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- *Coptic Paladiana: St. Macarius of Alexandria*
- *The Soul of Christ in St. Athanasius*



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*Volume 22, Number 1 . . . . Spring 2001*

2 *Coptic Paladiana: St. Macarius of Alexandria*

Tim Vivian

23 *The Soul of Christ in St. Athanasius*

Nathan K. K. Ng

31 *Book Reviews*

- *The Image of God in the Antiochene Tradition*
- *The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil in Pictures*

## Acknowledgement

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# **COPTIC PALLADIANA IV: THE LIFE OF MACARIUS OF ALEXANDRIA (LAUSIAC HISTORY 18)**

*Translated, with an Introduction, by Tim Vivian*

## **INTRODUCTION**

This is the fourth and final part of the series on the “Coptic Palladiana.” For the General Introduction to the series, a translation of the *Life of Pambo*, and a list of abbreviations used, see *Coptic Church Review* 20.3 (Fall 1999); for the *Life of Evagrius*, 21:1 (Spring 2000); and for the *Life of Macarius of Egypt*, 21:3 (Fall 2000).<sup>1</sup>

## **Saint Macarius of Alexandria**

Macarius of Alexandria is a much less prominent figure than Macarius the Great. The alphabetical collection of the *Apophthegmata* attributes only three sayings to the former while giving forty-one sayings to the latter, more than anyone else except Poemen;<sup>2</sup> the *Historia Monachorum* devotes about five times as much space to Macarius the Great as it does to Macarius of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> The *Lausiaca History*, however, to which the *Life of Macarius of Alexandria* is related, gives the Alexandrian more than double the space of Macarius the Great; the chapter devoted to the former is the book’s longest. The Coptic text, translated below, though truncated at the beginning, expands the chapter even more.

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1 These articles will be published in fuller form as part of Tim Vivian, *Disciples of the Soul’s Beloved*, volume one, *Coptic Palladiana* (Louvain: Peeters, forthcoming); volume two will be *Saint Macarius the Spiritbearer*.

2 But see Antoine Guillaumont, “Le problème des deux Macaires dans les *Apophthegmata Patrum*,” *Irénikon* 48 (1975): 41-59 on the confusion of the two Macarii in the *Apophthegmata*.

3 Chapters 21 and 23 respectively.

One does not have to search far for the reason. In the opening of chapter 18 of the *Lausiatic History* (missing unfortunately from the Coptic manuscript), Palladius declares:

I met the other Macarius, however [Macarius the Great had died the year before Palladius came to the desert], the one from Alexandria, a priest of so-called Cellia, where I stayed for nine years, and he was actually alive during three of those years. Some of the things I saw, others I heard about, and some I learned about from others.<sup>4</sup>

The Coptic version of the *Life* continues this eyewitness reportage, and even expands on it (see below). From this account, two dominant themes emerge: Macarius the Ascetic and Macarius the Miracleworker.<sup>5</sup>

Macarius' asceticism can be summarized perhaps by two sayings unique to the Coptic text (pars. 12 and 13, although par. 12 is corroborated by Evagrius Ponticus) and one saying shared by both Coptic and Greek texts (par. 4 = LH 18.10): he told the following "in the presence of the young brothers in order to prompt their emulation: 'From the day that I became a monk I have not eaten my fill of bread and I have not slept as much as I could.'"<sup>6</sup> "He told us this other saying concerning himself: When he was young, he spent an entire year without putting on any clothing except for an old rag wrapped around his loins and his members." Macarius' dwelling places could be as severe as his clothing and eating habits. Although the Coptic and Greek versions vary on the locales of Macarius' cells, they agree that "some of them were without doors, for in truth they were located in the interior desert where he did not encounter anyone: these were where he lived during the season of Lent, *dark caves lying beneath the earth, similar to hyenas' dens*; indeed, they were so narrow that he was not able to straighten out his limbs at all" (italicized words are lacking in Greek).

Not surprisingly, Macarius desired to be perfect (a common theme in early monastic literature): "Every ascetic practice that I had undertaken I had successfully completed, but the desire also entered my heart to do this: I wanted to spend five days with my heart focused on God at all times without paying any attention at all to the ways of this age." He retreated to his cell "in the interior desert, the one without door or window or any light, so no one could find" him and fought with demons for five days. At the end of that time, he learned a valuable lesson: "I was unable to master my thought without distraction but I returned to worldly worries and human ways of seeing. I understood that if I was going to succeed in completing [my desire for perfection], I would destroy my understanding and become insanely arrogant. For this reason I was at peace allowing the cares of this world into my heart so I would not fall into arrogance" (par. 8; LH 18.17-18).

4 LH 18.1 (Meyer, 58, altered).

5 Antoine Guillaumont has added, 54, that "Macarius is a virtuoso of asceticism, but even in his asceticism there is a humor."

6 See Evagrius, *Praktikos* 94 (Bamberger, trans., 40). Gabriel Bunge, "Evagre le Pontique et les deux Macaires," *Irénikon* 56 (1983): 215-27, 323-60, regards this Macarius as Macarius of Alexandria (see 221-22, 223).

Macarius' deep asceticism is tempered by and inseparable from awe and compassion. The "mysteries," sacraments, are exactly that, a mystery. Macarius tells his disciple that "at the time of the mysteries . . . I did not give the sacrament to Mark the Ascetic a single time but when he came to receive communion I would see an angel placing the sacrament in his hands" (par. 16; LH 18.25). His sense of wonder extended to his own priestly duties at the altar; again he tells his disciple, "Not a Saturday or a Sunday passed that I did not see the angel of the altar standing in front of me as I celebrated the Holy Communion of God." Macarius' sense of awe undoubtedly combined with an appreciation of God's awesome power; there is no cheap grace with Macarius. When (par. 9; LH 18.19-21) Palladius and Albinus, tender-hearted at the sight of a priest whose scalp is eaten away by cancer, beg Abba Macarius to help the cleric, Macarius harshly responds, "Let him be; he doesn't deserve to be healed, for in truth although he stopped fornicating he still went up to the altar." The priest spent three days imploring Macarius; "finally, he took pity on his tears and his supplication" and healed him—but only after he got the priest to promise to give up his presbyteral office.

For Macarius, sternness and compassion bring together mercy *and* justice; both are necessary. The delightful story of the hyena pup illustrates this well (par. 2; LH 18.27-28). A hyena brings her cub to Macarius to heal. After he does so, she rewards him with a sheepskin "very plush and soft."<sup>7</sup> Macarius is not pleased, though: "Where did you get this unless you ate a sheep?" he demands. "What you have brought me has come from violence. I will not accept it from you." The hyena hits her head on the ground and bends her paws, "imploring him like a person" to take the sheepskin from her. But Macarius reiterates that he will "not accept the sheepskin unless you promise me not to hurt the poor by eating their sheep." Macarius gets her promise and tells her she may eat only carrion; if she can not find food, she must come to him and he will feed her bread. The hyena returns to her lair and comes to visit Abba Macarius, and Macarius gives thanks to God. "The old man," Palladius concludes, "slept on the sheepskin until his death. I saw it with my own eyes."<sup>8</sup>

It is all too easy to dismiss such a story, with its anthropomorphisms and folk simplicity, as naive, but Macarius understands the story's import, and he gives thanks to God for it. "And the old man understood that it was the economy of God that gives intelligence even to wild beasts in order to teach us a lesson." Macarius understands that everything is part of God's economy, God's plan, and his actions

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7 Healings of animals are a common occurrence in the *Virtues of Saint Macarius*, which are about Macarius of Egypt; see Vivian, *Saint Macarius the Spiritbearer* (forthcoming). Both the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Lausiatic History* make Macarius of Alexandria the focus of the healing of the hyena pup (par. 2), while *Historia Monachorum* 21.5 has Macarius of Egypt.

8 In an ending reminiscent of the *Life of Antony* 92, when Macarius "was about to die, Melania . . . happened to pay him a visit. He gave that sheepskin to her as an inheritance. It remained in her possession until her death; she faithfully kept it as a remembrance."

indicate that he embodies both mercy and justice. At receiving the gift of the sheepskin from the hyena, Macarius' first thought is for the poor. Later in the *Life* (par. 11), he not only allows (foreign) robbers to steal all his possessions during a famine, he helps them and sees them on their way.<sup>9</sup> When some monks come to see him, he asks them to use their bread; he has none because, he says, "God has given the bodily necessities that were here in my dwelling to some men of the world who have wives because some poor folk needed them due to the severity of the famine." Asceticism rightly lived, the *Life of Macarius* tells us, can lead to self-emptying and profound concern and compassion for others.

### ***The Coptic Life of Macarius and the Lausiatic History***

The Coptic *Life of Macarius of Alexandria* (or, as the *Life* refers to him, Macarius the Alexandrian) is fragmentary and untitled; the beginning of the codex is missing, and the *Life* begins toward the end of the story of the saint's visit to the tomb of Jannes and Jambres (*Lausiatic History* 18.9). That story occupies much of the first nine paragraphs of the eighteenth chapter of the *History* (18.5-9); since the Coptic *Life* includes its conclusion, it is reasonable to assume that the Coptic also originally contained a version of the entire beginning of chapter eighteen, paragraphs 1-9.

The Coptic *Life*, in fact, closely follows the order in the *Lausiatic History*; the major exception is the story of Macarius' healing of a hyena pup (par. 2), which occurs toward the end of the *Lausiatic History* (18.27-28), but in the Coptic *Life* immediately follows the story of the visit to the tomb of Jannes and Jambres. The Coptic *Life*, however, includes 11 paragraphs (as numbered in the present translation) not found in the *Lausiatic History*: 6, 11-14, 20-24, and 26. Paragraphs 6 and 26 seem to be doublets, but the other paragraphs offer important and interesting material about Macarius, most of it not found elsewhere: his confrontation with robbers (par. 11, with parallels in *Apophthegmata* Macarius the Great 40 and 18); Macarius' vision of the angel of the altar (par 20); the miracle of the chalice (par. 21); the visit of the mimes (par. 22); and Macarius' visit to Alexandria (par. 23).

Intriguingly, some of the additional material contradicts—or supplements—information about Macarius found elsewhere. Paragraph 4 (with a parallel in *Lausiatic History* 18.10) says that Macarius "had a number of cells in the desert: he had a cell in the interior desert; he had another in the interior of Libya; he had another in the monastic community called the "Cells" and another in the monastic community of Pernouj [Nitria]," while paragraph 14 adds that "he had three cells at Scetis: one next to the great interior desert, one situated in the middle of Scetis, and one near people, a short distance away." The editor, like an ancient redactor of the Hebrew scriptures, has added additional information without effacing the seemingly contradictory evidence that precedes. In this case, perhaps he was trying to situate Macarius more locally in Scetis whereas the other source locates him in all

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9 Similar stories are told about Macarius of Egypt; see AP Macarius the Great 40 and 18.

three famous monastic communities of lower Egypt: Nitria, Kellia, and Scetis.<sup>10</sup> In par. 12 Macarius says, “From the day that I became a monk I have not eaten my fill of bread and I have not slept as much as I could.” In the *Virtues of Saint Macarius* 77 this saying is attributed to Macarius the Great, while in *Praktikos* 94 Evagrius seems to be assigning it to Macarius of Alexandria.<sup>11</sup> Paragraph 22 declares that “they also said about Saint Abba Macarius the Alexandrian that when he was a young man living in Alexandria he was a mime by trade and was world-famous.” *Lausiac History* 17.1 (*Coptic Life of Macarius the Great* 1), by contrast, says that as a young man he was “a vendor of confectionaries.” Perhaps he was both. It is clear that multiple traditions were circulating about Macarius (and the Macarii) in antiquity and that in the *Coptic Life* someone placed these traditions not side by side but one after another, without seeing any disparity between them.

What is most striking about these traditions—both in the *Lausiac History* and in the *Coptic Life*—is that “anonymous” third-person narrative combines with eyewitness (“I,” “we”) accounts and secondary testimony (“his disciple told me,” “they also said”). Roughly half of both the Coptic and Greek *Lives* claim that their material comes from primary and secondary accounts; thus there is no radical difference between the presentation of the material in the *Lausiac History* and the “extra” material in the *Coptic Life*.<sup>12</sup> For example, with regard to the story of Mark the Ascetic (par. 16; LH 18.25), in the *Lausiac History* Palladius says that Macarius himself told him about Mark; in the *Coptic Life*, it is Macarius’ “disciple who . . . still lives in the monastic community” who narrates the story. This same disciple is also the source for the “extra” material in pars. 20–21. Par. 20, an apophthegm, takes the classic form of early monastic oral tradition where “A tells B who tells C”: “Abba Macarius’ disciple told me, ‘My father said to me, “Not a Saturday or a Sunday passed that I did not see the angel of the altar standing in front of me as I celebrated the Holy Communion of God.”’” In the *Apophthegmata*, such “linearity” lays claim to authentic tradition, to the wisdom of the old men.<sup>13</sup> The same is true here. Part of par. 12 seems to have Evagrius as its source.<sup>14</sup> Judged

10 Par. 7 locates him in Scetis. Part of the contradiction in these sources is removed if “Scetis” is understood more broadly as encompassing both the Cells and Scetis (Wadi al-Natrun), an understanding that Evelyn White has recommended..

11 Guillaumont believes, 51–52, that the “holy father Macarius” referred to in *Praktikos* 94 is not Macarius of Egypt but Macarius of Alexandria, despite the clear reference in *Praktikos* 93 to Macarius the Egyptian. (Guillaumont does not refer to the *Virtues*). He believes that Evagrius “generally designated” Macarius of Alexandria with the epithet “the holy father Macarius.”

12 The *Coptic Life* may offer evidence of the omission of one eyewitness from the *Lausiac History*: Palladius says that he himself saw the sinful priest healed by Macarius (LH 18.19–21); the *Coptic Life* (par. 9) begins this story “Another time I was with him along with Saint Albinus.” Albinus the Roman, son of Anatolius the Spaniard, is mentioned in the *Coptic Life of Pambo* 10. He apparently was a friend of Evagrius (LH 47.3, if this Albanus is the same person) and may have been omitted from the Greek text of LH 18.19 by an anti-Evagrarian editor (on this tendency see the General Introduction).

13 On this subject see William Harmless, SJ, “Remembering Poemen Remembering: The Desert Fathers and the Spirituality of Memory,” *Church History* 69:3 (September 2000): 483–518.

14 See *Praktikos* 94.

solely by form and origins, then, the extra material in the Coptic *Life of Macarius of Alexandria* has as much claim to authenticity as that in the *Lausiatic History*.<sup>15</sup> It seems possible that Palladius even wrote some of it.

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The *Life of Macarius of Alexandria* was read on 6 Paschons in antiquity.

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SYNOPTIC TABLE  
THE COPTIC *LIFE OF MACARIUS OF*  
*ALEXANDRIA & LAUSIAC HISTORY* 18

<i>COPTIC LIFE</i>	<i>LAUSIAC HISTORY</i>
1. Macarius Returns from the Tomb of Jannes and Jambres	LH 18.9
2. Macarius Heals a Hyena Pup	LH 18.27-28
3. Abba Macarius and the Asp	LH 18.10
4. Abba Macarius' Cells	LH 18.10
5. Abba Macarius Heals a Young Woman	LH 18.11
6. Abba Macarius Gives Relief to Another Young Woman	_____
7. Abba Macarius Goes to Visit the Pachomians	LH 18.12-16
8. Abba Macarius Ascends to Heaven in His Cell	LH 18.17-18
9. Macarius Heals a Sinful Priest	LH 18.19-21
10. Abba Macarius Heals a Young Man	LH 18.22
11. Abba Macarius and the Robbers	_____
12. A Rule Concerning Eating and Sleeping	_____
13. His Meager Clothing	_____
14. His Three Cells	_____
15. Abba Macarius Battles and Defeats Vainglory	LH 18.23-24
16. Abba Macarius' Disciple Tells about Mark the Ascetic	LH 18.25
17. Macarius in Old Age	LH 18.26
18. Paphnutius Tells about Abba Macarius	LH 18.28
19. Abba Macarius' Appearance	LH 18.29
20. Abba Macarius Speaks about the Angel of the Altar	_____
21. The Miracle of the Chalice	_____
22. Abba Macarius and the Mimes	_____
23. Abba Macarius Goes to Alexandria	_____
24. Concluding Remarks	_____
25. More Concluding Remarks	LH 18.29
26. Final Remarks	_____

<sup>15</sup> Guillaumont, "L'Enseignement" 85-86, has shown how the *Apophthegmata* moved from first person and attributed accounts to third person, unattributed accounts. Stories told in the first person seem to point to an early stage of the tradition.



## **[LIFE OF MACARIUS OF ALEXANDRIA] (Lausiatic History 18)<sup>16</sup>**

Macarius Returns from Visiting the Tomb of Jannes and Jambres (LH 18.9)<sup>17</sup>

1. [Macarius said,]<sup>18</sup> “. . . immediately the antelope turned over and [showed] me her breasts streaming with milk. Then I knew right away that God wished to keep me alive and I heard a voice, ‘Macarius, arise, go to the antelope, drink the milk, and recover your strength and go to your cell.’” He went and drank her milk and slept a little. The antelope went away and one of them, either her or another one, gave him milk each day. “And when I drew near my cell and was a day’s walk from it, all the antelope went away and left me. I returned to my cell on the eighth day.”<sup>19</sup>

Macarius Heals a Hyena Pup (LH 18.27-28)<sup>20</sup>

2. One time *while he was [sitting in his cell]*, a hyena came to him, *carrying her cub in her mouth.*<sup>21</sup> *She placed the cub in front of his door and knocked on the door. The old man heard her knock and came out, thinking that a brother had come to see him. When he opened the door he saw the hyena. He was amazed and said, “What do you seek here?”* She picked up her cub with her mouth and offered it to the old man, *weeping.*<sup>22</sup> The old man took the cub in his hands *with his customary simplicity; he turned the cub this way and that, inspecting its body to see where it might be hurt. When he examined the cub, he discovered that it was blind in both eyes.* He took it, *sighed,* spit into its face,

16 The beginning of the codex is missing and the codex lacks a title. Translated from E. Amélineau, *Histoire des moines de la Basse-Egypte* (Paris: Lerneux, 1894), 235-61, with corrections supplied from Vat. copt. 69 by Adalbert de Vogüé, “Le texte copte du chapitre XVIII de l’Histoire Lausiaque: L’édition d’Amélineau et le manuscrit,” *Orientalia* 61.4 (1992): 459-62. References to the Greek text of the *Lausiatic History* are to G.J.M. Bartelink, ed., *Palladio: La Storia Lausiaca* (Milan: Fondazione Lorenzo Valla, 1974), which is a modification of Butler’s. Translations of the Gk text are from *Palladius: The Lausiatic History*, trans. Robert T. Meyer (Ancient Christian Writers 34; New York: Newman, 1964). Section titles are my own. Portions in italics are lacking in Gk. Paragraphs without “LH” in parentheses lack parallels with the *Lausiatic History*. Paragraph numbers do not correspond to LH but are given for ease of reference.

17 The manuscript has a lacuna at the beginning and picks up with the end of the story of the visit to the tomb of Jannes and Jambres (LH 18.5-9); thus the missing portion probably contained a version of LH 18.1-8. *Historia Monachorum* 21.5-8 makes Macarius the Great the hero of this story, while the Latin version (Russell, 152) gives that role to Macarius of Alexandria; see Guillaumont, 52.

18 In Gk the story is told entirely in the third person. The Coptic soon switches from first person to third, then back to first, a fairly common occurrence in Coptic translations of Greek texts.

19 Although the text here and LH 18.9 are clearly related, they are also quite different.

20 Both the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Lausiatic History* make Macarius of Alexandria the focus of this story while *Historia Monachorum* 21.5 has Macarius the Great; since the *Virtues of Saint Macarius* has several stories like the one here, such confusion is understandable.

21 In the Gk, Paphnutius, a disciple of Macarius’, tells this story.

22 See *Virtues of Macarius* 14, where an antelope weeps. That story has a number of affinities with this one.

and made the sign of the cross on its eyes with his finger.<sup>23</sup> Immediately the cub could see and left him for its mother and suckled. [It followed] her and they went [into] the river there and into the marshland and disappeared.

The Libyans bring their sheep to the marshland of Scetis once a year to eat herbs and the herdsmen who live in the villages around Pernouj [Nitria] also lead their cattle down to the marshland of Scetis once a year to eat grass.<sup>24</sup> The hyena let one day go by but the next day she came to the old man with a sheepskin, very plush and soft, hanging from her mouth as an offering, and knocked with her head on the door. The old man was sitting in the courtyard. When he heard the knock on the door, he got up and opened the door and found the hyena holding the skin as an offering. He said to the hyena, “Where have you come from? Where did you get this unless you ate a sheep? What you have brought me has come from violence. I will not accept it from you.”

The hyena was hitting her head on the ground and bending her paws, imploring him like a person to take the sheepskin from her.<sup>25</sup> He said to her, “I just said that I would not accept the sheepskin unless you promise me not to hurt the poor by eating their sheep.” She moved her head even more up and down, as though she were giving him her promise. Once again he repeated himself to her, saying, “Unless you promise me you will not kill any living beast but will eat only carrion from now on, [I will not accept the sheepskin].<sup>26</sup> From now on, if you are weary from searching for food and are unable to find anything to eat, come to me here and I will give you bread, and do no violence to anyone from now on.” The hyena prostrated herself to the earth, throwing herself on her knees, bending her paws, moving her head up and down, looking up into his face, as though she were giving him her promise.

And the old man understood that it was the economy of God that gives intelligence<sup>27</sup> even to wild beasts in order to teach us a lesson. And he gave glory to God who gives intelligence even to wild beasts,<sup>28</sup> and he sang praises in Egyptian to God who exists for ever, because the soul is precious. He said, “I give glory to you, God, who were with Daniel in the lions’ den<sup>29</sup> and gave intelligence to wild beasts. In the same way now you gave intelligence also to this hyena and did not forget me but made me understand that this was your ordinance.” And the old man accepted the sheepskin from her. The hyena returned to her lair again and every few days would pay him a visit. If she was unable to find food, she would come to him and he would throw bread to her. She would often do this.

23 and made . . . finger: Gk and then prayed.

24 For the ancients, from Herodotus on, the Nile separated Asia from Libya (Africa) [BV].

25 See Rufinus, EH 2.4; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues* 1.15; *Virtues of Saint Macarius*, Amélineau 134-35 (= *Virtues* 14) [BV].

26 This clause is missing from the Coptic, but seems required to complete the sense.

27 *Kati* is used as a noun here and as a verb in “understood” immediately above.

28 See *Virtues* 36.

29 See Dan 6:22-23. Gk: And what is so remarkable about this, that He who subdued the lions for Daniel should also enlighten the hyena?

*The old man slept on the sheepskin until he went to his rest. I saw it with my own eyes. Indeed, when he was about to die, Melania, queen of the Romans, happened to pay him a visit. He gave that sheepskin to her as an inheritance.<sup>30</sup> It remained in her possession until her death; she faithfully kept it as a remembrance.<sup>31</sup>*

Abba Macarius and the Asp (LH 18.10)<sup>32</sup>

3. Another time he dug a well in the middle of some reeds. There was an asp *sleeping there that no one knew about. That asp was a killer and it was hiding in the rushes on account of the cold. When the sun rose, the earth warmed up. The old man came and stood on the earth without knowing about the asp. The asp was injured and bit the old man on the leg. He caught the asp alive in his hands and said to it, "What harm have I done to you that you attempt to eat me? God has not given you authority to do this; therefore it's your evil nature to do so. I will do to you according to your own evil nature."* And the old man seized the two lips of the asp in his two hands, pulled them apart, and tore it in half down to its tail. *He left it in two pieces and in this way the old man did not suffer at all<sup>33</sup> but was like someone who has been stuck by the point of a reed.*

Abba Macarius' Cells (LH 18.10)

4. This Abba Macarius had a number of cells in the desert: he had a cell in the interior desert;<sup>34</sup> he had another in the interior of Libya; he had another in the monastic community<sup>35</sup> called the "Cells" and another in the monastic community of Pernouj.<sup>36</sup> Some of them were without doors,<sup>37</sup> for in truth they were located in the interior desert where he did not encounter anyone: these were where he lived during the season of Lent, *dark caves lying beneath the earth, similar to hyenas' dens*; indeed, they were so narrow that he was not able to straighten out his limbs at all.<sup>38</sup> But the cell near to people<sup>39</sup> was spacious; this was where he met the brothers.

Abba Macarius Heals a Young Woman (LH 18.11)

5. This old man, Saint Abba Macarius,<sup>40</sup> healed a number of people possessed by demons, so many that their numbers were countless. Thus, while we were there,

30 Gk: The blessed Melania told me: "I took that fleece as a visiting-gift." On the fleece, see Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues* 1.15, and Paulinus of Nola, Letter 29.5.

31 See *Life of Antony* 92, and *Life of Pambo* 6 where Melania receives a basket from Pambo before he dies.

32 For a similar story, see Tim Vivian and Apostolos N. Athanassakis, trans., *The Life of Saint George of Choziba* (San Francisco: ISP, 1994), 56.

33 See Acts 28:3-6.

34 Gk: one at Scetis in the innermost part of the Great Desert.

35 Or: mountain, *pitôou*.

36 Gk: Mount Nitria. See below, par. 14, where it says he had three cells in Scetis.

37 Gk: windowless.

38 See Jerome, *Life of Hilarion* 4.13, 21.5; Sozomen, EH 3.14; Theodoret, *History* 3.5 [BV].

39 Gk: another cell.

40 Gk: he.

a young woman<sup>41</sup> who was paralyzed and very sick was brought to him.<sup>42</sup> *When this woman heard news of him in her own land, she had herself brought to him, and after he had prayed over some oil he anointed her whole body many times with his holy hands. After twenty days God healed her through his prayers and Abba Macarius sent her home whole, having been healed,<sup>43</sup> giving glory to God. After she reached her city, at the the end of three days she died. She left three hundred pieces of gold when she went to her rest: in her will she bequeathed them to Saint Abba Macarius on account of the way she had been healed.*<sup>44</sup>

#### *Abba Macarius Gives Relief to Another Young Woman*

6. *The fame of Saint Abba Macarius spread and another young woman heard about him. She went to him from Thessalonica. Her name was Lydia; she was a scribe, copying books for reading. She practiced a strict ascetic regimen, living a man's way of life. She spent a whole year living in a large cave. She would meet the old man once a day; no one else saw her in the whole monastic settlement except on the day she left the community in order to return to her own country. And her hidden thought came to the old man: through the old man God gave her relief<sup>45</sup> by means of the old man's prayers. She returned to her own country, giving glory to God because he gave her relief through her visits to the old man.*

#### *Abba Macarius Goes to Tabennisi to Visit the Pachomians (LH 18.12-16)*<sup>46</sup>

7. This Macarius heard one time that the men of Tabbenisi (*which is a monastery in Upper Egypt*) performed a number of ascetic practices because they were very great men. Abba Macarius rose, changed his clothes, and put on peasant's clothing as though he were a workman. He went to Upper Egypt, walking through the desert fifteen days until he arrived there.<sup>47</sup> When he reached the great monastery,<sup>48</sup> he went and sought the father of the monastery whose name was Abba Pachomius. He was someone chosen and proven and he possessed the gift<sup>49</sup> of

41 Or: virgin, *parthenos*. Gk: suffering from paralysis for a good many years.

42 In Gk she is from Thessalonica; see par. 6.

43 In Coptic, "whole" and "healed" are related etymologically (as they are in English): *ouoj* and *oujai*.

44 After . . . healed: Gk After she had gone away, she sent him gifts of fruit.

45 *Ti mton* means "to give rest, relief," and can indicate relief from an illness.

46 AP Macarius of Alexandria 2 confirms that Macarius visited the Pachomians, but the apophthegm it gives bears no relation to the much longer story here. A shorter version of this story, attributed to Macarius the Great, seems to occur in the Coptic *Sayings of Macarius of Egypt* 26; for these sayings, see Tim Vivian, "The Coptic Sayings of Saint Macarius of Egypt," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 35.4 (2000): 499-523, repr. in Vivian, *Saint Macarius the Spiritbearer* (forthcoming).

47 It seems very unlikely that Macarius would have walked to Tabbenisi; it is more likely that he would have made his way to the Nile, then taken a boat upstream to the Pachomians. But he certainly could have walked.

48 Gk: Arriving at the monastery of Tabennisi.

49 *Hmot* also means "grace."

prophecy. God told him nothing concerning Abba Macarius; to be sure, he had heard about him and wanted to see him.<sup>50</sup> When Abba Macarius met Abba Pachomius, he said to him, “I implore you, my father, receive me into your monastery.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps I too might become a monk.”

Abba Pachomius said to him, “*What do you want, my brother? See here, looking at you and judging by your age*, I see that you are an old man. You will not be able to live a monastic way of life, and all the brothers here are ascetics. You will not be able to endure their stringent practices and you will have your feelings hurt; you will leave speaking evil of the brothers. *Go to the hospice for visitors and workers and stay there. I will see that you are fed there until you want to leave on your own.*”

He received him neither on the first day nor the second, not until the seventh day.<sup>52</sup> When Abba Macarius became weak from persevering in not eating, he *again went to meet the leader of the monastery and* said to him, “Receive me *into your monastery, my father*, and if I am unable to fast *and practice asceticism* and work with my hands like the others, drive me from your monastery.” Then Abba Pachomius sent to the brothers to take him inside. The number of brothers there was 1,400 monks in the monastery.<sup>53</sup>

Abba Macarius went and when he had spent a few days there, the time came for the holy forty days of fasting<sup>54</sup> and he saw all the brothers doing various ascetic practices, some one thing and some another: some were fasting until evening each day while others were fasting two days and others five days; still others were fasting while standing all night and sitting during the day. Abba Macarius went and soaked his palm branches in water, *took them, placed them in a round seat elevated in front of him*. He stood in a corner of his cell *plaiting palm branches* until the forty days were over. *He did not sit at all, nor did he eat bread or drink water, nor did he bend his knees,*<sup>55</sup> but each Sunday he would take some cabbage leaves and eat them in front of the brothers so they would know that he was eating. And if he went outside to urinate or to soak some palm branches, he hastily fled inside at once. He did not speak with anyone nor did he open his mouth at all but stood in silence, praying in his heart while working with the palm branches.

When all the ascetics saw what he was doing, they rose up against their leader of the monastery, saying, “Where have you brought this old man from? Maybe he’s not even flesh and blood! Have you brought him here in order to judge us? Either you throw him out of the monastery or all of us will leave!” When Abba

50 Gk: This latter did not know Macarius.

51 Gk *monê* here; earlier in the par. Coptic *abêt* is used.

52 The Rule of the Four Fathers calls for the same delay. Cassian, *Institutes* 4.3.1. and 4.36.2, says ten days or longer, while Pachomius, *Precepts* 49, leaves the waiting period unspecified [BV].

53 LH 32.8 gives a figure of 1,300; Jerome, *Praef. in Regula Pachomii* 2 supplies a figure of between 1200 and 1600 per monastery and in *Praef. in Regula Pachomii* 7 gives a total of 5,000 for the entire Pachomian koinonia. Cassian, *Institutes* 4.1 says there were more than 5,000 [BV].

54 That is, Lent.

55 Gk +: or lie down.

Pachomius heard about the kind of ascetic practices Abba Macarius was doing, he prayed to God to reveal to him the truth about the old man and who he was.

God revealed to him *that this was Abba Macarius the Alexandrian who lived in Scetis.*<sup>56</sup> And the leader of the monastery took the old man's hand and led him into the midst of the area where they hold the synaxis *after they finish the eucharistic prayer in the sanctuary*<sup>57</sup> so that the whole crowd of brothers might see him, and he said to him, "Come here, venerable sir.<sup>58</sup> Are you Abba Macarius?<sup>59</sup> You have hidden yourself from us. How long I have heard about you and have wished to see you! But I give thanks to you because you have edified all of us<sup>60</sup> and have taught the young brothers not to be vain about their ascetic practices. *Even if they do everything, they can not match the forty days of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, Son of the living God.*<sup>61</sup> *Especially since, although you seem to be a man like us, you have done all these ascetic practices as an old man.* Go home *in peace*; you have edified all of us sufficiently.<sup>62</sup> And pray for us." Then he left *as all of them did obeisance to him and beseeched him, "Pray for us."*

Abba Macarius Ascends to Heaven in His Cell (LH 18.17-18)

8. He also told us this other story: "Every ascetic practice that I had undertaken I had successfully completed, but the desire also entered my heart to do this: I wanted to spend five days with my heart focused on God at all times without paying any attention at all to the ways of this age. Having made this promise in my heart, I entered my cell *in the interior desert, the one without door or window or any light,*<sup>63</sup> so no one could find me, and I stood *on the mat in my cell.*<sup>64</sup> I fought with my thought,<sup>65</sup> speaking thus: '*Watch yourself.* Do not come down from heaven: there you have the patriarchs and prophets and apostles; there you have the angels and archangels and the powers on high *and the cherubim and seraphim. Cleave to God: the Father and the only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit, the consubstantial Trinity, God of gods,*<sup>66</sup> *the king of all the ages.*<sup>67</sup> *Climb high upon the cross of the Son who*<sup>68</sup> *is in heaven.* Do not come down from that mighty place.<sup>69</sup>

56 Macarius of Alexandria was a priest at Kellia or the Cells, so either he is mistaken here for Macarius of Egypt or "Scetis" includes Kellia.

57 Literally: the prayer of the place where they perform the sacrifice. That is, the altar or the sanctuary; the prayer (singular in the ms. but plural in Am's text) is the eucharistic liturgy [BV]. Gk is simpler: into the oratory where the altar was.

58 Coptic/Gk: *kalogêros*, literally "good old man," which means "monk" in Modern Greek.

59 Gk is a statement.

60 Gk: my children; see *Life of Antony* 82, 91.

61 See Mt 16:16.

62 Gk: for you have stayed long enough with us.

63 Gk: I shut up my cell and the hall.

64 Gk: at the second hour.

65 Gk: I gave these orders to my mind.

66 See Ps 50:1.

67 See 1 Tim 1:17. Gk: the God of all of us.

68 Or: which.

69 Gk: heaven.

“And when I had finished two days,” he said, “and two nights, the demons became so demented that *they changed themselves into a crowd of phantasms. Sometimes they took on the appearance of lions scratching my feet with their claws;*<sup>70</sup> *sometimes they took on the appearance of serpents entwining themselves around my feet. Finally, they took on the appearance of fiery flames in order to burn up everything inside the cell, even the mat I was standing on; they burned up everything except for the soles of my feet so that I thought I too was going to be burned up. Finally, the fire and the phantasms fled.*<sup>71</sup> *On the fifth day I was unable to master my thought without distraction but I returned to worldly worries and human ways of seeing. I understood that if I was going to succeed in completing this commandment, I would destroy my understanding and become insanely arrogant.*<sup>72</sup> For this reason I was at peace allowing the cares of this world into my heart so I would not fall into arrogance.” *He added words like these: “I have spent fifty years doing ascetic practices without suffering anything like I did that day.”*

#### Macarius Heals a Sinful Priest (LH 18.19-21)

9. Another time I was with him *along with Saint Albinus.*<sup>73</sup> A village priest came to Abba Macarius; his whole head was peeled away because he was consumed by the disease called “cancer,” which had eaten away his whole face, and his head was so peeled away that when you looked at it you saw no flesh but only bone. *He was very horrible to look at. The priest had lost everything he had on doctors and had not been healed.*<sup>74</sup> *When he had lost hope* he went to the old man so that God with him might heal him of his illness. *Therefore he threw himself down at the old man’s feet and implored him,* but the old man completely ignored him. We<sup>75</sup> implored him, however, saying, “Our father, have pity on this man. *Don’t ignore him. Answer him in his distress.*”

And he said,<sup>76</sup> “*Let him be;* he doesn’t deserve to be healed. If he had stopped fornicating he would still be going up to the altar.”<sup>77</sup>

The priest spent three days imploring him, but the old man ignored him. Finally, he took pity on his tears and his supplication; he called him and said to him, “Do you know why God has brought this chastisement upon you?”<sup>78</sup>

He answered him, “Yes, my lord.”

70 See *Life of Antony* 9.6-7, 52.2.

71 Gk: Finally, overwhelmed by fear, I left on the third day.

72 Thus insane (*-libi*), he would become like the demented (*libi*) demons.

73 On Albinus, see n. 12 above.

74 See Mk 5:26, Lk 8:43.

75 Gk: I.

76 Gk adds: to me.

77 Literally: “the place of sacrifice,” the altar, a phrase used later in the *Life*. So he was continuing to function as a priest. The Gk is longer here.

78 Gk: When I told the afflicted man this, he agreed, and he vowed that he would no longer exercise the priestly function. Then Macarius received him, saying, “Do you believe that God exists?”

Abba Macarius said to him, "Have you been able to mock him?"<sup>79</sup>

He said, "No, *my lord*."

The old man said to him, "Since you have acknowledged your sins, if you turn away from them you will be saved."

Then the priest confessed his sin. The old man said to him, "Why have you not given up your priestly position so you will not be cast into eternal punishments and may be saved?"

*Then we said to him, "Wretch,<sup>80</sup> promise the old man that you will not go up to the altar so God may heal you through the prayers of this saint."*

And when he had promised the old man "I will not go up to the altar," and when the old man had prayed over oil, he anointed his entire head and face and God gave him healing.<sup>81</sup> His head grew skin again and hair. The old man dismissed him and he went away, saying, "I will remain a lay person until I die."<sup>82</sup>

#### Abba Macarius Heals a Young Man Possessed by a Demon (LH 18.22)

10. This other event took place when we were present: A young man possessed by a demon<sup>83</sup> was brought to him. The old man placed one hand on his head and his other hand he placed over the young man's heart. *His heart aflame*, he prayed to God *for an hour* without ceasing so that the demon was suspended high in the air, *crying out and saying, "Have pity on me!"* The young man became like a wineskin, so swollen was his body, and when he spoke in a loud voice, his eyes and ears and nose and mouth and all his lower members<sup>84</sup> *gushed like water pouring from a bottle*<sup>85</sup> and when he poured out all the water he returned to normal. *Then the old man held the young man in his arms as he prayed and said, "Glory to you, Lord Jesus Christ, who saves those who have faith in you!"* And he poured a pot of water over him and anointed him with holy oil, *while he gave him a little water to drink*. And he commanded him: "Do not eat meat for forty days and do not drink wine."<sup>86</sup> And when he was healed, the old man gave him to his father, healed.

#### *Abba Macarius and the Robbers*<sup>87</sup>

*11. Again one time there was a famine over the whole earth and among the Libyans who lived on that mountain; as a result, some Libyan robbers came searching the desert one time. They came upon the cell of Abba Macarius with a camel in their possession, having loaded waterskins on it with*

79 See Gal 6:7.

80 Literally, "weak one." *Jōb* can indicate physical or moral weakness or, as here, both.

81 Gk: And so Macarius laid his hand on him, and in a few days he was cured.

82 Gk: he went away cured.

83 Gk: evil spirit.

84 his eyes . . . members: Gk all his sense organs.

85 See Jerome, *Life of Hilarion* 8.8 [BV].

86 See Rom 14:21.

87 For a similar story, see AP Macarius the Great 40 and 18.



water to drink in the desert. When they entered the cell of Abba Macarius, they found nothing of value in his cell. They seized all the bodily necessities and his handiwork and a few palms and took them and loaded them on the camel.

Now it happened that when they had loaded the bags on the camel and wanted to get it up, the camel was unable to get up; it was bellowing but was unable to get up. Then morning came. All of a sudden the old man returned. He saw the men and the camel from a distance and thought that they had brought him some bodily necessities from Egypt<sup>88</sup> in order to receive his handiwork from him in return, as was his custom.<sup>89</sup> But when he got closer to them, he recognized his baskets and his palms and his few bodily necessities. He kept quiet and said nothing.

When they saw the holy old man, they prostrated themselves and made obeisance to him and begged his forgiveness over and over. He, however, did not get angry nor did he beat them but walked right by them, went into his cell, and found that they had taken all his possessions in the cell except for a small pot, which had a few olives in it. (They had not seen it sitting behind the door.) The old man, the good old man, picked up the pot of olives, took it outside to them, and said to them, “Do you want to know why the camel was not able to get up?

They said, “Yes.”

He said to them, “Because you forgot these few olives; that’s why you’ve been unable to get the camel up.” And after he placed the pot on the camel and gave the animal a kick, it immediately got up. And he sent them away in peace and accompanied them off.<sup>90</sup>

The next day some brothers came to see the old man, having traveled to hear some profitable words from him. It was already time to eat and the brothers wanted to eat a little something. Therefore, when he knew their thoughts, he said to them, “There’s bread in your traveling skins; bring it here so we can eat a little something, for God has given the bodily necessities that were here in my dwelling to some men of the world who have wives because some poor folk needed them due to the severity of the famine.”

### *A Rule Concerning Eating and Sleeping*

12. He also said this other saying in the presence of the young brothers in order to prompt their emulation: “From the day that I became a monk I have not eaten my fill of bread and I have not slept as much as I could.<sup>91</sup> None of the mighty fathers were ever sick, because they would direct their bodies by a well-regulated Rule.”

88 “Egypt” usually designates non-monastic areas, “the world,” either Alexandria, the delta, of Babylon (Cairo).

89 See *Life of Antony* 53.1.

90 AP Macarius 40 ends here.

91 In *Praktikos* 94 (Bamberger, trans., 40), Evagrius attributes a similar saying to “the holy Father Macarius.” Bunge, “Évagre le Pontique et les deux Macaire,” 221-22, 223, regards this Macarius as Macarius of Alexandria. *Virtues* 77 attributes it to Macarius of Egypt.

*His Meager Clothing*

13. He told us this other saying concerning himself: When he was young, he spent an entire year without putting on any clothing except for an old rag wrapped around his loins and his members.

*His Three Cells*

14. He had three cells at Scetis: one next to the great interior desert, one situated in the middle of Scetis, and one near people, a short distance away.<sup>92</sup>

Abba Macarius Battles and Defeats Vainglory (LH 18.23-24)

15. Another time the thought of vainglory and vanity afflicted Abba Macarius, wanting to drive him from his cell. *The thoughts would say to him, "Macarius! Your name has become famous throughout the whole world. Get up! Go to Rome, the city of kings,"*<sup>93</sup> so you can heal those who are sick<sup>94</sup> and not afflict them by making them come all this distance. *Indeed, the Romans are united with the Egyptians with regard to their ascetic practices and their orthodox faith.*<sup>95</sup> *With this pretext, then, the demons wanted to drive him from his cell. They would say to him, "God has put this inclination in your heart along with a great gift*<sup>96</sup> *for healing. Get up, go, for this is God's dispensation."*<sup>97</sup>

When he saw that they afflicted him,<sup>98</sup> he sat at the threshold of his cell<sup>99</sup> and said to them, "If you can, take me from here by force." *Once again, when the demons afflicted him by laying difficulties upon him,* he cried out with a loud voice and with anger,<sup>100</sup> "I've already told you that I don't have feet;<sup>101</sup> if you are able, pick me up and carry me to Rome. Look! I will sit here until the sun sets."

After he sat there a while he got up, and when night fell the thoughts<sup>102</sup> afflicted him again and he took hold of a basket and put two measures of sand in it.<sup>103</sup> He hoisted it up on himself and walked around with it throughout the desert. And he came upon Theosebeia the sweeper.<sup>104</sup> He said to Abba Macarius, "What are you carrying there, my father? Set it on me. Do not afflict yourself."

92 See above, par. 4.

93 Gk: to promote the designs of Providence.

94 Gk adds: for grace against spirits worked strongly in him.

95 Either this was written before the Council of Chalcedon (451) or it is meant ironically, that the declaration of such a union is a pretext of the demons.

96 Also: grace, *hmot*.

97 *Oikonomia*.

98 Gk: And as he did not take heed for a while, but was strongly pressed.

99 Gk adds: put his feet outside.

100 Gk: he declared an oath.

101 Gk: O demons, I shall not go on my feet.

102 Gk: the demons. Evagrius often uses "thoughts" and "demons" interchangeably.

103 See *Life of Pachomius* (SBo 10 = G1 6) [BV]; Armand Veilleux, ed., *Pachomian Koinonia* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian, 1980), 1.33.

104 *Pikosmitês* (Gk *kosmêtôr*); see Lampe 769B under both. At Scetis an Abba Paul was known as Paulos *ho kosmitês*; he and his brother Timothy were *kosmitai* [BV]. Gk: Theosebius the Sweeper, he of Antioch born.

Abba Macarius said to him, “I am afflicting that which afflicts me,<sup>105</sup> for truly, if I give it rest, it brings thoughts to me, saying, ‘Get up! Go to the stranger.’”<sup>106</sup> After he continued walking around in the desert,<sup>107</sup> he returned to his cell, his body crushed.

#### Abba Macarius’ Disciple Tells about Mark the Ascetic (LH 18.25)

16. *His disciple who served him in his old age*<sup>108</sup>—to whom he entrusted the duke’s son because he was a believer who came to live with the old man and who still lives in the monastic community working with his hands, eating by means of his labor,<sup>109</sup> very hospitable to strangers—this faithful disciple of Abba Macarius, then, told me, “My father Abba Macarius told me,<sup>110</sup> ‘I saw at the time of the mysteries that I did not give the sacrament to Mark the Ascetic a single time but when he came to receive communion I would see an angel placing the sacrament in his hands.’”<sup>111</sup> *Abba Macarius was priest of the church while Mark himself was a young man who had learned the Old and New Testaments by heart. He was a very gentle person and chaste.*

#### Macarius in Old Age (LH 18.26)

17. One day, then, when Abba Macarius was an old man, I went to pay him a visit.<sup>112</sup> I sat by the door so I could hear what he said. Abba Macarius had reached a hundred years. I heard him talking all to himself, saying, “What do you want, Macarius, you wicked old man? Look now, you drink wine and use oil; what more do you want, you who have eaten your own gray hair?”<sup>113</sup>

After this he spoke with the Devil, “Have you nothing more to do with me? There’s nothing for you here. Get away from me!”<sup>114</sup>

He acted as though he despised his body, speaking like this: “Go away, traitorous horse! You will never be well as long as I am with you!”<sup>115</sup>

#### Paphnutius Tells about Abba Macarius (LH 18.28)

18. Another time Paphnutius, the disciple of Abba Macarius,<sup>116</sup> told us, “The

105 See LH 2.2 [BV]. Gk: I am molesting my tempter.

106 Gk: he is uncontrollable and tries to throw me out.

107 Gk adds: for a long time.

108 See *Life of Antony* 91.1.

109 See perhaps 2 Th 3:10.

110 Gk: This holy Macarius told me this also, for he was a priest.

111 Gk adds: I saw only the wrist of the minister’s hands.

112 The beginning of this story in Gk is considerably longer.

113 The Gk is clearer: you grey-haired old glutton.

114 See Sulpicius Severus, Epistle 3.16 [BV].

115 Gk: And, as though humming, he kept saying to himself: “Come, you white-haired old glutton, how long shall I be with you?”

116 In the *Virtues of Saint Macarius* and *Life of Macarius of Scetius*, a Paphnutius is the disciple of Macarius of Egypt.

old man said to me, 'Look, it's been seven years today since I recall spitting on the ground.'"<sup>117</sup>

Abba Macarius' Appearance (LH 18.29)

19. Abba Macarius had the appearance of a dwarf, with a few hairs growing above his lips and on the end of his chin.<sup>118</sup>

*Abba Macarius Speaks about the Angel of the Altar*

20. *Abba Macarius' disciple told me, "My father said to me, 'Not a Saturday or a Sunday passed that I did not see the angel of the altar<sup>119</sup> standing in front of me as I celebrated the Holy Communion of God.'"*

*The Miracle of the Chalice*

21. *Yet again I heard another very amazing story from him<sup>120</sup> when he said: "I was present on one of the feast days when the deacon was inside the sanctuary preparing the eucharistic offering. The chalice fell from his hand and broke into numerous pieces, for it was glass (truly, it was the desert and it was not possible for them to have silver). I myself heard the sound of the chalice breaking when it fell from the deacon's hand. I entered the sanctuary while all the people were seated saying the psalms. I said to the deacon, 'Don't be upset and don't get discouraged, but gather up all the pieces and do not leave any behind. Put them on the altar, go, and leave them.' And when Saint Abba Macarius left, he and the deacon, they sat a short while.<sup>121</sup> Abba Macarius said to the deacon, 'Go to the altar. Tell no one what you are going to see there.' The deacon went inside and found the chalice in perfect condition: it was put back together. The signs of the broken fragments were visible, but it no longer looked dropped. That chalice still exists today.*

*"When I heard about this miracle, I went to the deacon, who had become a priest. He showed me that chalice. I saw it with my own eyes. I kissed it and glorified God. When the father of the monastery of Tashenthosh of the village of Jani<sup>122</sup> came, he paid a visit to the monastic community. He brought a large provision of money and distributed it to the old men of the desert places.<sup>123</sup> He*

117 In the Gk (LH 18.27), Paphnutius first tells the story of the hyena (par. 2 above), then in 18.28 it is Macarius who says that "from the time he was baptized he did not spit on the ground, and it was then sixty years since he had been baptized," clearly an independent apophthegm that has been appended to 18.28.

118 Gk continues: for the asceticism he practiced did not allow hair to sprout on him. LH 18.29 then appends what seems to be a separate apophthegm.

119 Or: sanctuary; literally, "the place of sacrifice," as seen above and in the next par.

120 The disciple is apparently speaking.

121 Saying the psalms with the people?

122 Wolfgang Kosack, *Historisches Kartenwerk Ägyptens* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1971), 35, identifies a Jani as Sa el-Hagar.

123 This is the first time that the plural, "deserts," has been used; perhaps it indicates the various monastic communities or the various old men scattered throughout the desert. It occurs in the next paragraph, where it perhaps suggests the several communities where Macarius lived.

*asked the priest there for that chalice and the priest gave it to him as a token of remembrance. Indeed, that chalice resides in the monastery of Tashenthosh to this very day.”*

### *Abba Macarius and the Mimes*

22. *They also said about Saint Abba Macarius the Alexandrian that when he was a young man living in Alexandria he was a mime by trade and was world-famous.<sup>124</sup> When he had become a monk, exalted in virtue in the desert places, his fellow mimes heard that he had become exalted in God’s work.<sup>125</sup> They came to see him in the desert, seven in number, and when they had greeted him they sat beside him. They were full of admiration for him and his way of life. When it came time for them to eat, he put water in the pot and carried it to the oven, wanting to cook some cereal for them. While he heated the water to bring it to a boil, before he poured the meal into the pot he sat and chatted with them as he had when he had been a mime living in the world.*

*When they saw how he was behaving, they said to one another, “Weren’t we told that he had become a man of God? Now look—he’s the same as he was when he was in the world with us. We don’t see any change from the way he behaved when he was with us in Alexandria.”*

*When Abba Macarius saw them speaking with one another about the great freedom of speech he used with them, he brought in an empty dish, gave it to the greatest among them, and said to him, “Fill this dish with sand and pour it into the pot so we can cook the cereal and eat.”*

*When they heard “sand,” they joked among themselves, saying, “Truly Macarius has become more of a mime now than when he was with us in the world!”*

*Once again he said to them, “Do what I told him.”*

*They obeyed him: they filled the plate with sand and poured it into the pot. He made the cereal and it turned out like a cereal made from tasty wheat. When the seven mimes saw the miracle that had taken place through the holy old man Abba Macarius, they did not return to Egypt but renounced the world. They became monks and adopted the practices of the holy old man Abba Macarius.*

### *Abba Macarius Goes to Alexandria*

23. *They also told this concerning the righteous Abba Macarius the Alexandrian: One time the sky would not rain on the earth and multitudes of worms and pests appeared in the people’s fields. Abba Timothy, archbishop of*

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124 Literally: great in the world. “World” might be pejorative here. The theme of “the world” will appear again later in the par. See LH 17.1 (Coptic *Life of Macarius the Great* 1), where Macarius of Alexandria is “a vendor of confectionaries.”

125 See Jn 6:29 and 1 Cor 15:58 [BV].

Alexandria,<sup>126</sup> sent some envoys to Abba Macarius to beseech him: “Come to Alexandria. Entreat God to cause it to rain and kill the worms and pests.”

When they persuaded him with great entreaties, he went with them to Alexandria, When he drew near the city, a great crowd came out to meet him with palm branches.<sup>127</sup> When he reached the Tetraplōn, which is in the middle of the city, he prayed to God with all his heart. When he came to the Gate of the Sun, the sky began to pour forth drops. When he entered the church, it rained heavily for two days and two nights without interruption,<sup>128</sup> as a result, the people thought that the earth would be inundated and overwhelmed by the large amount of rain in the air.

The old man said to the archbishop, “For what purpose have you sent for me? Why have you caused me to forsake my cell and come here?”

The crowds answered him, “We brought you here to have you pray for it to rain—and now look, you have taken pity on us! This downpour is enough! Pray, therefore, for the rain to depart from us, lest it destroy all of us and we all die, we and our children and our livestock and everything that we own!”

The holy old man Abba Macarius prayed, and immediately the rain slackened; at the same time, the sky cleared through the grace of God and the prayers of Saint Abba Macarius. Then the pagans of Alexandria cried out, saying, “A magician<sup>129</sup> enters the Gate of the Sun and the judge did not know about it!”

Abba Macarius spent three days there. He healed a multitude of people with illnesses there, some of them paralytics, and a multitude of other kinds of illnesses in the three days that he spent in Alexandria when he came there from the desert.<sup>130</sup> This came about through God in order that a multitude might be saved and that he might give the gift<sup>131</sup> of rain through Saint Abba Macarius.

After these events, he left Alexandria and returned again to Scetis with the power of God. The brothers said to him, “Our father, did you go to Alexandria?”

He said to them, “Believe me, my brothers, neither column nor city center did I see; neither one. Nor did I see the face of any person except for the archbishop’s alone. Crowds of people mobbed me unmercifully, surrounding me, but I decided not to lift my eyes up to anyone on earth in order to give my eyes no occasion for sin.”<sup>132</sup>

126 Archbishop from 381-85.

127 See Jn 12:13.

128 See Jerome, *Life of Hilarion* 22.4 [BV].

129 See Jerome, *Life of Hilarion* 11.12 [BV].

130 For Antony’s healing of people during his second visit to Alexandria, see *Life of Antony* 69-71.

131 *Hmot* also means “grace.”

132 See Job 31.1, 31.7; Mt 5: 27-30 [BV]. See AP Isidore 8. After a trip to Babylon, John the Little has the same words for his disciples, teaching them at greater length about pride; see Maged S. Mikhail and Tim Vivian, trans., “Life of Saint John the Little,” *Coptic Church Review* 18.1 & 2 (Spring/Summer 1997), 50.

### Concluding Remarks

24. *I will stop now concerning the works of Abba Macarius. Thus, then, was the truly perfect and mighty Abba Macarius, a person who was worthy to be beloved. He was gentle like Moses.<sup>133</sup> Being very zealous, he made the young zealous to stand in virtue, saying to them, "I have never relaxed my labors in asceticism." He was worthy of being beloved by everyone, being very compassionate. Moreover, they say about him that he practiced every virtue that he saw, and those that he heard about too.<sup>134</sup>*

### More Concluding Remarks (LH 18.29)

25. *I wanted, then, beloved, to tell you many things about Abba Macarius, but these I have been able to relate will have to suffice. These are just a very few of his ascetic practices and ways of life.*

*He was a perfect old man. The day of his perfection, when he went to his rest, was the sixth of Pashons.<sup>135</sup>*

### Final Remarks

26. *Let this suffice concerning the marvellous works of Saint Abba Macarius the Alexandrian. We have let this suffice lest the work become too voluminous. These things that we have spoken are sufficient and will profit those who hear them and do them so they might obtain the portion and inheritance of this truly mighty Abba Macarius of Alexandria —or, rather, Abba Macarius of the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of all those who rejoice in the grace and mercy and love for humanity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,<sup>136</sup> to whom be the glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

133 See Num 12:3.

134 See LH 18.1-2.

135 May 1. This is still the feast day for Saint Macarius (6 Bashans).

136 See Tit 2:4.

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# ***THE SOUL OF CHRIST IN ATHANASIUS***

## ***A REVIEW OF MODERN DISCUSSIONS***

*Nathan K. K. Ng* \*

### ***Abstract***

Athanasius' doctrine about the soul of Christ has long been a scholarly debate. Many related works have been published in the last few decades and the controversy is not yet settled. This article tries to summarize and evaluate modern discussions on this subject. Here, the whole issue is analyzed according to the three major disputed areas, namely the humanity of Christ in Athanasius' doctrinal treatises, the explanation of *Tomus ad Antichenos* 7, and the authorship of *De Incarnatione Contra Apollinarium*. As a result, we find that while the evidences supporting Athanasius' recognition of Christ's human soul are not conclusive, the arguments for rejecting it are even weaker.

The doctrine on Jesus was for many ancients a radical, or even implausible, concept. There existed great tension between their original belief and the new proclamation by the early believers. In Hellenism, God was popularly thought to be transcendent, impassible and also inaccessible. However, the Jesus of Nazareth spoken of in the Scriptures could both perform miracles with great divine power and suffer like ordinary human beings. He was proclaimed to be the only Son of God, but at the same time he had lived on earth as a man. Such combination of divinity and humanity was a great challenge for many early Christian thinkers. However, although there were various theories like Ebionitism and Adoptionism that proposed to resolve this tension, the mainstream of the early Church was to accept this biblical teaching by faith.<sup>1</sup> Of course, this orthodox doctrine of incarnation was also adopted by Athanasius. He believes that the Son in order to save men from death and corruption condescended to the created universe. Being made man and bearing a human body, He may be said to be created. However, He was not

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1 Ignatius of Antioch, Irenaeus and Tertullian all defended this doctrine of incarnation firmly. Cf. Ignatius, *Epistula ad Ephesios* 19; Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 3.9.3; and Tertullian, *Adversus Praxean* 27.



lessened by the assumption of the body, but rather deified it and rendered it immortal.<sup>2</sup> So in his earthly life, He was still absolute holiness and absolute life.<sup>3</sup>

In the late fourth century, an increasing concern on the inner composition of the incarnate Word arose. While some fathers suggested that Jesus was composed of the divine *Lo,goj* and human *sa,rx*, others argued that Jesus should have full humanity and thus should also have a human *yuch,*. Concerning the humanity of the incarnate Word, the actual position of Athanasius has long been an academic debate. While some scholars treat him as a hidden supporter of Apollinarian *Lo,goj-sa,rx* Christology, others argue that he nowhere rejected the existence of a human soul in Jesus. As the whole problem is enormous and complicated, it is not the purpose of this study to have a thorough treatment of the issue. What we aim to achieve here is to give an overview for the arguments and discussions of modern scholars, and hence make an up-to-date assessment on the validity of their claims. Basically, the problem may be divided into three main areas: the humanity of Christ in Athanasius' doctrinal and apologetic treatises, the historical context and explanation of *Tomus ad Antichenos* 7, and the authorship of *De Incarnatione Contra Apollinarium*.

## ***I. The Humanity of Christ in Athanasius' Doctrinal and Apologetic Treatises***

Being a steadfast defender of Nicene faith, Athanasius has long been regarded as a pious saint whose theology including Christology is entirely orthodox. However, in 1841 F. C. Baur first denied that Athanasius admitted a human soul in Christ.<sup>4</sup> Then, in 1899 K. Hoss and A. Stülcken criticized that the bishop did not assign any important role to the human soul of Christ.<sup>5</sup> Although their view was immediately rejected by G. Voisin,<sup>6</sup> M. Richard followed them and pointed out in 1947 that, while the Arians explicitly denied a human soul in Jesus, Athanasius never accused them of this. Indeed, the bishop himself has also consciously declined the human psychology of Christ and his authority as a theologian of the incarnation is questionable.<sup>7</sup> Richard's view was afterwards taken and developed by a number of scholars. J. N. D. Kelly, for example, argued that the Word for Athanasius was the government principle in Jesus. He 'appropriates' (*ivdiopoiei/tai*) a human body to himself and uses it as an instrument (*o;rganon*).

2 Cf. Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* 14.

3 Cf. Athanasius, *Contra Gentes* 47.

4 Cf. F. C. Baur, *Die christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes*, vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1841), p.570f.

5 Cf. K. Hoss, *Studien über das Schrifttum und die Theologie des Athanasius* (Freiburg, 1899), pp.76-79; and A. Stülcken, *Athanasiana: Litterar- und Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 19 (4), 4 (Leipzig, 1899), pp.90-106.

6 Cf. G. Voisin, 'La doctrine christologique de saint Athanase,' *Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique* 1 (1900): 226-248.

7 Cf. M. Richard, 'St. Athanase et la psychologie du Christ selon les Ariens,' *Mélanges de science religieuse* 4 (1947): 5-54.

Athanasius' Christology, just as much as that of the Arians, still conforms to the Word-flesh scheme.<sup>8</sup> A. Grillmeier disputed similarly that the Logos was for Athanasius the all-dominating and sole principle of all existence and therefore the subject of all statements about Christ. The human element in Christ is governed by the divine Logos, and his death is a separation of the Logos from the flesh. Precisely speaking, the Lord is 'flesh-bearing Logos,' and not 'God-bearing man.'<sup>9</sup> In 1985, A. Louth wrote an article attempting to explore the reasons why Athanasius nowhere mentioned a human soul in Christ explicitly and clearly. He suggested that Athanasius' Christology was led by his general understanding of the incarnation and that one of the motives behind it is to avoid some of the pitfalls of Origenism.<sup>10</sup> Three years later, R. P. C. Hanson published a comprehensive study of the Arian controversy. Based mainly on certain passages in *Orationes contra Arianos*, he argues that Athanasius' Jesus is either without human soul or with a totally functionless soul. Hanson likens Athanasius' view of the incarnation of the Word to putting on an elaborate space-suit. Every decision or action was completely subjected to the control of the impassible *Logos*, and all human limitations and weaknesses of Jesus are apparent and due to the instrumental body only.<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, such a critical judgement is not heard without objection. Beginning from 1954, many scholars including I. O. de Urbina, C. Constantinides, and P. Galtier have defended the traditional view against these attacks. They criticized the views of Richard and Grillmeier, and tried to affirm the human soul of Christ in Athanasius with different evidences.<sup>12</sup> In 1975, T. F. Torrance wrote an essay pointing out that Athanasius frequently used 'flesh' (*sarx*) to mean full humanity. In the incarnation, God the Son did not simply come *in man*, but came *as man*. By focusing on Christ's role as the vicarious representative of men, Torrance argues that Christ must himself be fully human in order that he might act on behalf of human beings.<sup>13</sup> Though questioning some of his arguments, C. C. Twombly acknowledges that Torrance has thrown light on the character of Christ's humanity and his view is better than that of Grillmeier.<sup>14</sup> In 1981, A. Pettersen

8 Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrine*, 5th ed. (London, 1977), pp.284-289.

9 Cf. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, tr. J. Bowden, 2nd ed. (London and Oxford, 1975), pp.194-219.

10 Cf. A. Louth, 'Athanasius' Understanding of the Humanity of Christ,' *Studia Patristica* 16 (1985): 309-318.

11 Cf. R. P. C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy, 318-381AD* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp.446-458.

12 Cf. I. O. de Urbina, 'L'anima umana di Christo secondo S. Atanasio,' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 20 (1954): 27-43; C. Constantinides, 'Ἡ ψυχή τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ,' *Εἰσαγωγή ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας* 29 (1954): 286-293, 446-452; 30 (1955): 92-98; 31 (1956): 69-78; and P. Galtier, 'St. Athanase et l'âme humaine du Christ,' *Gregorianum* 36 (1955): 553-589.

13 Cf. T. F. Torrance, 'Athanasius: A Study in the Foundations of Classical Theology,' *Theology in Reconciliation* (London, 1975), pp.215-266.

14 Cf. C. C. Twombly, 'The nature of Christ's humanity: a study in Athanasius,' *Patristic and Byzantine Review* 8 (1989): 227-241.

wrote a thesis defending the existence of a human soul in Athanasius' Christology. After reviewing one by one nearly all the key passages, he concludes, 'For Athanasius, then, the humanity of Christ, which existed only in the continuous creative care of the divine Logos, was truly and fully human; that true humanity was that through which man's full humanity was redeemed and reconciled to God.'<sup>15</sup> Disappointingly, according to the references quoted in their works, it seems that both Louth and Hanson have failed to consider most of the above defenses.<sup>16</sup>

Certainly, Athanasius' apologetic treatises can give readers a strong impression of having undervalued the humanity of Jesus. However, this phenomenon is not unexplainable. As Hanson himself recognized, the Arians were at that moment using the limitations and weaknesses of the incarnate Christ to demonstrate the inferiority of the Son in contrast to the Father. The obligatory task of Athanasius' apologetic treatises, especially *Orationes contra Arianos*, was not to provide a systematic exposition of Christian doctrines but to defend the status of the Son. His unbalanced emphasis on the divine nature of the *Lo,goj* in the life of Jesus is totally understandable. If Torrance's and Pettersen's observations are right, Athanasius may well have had in his mind the idea that there is a human soul in the incarnate Christ, though the idea was often not expressed clearly for circumstantial reasons. Actually, as illustrated by I. O. de Urbina and A. Pettersen, there are numerous additional texts in Athanasius' works suggesting a *Lo,goj-a;nqrwpoj* view.<sup>17</sup> We cannot reject his orthodox position simply because he overemphasized the divinity of the Word in his anti-Arian treatises.

## ***II. The Historical Context and Explanation of Tomus ad Antichenos 7***

Amongst the contentious passages, the one in *Tomus ad Antichenos 7* seems to be the most crucial. Here, Athanasius declares explicitly that the divine *Lo,goj* did not assume a *sw/ma a;yucon*. Apparently, this is a powerful proof of his acknowledgement of Jesus' complete humanity. However, there have been many attacks on this opinion from scholars. From a redaction-critical point of view, R. Weijenborg suggests that the statement is a possible Apollinarian interpolation introduced after the death of Athanasius.<sup>18</sup> On the interpretation of the text itself,

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15 A. Pettersen, 'The Humanity of Christ in the Theology of Athanasius of Alexandria,' Ph.D. diss. (Durham University, 1981), p.275. Part of his arguments was published in 1986 and 1987 as A. Pettersen, 'Did Athanasius deny Christ's Fear?' *Scottish Journal of Theology* 39 (1986): 327-340; and 'The Courage of Christ in the Theology of Athanasius,' *Scottish Journal Theology* 40 (1987): 363-377.

16 Cf. Louth, 'Athanasius' Understanding of the Humanity of Christ,' pp.309-318; Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, pp.446-458.

17 Cf. de Urbina, 'L'anima umana di Cristo secondo S. Atanasio,' pp.27-43. For arguments of the genuine humanity of the incarnate Christ, see also A. Pettersen, *Athanasius*, Outstanding Christian Thinkers series (London, 1995), pp.120-132.

18 Cf. R. Weijenborg, 'Apollinarian Interpolations in the *Tomus ad Antiochenos* of 362,' *Studia Patristica* 3 (1961): 324-330.

scholars such as A. Grillmeier propose that the denial of *sw/ma a,yucon* is simply because the divine Word has acted in the place of ordinary human soul in the body of Jesus. The word *a,yucon* should be translated as 'lifeless' instead of 'soulless.' Athanasius was actually holding a view very similar to that of the Apollinarians.<sup>19</sup> Judging from the historical context of the 362 Synod of Alexandria, J. Roldanus propounds that Athanasius was temporarily persuaded in the synod of the necessity of recognizing a human soul in Christ. However, he never took this seriously.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, R. P. C. Hanson argues that the realization of the necessity of allowing a human soul to Jesus came to Athanasius only late and had no effect at all on his thinking before the year 362. When he had realized that the *Lo,goj-sa,rx* model was designed to display the inferiority of the Son to the Father in the Arian view, Athanasius took fright and recognized a human soul in Jesus. However, he had never seriously integrated this realization into his doctrine of the incarnation.<sup>21</sup>

Against the first view above, G. D. Dragas criticizes that its basic supposition is very dubious, especially if one takes into account that the *Tomus ad Antichenos* was sent from Alexandria to Antioch. It seems incredible that Paulinus would have given his signature to a phraseology that was deliberately Apollinarian and did not safeguard the integrity of Christ's humanity. It is also incredible that Athanasius would have consented to a dubious formula, and would have used it in a document that was clearly of great importance for the peace of the church.<sup>22</sup> As to the second one, it should be noted that according to the following sentences this denial of *sw/ma a,yucon* is linked with the belief that the salvation effected in the Word himself is not a salvation of body only, but of soul also. He is the firstborn amongst many brethren. Grillmeier's interpretation is clearly a forced meaning imposed on the text not matching its particular context.<sup>23</sup> Concerning the third one, A. Pettersen published in 1990 a detailed reconstruction of the historical context of the Synod of Alexandria. He points out that the reconciliation of the Melitians and the Eustathians was central to the business of the synod. Since the Arians had denied a human soul in the incarnate Christ and Melitius was formerly ordained by them, it was necessary to show the Eustathians that the Melitians were not supporters of Arianism. The affirmation of Christ's human soul in the *Tomus ad Antichenos* is completely natural. Athanasius and his parties were just elaborating the Nicene Creed's *kai. sarkwqe,nta kai. evnanqrwph,santa*, which they were used to believing.<sup>24</sup>

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19 Cf. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, pp.206-217.

20 Cf. J. Roldanus, *Le Christ et l'homme dans la théologie d'Athanase d'Alexandrie* (Leiden, 1968), pp.250-364.

21 Cf. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, p.452, 647.

22 Cf. G. D. Dragas, 'Athanasius Contra Apollinarem,' *Church and Theology* 6 (1985): 355.

23 Cf. Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antichenos* 7. Similar soteriological point may also be found in his letter to Epictetus written shortly afterwards. Cf. Athanasius, *Epistula ad Epictetum* 7.

24 Cf. A. Pettersen, 'The Arian Context of Athanasius of Alexandria's *Tomus ad Antiochenos* VII,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 41 (1990): 183-198.

### III. The Authorship of *De Incarnatione Contra Apollinarium*

The third battleground relating to this controversial issue is the authorship of *De Incarnatione Contra Apollinarium* I-II. Since these two anti-Apollinarian treatises could powerfully demonstrate the author's recognition of human soul in Jesus, their attribution to Athanasius is essential for determining his doctrine of incarnation. From the beginning, these two works were regarded as Athanasian. In 1889, J. Dräseke first challenged this traditional view, and contests that the external witnesses for the genuineness of the two treatises are doubtful and their style is non-Athanasian.<sup>25</sup> A few years later, Dräseke's hypothesis was criticized and attacked by H. Sträter.<sup>26</sup> The subject was afterwards discussed diversely by many scholars. While A. Stülcken confirmed Dräseke's views,<sup>27</sup> E. Weigl denounced them.<sup>28</sup> Later, both A. Stegmann and C. E. Raven wrote essays rejecting the authenticity of the two anti-Apollinarian treatises.<sup>29</sup> Although J. Lebon and P. G. Demetropoulos have tried to assert the Athanasian authorship in 1927 and 1953 respectively, the issue was not settled.<sup>30</sup> Many scholars such as F. Cayre, J. Quasten and M. Geerard still treat the two treatises as dubious or spurious.<sup>31</sup>

Nowadays, the most extensive and exhaustive study of the problem is G. D. Dragas' long dissertation published in 1985. The entire work is divided into seven major sections. The first section gives a historical survey of scholarly opinions and tries to show that the critical challenge to the traditional view has by no means been conclusive.<sup>32</sup> After examining all the external evidence, Dragas concludes in the second section that the external witnesses to the Athanasian origin of the two disputed treatises are considerable and positive.<sup>33</sup> Next, based on the internal evidence, he argues that it is possible for the same author to have written both anti-Apollinarian treatises and that this author could easily have been the bishop himself.<sup>34</sup> In the fourth section, Dragas compares the literary style of the two treatises

25 Cf. J. Dräseke, 'Athanasiana, Untersuchungen über die unter Athanasios Namen überlieferten Schriften wider Apollinaris von Laodicea,' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 62 (1889): 79-114.

26 Cf. H. Sträter, *Die Erlösungslehre des hl. Athanasius*, Dogmengeschichtliche Studien (Freiburg, 1894), pp.75-91.

27 Cf. Stülcken, *Athanasiana: Litterar- und Dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, pp.70-75.

28 Cf. E. Weigl, *Untersuchungen zur Christologie des heiligen Athanasius*, Paderborn, 1914.

29 Cf. A. Stegmann, 'Die zwei "athanasianischen" Bücher gegen Apollinaris,' *Theologische Quartalschrift* 101 (1920): 347-364; and C. E. Raven, *Apollinarism: An Essay on the Christology of the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1923), p.242ff.

30 Cf. J. Lebon, 'Une ancienne opinion sur la condition du Corps du Christ dans la mort,' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 23 (1927): 209-241; and P. G. Demetropoulos, 'Το. pro,blhma th/j gnhsio,thtoj tou/ Peri. sarkw,sewj tou/ Kuri,ou h'mw/n VIhsou/ Cristou/ kata. Vapollinari,ou lo,goi du,o tou/ Mega,lou VAganasi,ou,' *Theologia* 24 (1953): 442-461.

31 Cf. F. Cayre, *Manual of Patrology and History of Theology*, tr. H. Howitt, vol. 1 (Paris, Tournai and Roma, 1935), p.348; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 3: *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Antwerp and Utrecht, 1960), p.29; and M. Geerard, ed., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 2 (Turnout, 1974), no. 2231.

32 Cf. Dragas, 'Athanasius Contra Apollinarem,' pp.13-90.

33 *Ibid.*, pp.91-115.

34 *Ibid.*, pp.116-160.

one with another and with the rest of Athanasius' corpus. By doing so, he disputes that the argument from neologisms, which certain critics have used to reject the Athanasian paternity of the two treatises, does not have any real basis on the texts.<sup>35</sup> After that, Dragas turns to discuss theological issues. He first tries to prove in the fifth section that the basic concerns of the two disputed treatises relating to the understanding of the death of Christ are identical with those of Athanasius.<sup>36</sup> Then he discusses the doctrine about the soul of Christ both in these two treatises and in other works of the bishop.<sup>37</sup> Finally, he compares in the last section the Christologies of Athanasius and of the two anti-Apollinarian treatises, and contests that they are consistent in general.<sup>38</sup> After all these efforts, G. D. Dragas concludes at the end that there are no solid reasons for denying the traditional view on the authorship of *De Incarnatione Contra Apollinarium* I-II. Athanasius' contribution to the Church's theological tradition should be reaffirmed.<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, the debate was not ended. A few years later, G. C. Stead attacked the above dissertation in a book review. Besides pointing out many minor errors, he criticized Dragas that he had ignored some difference of style in his presentation and that his discussion about the individuality of the Lord's humanity was unclear.<sup>40</sup> Almost at the same time, the Athanasian authorship of the two anti-Apollinarian treatises was rejected again in different publications by scholars such as H. Chadwick, R. Winling and R. P. C. Hanson.<sup>41</sup> Although their investigations are fragmentary, they have at least established a fact that there are still some obstacles on the way of readmitting the traditional view. Unless these obstacles are removed, the two treatises *De Incarnatione Contra Apollinarium* I-II can at most be considered as *dubia*.

#### **IV. Other Modern Investigations**

In the complex debate about the soul of Christ, most attention has been paid to the Athanasian doctrinal works. In 1982, G. C. Stead first tried to re-evaluate the problem from the evidence provided by the exegetical texts of the bishop. He

35 *Ibid.*, pp.161-223.

36 *Ibid.*, pp.224-288.

37 *Ibid.*, pp.289-399.

38 *Ibid.*, pp.400-595.

39 The entire approach and arguments of Dragas may best be seen from his conclusion, 'If the external witnesses, the manuscript tradition and the internal evidences are unanimously in favor of the Athanasian authorship, and if the style, the doctrine of death and the conception of the soul of Christ present no obstacles to it, and if finally and most importantly the total Christological perspective of the two APO is most certainly Athanasian, we cannot but demand from modern scholars to return to the traditional view.' Cf. Dragas, 'Athanasius Contra Apollinarem,' pp.599-600.

40 Cf. G. C. Stead, Review of Dragas, 'Athanasius Contra Apollinarem,' *Journal Theological Studies*, new series 39 (1988): 250-253.

41 Cf. H. Chadwick, 'Les deux traités Contre Apollinaire attribués à Athanase,' *VAlexandri/na: Hellenisme, judaïsme et christianisme à Alexandrie. Mélanges offerts au P. Claude Mondésert* (Paris, 1987), pp.247-260; R. Winling, 'La résurrection du Christ dans les traités pseudo-athanasiens Contra Apollinarium,' *Revue des sciences religieuses* 62 (1988): 27-41; and Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God*, pp.645-651.

examined in detail the *Expositiones in Psalmos* of Athanasius<sup>42</sup> and compared it with Eusebius' exegesis. As a result, he found from the treatise several passages that have indications of a soul in Christ.<sup>43</sup> Stead concludes at the end, 'It appears, then, that Athanasius does occasionally speak of a yuch, in Christ.'<sup>44</sup> Judging that the *Expositiones* is an early work influenced by Eusebius, Stead further argues that Athanasius' Christological ideas had perceptibly changed once he realized that insistence on the Savior's yuch, could be interpreted as a gesture of sympathy towards a 'heretic' theology. However, this proposal is based on an unsettled presupposition that Athanasius in his later period was noticeably reticent about ascribing to Christ a human soul. Such presupposition was purposefully rejected by A. Pettersen in 1987.<sup>45</sup>

In his recent publication, K. Anatolios has presented the problem in a new way. He tries to explain Athanasius' doctrine of incarnation through the entire structure of his theological system.<sup>46</sup> Basically, he makes three major points. First, Athanasius' primary concern is to expound the relation between God and human beings, and not to analyze the internal structure of the being of Christ. The body for him signifies what most immediately belongs to humanity. It has all human attributes.<sup>47</sup> Second, what Athanasius said is the *Lo,goj* took to himself, and not that he just put on, a human body. In the incarnation, humanity was made to become 'proper' (*i;dioj*) to the divine Word, which produced a paradoxical result: Christ both suffers and does not suffer. This explains why the *Lo,goj* sometimes appears to be passible and sometimes not. However, Athanasius asserts that such combination was not in equilibrium. As divinity is much more powerful than humanity, the former in the incarnation 'deified' the latter.<sup>48</sup> Lastly, through the study of his spiritual writings, Anatolios argues that neglect of Christ's human soul is foreign to Athanasius. The divine-human co-working logic demands that the internalization of divine power in Antony's soul be correlated with an emphasis on Christ's own human soul. Although the bishop did not say so directly on this point, the idea is

42 For various discussions of the authenticity of the *Expositiones in Psalmos*, see M. J. Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier I* (Roma, 1982), pp.79-87; G. C. Stead, 'St. Athanasius on Psalms,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985): 65-78; and G. M. Vian, 'Il "De psalmodum titulus": l'esegesi di Atanasio tra Eusebio e Cirillo,' *Orpheus* 12 (1991): 93-132.

43 Cf. G. C. Stead, 'The Scriptures and the Soul of Christ in Athanasius,' *Vigiliae Christianae* 36 (1982): 233-250.

44 *Ibid.*, p.245.

45 Cf. Pettersen, 'The Courage of Christ in the Theology of Athanasius,' pp.363-377.

46 See also his two related articles: K. Anatolios, 'The Soteriological Significance of Christ's Humanity in St. Athanasius,' *Saint Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 40 (1996): 265-286; and K. Anatolios, "'The Body as Instrument": A Reevaluation of Athanasius' Logos-sarx Christology [Critique of Alois Grillmeier's interpretation of Athanasius],' *Coptic Church Review* 18 (1997): 78-84.

47 Cf. K. Anatolios, *Athanasius: The Coherence of His Thought* (London and New York, 1998), pp.62-64, 78-82.

48 *Ibid.*, pp.82-84, 144-146.

implied.<sup>49</sup> Anatolios' arguments are not totally persuasive, but they can surely be regarded as good supportive evidences for Athanasius' *Lo,goj-a;nqrwpoj* position.

## **V. Conclusion**

Summing up all we have discussed above, it is clear that while the evidences supporting Athanasius' recognition of Christ's human soul are not conclusive, the arguments for rejecting it are even weaker. Although the two anti-Apollinarian treatises are dubious and cannot at this moment be used as a proof, it is still appropriate to accept provisionally Athanasius' orthodox *Lo,goj-a;nqrwpoj* position in view of the teachings in his apologetic writings, especially that in his *Tomus ad Antichenos* 7. While he has never formally denied the existence of human soul in Jesus, he has officially affirmed it. Besides, G. C. Stead's observation from the *Expositiones in Psalmos* and K. Anatolios' analysis for the whole theological system have also provided extra evidences for the existence of a human soul in Christ and have removed many obstacles on the way to accepting this view. Unless new powerful and persuasive evidences emerge, I see no reason for treating Athanasius as a supporter of the *Lo,goj-sa,rx* Christology.

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49 *Ibid.*, pp.177-195, 201-203. On this point, Anatolios emphasizes, 'That Christ humanly appropriates or receives the gift which he himself divinely gives is what makes the Incarnation for Athanasius the supreme instance of grace.' Cf. Anatolios, 'The Soteriological Significance of Christ's Humanity in St. Athanasius,' p.286.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**

### ***The Image of God in the Antiochene Tradition***

*By Frederick G. McLeod, S.J. Washington, D. C. Catholic University of America Press, 1999. Pp. xii + 276. \$61.95 (hardcover). ISBN 0-8132-0930-7*

Unlike their Alexandrian, Cappadocian and Western contemporaries there have been few studies of the Antiochene Fathers. With the exception of St. John Chrysostom, the whole School of Antioch has fallen into disfavor after the writings of its leading, theologians, Theodore, Theodoret and Ibas, were condemned in various councils during the fifth and sixth centuries. In Chapter I, the Antiochene Scriptural Method, the author discusses the Antiochene exegetical method. Chapter



II discusses the views of the Antiochene regarding the meaning of the phrase 'image of God' in Genesis 1:27 (man as an image of God) and Colossians 1:15 (Christ as the image of the invisible God). Their views are compared to the exegesis of Irenaeus, Augustine and the Alexandrians. Chapter III discusses the christological terms used in Antioch and how these were influenced by the anthropological terms and thoughts of the Stoics and Platonists and as well as Nemesius of Emesa. Chapters IV and V review the Antiochene terms for human nature and their view concerning the union of natures in Christ. Chapter VI discusses the question whether women are images of God, a fact that was denied in some of the writings of John Chrysostom and possibly Theodore. The author should be commended for a well-researched book that is of benefit to biblical and patristic scholars as well as to the general reader.

### ***The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil in Pictures***

*By Fr. Abraham Azmy. Virgin Mary and Archangel Michael Coptic Orthodox Church (87 Benham Street, Hamden, CT 06514); First edition, 2000. 401 pp. \$20,00 (hardcover).*

This is the first edition of the official translation of the Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil with notes and illustrating pictures. Most pages of the book have either an icon or a colored picture, with notes to illustrate every step in the liturgy. Important songs and responses of the congregation. have their Coptic or Greek original transliterated into English beside the English translation. The book has several appendices. The first contains additional 'Fraction Prayers' for the different seasons. The Fraction Prayer that varies with the liturgical season (Advent, lent, other fasts and feasts) is a preparatory prayer for Communion that is chanted before the Lord's Prayer. The second appendix contains the lives of the important saints whose names are mentioned in the liturgy. This is followed by a directory of the icons, with their source and name of iconographer, a glossary of liturgical terms and a list of references. We commend the author for this book that has taken him three years in preparation and which fills a great need for the young generation and other English-speaking members of the Coptic Orthodox Church as well as liturgical scholars. The book, printed on fine paper in the Monastery of St. Mena (built by the Late Pope Kyrillos VI, on the site of the ancient shrine of St. Mena the Martyr in Mariout, Egypt).

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