offer to the Lord the faith which shows itself in actions. Abraham was counted righteous not because of his faith but because of faith's fruit, that is, the offer of his son.»⁸⁰ In this passage we have a reference to St. James' letter 2,21, where the connection between faith and the works of Christian love is discussed. In fact, this teaching is emphasized so much in James' letter that it has been suggested that it was published after Paul's letters to the Romans and the Galatians, in order to correct the teaching of Paul or his interpreters. In fact, there is not a clash between the two views, but both used the terms πίστις and ἔργα differently, and they speak under different circumstances with different purposes.

Diadochus connects faith and love. Love's expression and fruits are good works. If someone loves God this means that he both believes truly and performs the work of faith reverently. But if he believes only and does not love, he lacks even the faith he thinks he has, for he believes merely with a certain superficiality of intellect and is not moved by the full force of love's glory. The chief part of virtue then is faith made active by love (Gal. 5,6).⁸¹ Diadochus emphasizes the teaching of James' letter but also quotes from Paul's letters, which means that he accepts that both teach the same on this subject.

Messalians believed in a kind of «salvation by works». Since they accepted that salvation comes not from the power of Christ's death and resurrection, mediated to men through the sacraments, but by man's struggles and prayers.⁸²

This double emphasis on faith and works by Diadochus is also more or less standard teaching among the Greek Fathers. In the Macarian *Great Letter*, for instance, Macarius insists upon the double contribution of faith and works which man must make on his side.⁸³

In conclusion, neither faith nor works can have a redeeming

80. *Cent.* 20 (95, 4-8).

81. *Cent.* 21 (95, 10-15).

82. See John of Damascus, prop. 4: "Ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ βάπτισμα τελειοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον· οὔτε ἡ τῶν θεῶν μυστηρίων μεταλήψις καθαρίζει τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς σπουδαζομένη εὐχή.

83. *Great Letter*, ed. W. Jaeger, p. 236, 6-13.

character before God, who saves man through His free love, which is an answer to our free co-operation consisting of our faith and love.

5. *The stages of the spiritual life*

Diadochus occasionally distinguishes the believers according to their spiritual progress. This distinction is already known from the early Christian era. St. Paul, for instance, distinguished the Christians according to their spiritual perfection and emphasised the need of continuous spiritual progress. He described the beginners as infants and the perfect as mature men.⁸⁴ The ecclesiastical writers and the Fathers of the fourth century distinguished two stages in the spiritual perfection. The *πρᾶξις* or *πρακτικὴ φιλοσοφία*, and the *θεωρία*. This distinction was based on Greek Philosophy, which distinguishes between *θεωρητικοῦ βίου*, contemplative life, and *πρακτικοῦ* or *πολιτικοῦ βίου*, active life,⁸⁵ which through Philo reached the Alexandrian school and influenced patristic thought.⁸⁶

The active life contributes to the purification of man from sin and the development of virtues. This stage of spiritual life from the time of Origen was connected with the ascetical life, while the contemplative life is concerned with the knowledge of God's action and His vision. The development of this distinction was taken over by the Cappadocians and particularly by Evagrius. Evagrius mentions the *πρακτικὴ* or *πρακτικὴ μέθοδος*, which is the domain of the virtues, and the commandments which ends in dispassion.⁸⁷ From this stage begins the development of *γνώσις* or *γνωστικὴ* or *θεωρητικὴ*, which is subdivided into two stages. In the first takes place the contemplation of corporeal and incorporeal beings by knowing them through the *Λόγοι*, that is a knowledge conformed to the divine reason, to the *Λόγος* who created all things. In the second stage takes place the contemplation of God and transition from the *φυσικὴ θεωρία* to *Θεολογία*. Theology, for Evagrius,

84. 1 Cor. 3, 1-3; Ephes. 4, 12-16; Hebr. 5, 12-14 and especially Phil. 3, 12-15.

85. See A. J. Festugière, *Contemplation et vie contemplative Selon Platon*, Paris 1950 p. 17 and 45. W. Jaeger, *Aristotle*, p. 67-98. R. Arnou, *Πρᾶξις et θεωρία; Etude de detail sur la pensée des Enneades de Plotin*, Paris 1921.

86. See, J. Daniélou, *Origène*, Paris 1948 p. 297. G. Ladner, *The idea of Reform; Its impact in Christian thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, p. 98, E. Mason, *Active and contemplative life*. Milwaukee, 1961.

87. *Practicus*, 78, ed. Guillaumont, p. 666: Πρακτικὴ ἐστὶ μέθοδος πνευματικὴ τὸ παθητικὸν μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκκαθαίρουσα.

is the supreme knowledge, what he calls «the gnosis of the Trinity.»⁸⁸

Diadochus occasionally presents a classification into three groups:

ἀρχόμενοι — μέσοι — τέλειοι⁸⁹

or

εἰσαγωγικοί

or

νηπιάζοντες

or

καθαριζόμενοι — καθαρισθέντες

1. Ἀρχόμενοι

It is true that from the moment of baptism the Holy Spirit dwells in the hearts of the believers, but this does not suppress man's power to choose evil as well as good. Man retains free will, and it is possible to fall.⁹⁰ Temptation is something against which the Christian must struggle continually through his whole life. Diadochus is concerned with the problem of temptation after baptism against the Messalians. He employs the terms προσβολή⁹¹ and πρόληψις.⁹² The Messalians believed that once the demon has been expelled and replaced by the Holy Spirit, through baptism, a man is no longer exposed to temptation and no longer capable of falling. But in Diadochus' view this theory has no place. The Christian must struggle against temptations. Even more after baptism God recedes in order to educate the believers.⁹³ Diadochus explains that the παιδευτικὴ παραχώρησις does not by any means deprive the soul of divine light, only grace hides its presence so that the soul may advance through resisting the attacks of the demons by seeking help from God with humility and fear.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the purpose of receding is not only to overcome sin through ascetic effort but also to help in spiritual experience.⁹⁵ The Christian life is an unre-

88. See L. Bouyer, *The spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, London 1963, p. 384-392.

89. Note that Mark the Hermit uses the same classification, see *De pean.*, 7 (PG 65, 976C); 11 (981B).

90. *Cent.* 78 (136, 14-24).

91. *Cent.* 28 (99, 13).

92. *Cent.* 99 (161, 11).

93. *Cent.* 87 (146, 23-25; 147, 1-3).

94. *Cent.* 86 (146, 4-15).

95. *Cent.* 85 (145, 13-19).

mitting struggle until the hour of death. For this reason Diadochus often emphasizes the need for unceasing repentance.⁹⁶ It is characteristic that Diadochus often speaks about the spiritual struggle of Christians as a «second martyrdom»—an idea which is common among the ascetic writers.⁹⁷

While in the early Christian era the bodies of Christians were submitted to deadly tortures and other afflictions, since peace prevails in the Church, the bodies of believers have to be tested by illnesses and their souls tried by evil thoughts. This will be counted as a second martyrdom.⁹⁸ Diadochus recognises that for the beginners, τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, the Christian life seems very rough and forbidding not because it really is difficult, but because human nature is accustomed to the present pleasures.⁹⁹ Among the initiatory virtues, ταῖς εἰσαγωγοῖς ἀρεταῖς, the chief one is obedience, which displaces presumption and then engenders humility.¹⁰⁰ Self control is common to all virtues. Diadochus emphasizes the need to cultivate not only the bodily virtues but also those which purify the inner man.¹⁰¹ Fasting is necessary for the spiritual development of man, but it is not something to boast of in front of God, for it is simply a tool for training those who desire self-restraint.¹⁰² Of course fasting is necessary not because any kind of food is bad in itself, but by not eating too much man keeps in check the excitable parts of the body and gives to the poor what remains.¹⁰³

Prayer has a special place in Diadochus' spirituality. He knew from his experience that man often finds it hard to persevere in praying because of the restriction and concentration which this involves. But prayer prevents the intellect from confusing its own utterances with the words of grace and stops it from being led astray by self-esteem and dispersed through over-elation and loquacity. Thus the intellect does not escape the above faults, but it is renewed in its swift and effortless understanding of divine truth, and with humility it advances in its knowledge of discrimination.

96. *Cent.* 100.

97. See M. Viller, «Le martyre et l'ascèse», R.A.M. 6 (1925), p. 195-142. A. Φυτράκη, «Μαρτύριον καὶ μοναχικὸς βίος», in *Θεολογία* 19, (1941-48), p. 301-329.

98. *Cent.* 94 (156, 6-23).

99. *Cent.* 93 (154, 15-18).

100. *Cent.* 41 (108, 21-23).

101. *Cent.* 42 (109, 12-19).

102. *Cent.* 47 (112, 5-13).

103. *Cent.* 43 (110, 10-17).

Diadochus speaks about prayer, which is above even the broadest scope of speculation; but this prayer is granted only to those who experience grace with full consciousness.¹⁰⁴ Diadochus also mentions two types of prayers, vocal and mental. When a person is in a state of natural well-being, he sings with a full voice and prefers to pray out loud. But when he is energized by the Holy Spirit, he prays in the heart alone completely at peace.¹⁰⁵ Diadochus connects his doctrine of prayer with the memory or remembrance of God, *μνήμη Θεοῦ*, a phrase which occurs frequently in his «Century». This significant phrase has an important history in Eastern spirituality.¹⁰⁶ In fact, this phrase has a Stoic background. The Stoa, from Zeno onwards, developed an elaborate theory of the memory, and Stoic writers of the early Christian era, such as Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius recommend in particular the memory or remembrance or recollection of God.¹⁰⁷ «Memory of God» is also mentioned by Philo of Alexandria in his description of the Therapeutae. Philo speaks of this memory as something continual.¹⁰⁸ The memory of God is mentioned by the Cappadocians, Gregory of Nazianzus¹⁰⁹ and Basil.¹¹⁰ It is found also in the ascetic teaching of Evagrius¹¹¹ and the Macarian Homilies¹¹² where the subject of continual recollection is above all the passion of Christ.¹¹³

Diadochus very often mentions the memory or remembrance of

104. *Cent.* 68 (128, 6-21; 129, 1-8).

105. *Cent.* 73 (132, 2-4).

106. On *μνήμη Θεοῦ*, see J. Lemaître, «Contemplation chez les Grecs et autres orientaux Chrétiens», *D. S.* II 1953, 1858-62; I. Hausherr, «Comment priaient les pères», *R. A. M.* 32, 1956, p. 55-58. I Hausherr, «Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison», *OCA* 157 Rome 1960. T. K. Ware, «Pray without Ceasing. The ideal of continual prayer in Eastern Monasticism», *Eastern Churches Review*, Vol. II, number 3, 1969, p. 253-261.

107. Epictetus, *Apud Arrian, Discourses* II, 18, 29. Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, 6, 7 and 18.

108. *De vita contemplativa*, ed. Conybeare, Oxford, 1895, p. 61, ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἀληστον ἔχουσι τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μνήμην.

109. *Or.* 27, 4 (PG 36, 16C). Compare *Or.* 17, 2 (PG 35, 968 B-C).

110. *Reg. jus. tract.* 5,2; 6,2, PG 31, 921B, 928A, *Ep.* 114, PG 32, 229B. Καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι Θεοῦ ἐνόησις, τὸ διὰ τῆς μνήμης ἐνιδρυμένον ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν Θεόν· οὕτω γινόμεθα ναὸς Θεοῦ.

111. *Cap. paraen.* 43, PG 79, 1252: ἀεὶ μνημόνευε τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ οὐρανὸς ἡ διάνοιά σου γίνεταί.

112. *Hom.* 43, 3, ed. H. Dörries etc. p. 286; *Hom.* 53, 16 ed. Marriott p. 36, 1-5; *Hom.* 54, 10 p. 41, 1, 5-9.

113. *New Hom.* 3, 1, ed. Klostermann p. 12, 17-21.

God.¹¹⁴ He teaches that by the remembrance of God a man can turn his attention away from the inclination to evil.¹¹⁵ Through practising the remembrance of God evil is consumed and the soul completely recovers its natural brilliance with greater glory.¹¹⁶ Diadochus links the *μνήμη Θεοῦ* with the name of Jesus. Thus the memory of God is definitely Christocentric, concentrated upon the person of Christ. This is an important step in the historical development of the Jesus prayer and our earliest (along with Nilus of Ancyra) witness for the invocation of Jesus. He teaches that the intellect must concentrate on the words *Κύριε Ἰησοῦ*, Lord Jesus, within its inner shrine with such intensity that it is not turned aside to any fantasies. The memory or invocation of Jesus is a way of overcoming *φαντασίαι*, of freeing the mind from multiplicity of thoughts. The imagination is treated as an enemy and vigorously suppressed. For this Diadochus advises that in the time of contemplation we must keep the intellect free of all fantasy.¹¹⁷ In fact, Diadochus here follows Evagrius for whom prayer is a «putting away of thoughts» *ἀπόθεσις νοημάτων*: it aims at a state beyond all figures, images and forms.¹¹⁸ Eastern spiritual writers of later times, follow Evagrius in their attitude towards the imagination. Hesychius, for example, insists that the «prayer of Jesus» must be free from all images and thoughts.¹¹⁹ In the same way the Hesychasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, together with their modern disciples, state repeatedly that the practice of invoking the name of Jesus does not involve any use of images, and is not to be regarded as a form of discursive meditation upon some particular episode in the life of Christ. Diadochus also maintains that those who meditate unceasingly upon the name of Jesus in the depths of their heart can sometimes see the light of their intellect. The concentration upon Jesus' name burns up all the filth which covers the soul and implants a constant love for its goodness.¹²⁰ Diadochus insists that this memory of God or Jesus must be continual. He emphatically maintains that he who wishes to cleanse his

114. See I. Hausherr, «Noms du Christ et voies d'oraison», *OCA* 157, Rome 1960, p. 202-210.

115. *Cent.* 3 (86, 5-6); 56 (117, 16-18); 81 (139, 18-20).

116. *Cent.* 97 (160, 3-7).

117. *Cent.* 68 (128, 18-20).

118. See Evagrius, *De Orat.*, 44-46, 59, 66-70 (PG 79, 1176 CD, 1180B, 1181 ABC).

119. *Cent.* 1, 7, 10, 15, 20, 21, 49, 71, 87.

120. *Cent.* 59 (119, 4-22); 32 (102, 1-16); 88 (148, 24-26).

heart should keep it continually aflame through practising the remembrance of the Lord Jesus, making this his only study and his ceaseless task.¹²¹ The theory of continual recollection of God or Jesus' name is identical with that of continual prayer. In fact, in Diadochus' days the relation between unceasing prayer and active works or service, *διακονία*, was a burning problem. The extreme Messalians took the command to «pray without ceasing» in its most literal sense. Prayer for them meant vocal prayer, and so if a man is to pray continually he cannot possibly be engaged in any kind of works. Diadochus insists that he who desires to pray must pray not merely from time to time but at all times even when he is outside places of prayer.¹²² Diadochus' answer was to suggest that continual prayer is not so much exterior and vocal as implicit; it is a state of soul, not just the outward action of reciting an endless series of prayers. The Macarian Homilies also avoid this error of the extreme Messalians.¹²³

Diadochus often speaks about the tears of the believers, which he characterises as tear *ἀγάπης* or *ἀνάληγτον* or *ἀνελλιπέες* or *πνευματικόν*. This spiritual phenomenon is also known from the other ascetic writers.¹²⁴ According to Diadochus, the gift of spiritual tears is a perceptible expression of real repentance and the experience of God's grace by the regenerated man. In the first stage of the spiritual life we found the tears of repentance. They come from the memory of sins. When the soul starts to reduce its blindness it will consider its slightest faults to be very grave and will continually shed tears with deep thanksgiving.¹²⁵ On the other hand, conscience is assured that it has been forgiven only through the tears of love.¹²⁶ Finally he describes the spiritual tears as a characteristic of a man who is energized by the Holy Spirit.¹²⁷

121. *Cent.* 97 (159, 21); 56 (117, 16-17).

122. *Cent.* 97 (159, 19-24).

123. *Hom.* 43, 3, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 286.

124. A. Φυτράκη, «Ταῖς τῶν δακρύων ροαῖς», ὁ κλαυθμὸς τῶν μοναχῶν, Athens 1945. I Hausherr, «Penthos, la doctrine de la componction dans l' Orient Chrétien», *OCA* 132 Roma 1944. Lot-Borodine, «Le mystère du don des larmes dans l' Orient Chrétien dans la vie spirituelle» in *Études et documents* 48, 3 (1936) p. 65-110.

125. *Cent.* 27 (98, 17-21).

126. *Cent.* 100 (162, 4-5); 87 (147, 10-14).

127. *Cent.* 73 (132, 4-12).

2. Μέσοι.

In the half way stage along the path of spiritual experience, man has the power to gain control over the passions, which are diseases of the soul.¹²⁸ Diadochus expresses this state of soul by the phrase ἐπάνω τῶν παθῶν, above the passions,¹²⁹ or by the Stoic term ἀπάθεια. This term caused many misunderstandings because it was often translated with the Stoic meaning of the absence of any passion. The term ἀπάθεια was introduced in the Christian thought by Clement of Alexandria and was later developed by Origen, the Cappadocians, Evagrius and Macarius. For the Christian writers and Diadochus ἀπάθεια is different from the Stoic insensibility. Diadochus makes clear that spiritual love can bring the intellect to the state of dispassion.¹³⁰

By the term ἀπάθεια the extreme Messalians meant impeccability; once the demon is driven out and has been replaced by the Holy Spirit, a man is no longer capable of sinning, τῆς ψυχῆς μηκέτι δεκτικὴ οὐσῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω ῥοπῆς.¹³¹ Diadochus does not accept such an explanation. For him, dispassion means not that a man is no longer subject to temptations, but that he no longer gives way to them. Ἀπάθειά ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων, ἐπεὶ ἄρα ὀφείλομεν ἐξεληλυθέναι κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου (1 Cor. 5,10), ἀλλὰ τὸ πολεμουμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπολεμήτους μένειν.¹³² A sign that the soul is not far from the realm of dispassion is the acceptance of illness' pain.¹³³

Diadochus very often uses the terms αἴσθησις, perception, πληροφορία, assurance and πείρα, experience, to express the spiritual state of man. These three terms are found in the New Testament.¹³⁴ Diadochus joins the two terms in one phrase: ἐν πάσῃ αἰσθήσει καὶ πληροφορίᾳ,

128. Note that Diadochus also speaks about the παιδευτικὰ πάθη, testing passions, which are energies of the soul implanted in it by God for man's spiritual progress. See, *Cent.* 95 (158, 6-7).

129. See *Cent.* 71 (130, 21-22); 72 (131, 17); 99 (161, 17).

130. *Cent.* 74 (133, 10-11); 89 (150, 13-14).

131. Timothy, prop. 9, 16. Compare Theodoret, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4, 11, ed. Parmentier, p. 231, 8-11.

132. *Cent.* 98 (160, 9-12).

133. *Cent.* 54 (116, 7-9).

134. For the New Testament background see: αἴσθησις *Phil.* 1,9. πληροφορία *Col.* 2, 2, 1 *Thess.* 1,5, *Heb.* 6, 11; 10 12 *Heb.* 11, 29; 26. Especially the term πληροφορία in 1 *Thess.*, 1,5 and *Heb.* 10,12 seems to signify a feeling of fullness and certainty as in Diadochus writings.

in full perception and assurance,¹³⁵ a phrase which has important Messalian associations.¹³⁶ By these terms Diadochus makes clear that for him the climax of the spiritual life consists in a feeling or sensation. Particularly the term *αἴσθησις* is found in Christian literature used by Origen and Evagrius. Origen was the first who gave a teaching about the five spiritual senses.¹³⁷ According to Origen, beyond the natural bodily senses there are the spiritual senses of the inner man which do not have visible character. The principal conditions to develop these spiritual senses are faith and the study of the mystical aspects of the Scriptures and the freedom from the domination of the bodily senses. Anyone who exercises his spiritual senses will be perfect and *θεωρητικὸς νοητῶν*. Origen believed that the knowledge of God is a characteristic of the mind. The mind rather than the soul understands spiritual and invisible good. The spiritual senses are responsible for the understanding of the spiritual realities, as the instrument of the mind. In other words, the spiritual senses are the instrument of mystical knowledge.

This Origenistic teaching had influenced Evagrius. Evagrius in his book, *προβλήματα προγνωστικά*,¹³⁸ wrote about the mind's five spiritual senses through which mind can see and feel. Evagrius calls the spiritual senses *νοὸς αἰσθητήριον*. The bodily senses conceive the visible world in a limited way in comparison with the spiritual senses, which penetrate into different objects. The spiritual senses understand the deeper meaning of the visible objects.

Diadochus uses the term *αἴσθησις* accompanied by other terms as *αἴσθησις καρδίας*, *αἴσθησις νοῦς*, *αἴσθησις πνεύματος*, *αἴσθησις ψυχῆς*. He also characterises the perception as *αἴσθησις ἄρρητος*, *ξύλος*, *νοερά* and *βαθεῖα*. For Diadochus the perceptive faculty of the intellect consists in the power to discriminate accurately between the tastes of different realities. Thus when the intellect begins to act vigorously and with complete

135. See, *Cent.* 40 (108, 15); 44 (111, 1) 68 (129, 7) 90 (150, 21; 151, 11); 94 (156, 15); Compare 91 (152, 10) and 95 (157, 18).

136. See Timothy, prop. 3; John of Damascus, prop. 7. and 17. The phrase occurs also in the Macarian Homilies, 10, 2, ed. Derries, Klostermann, Kroeger, p. 94; 14, 2 p. 122; *New Homilies*, 6, 4, ed. Klostermann, p. 27; 25, p. 138. The same phrase is used by Mark the Hermit: see, *De Bapt.* PG 65, 1004 D and Consult 4 PG 65; 1108 D.

137. I am much indebted to the article by K. Rahner, «Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène», *R.A.M.* 13 (1932) p. 113-145.

138. *Cent.* 3, 35, ed. Frankenberg, p. 155.

freedom from worldly care, it is capable of perceiving the wealth of God's grace and is never led astray by any illusion of grace which comes from the Devil.¹³⁹ Ἀἴσθησις is an experimental knowledge of God by the purified man. It is the sign of the good relationship between man and God. This perceptive faculty, which naturally is single, is split into two distinct modes of operation as a result of Adam's disobedience. But this single and perceptive faculty is implanted in the soul by the Holy Spirit.¹⁴⁰ It is surprising that Diadochus so often describes the spiritual experiences with the terms of taste as γεύεσθαι, γεῦσις, ἡδύτης, γλυκύτης. The intellect knows when it is tasting the grace of the Holy Spirit and keeps the memory of this taste through the activity of love.¹⁴¹

Finally, the Messalians by the term αἴσθησις meant not perception by some spiritual faculty but quite literally, perception with the physical sense. Diadochus explains that by the term αἴσθησις he does not mean that God appears to man visibly, Indeed the soul, when it is pure, perceives God's grace tasting it in some ineffable manner; but no invisible reality appears in visible form.¹⁴² Although Diadochus opposed the deviation of the Messalians, who pushed this point to heretical extremes, he did not reject the appeal to conscious experience.

3. Οἱ τέλειοι.

The characteristics of those who are approaching perfection are the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are «knowledge» γνῶσις, «wisdom», σοφία and «theology», θεολογία. Each of them has its own distinctive mode of operation. According to Diadochus «knowledge» is the power to discern without error between good and evil.¹⁴³ «Knowledge» comes through prayer, deep stillness and the complete absence of anxiety. It unites man to God through the spiritual experience, but does not move him to express outwardly what he knows. In fact, the ascetics, although they are consciously illuminated by «knowledge», yet still do not speak about God. «Wisdom», σοφία, on the other hand, leads man to express the operations of «knowledge» within him. «Knowledge» illuminates man

139. *Cent.* 30 (100, 15-19; 101, 1-2).

140. *Cent.* 25 (96, 19-20; 97, 1-16); 29 (99, 23-25; 100, 1-13). See above p. 1098 (1984).

141. *Cent.* 30 (101, 4-9).

142. *Cent.* 36 (105, 8-11).

143. *Cent.* 6 (87, 2-3).

through its inner operation while wisdom does so through being expressed outwardly. «Wisdom» comes through grace given by God and humble meditation on Scriptures.¹⁴⁴ But the gift which enflames man's heart and moves it to the love of God more than any other is «theology». The gift of «theology» is not prepared for anyone by God but only for whom he has prepared himself for the glory of the gospel.¹⁴⁵

In fact, the intellect joyfully turns to theology because of the broad and unhampered scope of divine speculation.¹⁴⁶ But what is «theology» according to our author?¹⁴⁷ In Diadochus' terms «theology» is the early offspring of God's grace, which bestows on the soul the greatest gifts. First of all, it leads man to disregard all love of this life and possess the oracles of God. Then «theology» embraces man's intellect with the light of a transforming fire and so makes it a partner of the angels in their liturgy. In brief, theology is the gift which unites the soul with God the Logos, in unbreakable communion.¹⁴⁸

Diadochus distinguishes between the gifts of «theology» and «knowledge». These two gifts never occur in all their fullness in the same person. The theologian may savour the experience of «knowledge», and the gnostic may by degrees attain the theological contemplation.¹⁴⁹ Thus theology, according to Diadochus, is not an academic research, but he characteristically maintains that nothing is so destitute as a mind philosophizing about God when it is without Him.¹⁵⁰

Man who is in the process of being purified is characterised both by fear and by a moderate measure of love. But to the perfect, who has been purified, there is no longer any thought of fear but rather a constant burning and binding of the soul to God.¹⁵¹ Diadochus to express this state of soul uses the mystical phrase ἔρως Θεοῦ,¹⁵² which is common to other mystical writers as well. He repeats Paul's saying 1 Cor. 8,3: he who loves God consciously in his heart is known by God and enters

144. *Cent.* 9 (88, 13-24; 89, 1-2).

145. *Cent.* 66 (127, 1-5).

146. *Cent.* 68 (128, 6-9).

147. See M. Rothenhäusler, «La doctrine de la «theologia» chez Diadochus de Photikè» in *Irenicon*, vol. 19 (1937) p. 536-553.

148. *Cent.* 67 (127, 10-23; 128, 1-4).

149. *Cent.* 72 (131, 12-26).

150. *Cent.* 7 (87, 16-17).

151. *Cent.* 16 (92, 15-22; 93, 1-16).

152. *Cent.* 19 (94, 20); 61 (121, 17-18); 74 (132, 20-21).

into God's love. Such a man is completely transformed by the love of God.¹⁵³ Then the feeling which the Holy Spirit engenders in man's heart is completely peaceful and awakes in all parts of the soul a longing for God.¹⁵⁴ In this state man begins to be strongly energised by the divine light and becomes completely translucent so that his mind sees its own light vividly.¹⁵⁵

153. *Cent.* 14 (91, 9-19).

154. *Cent.* 74 (133, 3-8).

155. *Cent.* 40 (108, 5-8); *Vision* 18 (174, 5-7).

CHAPTER IV
THE END OF HISTORY

1. *The Christian hope*

The most unhappy event of human existence is death, that is, the separation of soul from body. Death is an event which causes dissolution in human nature. Man loses his unity; the body goes into corruption while the soul continues to exist in a limited state.¹ But how has death entered into the world? Diadochus declares that death entered into the world as a result of Adam's sin.² Therefore death is not the natural end of human existence but the destruction of God's creation. Death is the captivity of man into corruption. This interpretation of death as result of sin comes from the Pauline view, in his letter to the Romans 5,12, which is followed by the majority of the Eastern Fathers.

Just as death entered the world by the sin of the first Adam, so by the second Adam's death and resurrection, the principle of life and immortality has been given back to mankind. The gift of incorruptibility lost at the fall is restored by Christ's death and resurrection. Diadochus interprets the death and resurrection of Christ as a victory over the powers of evil, which has positive influence on mankind:

... τῶν τοῦ ἄδου δυνάμεων τὴν συντριβὴν προευαγγελιζόμενος τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν ἔτι τοῦ θανάτου καθημένους, ἤντινα ἐνεργεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου ταφῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως διὰ πολλῶν πεπληροφόρημεθα.³

Indeed, Christ is risen and the sting of death destroyed. Christ's death and resurrection are the decisive fight against death and ruin. Since then the human future depends on this victory. The resurrection of Christ is an event and a promise. It is an event as a beginning of an already existing reality, but at the same time it is a promise which, although accomplished partially, will come to its complete fulfilment

1. *Vision* 28 (179, 15-21). 'Ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐπειδὴν χωρισθῆ τοῦ σώματος οὐκέτι τὰ ἐν τόπῳ δύναται ὄρᾶν... ἀνάγκη πᾶσα χωρισθεῖσαν αὐτὴν τοῦ σώματος μηκέτι ταῦτα ὄρᾶν ἅπερ ἑώρα διὰ τοῦ σώματος...

2. *Cent.* 78 (135, 21; 136, 1).

3. *Sermon* 2 (165, 13-16).

only in the eschatological time. For this reason Christians do not fear death any more, but through dispassion have succeeded in waiting joyfully for death as the entry into truer life.⁴ It is interesting to refer to Diadochus' view of fighting passions through intense meditation on death, ἐννοίᾳ βαθείᾳ τοῦ θανάτου.⁵ In fact, we find in Plato's thought the same phraseology: οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθνήσκειν μελετῶσιν,⁶ meaning the soul's return back to its original state. In Diadochus this has the meaning of man's spiritual wakefulness before the end of the present life and the eschatological coming of Christ.⁷ This is proven from other passages of Diadochus' writings where he describes how after death the soul waits for the resurrection of the body.⁸

Death continues to act in the world. The full realization of Christ's victory against death will take place in the end of history. According to Diadochus this world and its history will have an end. He seems to follow the biblical and early Fathers' view of the «rectilinear» conception of time in opposition to the Greek «circular» conception.⁹

In the end of history will take place the eschatological hope of the believers, that is, the second coming of Christ. The coming of Christ will be followed by the resurrection of all mankind which is considered as a new creative act of God, an active renewal of the whole creation. The resurrection of bodies is a significant teaching of Christianity and of Diadochus which is in opposition to Platonic thought, which would consider the idea of the resurrection of the body as a new captivity of the soul in the prison of the body. Minucius Felix expresses characteristically the Christian belief of the resurrection of the body: «Expectandum nobis etiam et corporis ver est.»¹⁰ The resurrection will be followed by the judgment of all mankind according to the Scriptures.

The phrase of Diadochus, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς δοκιμασθέντες τῆς κρίσεως, in the end of his «Century» caused suspicions even from the time of our author. Maximus the Confessor gave a special interpreta-

4. *Cent.* 54 (116, 9-11). See also the tenth definition of Diadochus: Total transformation: through delight in God, to look on the repulsiveness of death as a joy, p. 85.

5. *Cent.* 99 (161, 15).

6. *Phaedo* 67d-e, 64a, 80e-81a.

7. This idea is common among the Eastern Fathers.

8. *Vision* 26 (177, 15-18).

9. On this subject see the valuable book by O. Cullmann, *Christ et le temps*, Neuchâtel-Paris 1948.

10. Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 34.

tion of the above phrase, which the editors of the *Philokalia* cited immediately after the text of Diadochus' «Century». It is true that in several passages in the New Testament, we find belief in the eternal punishment of sinners. Origen was the first who by his theory of ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων tried to resolve the teaching of Christianity on this point. Origen declared that since God will be in the eschatological time τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι¹¹ evil will not exist any more, and through the punishment of the body the soul will be purified. Therefore the penalties of sinners must come to an end, when all things are restored to their primeval order:

Γίνεται νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις, καὶ γίνεται κόλασις, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπέραντος. Κολαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μικρὸν καθαιρεται ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ οὕτως ἀποκαθίσταται εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν τάξιν... Πάντων ἀσεβῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς γε δαιμόνων ἡ κόλασις πέρας ἔχει. Καὶ ἀποκατασταθήσονται ἀσεβεῖς τε καὶ δαίμονες εἰς τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν τάξιν.¹²

But does Diadochus by the above mentioned phrase mean the Origenistic theory of apocatastasis? Diadochus said that at the coming of the Lord those who have departed the present life without fear but with confidence because of the fulfilling of the law will be «caught up together with all the Saints» (1 Thes. 4,17). But those who feel fear, even for an instant, at the moment of their death will be left behind with the rest of mankind to be tried by the fire of judgment and will receive the lot due to them according to their works.¹³ The phraseology of Diadochus is clear and known from the letters of the New Testament where the Apostles speak in the same way about the trial of human works by fire.¹⁴

Diadochus does not reach or support any kind of apocatastasis; he simply declares that those who are afraid at the time of their death because of their own wickedness will be with the rest of mankind to be tried by the fire of judgment, and they will receive the lot due to them according to their works.

Maximus the Confessor interprets the above phrase as follows:

11. 1 Cor. 15, 28.

12. Origen, *De princip.* 2, 10, 8, ed. P. Koetschau GCS, vol. 5, Leipzig 1913, p. 182-183.

13. *Cent.* 100 (162, 16-23; 163, 1-11). We quote here the most important piece: Οἱ δὲ κἂν ἐν βραχεῖ δειλιῶντες ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ θανάτου ἐν τῇ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καταλειφθήσονται πληθῆι ὡς ὑπὸ κρίσει ὄντες, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς δοκιμασθέντες τῆς κρίσεως τοὺς κεχρηωστημένους αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν πράξεις ἀπολάβωσι κλήρους παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἡμῶν Θεοῦ καὶ βασιλείας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

14. See 1 Cor. 3, 13; 1 Pet. 1,7.

«Those who have acquired perfect love for God will be caught up in the clouds as the Apostle says (1 Thes. 4,17) and will not be brought to judgment. But those who have not acquired love in all its perfection, but have both sins and virtues on their account, will appear before the court of judgment. There they will be tried as it were by fire; their good actions will be put in the balance against the bad, and if the good outweigh the bad they will be delivered from punishment.»¹⁵

The interpretation of Maximus is a free explanation of Diadochus' passage. In fact, Maximus in his interpretation speaks about the moderately sinful people who will be delivered from punishment if their good works will outweigh the bad. Maximus', interpretation is not unknown in the Christian tradition, but it differs slightly from what Diadochus' passage says.

In Maximus' early writings we found some suspicious passages,¹⁶ although it is doubtful if he accepted the Origenistic theory of apocatastasis, which was officially condemned by the fifth Ecumenical Council (553).

The judgment of all mankind will be followed by the everlasting life of the blessed, who will enjoy the Vision of God.

2. *The deification of Man*

The deification of man is the highest purpose of human beings according to Greek patristic theology. It begins already in the present life but mainly it is an eschatological reality which will be perfect in the Age to come.

By the deification Diadochus does not mean the change of man's nature into divine nature, but he means that man remains man while he is able to participate in the divine life and become God by grace.

15. Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones, interrogationes et responsiones*, 10 PG 90, 792C. Οἱ τὸ τέλειον τῆς ἀγάπης κεκτημένοι πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸ πτερόν τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τῶν ἀρετῶν μετεωρήσαντες, κατὰ τὸν Ἀπόστολον, ἐν νεφέλαις ἀρπάζονται (1 Thes. 4,17) καὶ εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχονται (John 5,24). Οἱ δὲ γε μὴ πάντῃ τὸ τέλειον κτησάμενοι, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτήματα καὶ κατορθώματα κεκτημένοι, οὗτοι ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῆς κρίσεως ἔρχονται. Κάκει, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ φαύλων πράξεων ἀντεξετάσεως οἴοντι πυρούμενοι, εἴπερ ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν πλάστιγξ ἐπιβαρῆση, καθαιροῦνται τῆς κολάσεως.

16. See for example, *Quaestiones, interrogationes et responsiones*, PG 90, 845C-848A. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι τὰ ἔργα κατακαίονται, τῆς διαγνώσεως δικαιοσύνης τὴν συνείδησιν, καὶ μειούσης τῆς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ σφζούσης τὸν ἄνθρωπον ... ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἰς ἀνυπαρξίαν χωρήσουσι τῆς φύσεως τὰς ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἀπολαβούσης σώας διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς κρίσεως.

Diadochus, as we said, follows the biblical teaching of man's creation according to the image and likeness of God. He used the Greek translation of the LXX, and he made the distinction between the image, κατ' εἰκόνα, as something which is given to man by God through the creation, and by the likeness, καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, he means the possibility of being like God. This possibility of being like God stopped through the fall of man, and instead of the deification mankind inherits death and ruin. However, through the incarnation of Christ the fundamental purpose of man's existence has been achieved. «God became man in order that man might become God». This is the classical patristic teaching from Irenaeus to Athanasius, which most of the Fathers inherited.¹⁷ Christ in His person has united the human and divine nature so that by this fellowship human nature might become divine: ὁ γὰρ ἀρμόττει τῷ σαρκωθέντι Θεῷ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς θεωθησομένοις διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, θεοὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῆσαι φιλοτιμησαμένου Θεοῦ.¹⁸ The deification of man is the result of the co-operation between divine grace and human will. Diadochus teaches that at baptism grace is hidden within man, but through the fulfilment of the commandments grace become active and manifest. The grace of God starts by remaking the divine image in man, but when God sees man longing for the divine likeness then by making one virtue flower after another it depicts the divine likeness on the soul. Thus when the intellect begins to have direct experience of the Holy Spirit man should realise that grace is beginning to paint the likeness over the image. The power of apprehension shows that men are being formed into the divine likeness, but they shall know the perfecting of this likeness only by the light of grace. On the other hand, only when a man has perfect love has the image been fully transformed into the beauty of likeness.¹⁹ The likeness of God according to Diadochus is in so far as this is possible ...ὡς χωρεῖ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, λέγω ὁμοιωθῆναι Θεῷ... This phrase recalls the Theaetetus.²⁰ In the Christian tradition, even in the biblical texts, there is established a relationship between the deification of man and the vision of God: «We know that when He appears we shall be like Him, for we shall see

17. See above p. 178.

18. *Sermon* 6 (168, 9-12).

19. *Cent.* 89 (149, 7-26).

20. Plato, *Theaetetus* 176a-b3.

Him as He is.»²¹ In fact, as a man progresses in the way of deification he receives the experience of God's vision. The question arises, does Diadochus think that man can see God face to face?

Diadochus said that no one should imagine because of the use of the term *αἴσθησις νοῦς* (that is, the perceptive faculty of the intellect) that by this he means that the glory of God appears to man visibly. Of course he does affirm that the soul, when pure, perceives God's grace tasting it in some ineffable manner; but no invisible reality appears to it in visible form. For this he advises, that if anyone see light or some fiery form he should not accept such a vision because it is an obvious deceit of the enemy because as long as man dwells in this earth he cannot see visibly either God or His celestial wonders.²² But how did the prophets see God? Diadochus supposes that God did not change into a visible form, but rather the prophets saw the formless one as in the form of glory, when His will and not His nature was displayed to their eyes. For it was active will which appeared physically in the vision of glory, God having consented to let Himself be seen entirely in the form of His will.²³ Diadochus is so emphatic in this point of his teaching because he excludes the Messalian physical sense of the vision of God's glory. The Messalians asserted that the essence of the Trinity could be perceived by the senses, by carnal eyes. *Τὴν Τριάδα τὴν θεῖαν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεωρεῖ.*²⁴ They believed also that the Divine nature is changed and transmuted into whatever it desires and wishes in order to be mingled with the souls that are worthy of it.²⁵ Diadochus is more closely related to Evagrius when he firmly opposes the sensual mysticism of the Messalians. Evagrius thought that God is incomprehensible in Himself. The Trinity does not make Himself known either to the sight of corporeal beings or to the contemplation of incorporeal beings

21. 1 *John* 3, 1-2.

22. *Cent.* 36 (105, 8-20); 40 (108, 5-12).

23. *Vision* 12 (172, 13-20). Τοῦτον τοίνυν, ἔφη, τὸν τρόπον ὡς ἐν ὁράσει εἶδους εἶδον καὶ οἱ προφῆται τὸν Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς εἰς σχῆμα μεταβαλλόμενος αὐτοῖς ἐφάνετο, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ὡς ἐν εἶδει δόξης ἐώρασαν τὸν ἀσχημάτιστον βουλήσεως αὐτοῖς οὐ φύσεως ἐν εἶδει δεικνυμένης· ἡ γὰρ τῆς βουλήσεως ἐνέργεια ὡς εἶδος αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ὀπτασίαις δηλαδὴ δόξης ἐφάνετο, διὰ τὸν ἐν εἶδει βουλῆς ἑαυτὸν ὅλως ὁφθῆναι θελήσαντα. Diadochus does not give any further explanation of this difficult concept of God's visible will.

24. Theodoret, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Parmentier, p. 231, 13-14. Timothy, prop. 5.

25. Timothy, prop. 6. See also the Macarian *Homily* 4, 11, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 36.

unless he bows down through grace to the knowledge of the soul.²⁶ Evagrius rejects all visible theophanies. He claims that such a doctrine belongs to the Gentiles, that is, the Stoics, who imagined that God, having no form, assumes different appearances according to His will in order to appear to men.²⁷ He said that to see the face of the Father does not mean to behold any form or figure after the manner of this world.²⁸ It is a demonic illusion which presents visions pleasing to the senses during prayer.

Nevertheless Diadochus teaches that the beauty of the divine nature and its eternal light will appear visibly in the age to come. The Father who has no form will show Himself to us in the form and glory of the Son.²⁹ The invisible and unknowable God makes Himself known through the incarnation of the Son, who is the invisible image of God. In the age to come Christ will be seen in divine glory and this will be the vision of God face to face. God has, indeed, manifested Himself by becoming man; this is why God will be seen in the humanity of Christ. This view is common to Irenaeus and the Antiochean theologians. Irenaeus says that the unknowable God makes Himself known in His love by the Word by whom He has created all things.³⁰ «It is the Son who in manifesting Himself gives knowledge of the Father; for knowledge of the Father is the manifestation of the Son.» A little further St. Irenaeus adds, «The Father is the invisible nature of the Son, while the Son is the visible nature of the Father.»³¹

26. See *Cent.* 2, 2, ed. Frankenberg, p. 140. Letter 29, ed. Frankenberg, p. 587.

27. *Letter* 29, p. 587.

28. *De Or.* 114, PG 79, 11920. Ἐπιποθῶν ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, μὴ ζῆτει παντελῶς μορφὴν, ἢ σχῆμα δέχεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῆς προσευχῆς καιρῷ.

29. *Vision* 21 (175, 15-27; 176, 1-2).

30. *Adv. Haer* 4, 20, 4 ed. A. Rousseau, SC vol. 100, Paris 1965, p. 634-636. «Est autem hic verbum ejus Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, qui in novissimis temporibus homo in omnibus factus est, ut finem conjungeret principio, hoc est hominem Deo. Et propterea prophetae, ab eodem verbo propheticum accipientes charismata, praedicaverunt ejus secundum carnem adventum, per quem commixtio et communio Dei et hominis secundum placitum Patris facta est, ab initio praenuntiante Verbo Dei, quoniam videbitur Deus ab hominibus et conversabitur cum eis super terram.»

31. *Adv. Haer* 4, 6, 3-6, p. 442, 450. «Et propter hoc Filius revelat agnitionem Patris per suam manifestationem. Agnitio enim Patris est Filii manifestatio. Omnia enim per Verbum manifestantur... Et per ipsum Verbum visibilem et palpabilem factum Pater ostendebatur etiamsi non omnes similiter credebant ei; sed omnes

For St. John Chrysostom and the Antiochean School, the Son, being the perfect image of the invisible God, is Himself invisible, otherwise He could not be the image of the Father. By the incarnation He became visible to created beings. Thus the vision of God is conditioned by the Word's incarnation.³²

The Alexandrian School and its representative, Cyril of Alexandria, taught that we shall know Christ, who will shine in us by the Holy Spirit. We are deified by the Son in the Holy Spirit. «If it should happen that we were to live deprived of the Spirit, we would not even suspect that God was in us.»³³

Byzantine Theologians received the heritage of the above two schools. The Antiochean thought is above all Christological, since it is connected especially with the person of Christ as revealed in His humanity. This current adapts the manifestation of God to the faculties of created beings. Alexandrian thought is conspicuous for its pneumatological emphasis. It places emphasis on the eternal glory of Christ, which He shares with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Evidently, Diadochus follows the Christological view of the Antiochean school.

The question arises, what will the blessed see? Diadochus maintains that in the age to come God will be seen neither in His nature nor in a figure but in the power of His glory. The blessed will be constantly in the light of His glory, but they will be incapable of conceiving the nature of the light of God which illuminates them. Diadochus says that just as God limits Himself when He wills to do so and yet remains unlimited, so also He makes Himself seen when He wills and yet remains invisible.³⁴

V. Lossky recognises in «the beauty of power of the divine nature»³⁵ what Byzantine Theologians will later designate in dogmatic language, by the term energies *ἐνέργειαι*.³⁶

To express that God is both hidden and revealed, Greek patristic theology makes a distinction between the divine essence and the

viderunt in Filio Patrem: invisible etenim Filius Pater, visible autem Patris Filius. Et propter hoc omnes Christum loquebantur praesente eo, et Deum nominabant.»

32. John Chrysostom *In Joh.* 15, 2 PG 59, 98-99.

33. Cyril of Alexandria. *In Joh.* 11 PG 74, 545A.

34. *Vision* 14 (173, 1-8).

35. *Vision* 15 (173, 9-11). Τι δὲ δεῖ νομίζειν ἀρετὴν Θεοῦ; Ἀπάντ. Κάλλος, ἔφη, ἀνείδεον ἐν δόξῃ μόνῃ γνωριζόμενον.

36. *The Vision of God*, London 1963, p. 97.

divine energies or operation. Divine essence means God as He is in Himself, which remains for ever above and beyond all participation and all knowledge on the part of any creature, both in this age and in the age to come. Energies signify God in action and self-revelation, which are God Himself, fill the whole world, and by grace all may come to participate in them. Thus God, who is essentially unknowable, is existentially or energetically revealed. This distinction between the Essence and Energies of God is in contrast with the Philosophical conception of the divine simplicity, as is the distinction of the Trinity in three persons. Nevertheless we find this distinction in classical Philosophy,³⁷ and it is stated in emphatic terms in Christian literature by the Cappadocians.³⁸ We quote two characteristic pieces from St. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa:

«We know our God from His energies, but we do not claim to draw near to His essence. For His energies come down to us, but His essence remains unapproachable.»³⁹

«He who by nature is invisible becomes visible in His energies.»⁴⁰

In conclusion, Diadochus recognises in man's likeness to God the deification of man as the last stage of man's transfiguration in Christ. On the other hand, he believes that on the way towards deification man gains experience of the knowledge and vision of God.

37. See Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4, 3, 3, 13; Philo, *De Post. Laini* 13-16 and *De spec. leg.* 1, 32-36.

38. The essence-energies distinction is further clarified by Gregory Palamas and by the Councils held at Constantinople during his lifetime and shortly after his death (1341, 1347, 1351, 1368); of these the most important doctrinally is the Council of 1351. Note that the term «energies» may bear a somewhat different sense in the Cappadocians from that which it has in Gregory Palamas.

39. St. Basil, *Epistola* 234, 1 PG 32, 869A.

40. Gregory of Nyssa, *Hom. vi de Beat* PG 44, 1269A. See T. K. Ware, «God Hidden and Revealed: The apophatic way and the essence-energies distinction» in *Eastern Churches Review*, 7, 2 (1975) p. 125-136.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Diadochus did not draw up a systematic or scientific anthropology to describe man as a phenomenon in the realm of the objective world. His conception of man is concrete, synthetic and religious rather than abstract, analytical or philosophical.

2. Diadochus' anthropological conceptions are based upon the Bible and the Christian tradition with some Stoic connections. In fact, he has a positive and coherent position of his own. He is trying to find a middle point, using the best in the Evagrius and Macarian traditions, and combining them into a fresh synthesis. In this regard he paves the way for later Byzantine thought.

3. God created man «ex nihilo». Man is not part of the divine essence, but he is ontologically a different being from the essence of God. He describes man as a dynamic being who is directly dependent on God, and in any case man is never designated as a self-contained existence. The essence of man consists of his creation according to the image of God. This is a primordial correspondence between the being of God and man, a fact which shows why man remains a mysterious existence because he reflects the unknowable character of the divine being. On the other hand, the creation of man according to the likeness of God reveals the aim of man's life. The distinction between «image» and «likeness» enables Diadochus to interpret man in dynamic rather than static terms.

4. Diadochus does not define man according to his essence or nature but according to his way of life and always in relation to God. The Hellenistic or gnostic understanding of man as substance or nature is unknown to him. Human nature consists of body and soul. For Diadochus it is totally impossible, metaphysically speaking, for the human body to be evil or the prison of the soul. The body is an inalienable part of man. His conception of soul is between the Origenistic theory, which has been accepted by Evagrius, and the Stoic conception, which is found in Macarius. In Diadochus' writings there is not an ontological contrast between material and spiritual elements, between body and soul, but man is described as a psychosomatic organism. Between body and soul

there is a close connection and coherence which is expressed by the term *σύγκρασις*. He seems to go further than other Christian writers because of his acceptance that soul and body are created from one and the same essence. The centre of all man's psychophysiological life is the heart, a term to which he gives the full biblical meaning, and he never defines it as the emotional side of man's life. While Daidochus speaks in terms of the heart, he also makes frequent use of the word *nous*. For him *nous* means the intuitive awareness of spiritual truth. However, man is not an intelligence imprisoned in matter longing to be free from his body but a psychosomatic organism.

5. Diadochus' conception of evil and original sin is not intellectualist but rather volitional. He regards sin as the rebellion of the human will against the divine, and it is this which is responsible for the fall of man. The fall is a universal event that includes all the human race which inherits the consequences of this violation by the first man. Original sin deprived man of his communion with God; it has introduced spiritual and bodily death into the world and the duality of the soul's perception and will.

6. The redemption of man through the incarnation of the Logos of God is the motive force of Diadochus' thought. Man without the message of the Incarnation remains an existence without meaning and purpose, and is condemned to death. With Christ human and divine nature began to come together so that by fellowship with divinity human nature might become divine. Diadochus also interprets the death and resurrection of Christ as a victory over the powers of evil. Christ has reintroduced the principle of life and immortality.

7. The responsibility for participation in Christ's redemptive work depends on the free and dynamic relationship between human nature and divine grace, a relationship best expressed by the term *συνεργεία* (co-operation) between God and man. Grace is given immediately at Baptism, but through the fulfilment of the commandments it becomes active and manifest. Baptism frees man from the stain of sin but does not by itself heal the duality in his will; this is only overcome through prayer and ascetic struggles, aided by divine grace.

8. Diadochus follows a spirituality based upon his anthropology. He does not accept merely an intellectual contemplation of God, but he teaches that the body as well as the intellect participates in the spiritual life.

In his spirituality Diadochus emphasizes the «aesthetic» element. For him the climax of the spiritual life consists in a feeling or sensation. He applies the Messalian phrase ἐν πάσῃ αἰσθήσει καὶ πληροφορίᾳ not in its grossly materialistic sense but to express the importance of conscious feeling and awareness.

9. According to Diadochus, this world and its history will have an end. At history's end the eschatological faith of the believers in the second coming of Christ followed by the resurrection of the dead will be justified. His conception of the future life requires the resurrection of the body and not that of the immortality of the soul.

10. The judgment of all mankind will be followed by the everlasting life of the blessed. Diadochus recognises in man's likeness to God the defication of man as the last state of man's transfiguration in Christ. Deification is mainly, but not exclusively, an eschatological reality in the Age to come. On the way towards deification man gains experience of the knowledge and vision of God, and this is the fulfilment of man's purpose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. SOURCES

1. Printed editions of Diadochus' writings

- Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπιτικῶν, ed. St. Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain, Venice, 1782, p. 205-237.
- A. Mai, in *Spicilegium Romanum* 4, Roma, 1840, p. 89-106.
- Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, vol. 65, Paris 1864, col. 1141-1148, 1167-1212.
- K. Popov, *Blessed Diadochus, Bishop of Photice in Epirus and his works* (in Russian), vol. 1, Kiev, 1903.
- V. N. Benesevic, «The Vision of Diadochus, Bishop of Photice in Epirus», in *Memorial of Imperial Academy of Sciences of Saint Peterburg*, 8th series, historico-philological section, vol. 8 n. 11, Petersburg 1908.
- Ioustinos Bithynos, in *Nea Sion*, vol. 9. Jerusalem, 1909, p. 247-254.
- J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf, «Sancti Diadochi episcopi Photicensis de perfectione spirituali capita centum. Textus graeci ad fidem codd. mss. editionem criticam et quasi principem curavit», in *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1912.
- Éd. des Places, «Diadoque de Photicé, Oeuvres Spirituelles», in *Sources Chrétiennes*, vol. 5, Paris 1966³.

2. Other ancient sources

Apophthegmata Patrum:

- Alphabetical collection, PG 65, 72-440.
- Athanasius, *Vita Antonii*, PG 26, 837-976.
- Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione Verbi*, ed. Diekamp, Münster 1907.

Evagrius:

- Practicus*, PG 40, 1220-52. The new edition by A. and C. Guillaumont, «Traité Pratique ou le Moine», *Sources Chrétiennes* no. 171, Paris 1971.
- Rerum monacalium rationes*, PG 40, 1252-64.
- Capitula* 33, PG 40, 1264-8.

- Spirituales sententiae*, PG 40, 1268-9.
De octo vitiosis cogitationibus, PG 40, 1272-6.
Ad Eulogium, PG 79, 2093-1140.
De octo spiritibus malitiae, PG 79, 1145-64.
De oratione, PG 79, 1165-1200.
De diversis malignis cogitationibus, PG 79, 1200-33.
Institutio ad monachos, PG 79, 1236-40.
Sententiae, PG 79, 1240-9.
Capita paraenetica, PG 79, 1249-64.
Ep. 8 (among the works of Basil), PG 32, 245-68.
Centuries, ed. A. Guillaumont, *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 28, 1, Paris 1958.
Antirrheticus, Gnosticus, Protrepiticus, Paraeneticus and Letters, ed. W. Frankenberg, *Evagrius Ponticus*, Berlin, 1912.
Speculum monachorum and Speculum virginum, ed. H. Gressman (TU, 39, p. 143-65), Leipzig, 1913.
Evergetinos, Paulus, *Synagoge*, Constantinople, 1861.
Gregory of Nyssa, *De hominis Opificio*, PG 44, 123-256.
Gregory Palamas, *Triads in defence of the Holy Hesychasts*, ed. J. Meyendorff (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*, 30-31) 2 vols., Louvain, 1959.
Gregory of Sinai, *De quiete et oratione*, PG 150, 1304-12.
Hieronimus of Jerusalem (pseudo-), *De effectu baptismi*, PG 40, 860-5.
John Cassian, *Collationes*, ed. E. Pichery (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 42, 54, 64), 3 vols. Paris 1955-59.
John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi*, PG 88, 632-1209.
John of Damascus, *De fide Orthodoxa*, PG 94, 789-1228.
— *De haeresibus compendium*, PG 94, 729-732. Liber Graduum, ed. M. Kmosko (*Patrologia Syriaca*, part 1, vol. III), Paris, 1926.
Mark the Hermit, ed. J. Kunze, *Marcus Eremita*, Leipzig 1895, p. 6-30.
Macarius: *Homilies*, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, and M. Kroeger, *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios*, Berlin, 1964.
— *Macarii Anecdota*, ed. G. L. Marriott (*Harvard Theological Studies* V), Cambridge, USA 1918.
— *Neue Homilien des Macarius/Symeon I. Aus Typus III*, ed. E. Klostermann and H. Berthold (TU, 72), Berlin, 1961.
— *The Great Letter*, ed. W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature*, Leiden, 1954, p. 233-301. *Makarios/Symeon Reden und Briefe*, *Die Sammlung I* (Vatic. graecus 694B) ed. H. Berthold, 2 vols., Berlin, 1973.

- Maximus the Confessor, *Quaestiones Interrogationes et responsiones*, PG 90, 785-856, *Opuscula Theologica et polemica*, PG 91, 9-285. *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*, PG 91, 288-353.
- Nemesius Emeses, *De natura hominis*, PG 40, 503-818.
- Nicephorus of Athos, *De sobrietate et cordis custodia*, PG 147, 945-66.
- Palladius, *Lausiac History*, ed. C. Butler (*Texts and Studies*, VI), 2 Vols., Cambridge, 1898-1904.
- Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. H. Henry, 5 vols. Paris, 1959-67 (PG 193).
- Theodoret of Cyr, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Parmentier. *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*, PG 83, 429-432, *De providentia Oratio*, RG 83, 588-605.
- Timothy of Constantinople, *De iis qui ad ecclesiam accedunt*, PG 88, 45-52.
- Xanthopouloi, Callistus and Ignatius, *Methodus et Regula*, PG 147, 636-812.

B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Studies on Diadochus

- Christou, P., *Διάδοχος ὁ Φωτικῆς*, Salonica, 1952.
- Darrouzès, J., «La Catéchèse de Diadoque» in *Revue des Etudes byzantines*, 15, 1957, p. 172-175.
- Des Places, éd., «Diadoque de Photicé», in *D. S.* vol. III p. 817-834.
- Dörr, F., *Diadochus von Photike und die Messalianer Ein Kampf zwischen wahrer und falscher Mystik im fünften Jahrhundert (Freiburger theologische Studien 47)*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1937.
- Dörries, H., «Diadochos und Symeon. Das Verhältnis der κεφάλαια γνωστικά zum Messalianismus», in *Wort und Stunde. Erster Band Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966, p. 352-422.
- Freeman, D. M., «Diadochus of Photice - Excerpts from the one hundred chapters on spiritual perfection», in *Diaconia*, vol. 7 (1972), p. 339-350.
- Horn, G., «Sens de l'esprit d' après Diadoque de Photicé», in *R.A.M.* vol. 8, Toulouse, (1927), p. 402-419.
- Marrou, H. I., «Diadoque de Photiké et Victor de Vita» in *Revue des Études anciennes*, vol. 45 (1943), p. 225-232.
- Popov, K., «The teaching of Blessed Diadochus on the Jesus prayer», in *Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Academy of Kiev*, vol. 3 (1902), p. 651-676.

- Rothenhäusler, M., «La doctrine de la 'Theologia' chez Diadoque de Photiké, in *Irenikon*, vol. 19 (1937), p. 536-553.
- «Zur asketischen Lehrschrift des Diadochus von Photike» in *Die Heilige Überlieferung, (Festgabe zum Ildenfans Herwegen)*, Münster 1938, p. 86-95.

2. General bibliography

- Allchin, A. M. (ed.) *Sacrament and image. Essays on the Christian understanding of Man*, London, 1967.
- Ammann, E., «Messaliens», in *DTC*, 10 (1928), col. 792-5.
- Arnou, R., *Προᾶξις et Θεωγία; Étude de détail sur le vocabulaire et la pensée des Ennéades de Plotin*, Paris, 1921.
- Balthasar von H., *Kosmische Liturgie. Das Weltbild Maximus des Bekenners*, Einsiedeln, 1961.
- Baker, A., «Pseudo-Macarius and Gregory», in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 20 (1966), p. 381-387.
- «The great letter of Pseudo-Macarius and Gregory of Nyssa», in *Studia Monastica*, 6, Montserrat, (1964), p. 381-387.
- Bardenhewer, O., *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, Freiburg 1962.
- Barth, K., *Christ and Adam*, Edinburgh, 1956.
- Beck, Hans-Georg, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959.
- Berkouwer, G. C., *Man: The image of God*, U.S.A. 1962.
- Bouyer, L., *Introduction to spirituality*, New York, 1961.
- *The spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, London 1963, vol. 1 of his three volume *History of Christian Spirituality*.
- Bremond, J., *Les Pères du désert*, Paris 1927.
- Brett, G., *History of psychology (Ancient and Patristic)*, London, 1912.
- Brunner, E., *The letter to the Romans*, London, 1959.
- Bultmann, R., *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Tübingen, 1961. English trans. *Theology of the New Testament*, London, 1959.
- *The Old and New Man*, 1967.
- Ganevet M., «Le 'De Institutio Christianno' est-il de Grégoire de Nyse? Problèmes de critique interne», in *Revue des Etudes grecques*, 82 (1969), p. 404-423.
- Cairns, D., *The image of God in Man*, London, 1953.
- Cayré, F., *Spiritual writers of the early Church*, New York, 1959.
- Chadwick, O., *John Cassian*, Cambridge, 1968².
- Congar, M. J., «La déification dans la tradition spirituelle de l'orient», in *La vie spirituelle*, Paris, 43 (1935), 91-107.

- Cullmann, O., *Christ et le temps*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1948.
- Daniélou, J., *Platonisme et théologie mystique. La doctrine spirituelle de Saint Grégoire de Nysse*, Paris 1953².
- «Grégoire de Nysse et le Messalianism», in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 48 (1960), p. 119-34.
- *Origène*, Paris 1948.
- Darrouzès, J., «Notes sur les homélies de Pseudo-Macaire», in *Le Muséon* 68 (1954), p. 297-309.
- Δουβουνιώτου Κ. Ι., Κρίσις περὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Μακαρίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, in *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, 1 (1924), p. 86-92.
- Dörries, H., *Symeon von Mesopotamien. Die Überlieferung der messalianischen 'Makarios'-Schriften* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 55, 1), Leipzig, 1941.
- «Christlicher Humanismus und mönchische Geist-Ethik», in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1954, Nr. 11, col. 643-56.
- «Die Messalianer im Zeugnis ihrer Bestreiter. Zum Problem des Enthusiasmus in der spätantiken Reichskirche», in *Saeculum* 21 (1970), p. 213-227.
- Driver, S. R., *The book of Genesis*, London, 1948.
- Eichrodt, W., *Man in the Old Testament*, London, 1951.
- Evangelides, D., *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἡπειροῦ, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς* (1914), p. 232-241.
- Ferguson, J., *Pelagius*, Cambridge 1956.
- Festugière, A. J., *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon*, Paris 1950.
- Florovsky, G., «The concept of Creation in Saint Athanasius», in *Studia Patristica* 6, Berlin (1962), p. 36-57.
- «Eschatology in the Patristic Age: An introduction», in *Studia Patristica* 2, Berlin (1957), p. 235-250.
- Fytrakis, A., «Μαρτύριον καὶ μοναχικὸς βίος», in *Θεολογία* 19 (1941-48), p. 301-329.
- «*Ταῖς τῶν δακρύων ῥοαῖς*», ὁ κλαυθμὸς τῶν μοναχῶν», Athens, 1945.
- Garrigou, R. - Lagrange, *The three ages of the interior life*, St. Louis 1947-48.
- Gaudel, A., «Péché originel», in *DTC* 12 (1933), col. 275-606.
- Gillet, L., *Orthodox Spirituality, An outline of the Orthodox and mystical tradition*, London, 1945.
- Gilson, E., *L'esprit de la philosophie Médiévale*, Paris 1944²,

- Gribomont, J., «Le Monachisme au IVe s. en Asie Mineure: de Gangres au Messalianisme», in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 2, Berlin (1957), p. 400-15.
- «Le de Instituto Christiano et le Messalianisme de Grégoire de Nysse», in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 5, Berlin (1962), p. 312-22.
- «Le Scala Paradisi Jean de Raithou et Ange Clareno», in *Studia Monastica*, II (1960), p. 345-58.
- Grillmeier, A., *Christ in Christian tradition from the Apostolic age to Chalcedon*, London and Oxford, 1975².
- Gross, J., *La divinization du Chrétien d'après le Pères Grecs*, Paris, 1938.
- Guibert, J., *The theology of the spiritual life*, New York, 1953.
- Guillaumont, A., «Les sens des noms du coeur dans l'antiquité», in *Le coeur (Etudes Carmélitaines*, vol. 29), Bruges, 1950, p. 41-81.
- «Le 'coeur' chez les spirituels grecs à l'époque ancienne», in *DS*, II (1952), col. 2281-8.
- «Les messaliens», in *Mystique et Continence (Etudes carmélitaines*, vol 31), Bruges, 1952, p. 131-8.
- «Evagre et les anathématismes antiorigénistes de 553» in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 3 (TU, 78) Berlin, 1961, p. 219-26.
- *Les 'Kephalaia Gnostica' d'Evagère le Pontique et l'histoire de l'Origénisme chez les grecs et chez les syriens* (Patristica Sorboniensia, 5), Paris, 1962.
- A. and C. Guillaumont, «Evagre le Pontique», in *DS*, 4, 2 (1961), col. 1731-44.
- Hanson, R. P. C., *Origen's doctrine of tradition*, London, 1954.
- *Allegory and Event. A study of the sources and significance of Origen's interpretation of Scripture*, London, 1959.
- Hausherr, I., *La méthode d'oraison hésychaste (Orientalia Christiana*, 9, 2, no. 36), Rome, 1927, p. 97-210.
- *Un grand mystique byzantin. Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien (949-1022) par Nicéas Stéthatos (Orientalia Christiana*, 12, no. 45), Rome, 1928.
- «L'origine de la théorie Orientale des huit pechés capitaux», in *OCP* 80 (1933), p. 164-175.
- «Les grands courants de la spiritualité Orientale», *OCP*, I (1935), p. 114-38.
- «L'erreur fondamentale et la logique de Messalianisme», *OCP*, I (1935), p. 328-60.
- *Penthos. La doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient Chrétien* (OCA, 132), Rome, 1944,

- «Dogme et spiritualité Orientale», in *RAM* 23 (1947), p. 3-37.
 - *Direction spirituelle en Orient autrefois* (OCA, 144), Rome, 1955.
 - «Le Messalianisme», in *Atti del 19 Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, Rome, 1938, p. 634-6.
 - *Noms du Christ et voies d' oraison* (OCA 157), Rome, 1960.
 - *Les leçons d'un contemplatif. Le traité de l'oraison d' Evagre le Pontique*, Paris, 1960.
- Hussey, J. M., «Byzantine Theological Speculation and Spirituality» in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, 2, p. 185, 205.
- Inge, W. R., *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899.
- Jaeger, W., *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*, Leiden, 1954.
- Kelly, J. N. D., *Early Christian Doctrines*, London, 1960².
- Kirk, K. E., *The vision of God; The Christian doctrine of the summum bonum*, London, 1950.
- Klostermann, E., *Symeon und Macarius. Bamerkungen zur Textgestalt zweier divergierender Überlieferungen*, Berlin, 1944.
- Ladner, G. B., «The philosophical anthropology of Saint Gregory of Nyssa», in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 12, Cambridge Mass., 1958.
- *The idea of Reform; Its impact on Christian thought and action in the Age of the Fathers*, Cambridge, Mass. 1959.
- Lampe, G. H., *The seal of the Spirit. A study in the Doctrine of baptism and confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers*, London, 1951.
- Lamaitre, J. (-I. Hausherr), «Contemplation chez les Grecs et les autres orientaux chrétiens», in *DS* II (1953), col. 1762-1911.
- Lindworsky, J., *The Psychology of Asceticism*, London, 1936.
- Lossky, V., *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, London, 1957.
- *The Vision of God*, London, 1963.
- *In the Image and Likeness of God*, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974.
- Lot-Borodine, *La déification de l'homme selon la doctrine des Pères grecs*, Paris, 1970.
- «Le mystère du don des larmes dans l'Orient Chretien, dans la vie spirituelle», in *Études et documents* 48, 3 (1936), p. 65-110.
- Lyonnet, S., «Les sens de ἐφ' ᾧ en Rom. 5,12 et l'exégèses Pères grecs», in *Biblica* (vol. 36), Roma, 1955.
- «Le péché originel et l'exégèse de Rom. 5,12-14», in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 44 (1956), p. 63-84.

- Marriott, G. L., «Macarius of Egypt: His Epistle Ad Filios Dei in Syriac», in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 20 (1918), p. 42-44.
- «The Messalians and the discovery of their Ascetic book», in *Harvard Theological Review*, 19 (1926), p. 191-8.
- Mason, E., *Active and contemplative life*, Milwaukee, 1961.
- Mercier, M. E., *La spiritualité Byzantine*, Paris, 1933.
- Meyendorff, J., *A study of Gregory Palamas*, London, 1964.
- *St. Grégoire Palamas et la mystique Orthodoxe*, Paris, 1959.
- *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*, USA, 1969.
- «Messalianism or anti-Messalianism? A fresh look at the 'Macarian' problem», in *Kyriakon Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2 (1971), 585-90.
- Muyldermans, J., «La teneur du Practicus d' Evagre», in *Le Muséon* 42 (1929), p. 74-89.
- «Evagriana» in *Le Muséon* 44 (1931), p. 37-68, 369-83, and 51 (1938), p. 191-226.
- *Evagriana*. Extrait de la revue *Le Muséon* t. 44, augmenté de nouveaux fragments grecs inédits, Paris, 1931.
- *A travers la tradition manuscrite d'Evagre le Pontique*, Louvain 1932.
- «Une nouvelle recension du *De octo Spirituibus Malitiae de S. Nil*» in *Le Muséon*, vol. 52 (1939), p. 235-74.
- *Evagriana Syriaca*, Louvain, 1952.
- Oberhummer, E., «Photike» in *Real Encyclopaedie; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll*, t. 20, 1, (1941), col. 660-62.
- Obolensky, D., *The Bogomils. A study in Balkan neo-manichaeism*, Cambridge University Press, 1948.
- O'Brien, E., *Varieties of Mystic experience*, New York, 1964.
- Panagiotides, D., «Ἡ Φωτική ἐν Παραμυθία», in *Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, 26, p. 26.
- Pannenberg, W., *Jesus God and Man*, London, 1968.
- Pelikan, J., *The Christian tradition. A history of the development of Doctrine*, vol. I., USA, 1971.
- Prestige, G. L., *God in Patristic thought*, London, 1952².
- Rahner, K., «Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène», in *RAM*, 13 (1932), p. 113-45.
- «Coeur de Jésus chez Origène», in *RAM*, 1934, p. 171-174.
- Robinson, J., *The body. A study in Pauline Theology*, London, 1952.
- Robinson, H. W., *Hebrew psychology in relation to Pauline anthropology* (Mansfield College Essays), 8 vol., 1909.

- *The Christian doctrine of Man*, Edinburgh, 1952.
- Rohde, E., *Psyche*, London, 1925.
- Romanides, J., *Tò Προπατορικὸν Ἀμάρτημα*, Athens, 1957.
- Royo, A., *The theology of Christian perfection*, Dubuque, 1962.
- Schweizer, E., Σάρξ, σαρκικός, σάρκινος, in G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T.*, vol. 7, Stuttgart, 1964 p. 98-104.
- Sellers, R. V., *The Council of Chalcedon*, London, 1953.
- Skinner, J., *A critical and exegetical commentary on Genesis*, 1930.
- Spanneut, M., *Le stoïcisme des Pères de l'Eglise de Clément de Rome à Clément d'Alexandrie (Patristica Sorboniensia 1)*, Paris, 1957.
- Staats, R., *Gregor von Nyssa und die Messalianer. Die Frage der Priorität zweier altkirchlicher Schriften, Patristische Texte und Studien Band 8*, Berlin, 1968.
- Stacey, W. D., *The Pauline view of Man in relation to its Judaic and Hellenistic background*, London, 1956.
- Tatakis, B., *La philosophie Byzantine*, Paris, 1949.
- Tennant, F. R., *The sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin*, Cambridge, 1903.
- Thunberg, L., *Microcosm and Mediator. The theological anthropology of Maximus the Confessor*, Lund, 1965.
- Tresmontant, G., *A study of Hebrew thought*, 1960.
- Villecourt, L., «La date et l'origine des 'homélie spirituelles' attribuées à Macaire» in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris, 1920, p. 250-8.
- Viller, M., «Le martyre et l'ascèse», *RAM* 6 (1925), p. 105-42.
- «Aux sources de la spiritualité de S. Maxime: les oeuvres d'Evagre le Pontique», in *RAM*, 11 (1930), p. 156-84, 239-68.
- Vööbus, A., *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient, vol. 1. The Origin of Asceticism. Early Monasticism in Persia (Corpus Script. Christ. Orient., 184, subsidia 14)*, Louvain, 1958.
- Wallace, E., *Aristotle's Psychology*, Cambridge, 1882.
- Ware, T. K., *The ascetic writings of Mark the Hermit*, Oxford, 1965.
- «Pray without Ceasing. The ideal of continual prayer in Eastern Monasticism», in *Eastern Churches Review*, 2, 3 (1960), p. 253-261.
- «The Jesus Prayer in St. Gregory of Sinai», in *Eastern Churches Review*, 4, 1 (1972).
- «The sacrament of baptism and the ascetic life in the teaching of Mark the Monk», in *Studia Patristica*, 10, Berlin (1970), p. 441-452.

- «God hidden and revealed: The apophatic way and the Essence-Energies Distinction», in *Eastern Churches Review*, 7, 2 (1975), p. 125-136.

Williams, N. P., *The ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin*, London, 1927.

ABBREVIATIONS

C.	Century
col.	column
l.	line
p.	page
ed.	edited by
vol.	volume
PG.	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , Paris.
PL.	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , Paris.
DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de théologie catholique</i> , Paris.
DS	<i>Dictionnaire de Spiritualité</i> , Paris.
OC	<i>Orientalia Christiana</i> , Rome.
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> , Rome.
RAM	<i>Revue d'ascétique et de Mystique</i> , Toulouse.
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Paris.
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i> , Leipzig-Berlin.
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller derersten drei Jahrhunderte</i> , Leipzig.
A.C.O.	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , Berlin.

WORKS OF DIADOCHUS OF PHOTICE

Cent: *Capita Centum De perfectione spirituali*.

Sermon: *Sermo De Ascension D. N. Jesu Christi*.

Vision: *Vision Sancti Diadochi episcopi Photicensis*.

References to Diadochus' writings are from the critical edition by É. des Places, «*Diadoque de Photice*, «*Oeuvres Spirituelles*» (SC vol. 5), Paris, 1966».

References are followed by the Chapters and in brackets the page and the lines of the Greek text.