

SAINT BASIL THE GREAT: ON THE NATURE
OF HISTORY

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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1964

THESIS

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APPENDIX

THE PATRIOTIC PHILOSOPHY OF THE GREEK FATHERS

THE PROBLEM OF THE GREEK PATRIOTIC PHILOSOPHY

The problem of the Greek Patriotic Philosophy of the Fathers has its farthest roots in the Greek Fathers' view of the world, whether, like Scholasticism, it is a part of the Christian Faith. Furthermore, Greek Patriotic Philosophy is really isolated thought and only a preparation for subsequent development in the West. It is not a philosophy or a stopping-station to Scholasticism. It is not a valuable system of thought which, although it is in the language and methods of their cultural milieu, is unique.

It is impossible to examine every aspect of the Patriotic tradition, but because it is an organic unity and the content of it alludes to every other, we have taken one of its most representative members--Saint Basil the Great--and, after the most crucial dimension of Patriotic Philosophy--history--to show its uniqueness and, consequently, throw suspicion on the usual accusations against the Fathers. Saint Basil explores for us the Christian vision of history.

The conclusions reached were that Greek thought (and

...the fact that history is not a mere record of events, but a process of becoming. History, Basil said, is not "quiescent", as the ancients taught, but living and moving and growing. History has a beginning and will have an end. It will pass through a multiplicity of human ages until it enters a new, everlasting age or "day", eternity. But he is confident, the God-man, doubt a moment, the last "age" is already begun. In Him, eternity has breached the barriers of time. In other words, history is a "realized eschatology"--the "last things" (judgment, salvation, grace, consolation, etc.) are here now.

The Old Testament is a source of evidence for this view, Basil argued. Evidence appears as "types" and "anti-types", i.e., prior adornments of the works of Christ and the Church and persons and events which by their very conflict with those truths revealed simply affirm those Christian realities. Thus, the Old (and New) Testament and, also, the "unwritten teachings" of Christ are the criterion for Basil's affirmations relating to history.

History, then, challenges man to do his duty to God and is the knowledge of that duty. Because the Roman Empire was so great a source of temptations for Christians, Saint Basil advocated monasticism. It was his solution to the human predicament, i.e., to create a permanent resistance

Mr. Daniel A. Hall

movement to its will and live on the side of humanity. "Choose," he said, "to live on that side of the divide between this and that policy which will conform us to the will of God and not to the world temporarily dominated by Satan. His attitude toward the Empire and the world proved to be the occasion for his statement about history.

THINKING OF THE GREAT: A HISTORY
OF HISTORY

by

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in these writings, saying, that the Fathers were obviously eclectic with a strong affinity for Greek philosophy. For example, Harrack, Leunclaeus, Kitchel, Champier, Holl, Defaye, Koch et alii discover in patristic literature deliberate, constant and sometimes walter borrowing from Hellenic and Hellenistic philosophy in order either to demonstrate the rationality of Christianity to a world nearly convinced that it was without that distinction or in order to construct from what was borrowed and in terms of what was believed a Christian philosophy. Thus, argues Henry Austryn Goldhamer, the Fathers (in the same way that Philo had for Judaism) recast "Christian beliefs in the form of a philosophy and thereby producing a Christian version of Greek philosophy".² In other words, he thinks that "the philosophy of the Church Fathers" belongs to "the mainstream of Western philosophy" and may be examined as any other body of philosophical doctrine.³

This thesis is, among other things, an apology (in the proper sense) which categorically rejects the notion that the Fathers of the Church "hellenized" Christianity. By means of confronting a single issue in the dispute, we hope to cast doubt on the whole indictment of the Fathers. Hence, the burden of the thesis is to show that there is a unique Christian vision of history as explained by one Church Father, Saint Basil of Caesarea (330-379). Our attention will be given to an exposition of history, moreover, not as if it were Basil's

² The Philosophy of the Church Fathers, vol. I (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pref. iv

³ Op. cit., vi

offspring---he is a member of a tradition, of the Church--- because, despite his individual contributions to it, that "history" is not his at all. Coincidentally, neither may we speak, strictly, about a "Patristic philosophy of history", since the Fathers did not respect their opinions as the result of independent research or speculation but as reflections upon a vision of history given to them in the Christian Revelation.

The Church Fathers were not "original" thinkers if by the word is meant something "novel" or "inventive". It never occurred to them that they should be: they were members of the Body of Christ and in possession of "the faith once delivered to the saints" (Jude 3). The Christian Revelation, the Life in Christo, provided the answers to those questions which have for so long taunted the philosophers. The role of the Fathers, as they saw it, was only to testify to Him, to their life in the Lord, that is, to be testes veritatis. They were not philosophers attempting "to justify the ways of God to men", and, in fact, they repudiated the spirit of traditional philosophy. They "philosophized", Saint Gregory of Nazianzus (sometimes called, "the Theologian") tells us, "dogmatically, but not illogically; spiritually, not mischievously; in assembly, but not disputatiously; and in order to know with the same mind, to speak publically with the same tongue, one mentality and having but one inspiration and one intellectual life. They were not, like the famished, babbling about scraps of knowledge and expressing themselves either with blundering speech or in sport while yet in extreme misery and without

certainly concerning the "eternal life of the world to come".

The Christian liturgy is a liturgy of the future that has an ascending, liturgical, character. The liturgy is a liturgy of the patristic period, but the liturgical, the liturgical, Christ, was the center of the liturgy. In the liturgy, the crucifixion, the resurrection, the ascension, the descent of the Holy Spirit, the coming of the Son of Man, the very end of patristic liturgy. In the liturgy, the liturgy was the existential substratum of it. Patristic liturgy is liturgical, as Hans von Seltmann calls it. In Christ, then, all that can be known about God and the Kingdom of God is mediated exclusively. In fact, as Saint Basil will tell us, Christ confronts men with the end of time, that is, "the last things"--the Last Day, the resurrection of the flesh, final judgment, and the end of the world--are waiting now. The Liturgy, Christ, moreover, reveals "the truth of God; it is not, that is to say, the truth of observable history", writes Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, "but the truth of observable history in relation to Him 'who no man hath seen at any time'."⁷

Christ is Himself the repository of the future, for by His "wonderful deeds" it is already present. The past is

² Ora. XXIII, 12 PG 35 1154C-1154C

³ Kontakhe Liturgie (Leningrad, 1961), p. 142

⁷ The Fourth Gospel (London, 1947), p. 127. Cf. chapter IV, "The Historical Tension of the Fourth Gospel", pp. 38-40 of the same work.

fulfilled in Him, the future prefigured in Him. To put it another way, the Christian view of history is "eschatological". All history begins and terminates in Jesus Christ, the alpha and the omega (Rev. 1, 8). The idea of history as oriented eschatologically is the teaching of the Fathers. The vision is embodied in the Easter troparion of the Byzantine Liturgy:

"Christ is risen from the dead,
Treading down death by His Death,
And upon those in the tomb
Bestowing life."

The "last things", of eschatoi, are already here, something accomplished---but yet to be achieved---and consequently, putting present and future into dialectical relationship. There is no more pregnant word in the Christian religion than "now".³ It is now that salvation is available; now is the resurrection of the dead; now the end of one age and the beginning of the next; now is the judgement of the world; now death is dead and Satan, the great adversary of God and man, is defeated.

All these ideas constitute the history which Saint Basil the Great elucidates. He does not offer a "Basilian history" or a "Cappadocian conception of history", but the Christian vision of time and eternity. He is a member of an intellectual tradition, moreover, which is, in spirit and intent, often unfamiliar and usually misunderstood. The "philosophy" of the Greek Fathers contains attitudes, language and concepts which are the background of Saint Basil's historiography.

³ See Karl Barth, Die Kirchliche Dogmatik, vol. I (Zürich-Ettenried, 1948), p. 111; and John G. Bennett, From Shadow to Reality (London, 1950), pp. 11-21.

To fail to understand that combat is to discern what all that he says, and even more, the entire Christian Revelation. There will be some sense, therefore, if we review the philosophy of the Great Fathers as a necessary introduction to our subject.

Chapter II Teaching and the Philosophy of the Greek Fathers

It is not an uncommon experience when reading the Fathers, Latin or Greek, to find no "scientific" exposition of any philosophical subject. Neither do they seem to have associated themselves with any school of pagan philosophy.¹ In fact, they even refuse to use the word "philosophy" always in the same way.² Sometimes it is a description of the ancient schools and their teachings, sometimes a synonym for piety or another word asceticism, sometimes any branch of learning, and sometimes another name for the Christian Faith itself. Never may it be said, however, that the Fathers viewed philosophy as a secular pursuit. Their philosophy was invariably a function of the Christian life.

¹ "Saint Basile...Ambroise..." says L. Dubein, "ne philosophaient guère; demander...à quelle école philosophique ils appartiennent, serait poser un question d'usage. A proprement parler, cette question ne se peut poser d'aucun Père de l'Eglise grecque ou de l'Eglise latine; un Père appartient à l'Eglise et n'appartient qu'à elle; il n'est enrôlé dans aucune école philosophique; s'il lui arrive d'accepter momentanément l'aide qu'en un question particulière lui apporte une doctrine profane; c'est à la condition de rompre avec cette doctrine dès qu'elle aura cessé d'être, pour lui, une auxiliaire. Ce n'est jamais aux enseignements, divers et contestés, de la philosophie qu'il appuie sa confiance." Le système de l'Antiquité: La cosmologie des Pères de l'Eglise. vol. 2 (Paris, 1914) p. 408

² "Chez les Pères de l'Eglise, *philosophia* prend une acception nouvelle," Dom Anand observes. "Illi significat principal-ement ou bien, en doctrine chrétienne, le christianisme, ou bien...un vicieux et ascétique, un d'effort vers perfection et l'idéal évangélique." L'Ascèse spirituelle de Saint Basil de Césarée (Paris, 1907), p. 110n.

The works of Saint Gregory of Nazianzen perhaps best illustrate the manner in which the word "philosophy" was used. In the Prologue to his oration, Caesarea, he says that "guidance" was "his philosophy".⁵ Or St. Athanasius, Gregory writes that "his philosophy" was to seek a "right" ¹ form.⁶ Writing to Basil, he maintained that "we learn philosophy by bearing others".⁷ On the occasion of Basil's death, Gregory eulogized, "eloquence was his by-law from which he culled enough to make it an assistance to him in Christian philosophy, since power of this kind is needed to render objects capable of contemplation...".⁸ Later in the same oration, Gregory will say, "...his purpose was philosophy, and breaking from the world for fellowship with God, by concerning himself, among things below, with the things above...".⁹ In another place, Gregory calls "the faith ...the divine philosophy".¹⁰

The disparate senses of philosophy are to be seen not only in the works of Saint Gregory Nazianzen, but everywhere in the writings of the Greek Fathers. Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, referred to Origen as a "philosopher", that is, as leading a life of Christian austerity and self-denial.¹¹

⁵ Gra. XXI, 11 PG 35 758C

⁶ Gra. XXI, 12 PG 35 1004B

⁷ Ep. XLVII, PG 37 97A

⁸ Gra. XIII, 13. Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. VII (Grand Rapids, 1955).

⁹ Ibid., 29, ...

¹⁰ Ibid., Gra. XLIII, 14

¹¹ Eccl. Hist., bk. VI, ch. 3 PG 20 549C

Saint Justin Martyr says that "true philosophers" are "pious men," "guardians of justice and lovers of learning."¹⁰ In the well known story of his conversion to Christianity, Justin concludes his account of it with these words: "When he (the stranger) had said these things my spirit was immediately set afire, and an affection for the prophets and the friends of Christ took hold of me. Thus it is that I am now a philosopher."¹¹ Again, Saint Gregory of Nyssa calls philosophy "the whole scope of Divine teaching."¹² In a homily, Saint John Chrysostom exhorts his listeners to "the greatest philosophy," to "eternal life, received as the good crown to a life of chastisement, words, deeds and insight...."¹³ When Jesus claimed equality with the Father, he tells us elsewhere, "He was there introducing a philosophical teaching...."¹⁴

We do not meet any precise and exclusive use of the word philosophy in the writings of the Greek Fathers, but there is a systematic recapitulation of all that passed under the name of their philosophy. In Fons Scientia, Saint John of Damascus defines philosophy as "the knowledge of things which have being" and as "the knowledge of both divine and human things, that is, of things visible and

¹⁰ I Apol. 2 PG 6 329A

¹¹ Dial. cum Tryp., 3-4 PG 6 477C-483C

¹² De Ora Dom., sermo IV PG 44 1176A

¹³ Eb. I ad Corinth., hom. VII, 63D (Mauntpausen)

¹⁴ Comm. Jn., hom. XL PG 59 252Y

invisible," such as "the study of death," "of making oneself like God." Therefore, it is "the art of arts and sciences,"¹⁵ "the love of wisdom...this is the true philosophy."¹⁶ In a word, philosophy applies, according to the Paganos, to whatever was made by God or thrust before man's comprehension from above. It is anything open to thought and contemplation.

Saint John divides philosophy into "speculative" (theology,¹⁵ physiology, mathematics) and "practical" (ethics, economics, politics). He catalogues the philosophical terms employed in these disciplines, terms which are very familiar to anyone with a knowledge of ancient and medieval systems. Yet, it would be better to call that terminology patristic rather than Aristotelian or Platonic, because, despite the appearance of shameless confiscating, the words have for the Fathers different content and application. "The new vision of human destiny," Father Florovsky explains, "in the light of Christ could not be accurately and adequately expressed in the terms of the current philosophies of that time."¹⁷ Indeed, the language of the Fathers was the lang-

¹⁵ Pt. I, *Dialectica*, 3 PG 94

¹⁶ Although the classification of philosophical topics is drawn from Aristotle, we must not infer that John is advocating a *theologia naturalis*. We will see that the Greek Fathers deny the very possibility of a cognitive knowledge of God. Saint John distinguishes "theology" or the life of God In Himself from what he calls, "dispensation" or God in His relationship to the world. *Fons Scientia*, pt. 2, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, I, 2 PG 94 792B. Thus, the "theology" mentioned above can only refer to the Uncreated Energies of God. see below p. 34f.

¹⁷ "Eschatology in the Patristic Era: An Introduction," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, II no. 1 (Easter, 1955), p. 31

nage of their cultural milieu, but the meaning they attached to the words they utilized presupposed another understanding of reality.

The attitude of the Fathers towards Greek philosophy is rather curious. They both approved and disapproved of it. They were not "scholastically" attempting to reconcile Athens and Jerusalem, but they did not simply dismiss all the achievements of the pagan intellectual tradition. Everywhere in their works do we find some reference to Greek philosophy and literature and everywhere do we see an intransigent contemptus saeculi, an externa sapientia reprobat.¹⁸ Saint John the Evangelist had told them that the Logos "enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world" (1, 9); and Saint Paul had declared, "Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of the world? Hath God not made foolish the wisdom of the world? For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of our preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews require a sign and the Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are

¹⁸ See Justin Martyr, I Apol. XLIV, PG 6 396A; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. II, xiv, 1-5 PG 7 741E-741A; Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Eun., 7 PG 45 741A; Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. XXIII, PG 35 241B; Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. F.D., 4 PG 7 1130; John Chrysostom, Ad I Cor., Rom. II, 113 (1130a-b); and Basilides the Great Eccl., Sup. de Chor. IV, 2 PG 8 141C.

called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ to the power and the wisdom of God" (I Cor. 1, 20-24). Again, he writes, "I am to it that no one have a glory of glory by philosophy and empty deceit, according to human tradition, according to the elemental spirits of the universe and not according to Christ" (Col. 1, 8). Yet, Saint Paul borrows a great deal from pagan writers, such as Aratus, Menander and Epicharmus.

Greek philosophy belongs to the "fallen world"; its strength is the Devil; it was *ἡ ἐξ αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφία*, as the Fathers called it. It was "the wisdom of the world" and the philosophies of Plato, Aristotle, Zeno et al were superfluous now that Christ had come. The Fathers saw in Greek philosophy a major source of heresy.¹⁹ It was always a temptation and fundamentally wrong. It was "that vain philosophy"--*τὴν ματαίαν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν*,²⁰ that "barbaric philosophy"--*ἡ βάρβαρος φιλοσοφία*.²¹ It was under the dominion of "the elemental spirits" and without soteriological value. The "verbal skill" of the Greek philosophers was overcome by the Incarnation, the very wisdom which the Greeks had unknowingly sought was now manifest in the flesh and had brought to nothing the Academy, the Porch and the Stoa. Thus, Clement of Alexandria proclaims, "Since the Logos Himself came to us from heaven, we ought no longer go to human teaching, to Athens and the rest

¹⁹ John of Damascus, Fons scientia, pt. 3, de Haeresibus 3 PG 94 580A-581B

²⁰ Saint Basil, Hom. Psal. XXII, 7 PG 29 341A

²¹ Clement of Alexandria, Stom. V, 14 PG 9 125B

of Greece...our teacher is he who has filled the universe with holy powers, creation, salvation, beneficence, largiving, prophecy, teaching; and this teacher instructs us in all things, and the whole world is by this time an Athens and a Greece through the Logos".²²

Despite the prohibition of Greek philosophy, the Fathers made excellent use of it. Their hostility towards it was palpably not unconditional. What is the solution to this apparent contradiction? Many of the Fathers did, like Saint Athanasius, make a "brief study of literature and philosophy so that he might not be utterly unskilled in such subjects or ignorant of matters which he had determined to despise".²³

Some proposed the use of "argument", such as Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, because it might be a way to reach the Greeks "who did not receive the Scriptures".²⁴ The majority of the Greek Fathers, however, took a more "liberal" position. All agreed that the philosophy of the ancients was essentially false. It was the Incarnation which had revealed that Greek philosophy was wrong, for the truths of Christ had generally conflicted with the opinions of the philosophers. Nevertheless, it was also the Logos before it assumed the flesh that had taught the Greeks that truth to which they had attained. Thus, the Fathers felt justified in using Greek philosophy at one time and rejecting it where they clearly discerned sinful human

²² Exhortation to the Greeks, XI, trans. G.W. Butterworth (London, 1952), p. 45f.

²³ In Saint Gregory Nazianzen, Ora. XXI, 6 PG 35 1067B.

²⁴ Catech. XVIII, 10 PG 33 1020C.

innovation.

The Greeks had experienced the Logos. Heraclitus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Aristotle, Plato and the Stoics had recognized the all pervading "reason" or "intelligence" in the cosmos, but it was for them only a glimpse not a vision.²⁵ "Indeed, the Greeks had a dim glimpse of the truth", wrote Justin Martyr in his Second Apology, "but it is one thing to possess that truth partially and by imitation and according to limited ability, but another to share and imitate it by grace".²⁶ The difference between the Greek and Christian Logos, then, is comparable to the difference between abstract knowledge and existential encounter.

According to Emil Brunner, the Logos of the Christian faith is not the Logos of reason. "Rather this Logos of reason", he says, "which we can know through self-reflection on the nature of the mind, and thus can know rationally, is only a representation of the genuine divine Logos, whom we know in Jesus Christ. This rational Logos points towards Him, it is true, but it is not He Himself".²⁷ The idea of truth which reason apprehends when it takes into account the nature of the mind characterizes the place at which, for the knowledge of faith, there stands the Son of God Who, in Christ, became man. We cannot even maintain that the

²⁵ On the relation of the Greek Logos to the Logos of the New Testament, see Gerhard Kittel's, Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testamentum, vol. IV (part: 1957), p. 70f; and Hoskyns, The Fourth Gospel, pp. 154-163

²⁶ II Apol., 13 PG 6 45 A

²⁷ Revelation and Reason (Philadelphia: 1964), pp. 117-118

Logos of Greek philosophy and can be identified in any way with the Logos of the Fathers, for the Logos of which Christianity speaks is a Person, the Divine Hypostasis, through whom all things were made, in whom God loves the world and by whom God descended to man in order that the human race might ascend to God. Apart from the historical Revelation of Jesus Christ, the Fathers argued, the reality alluded to in the idea cannot be known.

It is indubitable that without understanding the logos-
mystic of the Fathers, they cannot be understood at all. Now then, as we have just seen, He is ontologically the beginning, the mid-point and the end of creation. It is the Logos of the Father who revitalizes man and the cosmos; He recreates and reunites a mankind scattered by sin and gathers them into the fellowship of God and man. Moreover, it is the Logos that ensures that nature reflects its maker. "No part of creation remains without the Logos who permeates all things, being united to His Father", exclaimed Saint Athanasius.²³ He gives the cosmos "meaning", "purpose" and dimensions inaccessible to human reason. As the image of the Father, He "shows forth" the Father. "And this is life eternal", the Lord said, "that they might know Thee, the only true God...I have glorified Thy Name...with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was. I have manifested Thy Name..." (Jn. 17, 1-6).²⁴

The "Name" of God is the revelation of Himself through the

²³ D. Incarn. Verb. Inc., 3 PG 25 1-21

²⁴ Cf. Jn. 7, 25; 8, 54; 1, 3

Logos.

Thus, the Fathers felt the possibility of an appeal to Greek philosophy was feasible without validating its presumption. The limits to any "appeal" were clearly defined by Saint Basil the Great and again by Saint John of Damascus. In Ad Adolescentes de Lascivie Gentilium, Saint Basil offers the following advice to his audience concerning "worldly study": God has always revealed Himself to men and His truth is everywhere. Thus, it is that "even Moses that illustrious man whose name for wisdom is greatest among all mankind, first trained his mind in the learning of the Egyptians and then proceeded to the contemplation of Him Who Is; and like him, although later, the wise Daniel in Babylon, initially learned the wisdom of the Chaldeans and then applied himself to the divine teachings." It is possible, then, to profit from Greek philosophy just as we may know something about the sun from its reflection in a pool of water. Nonetheless, pagan learning has no ultimate significance. "We, my children, in no wise conceive this human life to be an object of value", Basil continues, "nor do we consider anything good at all, or so designate it, if it contributes to this life alone."³⁰ It is "because our hope leads us forward to a more distant time, and everything we do must prepare us for the other life..." that "whatever, therefore, contributes to that life, we say must be loved

³⁰ Ad Adol. Log. Gent., PG 31 174B

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and pursued with all our strength, but what does not conduce to that end must be passed over as vain."

In Fons Scientia, saint John expresses himself in the same way but in slightly different terms. "Nothing is more estimable than knowledge", he asserts, "for knowledge is the light of the rational soul. The opposite, ignorance, is darkness...By knowledge ($\gamma\omega\iota\sigma\kappa\eta$) I mean the true knowledge of things which are, because being is the object of knowledge. False knowledge, insofar as it is, is the apprehension of that which is not; it is ignorance rather than knowledge." But the mind, he continues, "does not have knowledge and understanding of itself, but has someone to teach it; so, let us approach that Teacher who is truth and in whom there is no falsehood. Christ is the subsistent wisdom and truth and in Him are all the hidden treasures of knowledge." "And since the divine Apostle says, 'But prove ($\delta\epsilon\kappa\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\tau\epsilon$) all things, hold fast that which is good' (I Thess. 5, 21), let us also find something in them (the Gentiles) worthy of carrying away and reap some fruit that will feed our souls...So let us receive only that which serves the truth, but reject the impiety which exercises an evil tyranny over them. Let us not belittle what is good...On the other hand, although Christian truth requires no assistance from subtle reasonings, we may definitely use them to refute both these

³¹ Loc. cit., 17483. M. Croiset says that the Fathers saw in Greek philosophy a way of accustoming the mind of the young to the truth and moral excellence. It had no other value. Histoire de la Littérature grecque, vol. 5 (Paris, 1879), p. 930f.

what fight dishonestly and that which is falsely called knowledge (I Tim. 6, 20). And so, having invoked Christ as our God, the subsistent Logos of God by whom 'every best gift and every perfect gift' (Jas. 1, 17) is given, let us make our beginning...."³²

It is interesting that both Saint Basil and Saint John were monks and that the Greek Fathers as a whole considered the monastic ideal philosophia par excellence.³³ It was not only the supreme testimony to the unity of "Faith" and "Reason", but that degree of the Christian life which led most surely to perfection in Christ.³⁴ It must be noted, too, that monastic schools had less use for pagan letters than did other institutions of education. One might suppose that as the mind withdraws from the world, the less useful it finds words and symbols. It does, in fact, seek to reach beyond the limits of the senses. The monks wanted to behold the noumenal world of the spirit. Thus, monasticism was acknowledged by the Fathers to be the direct road to that experience which no longer required the intervention of the senses.

³² Dialectica, op. cit., I 527A-532B

³³ See the study by V. Bernbach, "Das Monachstum als 'Protonatistische Philosophie' in den Nilosbriefen", Von Christlichen Mysterien (Düsseldorf, 1931), pp. 155-161

³⁴ It seems to have been a common opinion among the Fathers, Amann remarks, that monasticism was "true Christianity" and "true philosophy", since in total renunciation of the world man more readily was perfected in Christ. L'Ascese Monastique de Saint Basile le Grand, p. 103.

We are brought to ask, then, what are, if any, the limits the Greek Fathers put on "reason"? Did they leave us any critique of it? Was "faith" conceived as curtailing the freedom of reason? Was the place of each defined or were they in perpetual conflict? We have answered in part already and, as it were, implicitly; but we must now give full attention to an inquiry which will produce, if it exists, an explicit patristic attitude towards reason and its powers.

There is no epistemology in the Fathers in the sense that we have become accustomed to the word. The questions that have arisen in modernity concerning the relation of "subject" to "object" and the search for criteria simply had no meaning for them. Epistemology, as it has been understood since the time of Descartes, is that discipline which deals with the theory, validity and truth of cognition and, particularly after Kant, has been a critical reflection on metaphysics. The task of epistemology, then, has been to ascertain why and how contradictory answers have arisen in metaphysical inquiry and whether these have not been the result of disregarding the limits of human reason. There has been no more tiresome and persistently agonising problems than those presented by modern epistemology, especially the elusive solution to problem of theoretical certitude.

There was no situation of this kind in the thinking of the Greek Fathers, because they had no interest in diagramming reality and because their mind focused upon such

matters as "revealed knowledge, faith, an inner, mystical
 experience and therefore sensory knowledge and 'bar wisdom
 of this age' did not belong to it".⁵⁵ Unmistakably, they were
 aware of the various epistemologies offered for their con-
 sideration by the ancient philosophers, but one index of a
 theory of knowledge -- as we will see presently in the case of
 Saint Gregory of Nyssa -- was guided chiefly by the religious
 presuppositions and dictated by the necessities thereof.⁵⁶

These presuppositions involved the state and use of
 reason which are intrinsically bound with the Christian con-
 ception of man as the image of God.⁵⁷ And, of course, the effect
 of the Fall of Adam upon it. Now, Saint Paul had already
 said that post-Paradisiacal reason is "brought into death" as a
 consequence of man's alienation from God. "When they knew
 God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were they thank-
 ful, but became vain in their reasonings (*καλογεῖσθε*) and their
 foolish hearts were darkened" (Rom. 1, 21). "And even as
 they did not like to retain God in their knowledge (*ἐπινοῶντι*)
 ...God gave them over to reprobate mind (*γενῶν*)..." (1, 28).
 Therefore, the Apostle asserts, "...henceforth will not a
 other Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind (*κεῖς*), hav-
 ing their understanding (*διανοία*) darkened, because of the
 blindness of their heart..." (Eph. 4, 17-18). "And so it was

⁵⁵ In a private letter from Fr. Constantine Calomiris, former
 professor of philosophy at the University of Harvard and
 North Carolina and at present doing research on the subject.
⁵⁶ Clement of Alexandria, Stromata to the Greek, 1, p. 417.
 Athanasius, De Incarn. 7. 2. 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

special wisdom among them that are perfect", he tells the church at Corinth, "yet not the wisdom of this world, nor the princes of the world, that have come to naught; but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery which God obtained before the world unto glory: which none of the princes knew (*ἐγνώκειν*)..." (I Cor. 2, 6-8). Thus, Saint Paul announces that reason without grace is subject to Satan and his angels--"the princes"--and must be regenerated if it is to function rightly.

Fallen human reason, instead of contemplating God, prefers to invent idols and phantasies. Its situation is "abnormal". Thus, "the Greek Fathers regard the so-called 'natural reason' of which philosophers speak and which they employ as their instrument for the discovery of truth as being in a very unnatural state", writes Dr. Cavarnos, "and hence, as being a very incompetent instrument".³⁷ The Image Dei in the unregenerate man is "darkened", it can only grasp fragments of truth and when the philosophers seek to construct a system of thought in terms of the "scraps of knowledge" they possess, reason inevitably falls into contradictions and antinomies. "Natural reason" cannot achieve any truths that bring conviction or certainty.

If "natural reason" fails to produce the results hoped for--and certainty is but one object--it is because, the Fathers argued, it is not simply the lack of criterion, but because of the influence of Satan. "If the mind has been injured by devils", Saint Basil states, "it will be guilty

³⁷ Constantine Cavarnos, "The Nature and Proper Use of Reason", The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, vol. I, no. 1 (August 1950), p. 31.

of idolatry... it is to be yielded to the power of the spirit, it will have understanding of the truth of the "all-true God".³⁹ "The Devil and his angels", says Gregory in the Hom. 18, 1-2, "having come to the world, have been made slaves of the flesh and of through carnal desires... they have been made slaves of the rational nature (τὸ λογιστικόν): as of a master, as of a king, and constitute a great host".⁴⁰

Reason is a function of life--it is not a function of the "world" or the life "in Christ". Reason is a function of reason, acting in a "natural" way. It is not a function of life with soul to those truths (of Christ)", and it is a function of the latter to bring the "you will have life through faith" on those who love Him" and "you will begin to speak the mysteries of God... For there is neither life without knowledge and sound knowledge without love life... For he who is blind does not know anything apart from true knowledge... knowledge is life, and nothing; he is deceived by the darkness, he is blind and does not love life".⁴¹ That "life" is the way of faith in the Incarnation, Logos and the reception into the heart of His teaching.

39 Ep. CXXIII, 2 PG 32 545B

39 Quoted by Nicomachus the Solitary, in Gregory's Mysticism, PG 147 963A.

40 The Apostolic Fathers, vol. 2, trans. H. Ryle (London, 1917), p. 281

41 The Greek Fathers considered the heart (καρδία) with being the spiritual center of man. It could not disregard that it had received, but passed the data to the mind. The heart stores the thoughts and the passions that come to it and the mind diffused it thru the soul. The heart is the center of the inner man and must be guarded with care. See Saint Basil, Hom. in Ill., Att. The Thea., PG 31 1113-1114. Heart and spirit are interchangeable terms. See J. H. W. Mitchell, The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church, 2nd ed., Studies, vol. VIII (Oxford, 1918, 1919).

It is with the "heart" that a man believes (Rom. 10, 9-10). If "true knowledge" feeds the "heart"--not to be identified with the seat of the emotions--faith is increased and communion with God is increased and, concurrently, man is drawn away from Satan. The Greek Fathers, in other words, placed epistemology within the larger framework of christology, that is, soteriology, because reason could only be redeemed by Christ who was born for the salvation of man: union with God and the elimination of sin and its wages, death.

It follows, then, that if only the "pure in heart" may "see" God, and if only "right reason" may approach Him, the sine qua non of the Christian life is piety. By piety is meant, according to the Fathers, "inward purification", i.e., freedom from the "passions". The passions are all those desires which lead man away from God and into the arms of Satan. The passions--"the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life" (I Jn. 2, 16)--corrupt the heart and debase the mind. Therefore, only that man is truly rational, writes Saint Gregory of Sinai, who is regaining his "original status", "as man had been in Paradise", for "it is impossible (to be **rational**) unless one has first been purified and become passionless".⁴² Too, there can be no knowledge of God without passionlessness.⁴³

The "knowledge" which issues from Christian piety is described by the word *γνῶσις*, i.e., the apprehension of all

⁴² Capita Valae Utilia Per Acrostichidem, PG 150 1244A

⁴³ Loc. cit.

spiritual realities. It comes from the process of union with God in Christ. Gnosis is not a scientific knowledge but is the

47 The word gnosis was not used by Aristotle, Philo, Lucian and Plutarch in the same sense as the Greek Fathers. In the Old Testament (Septuagint), it appears in Wisdom 2, 13 and 14, 22. Whether the author of Wisdom was influenced by Greek philosophy is not important, because gnosis was not taken as a cognitive knowledge by him or by those who read the book. In the New Testament, it is used continuously in the Gospels and the Epistles, e.g., to know the "mystery of the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 13, 11); or the knowledge of salvation (Eph. 1, 7); the only true God (Jn 17, 11); the holy will of the Father by which He sanctifies men thru Christ (Jn. 3, 35); the love of God (Jn. 14, 31). Saint Paul contrasts the gnosis of the true God with the polytheism of the pagans (Rom. 1, 20; Gal. 4, 9); and the false gnosis of heretics (I Tim. 6, 20); the means by which we know the mind of the Lord (Rom. 11, 34). Saint John uses the word gnosis to describe particularly the knowledge of the Messianic dignity and he unites it to faith (πίστις). Saint Paul puts gnosis between wisdom (σοφία) and revelation (ἀποκάλυψις) and beside mystery (μυστήρια). All are invested with mystical significance. See J.H. Thayer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (New York, 1899), pp. 117-118; and W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (Chicago, 1957), pp. 102-103.

The commentaries on the word gnosis are interesting. According to Friedrich Bauer, gnosis is "eine höhere Erkenntniss, ein geisteliges Wissen, eine aufgeklärtere Denkweise bezeichnet...Die Gnosis hat...als Christ das klare und entschiedene Bewusstsein gewonnen hat, als die Götter überhaupt keine wahre Realität haben, und in diesem Bewusstsein auch kein Gedanken tragen kann...." Die Christliche Gnosis (Tübingen, 1833), p. 92. Gerhard Kittel says: "Das Substantiv γνῶσις wird...viel seltener gebraucht als das Verbum hat...aber im Verhältniss viel häufiger religiöses-sittliche Bedeutung im Sinn einer offenbarten Erkenntniss deren Urheber Gott selber oder die Sophia ist... Der charakterischen, stark durch das AT bestimmten christlichen Auffassung von der christlichen Erkenntniss in der ein gehorsames und denkbare Anerkennen des Tuns und des Gottes Forderns verbunden ist mit dem Wissen um Gott und um das, was er getan hat und fordert, entspricht ist, das diese christliche Erkenntniss kein ruhender Besitz ist, sondern sich im Leben des Christen als dauerndes Gehorchen wie als dauerndes Nachdenken entfaltet; eben deshalb gilt die γνῶσις als eine Gnade gabe, die das Leben des Christen charakterisiert indem sie Aussprüche bestimmt". Theologisches Wörterbuch, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1957), pp. 699, 707.

product of the Christian experience. It is, says Saint Cyril of Jerusalem, the consequence of "enlightenment" (*ἐπιφάνεια*) baptism and, in fact, the entire sacramental life of the Church. Gnosis strengthens itself, too, because it drives out the passions and induces passionlessness (*ἀπάθεια*) or the "calm of detachment". It is practiced until the believer is capable of "contemplation" (*θεωρία*) and this becomes "rest in the Lord" (*ἀναπαύσις*)⁴⁵; and, finally, "love" (*ἀγάπη*) which is "the crown

The Old and New Testaments, also, understand religious knowledge in the same way--"als eine Weise des Horen... eine Weise des verstehens...dem entspricht es, was sich in Israel keine Wissenschaft ausgebildet...." There is no Bios Theoretikos, Kittel insists (op. cit., p. 702). In the epistles of Paul, the knowledge of God is not "theoretisch-spekulativ" but results from predestination. Kittel denies, however, that gnosis brings a "mystisches Verhältniss" (op. cit., p. 709). It was the Apologists, he suggests, that introduced the rational element into gnosis and the Alexandrians who gave it a speculative character. Origen and Clement distinguished faith (*πίστις*) and gnosis even if they did not separate them. This activity led to "Vollendung zur Schau" and faith became a knowledge even if not cognitive. (op. cit., pp. 714-715). We cannot agree with Kittel that gnosis was not "mystical" or that the Christian tradition was violated by the Alexandrians; nor that man comes vis-a-vis to God. Clement and Origen were surely too intimate with Hellenism, but it is difficult to believe that their errors corrupted the Christian religion. We will clarify this matter as we proceed.

45 The word *ἀναπαύσις* refers to "the mystery of the sabbath", to Christ who is "the true rest" as opposed to the legal prescription of the Old Testament (Mt. 13, 25). Christ is the reality of which the sabbath was only the shadow. The Fathers used Matt. 11, 29-30 as their locus classicus: "Come to me all you who labor and are burdened and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me for I am meek and humble of heart; and you will find rest (*ἀναπαύσις*) for your souls". "Rest", consequently, equated with Christ. It is an eschatological concept. See Jean Daniélou, The Bible and the Liturgy (Notre Dame, 1956), pp. 242-243.

which opposes thought and being only to attempt to rejoin them in some fashion is not the domain of gnosis and it is not involved in whatever may ensue from the mystical situation--gnosis is a "mystical apprehension", the mind in the embrace of spiritual realities. It has nothing to do with syllogism or species or genera or differentia and it put its encounters only faintly into rational form. In On Virginity, Saint Gregory of Nyssa describes the human spirit rising by gnosis "above the night of the senses".⁵⁰ It is raised above phenomena, hovering like some bird, climbing to a vision which transforms all that lies below. It is, writes Louis Bouyer, not a matter of "philosophical speculation", but "living familiarity" with God, "the intimate harmony of thoughts and hearts".⁵¹

So important were the matters of gnosis and "the mystical experience" to the Church that in the fourth century the Eunomian heresy was rushed to the front of its "philosophical" controversies. This heresy struck at the basis of the Church's "apophatic" or "negative theology" and elevated the human intellect to that place which actually transcended its competence. There was no more vehement opponent to this Aristotelian rationalism than Saint Gregory of Nyssa. The occasion for the argument with Eunomius was the meaning of the word ἀγέννητος, i.e., the "ungeneracy of

⁵⁰ Saint Gregory of Nyssa, De Virg., ch. 11 PG 45 364B-369A

⁵¹ Louis Bouyer, The Meaning of Sacred Scripture (Notre Dame: 1950), p. 101

the Father" and "and central to the vision and order against the divinity of Christ. The Quintus Sententiarum section 1, written in 391, is a very broad statement to be evangelized or universalized. The refutation is a successful statement about the limitations of cognition and a limitation of knowledge of dualities and allegories in the Christian worldview.

Saint Gregory's words "and" and "and" to the operation of epistemic--ontology, ontology, epistemic, agriculture, navigation and religion. The mind is to be more important than the epistemic (i.e., the epistemic relation) and more epistemic than the epistemic (i.e., the epistemic relation). It acts only on the data given immediately to the mind itself. "Thus according to the account of it, epistemic is the epistemic by which we discover things that are unknown, proceeding to a new discovery by means of what is related to and follows from our perception of the thing ⁸² known". "The epistemic formed some idea of what is to be known, by adapting that follows to the initial result of our discovery, and gradually conduct our inquiry to the end of our epistemic ⁸³ known". Thus, the mind having epistemic the objects of inquiry, it comes at with "certain words and syllables, as it were, labelling our mental processes with verbal formulas to serve as characteristic notes and indications, the object giving a clear and simple declaration of our mental operations by

⁸² Contra Eyn. Sec. Gra., PG 45 950C: "...ἐφ' ὧς ἀναγκὰ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων, διὰ τῶν προεχόντων τῶ καὶ ἄκροῦθ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξουσιάζουσιν."
⁸³ Ibid., 950C

words of words obtained by an externalization of our ideas".⁵⁴

The objects of thought, Gregory tells us, are created by God, but have nothing to do with which words "furnishes us with a clear and accurate description", is merely the invention of words by the faculty. Every term is, consequently, a figment of the mind, a product of thought and is the knowledge of some reality, whether sensible or intelligible, but when the mind attempts to transcend the senses it does not always find the object of its search; because "we move some in one way, some in another, around the object of our search; and then according to the idea arising in each of us about it, we announce the result, as best we can, striving to get as near as possible to the full meaning of the thing thought about through the medium of expressive phrases".⁵⁵ Thus, there are two factors "by which a term is made a correct one, the mental exactitude and the verbal utterance...but it will not be a lesser gain to have missed the right conception even though the word may be inadequate to the thought".⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid., 1101D
⁵⁵ Ibid., 1104A
⁵⁶ Ibid., 1104B
⁵⁷ See. cit. According to Plato, language, like the visible world, is manifold, thus half-true--*τίς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ τὸ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἀληθὲς ἔστι καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος* (Krat., 403C). Language is the revealing of *λόγος* which is hidden in nature, in fact, speech is an embodiment of it. See F.M. Cornford, From Religion to Philosophy (New York, 1957), p. 192. But for Saint Gregory of Nyssa, man is the "name-giver". Cf. Gen. 11, 26. He supplies words and names and applies them to the objects of thought. Their applicability depends on the precision of mental construction.

"Whenever, then, our thought is intent upon those high and unseen things which the senses cannot reach (I mean, upon the divine and universal world with regard to which it is useless to grasp anything at random and sheer assumption, to trust to any word the representation of the idea arising from it), then, I say, turning from the mere sound of phrases, uttered either well or badly, according to the mental faculty of the speaker, we search for the thought, not that alone, which is found within the phrases, to be whether it is sound or not."⁵² This must be granted, Gregory argues, because we can only "mark" those things which we know and we know conceptually only four kinds of realities, viz., that is extended in distance, things with a capacity in space and within which their dimensions are detected, perceived as circumscribed by beginning or ending along the non-distinct bounds thereof, and lastly, the comprehension of some object as by an association of qualities.

Therefore, we can see that "the lower creation" can be exhausted by neither reason nor intelligence. It follows, then, that that which is infinitely great cannot be within the range of conceptualization. Accordingly, to think, or say, is wrong for imagining that God may be included under terms and expressions which make known His presence. "For the object, if it is to be sought with words, is not to produce a dulcet and melodious harmony of words, but to seek out a

⁵² Ibid. and the degree to which the object is sought is known.
For Saint Gregory's attack on Plotinus, see pp. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

differs from our own, but we quickly obtain within our proper limit". Our "natural" knowledge of God is limited and different that knowledge may be, it is a gift from God and brought to fruition by faith, for as it was with Abraham, we walk by faith not by sight, raised only as high as our sight will permit, and knowing as much of God as it is possible for our finite capacity "as it is full stretched" may allow. In humility, we must acknowledge that words only signify thoughts and our minds will not always--particularly in matters constituting its faint encounter with spiritual things--surrender its content to words. "We yield the teaching and the learning of such things to those who are ambitious for them", Gregory concludes, "and we will investigate the thought alone, whether they are within or beyond the orbit of a religiously adequate notion (⁵¹σύννοησις) of God".

If philosophy studies being, then, God is not properly a philosophical subject. The category of being does not comprehend Him. The God of patristic thought is not the abstract deity of Greek and scholastic transcendentalist metaphysics, the actus purus, the primum movens of rationalism. "We call Him the incomprehensible, the unthinkable God, the invisible, the inapprehensible: who quells the power of human speech and transcends the grasp of mental thought, inaccessible to the angels, unshakled by the demons, undivided

51 Ibid., 1103C

by the Church, used by Principalities and Authorities and Powers and, in a few words, to all creation". He cannot be covered by any nomination and cannot be conceived as either being or non-being.

Thomas Aquinas thought it possible to say that God exists without saying what He is, but the validity of such a distinction rests upon comprehending God within the idea of being.

⁵² De Incarnat. Dei, III PG 43 724. See Clement of Alexandria, Strom. V, 2 PG 1 107A; Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryp., 4 PG 1 484; Basil the Great, Adv. Gen., I, 3 PG 29 511f.; Gregory of Nyssa, Contra Gen., 15 PG 45 626; Gregory of Nazianzus, Ora. XLVIII, 2 PG 35 294b; Dionysius the Areopagite, Div. Nom. PG 2 961A; John of Damascus, De Fid. Orth. I, 4 PG 94 300A, etc.

⁵³ Summa Theol., PP. q. 4, a. 2-3. Cf. De Subst. et Essentia, ch. 6. The Greek Fathers do use the word being for God, because, positively, it is suggested by Exodus 3, 14 (Septuagint) and, negatively, it lacks any sort of determination. Being, says John of Damascus, is the most appropriate name of God. De Fid. Orth., I, 9 830B. Gregory of Nazianzus attributes its appropriateness to the ideas of infinity and constancy implicit in it. Ora. XLV, 3 (Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers, vol. VII). But we have seen that a "name" signifies to the Greek Fathers. "Each of...the affirmations about God should signify not what He is in essence", John of Damascus contends, "but either what is impossible to make plain--ὅσα δὲ λέγομεν ἐπὶ θεῷ κατὰ ἀπὸκλῶς ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁλοῦ -- or some relation of those things which are contrasts, or some of those things that follow His Nature, an energy". loc. cit. Cf. Dionysius the Areopagite, Div. Nom. I, 4 PG 3 589; II, 9 640. The use of being, then, is purely a convenience, a means whereby the mind may have something upon which to catch. The applicability of the word to God, if we may borrow from the scholastic nomenclature, bears an "equivocal" sense. On the otherhand, Thomas states that names are applicable substantially (substantialiter) to God--"Et ideo aliter dicendum est, quod huiusmodi quidem nomina significant substantiam divinam, et praedicantur de Deo substantialiter sed deficiunt a representatione ipsius". Summa Theol., PP. q. 13, a. 2. Thomas, nonetheless, applied the idea of being to God and man "analogically", i.e., not as identifying them--the "univocal" or pantheistic sense--but designating God as being in the superlative. God is infinitely greater than man. He is perfect and transcendent, but God and man are deliberately and philosophically embraced by the same abstraction.

It may well have been against this kind of thinking that Saint Gregory Palamas (1257-1359) addressed these words on the incomprehensibility of God: "The hyper-substantial Nature of God is not a subject of speech or thought or even contemplation, for it is far removed from all that exists and more than immovable, being founded upon the unshaken rock of the celestial spirits--incomprehensible and inviolable forever. There is no name whereby it can be named, neither in this age nor in the age to come, nor word found in the soul or uttered by the tongue, nothing sensible or intellectual, nor yet any image which may afford any knowledge of its subject...None can properly name its Essence or Nature if he be truly seeking the truth that is beyond all truth".⁶⁴

Thus, the method espoused by Thomas--analogia entis--by which the intellect attributes to God the perfections of the natural order--ordo subalterni--is foreign to the Greek patristic tradition. The critical assumption in Thomism that "all the perfections of things pre-exist eminently" in Him⁶⁵ is purely rationalistic and depends for its justification on his "moderate realism"--as much as it does on whatever religious principles with regard to it that he may have taken on faith.

⁶⁴ In his Saint Gregoire et la mystique orthodoxe (Seuil, 1959) p. 90, Father Jean Meyendorff quotes Saint Gregory's remarks on this point: "Thomas, et tout homme qui raisonneait comme lui, pense que tout chose inaccessible à l'intelligence n'existe pas du tout; mais nous, nous croyons que cette opinion provient d'une âme qui n'est pas étrangère à un malin et orgueilleux démon; car la plupart des choses divines échappent à la connaissance humaine".

⁶⁵ Theophania PG 100 937A

⁶⁶ Summa Theol. PP. q. 11, a. 2, 5.

That this is true may be seen in his "proofs" for the "existence of God". As we know, the school of "moderate realism"--differing from both "nominalism" (universals exist post re) and "extreme realism" (universals exist ante re)--taught that universals or "general ideas" (i.e., genera) are "individuated" in things (in re), that is to say, God, by creating, made the possible actual: He "actualized" externally of His own Essence, the universal, and, consequently, it is realized in the particular or single member of a class as its forma.⁹⁷

Therefore, Thomas states in the Summa Theologiae that "our natural knowledge begins from sense...our natural knowledge can go so far as it can be led by sensible things...from the knowledge of sensible things the whole power of God cannot be known; nor therefore His Essence be seen. But because they are His effects and depend on Him as their cause, we can be led from them so far as to know whether He exists...."⁹⁸ In other terms, that correspondance which exists between thought and being enables the intellect to infer the relationship which exists between contingent and absolute being, necessarium absolutum. The intellect ascends the scale of contingent being, by a series of more or less refined abstractions, to a "natural

⁹⁷ See M. DeWulf, History of Medieval Philosophy, vol. II (London, 1938), pp. 110-147; and F. Supplisson, A History of Philosophy, vol. II (New York, 1952).
⁹⁸ PP. Iq. 12^a. 12. Contrast this notion with the statement of Saint John Chrysostom--and Thomas would have given the whole city of Paris for a single homily written by him--who refuses to apply the idea of "cause" to God, because, he said, "Divinity is superior to number and the sequence of time". Comm. Jn., hom. II PG 59 33.

rational cognition of His Existence. Although some historians of medieval philosophy have attempted to gainsay any connection between the "proofs" and "the universals question", the fact that it lays at the heart of Scholastic logic and that all medieval systems have been consistent with their solutions to it, seems to be the most trenchant argument against the denial of the centrality of "the universals question" in the Scholastic and medieval tradition.

Let us support this contention with further evidence. There is, perhaps, in connection with the "proofs", no more famous name, next to Thomas, than Anselm of Canterbury. His "ontological argument" exemplifies the thinking of "extreme realism". God, he said in the Proslogium, exists because He is "that which nothing greater than can be conceived". From his position, it is a valid affirmation, for if being and thought are identified, then, the supreme idea of the intellect must have a corresponding reality; and if God is "that which nothing greater than can be conceived", to deny, as Gaunilo had, that this thought is without an external reality, any lesser thought with an external reality, would be greater and this is absurd. There could be no greater idea than that of God. Gaunilo, however, protested that, firstly, we have no distinct notion of God from which to infer His Existence; and, secondly, the "ontological argument" presupposes the identity of thought and being which has yet to be demonstrated. Without a doubt, Western philosophers will betray their philosophical

positions in no better way than the manner in which they have accepted or repudiated this "proof". "That all those who accepted it have in common", says Etienne Gilson, "is the identification of real existence with intelligible being conceived in thought. What all those who condemn its principles have in common is the refusal to consider any problem except from an empirically given existent".⁶⁹

We come lastly to nominalism. The "proofs" are to be seen in the light of that problem which appears to be the center of all its concern, being and causality. As all nominalists, William of Occam conceived individual existence alone as "real". Each "particular" is distinct from every other, he said, and the mind depends upon the account of the senses which means--since every object is perceived as distinct--that every mental representation, notitia, is naturally distinct from every other representation. Therefore, argues Occam, "between a cause and its effect there is an eminently essential order and dependance, and yet the simple knowledge of the one of them does not entail the simple knowledge of the other" however perfectly "we may know a certain thing" and "we will never be able to excogitate the simple and proper notion of another thing which we have never perceived either by sense or intellect".⁷⁰ In apply this kind of reasoning to the "proofs", nothing can be said more than that it is impossible to infer from the simple concept of a being to

⁶⁹ The History of Philosophy in the Middle Ages (New York, 1951), p. 134

⁷⁰ I Sent., prol., q. 3, d. 2

the simple notion of another, and we certainly cannot infer from creatures their cause. Since, too, creatures are finite, it cannot be proven by "evident demonstration" that their cause is infinite".⁷¹

Among the Greek Fathers, however, the "logical" possibility of acquiring a "knowledge" of God's existence has no meaning--not as the result of the strength or weakness of syllogism, but simply because they believed "the knowledge of God was implanted in us by nature".⁷² It was the mistake of Aquinas to make a hasty concession to De Fide catholica (which he quotes regularly) and, then, to speak of not knowing God "absolutely", simpliciter,⁷³ which is not at all the

⁷¹ Ibidem, II, q. 2 a. 10.

⁷² Justin Martyr, II Apol., 7 PG 6 453B; Clement of Alexandria, Strom. V, 14 PG 9 129C; Basil the Great, Ep. CCXIV, 1 PG 32 371B; John of Damascus, De Fid. Orth., I, 3 PG 34 793C, etc.

⁷³ "Utrum Deum esse, sit esse, sit per se notum. Ad primum sic proceditur. Videtur, quod Deum esse, sit per se notum. Illa enim nobis dicuntur per se notum, quorum cognitio nobis naturaliter inest, sicut patet de primis principiis. Sed, sicut Damasc. (in princ. lib. I de fide Orth. cap. I, et 3): omnibus cognitio existendi Deum naturaliter est inserta; ergo Deum esse, est per se notum...Ad primum ergo dicendum, quod cognoscere Deum est, in aliquo communi, sub quamdam confusione est nobis naturaliter insertum, in quantum scilicet Deus est hominis beatitudo; homo enim naturaliter desiderat beatitudinem; et quod naturaliter desideratur ab homine cognoscere Deum esse...." Summa Theol., PP q. 2 a. 1. Cf. Vatican Council, Constitutio dogmatica de fide catholica, cap. II, "si quis dixerit, Deum tantum et verum, naturali rationis humanae lumine certo cognosci non posse, Anathema sunt". Densinger, Symbol., col. 1305. It is noteworthy, too, how much closer to the Greek Fathers is Bonaventura, "Deus praesentissimus est ipsi animae et eo ipso cognoscibilis; ergo, inserta est ipsi animae notitia Dei sui". De myst. Trinit., IV, 1, 1. Incidentally, he is an "extreme realist". Also, he does not appear to know the term, gnosis.

point. Saint John's statement is not epistemological but anthropological: he does not allude to the intellect but the "heart". The knowledge ($\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha$) of God is an "insight" ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$) in the "heart" while doubt and rejection are the consequence of the hatred of "the wicked one" who "has prevailed so mightily against man's nature as to drive some to deny the existence of God...."⁷⁴ Those "proofs" which he offers, therefore, propose to fan the "heart" and, as it were, revive the dying coals of truth; they do not intend to compel "the fool" to make intellectual assent.

Again, the fact of that "knowledge" and "insight" are related to the entire soteriological scheme of the Church. This most evident in Saint Athanasius' De Incarnatione Verbi Dei. It is one of those unquestioned assumptions of patristic philosophy that all "true knowledge" is soteriological and that no knowledge is as such valuable unless it leads to communion with God. It is for this reason that the "proofs" for the Existence of God are placed in such a strategic position in this classical work by the great Bishop of Alexandria. "God possessing the power over all things when He was making the race of men through His Logos", he says, "seeing the weakness of their nature, that it was not itself able to know ($\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha$) God, the Maker, not even even to obtain an insight ($\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$) of God...did not leave them destitute, without the knowledge ($\gamma\gamma\alpha\mu\alpha$) of Himself, lest they find existence meaningless...."

⁷⁴ De Fid. Crth., loc. cit.

"For how could there be rational life without a rational God, who gave them a share of His Being, Wisdom, Will, Power, and Love, and, knowing His direction, they were able to lead a rational life....".⁷⁶

But after the Fall, the human mind, which had been made to partake of their nature, was able only to grasp the truth of God, but also to serve Him...the human mind, through the Image of the Father, which is the Son, the Word, the Logos, and through Him the Father, Father of God, through the mediation of men, made additional revelations in the Logos of the Father and the Prophets; and also, the revelation of the Son...".⁷⁷ Man refused to heed even these revelations and became blind, rendered themselves inaccessible to knowing God. This knowledge, then, could be made available only if God himself came to it. "The Logos of God came to His own People, became with them. He alone, the Image of the Father, who could himself become with the Image".⁷⁷ The Incarnation meant not merely a revelation of knowledge of the deity, but a saving knowledge, a knowledge leading to union with Him -- justification. "God became man", declares Athanasius, "that man might become a god".⁷⁸

⁷⁶ On Incarn. Verb. Dei, 12 PG 25 117A

⁷⁷ Ibid. cit.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 12B

⁷⁸ Ibid., 12B. See also Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus to the Greeks, I, p. 201; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer., I (NPNF), PG 7 112b; Gregory of Nyssa, Proc. 12, II, PG 47 301; Gregory of Nyssa, Or. 12, II, PG 47 301; Basil the Great, Confession, Ad Thal., II, PG 82 621A.

Deification means the transfiguration of human nature by the eradication of death and pain. It is the possession of immortality and moral perfection. It is actual participation in the Divine Nature. (II Pet. 1, 4) In Christ man is united to God, for Christ Himself is the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. The participation, however, is not pantheistic; it does not mean loss of personality. The resurrected humanity of Christ was unified and he was recognizable to his Apostles. (Jn. 20, 25-29) Those united to Christ will have the same experience. Furthermore, deification is a process, beginning in this world but consummated only in the next. Therefore, the deification of man necessarily effects his mind; it, too, is not lost in God. Hence, God is "known" to the degree of participation now in the process. The process, also, tells us that God is immanent in the creation and that nature is likewise being deified.

The theology of deification, the Greek Fathers said, answers all those questions pertaining to God's simultaneous immanence and unknowability, His hiddenness and revealedness. They will solve the apparent contradiction not by some philosophical device, but turn, as always, to great treasury of the Christian tradition. They give their answers out of its most honored document, the sacred Scriptures. The great text for the Greek Fathers is found in the Old Testament, in the book of Exodus--the entrance of Moses on Mount Sinai into "the shining cloud". The experience of Moses remains for them the summit of "the mystical ascent" accessible to man

in this life: it is an eschatological happening.⁷⁹ The text is as follows: "Moses said, 'Cause me to see Thy Glory!' Yahweh answered, 'I will have my goodness pass before you, and I will pronounce in your presence the Name of Yahweh: for I give grace to whom I will give grace, and mercy to whom I give mercy.' And Yahweh said again, 'You cannot see my Face and live. Here is a place near to me: you shall stand on the rock. When my Glory passes by, I will put you in the crevice of the rock, and I will cover you with my hand until I have passed by. Then I will take my hand away and you will see me from behind; but my face cannot be seen...'" (Ex. 33, 18-23). "...Yahweh came down to meet him, hidden in the cloud, and Moses stood with him there, calling on the name of Yahweh. Thus, Yahweh passed by, and he cried out, 'It is Yahweh, the ruler of all things, the merciful and gracious; slow to take vengeance, rich in kindness, faithful to his promises...' Then Moses fell down to the earth

⁷⁹ The customary Western mysticism exemplified by John of the Cross, Catherine of Siena or Meister Eckhart--"the finding of a 'way back' or a 'way out' to some desirable state", above the experience of the ordinary Christian and often in conflict with established dogma--is unknown to the Greek Fathers. E. Underhill, Mysticism (New York: 1955), p. 1. The "desirable state" is already among us, and thus, every member of the Body of Christ, the Church, is a "mystic" to some degree. Mysticism meant for the Fathers union with God: that "union" was available to everyone in the sacramental life of the Church, especially the Eucharist, referred to in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom as "the mystic supper" (*ἡ μυστικὴ ἄφροdisia*). On the mysticism of the Greek Fathers, see Vladimir Lossky's The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church. (London: 1957) chap. 1 passim.

and prostrated himself" (34, 3-4).⁸⁰

The vision "from behind" indicates a "knowledge"--it is a "mediate sight", a "knowledge of something other than His Essence", a gnosis of God revealing Himself ab extra.⁸¹ It is a truth to which the mind of Saint Gregory Palamas gives clear testimony in the distinction between "essence" and "uncreated energy" in God.⁸² There is no more important distinction in theology, Gregory says, for "by saying that this same divine nature is communicable through its energy but not in itself, we remain within the limits of piety: for in this way is preserved the incommunicability and unrevealability of his non-outgoing nature".⁸³ The idea underlying these remarks is the safety of the entire doctrine of the Church concerning "union" with God, that is, the deification (θεωσις) of the creation.⁸⁴ If it is to be deified, and if pantheism is to be averted, "essence" and "energy" must be distinguished, that is, the act of

⁸⁰ Cf. John 1, 18, "no man has seen God at any time"; and I Tim., 6, 16, "His dwelling is in unapproachable light; no human eye has seen or can ever see him."

⁸¹ The Church Fathers were not the first to mention the significance of the vision "from behind". There had been antecedent thinking in the rabbinical tradition on "the ineffable divinity". See G. Scholem, Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism (New York: 1946), pp. 75ff, 208 ff.

⁸² This distinction which is alien to the Western theological tradition is common among the Greek Fathers: aside from Gregory Palamas, see Rom. 1, 19-21, Athenagoras, Suppl. Pro Christi., 10 PG 4 503B; Gregory Nazianzus, In Theoph. Oratio, 7 PG 38 317B; Dionysius the Areopagite, De divin. Nom., II, 4 PG 3 549-552; John of Damascus, De fide Orth., I, 14 PG 94 850B; Basil the Great, Ep. LIV, PG 32 659B, etc.

⁸³ Gregory Palamas, Theoph. PG 150 937D.

⁸⁴ Cf. II Peter 1, 4,

creation which is "proper to the energy", were not the distinction made, which itself not be differentiated "from generation and procession, then, the creature is not differentiated from Him who is begotten and Him who proceeds... and so the Son of God the Holy Spirit would not be distinct from creatures and all creatures would be begotten and proceed from God the Father, and creation would merge with Him and God would be numbered among the creatures".⁸⁵

According to Palamas, these energies are innumerable, but "the Uncreated Light" and "grace" are the most familiar. Before him, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus had spoken of Light as "the visible manifestation of Deity". It would be careful here not to confuse "Uncreated Light" with the Scholastic notions of "natural" and "divine light", mere infusions of "knowledge" into the intellect. It "would be wrong to imagine this uncreated light to be purely the illumination of reason, a mere rational apprehension, thus, depriving the word 'light' of any real content and making it simply an allegory".⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Cap. Phys. Theol. Moral. et Prac. PG 130 1130B

⁸⁶ Father Basil KRYVICH in "Questions" something about "grace" worth noting: "It seems to us that the different conceptions of the nature of grace constitutes one of the chief distinctions between the Scholastic doctrine of the West and the theological consciousness of the East" is that the latter conceives "grace as a divine property and power, as something divine and uncreated...The opinion which has established itself in...Scholasticism is that grace, though supernatural, is yet something created for man and limited...The East...insists more on the felt, conscious and even visible life of grace...the West's juridical turn of mind inclines more to an idea of grace as the condition for the imputation of justification not necessarily producing any real or felt result in the consciousness of the one who is saved". "The Ecclesial and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas", The Eastern Churches Quarterly, no. 4 (London, 1972), p. 240.

The "Inimitable Light" is that which is contemplated by the saints "as the uncreated light and divinity of God". Light--naturally this light, of course, and the other energies, are impossible to define as such by any human mind. They are inherent and by the effect, a privilege of the saints are not conformed to the world but transformed in Christ, true man and eternal Logos. Other men say to admit that the Divine Energies, but they do not recognize them as the gift of God.

It is the destiny of man and the church to be transfigured in the Energies of God, to be deified in the eternal Mediator, the Logos. Even now it has begun, the church is the beginning, she is "the eschatological community". All knowledge, cognitive and gnostic, human and divine is eschatological if it serves the end for which it was intended--union with God. History marches forward inexorably to "the Abyss of Divinity", and those who resist its thrust are nonetheless carried along--not in joy but in agony--towards the "final day". This is the philosophy of history the Greek Fathers present. It is that which we will now describe in one of the most eminent members of the patriotic brotherhood--Saint Basil of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, surnamed, "the Great".

57 See the discussion by Vladimir Lossky in The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church, ch. 11, para. 1.

Chapter III Saint Basil the Great: On the History of History

In the previous chapter, we examined the spirit of patristic philosophy. History was deliberately ignored even if there were slight and unavoidable allusions to it. It was our intention to reserve that subject for this chapter. We are now to see the manner in which the powerful intellect of Saint Basil attacked the Christian metaphysics of history. First, we shall set the historical stage which proved to be the occasion for his statement of the Christian conception of history. Secondly, we shall discuss the cruciality of certain events in the life of Christ and their relation to the whole scope of history; and thirdly, our investigation will lead to the critical idea of "days" or "ages" and the entire dialectic tension which the Fathers recognized between "time" and "eternity". Finally, Basil's attitude towards the Roman Empire will be examined, or more precisely, his answer to the problems of that world--ascetic renunciation--one of the chief reasons for his delineation of Christian historiography.

The fourth century was in the midst of those happenings which Saint Basil and those like him saw as determining the fate of Christianity and therefore the world in as much as the destiny of the Church was essentially related to the destiny of the world. The Church faced the problems of the great christological and triadological heresies of Arianism and Pneumachianism, the proximity of the Empire to it and

[illegible]

¹ Nathan and Horton (London, 1918), p. 51.

The Fathers were confronted, consequently, with the most vexatious questions pertaining to the relationship of Church to state; and these questions involved, in terms of the controversy which challenged traditional theological methods and categories, the question of Christ and culture. Was that relationship inevitable and necessary? Had the fact that the Church became not only religious but highly favored by the state been responsible for the evil which now beset it? Was that relationship of Church and state the result of circumstance? Had not the Fathers recognized in Graeco-Roman civilization and culture a major source of impiety and heresy? Saint Constantine the Great may have given Christianity the right to exist, but the state still had its roots in pagan ideology and it did not make any serious effort to abrogate these political and cultural attitudes which were traditionally associated with the Roman Empire.

The heresies contemporary to Saint Basil sought to interpret the Christian faith by means of secular philosophy and ideology.² Arius and Macdonius had both fastened on Hellenistic philosophical abstractions to support their theological contentions against Catholic orthodoxy--Arius on the Platonism of Alexandria and Macdonius on the Aristotelianism of northern Greece. And when the Emperor advocated and sustained their cause, the state not only entered into a province

² On the connection between the early heresies and Greek thought, see H.M. Gwatkin, Early Church History, 2 vols. (London, 1909).

beyond its competence, but it gave, at least, tacit sanction to the spirit of paganism implicit in the rationalizations of the heretics. In other words, Saint Basil and the Catholic Fathers had to state unequivocally the position of the Church with regard to politics, religion and culture and to indicate what remedial action might be taken to remedy the Church's present dilemma.

Saint Basil responded to the problems raised by the pre-dicament of his milieu with a proclamation of faith, that is to say, not by readjusting the claims of the Church, but with a solemn declaration of Christianity's historic purpose. But there is not to be discovered in his writings a treatise on history, because it was not a meaningful subject for him except as it helped men to understand the Will of God. Ergo, historiography is scattered everywhere in his exegesis and commentaries on the Scriptures, such as the famous cosmological canticle, Hexameron. His statements about history, then, are statements about the economy of salvation and historical research was no more than to find evidence for such events as the Incarnation. The primary source was the Bible. Basil believed, finally, that the Christian religion was the object of all history before Christ and the engine of salvation for all history thereafter. The destiny of the Church is the destiny of the cosmos.

History, according to Saint Basil, has its midpoint in

was not really tragedy. That tragedy was the Fall of man, Adam. Basil will not be at all of the Church's real mythology, but there is actual, historical, knowledge of a place in the story of salvation revealed in his Library. "Holy, holy, holy, Thou art truly our God who planted us in the lushness of Paradise. But having transgressed Thy commandments through the deceit of the serpent and fallen away from Thy life, we were banished from Paradise". There is no question here. Basil accepts the literal sense of the Biblical record---the beginning of history is the story of man's creation and alienation from God. The word "is" tells us, further more, that all men were present in Adam. The narrative, too, depicts the mystery of history, the conflict between God and man.

The history of man's reflection is familiar to anyone with the most elementary knowledge of Christianity. Indeed notably, the mystery of Adam, God and Satan has in fact in another problem created, perhaps, by the forces of alienation and the great an intimacy with our rationalism. Saint Augustine turned his attention to the question of "the transmission of original sin" and thereby gave the whole problem of "original sin" a false direction. He did not need to ask how sin was transmitted from one person to another, because, in fact,

⁴ Homages, I 3 PG 2013;

⁵ 156 Basil, PG 31 1 100A-100B. ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἡ ἀληθὴς κοίτη ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμῶν, καὶ ὅσον ἡμῶν, ἐν τῷ παράδεισῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, παραβάντας δὲ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκπεσάντες ἡμῶν, ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐξορίσθοντες ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς...

fallen the Greek tradition, was inherited by virtue of each man's participation in Adam, i.e., Adam was not only an individual, but the prime initiation, organically, of all his progeny. His fall shattered the unity of mankind. Thus, divided from each other and separated from God, men became the prey of Satan. In other words, it was the very nature of humanity to be "in sin", it did not require to be transmitted by one person to another.

It is this fact which moves Saint Basil to place the history of the Fall in direct relationship with "the Chosen People", the Incarnation and the whole economy of salvation. Redemption meant precisely redemption from Satan, deliverance from sin and death. "The accusation against him" (Adam-like-kind), "Basil says, "was not irrevocable, but Thou didst visit us with Thy Holy Prophets, and in these last days (ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων), to those who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, didst appear to us through Thy Only Begotten Son, Our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ, Who was incarnate of the Holy Spirit and our most holy and blessed Mother of God, the ever-Virgin Mary, and took on flesh. He showed us the way of salvation, gracing us from above with the regeneration of water and the Spirit and made us His own people. He sanctified us in the Holy Spirit. Christ loved His own in the world and gave himself a ransom to the sovereignty of death, delivering Himself to bondage in our sin and descending into hell through the Cross. He rose from the grave on the third day and ascended

In a word, Adam is the anti-type of Christ and the descendants
 of Adam the anti-type of the Church.

Christ is the fulfillment of the Law and the Prophets,
 the expected savior and it is in demonstrating this truth that
 Saint Basil condensed his exegesis and reveals the historical
 past. After the Fall, God called Abraham to form "the Chosen
 People". It was the commencement of the story of redemption and

7 Typology is the science of "expounding in the records of
 persons and events in the Old propheticall administrations the
 Person of Christ or the doctrine and practice of the Christ-
 -ian Church". J. Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and
ethics, vol. XII (New York, 1922), p. 500. Typology is a
 "spiritual sense" rather than a literal understanding of
 the Bible. "A type presupposes a purpose in history wrought
 from age to age" (Westcott). Again, Christian writers were
 not the first to use it. The Jews, before the Advent of
 Christ, employed typology. Christ was the first Christian
 to do so (e.g., after the resurrection, he expounded "all
 those things in the Scriptures concerning him"). See Matt.
 12, 39; Luke 4, 29-27; 11, 29f. and Saint Paul, Gal. 2, 16;
 I Cor. 10, 4. Typology was used throughout the early Church
 and in the Middle Ages. It must be distinguished from al-
 -legory. This was the ancient art of the Greek philosophers
 for extracting philosophical truths from mythology. Philo
 adapted it to his Old Testament exegesis and supposedly was
 responsible for the allegorical method of Origen, Irenaeus
 and the Christian school at Alexandria. But the princi-
 -ples of Philo and Origen, for example, are fundamentally
 different and the latter does not ignore the literal sense.
 See E.A. Redburning, Origenes: Eine Darstellung seines Leben
und seiner Lehre (Darm, 1891), p. 137; and W. Prins, Origenes,
 op. IV. The justification for the use of allegory is found
 in the allegorical character of Canticles of Canticles and
 the book of Hebrews. Christian allegory, however, is
 manifest; anything but what is conceived to be a Christian
 truth. Nevertheless, the line between typology and allegory
 is admittedly thin. J. Hastings, loc. cit. Herbert Marsh
 attempts to distinguish them. "According to one mode (typ-
 -ology) facts and circumstances...have been applied to other
 facts and circumstances they have been described as repre-
 -senting. According to the other mode (allegory) these facts
 and circumstances have been described as mere emblems; or
 again, an allegory is a fictitious narrative; a type is some-
 -thing real". Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of
the Bible (Cambridge, 1836), pp. 300, 334.

and Israel and the people of the Church. There is a "nation among nations", the Israel of the Church, which did not believe and was condemned for their history. History, Basil says, should not "lead us to the future" and "you will find that this statement is very important to our personal mind". Israel was chosen not only to enlighten its neighbors, but to provide the mission. These "darkness" may be able to provide philosophy, ethics and natural science, but these are useless, especially now because "the truths of the Gospels are alone sufficient in the world".

All the world is subject to God's sovereignty--*(see 1 Cor 15:28)*-- and He concerns Himself with all nations and appoints the heads of state. "For the Lord establishes kings and removes them and there exists no authority except that appointed by God" (Rom. 13, 1)". They rule by grace not by right and they rule as long as they act wisely. The Pharaoh and Sennacherib used their armies for unjust wars and God destroyed both. Nations decline because their moral strength is pleasing to God. They rise and fall according to their proximity to God. Saint Basil offers no philosophical explanation for the rise and fall of nations and he predicts no causality except the failure of nations to live by the commandments of God which are implanted in man by nature.

God's providence reaches to the "smallest things".

¹ Ps. XLII, 3 PG 29 341A

² Ibid., 7 341A

³ Ps. XXVIII, 3 PG 29 2740-2750; LXXIII, 1 PG 29 431A

leaves the question to the providence of God. The very reality of the Will of God, in the nation or individual, becomes a "man, the beast" (ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ κτήνος, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ἐκείνου ἀνθρώπου).¹¹ These turn from God and in their idolatry are doomed to suffer the consequences of their abandonment in this world. Israel, too, was often led astray by the Egyptians, the Assyrians, etc. It was not present only to the Jews, it came from the land of Egypt to the Promised Land. It moved it from the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Babylonians and the Persians, but Israel continued disobedient and finally abandoned the Mosaic. But a "remnant" did remain and became the seed of the New Israel, the Church.

Saint Basil is interested in showing the unity of the Old and New Israel not as a political entity, but a spiritual continuum. It was one of the aims of his theology, i.e., it was also the way to uncover the Will of God leading to "the last days" and the deeds of Christ for the sake of mankind. The Old Testament is the history of the Old Israel and what were they intended to accomplish in this world. The people of the old covenant, although necessarily the history of a people chosen to be the vessel of the Divine Will, at the same time, it celebrates what is to be realized by Christ and the Church. The truth was hidden, locked in the old covenant, but was revealed by the Christian Revelation. Indeed, all of history is uncovered. Saint Basil alludes continually to the Christian

¹¹ Eccl., 4:10A

¹² Ps. XLIV, 3 PG 23:15A

of the unbelieving world, but his typology involves directly the explication of the Gospels of the New People.

The New People are "new creation" formed in the new law, "the Second Adam", Christ, the Image of God, in whom the Trinity made "the first Adam". God's first son and his new son are, as in the first creation, the first economy, are given life by the same basic life elements, "breath" and "water": "the economy of God and Savior concerning man is a recall from the fall and a return to union with God previously destroyed as a result of disobedience. This is the reason for the sojourn of Christ in the flesh, the prefiguration (ὑποτυπώσεις) of our own way described in the Gospels--the Passion, the Cross, the Tomb, the Resurrection; so that the man who is being saved through imitation of Christ receives the ancient adoption. For perfection of life, the imitation of Christ, is not simply following his example of gentleness, lowliness and longsuffering, but also actual death...Baptism, then, symbolically signifies putting off of the works of the flesh...For there the death on behalf of the world is one and one is the resurrection of the dead whereof baptism is a type...".

13 Liber de Spiritu Sancto, XV, 35 PG 32 128C-129B: Ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομία ἀνὰ κλητίς ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως καὶ ἐπένετος εἰς οἰκείαν εὐθυσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς τῆς παρὰ κλητίς ἀλλοτριότητος. Διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μετὰ σάρκα ἐπιτήμεια χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐν κλητίκῳ περιτῶν μύστων ὑποτυπώσεις, τὰ πάθη, ἡ στίβη, ἡ ταφή, ἡ ἀνάστασις· ὥστε τὸν ἐκ νόμου ἄνθρωπον διὰ μυστήριον χριστοῦ τὴν ἀρχαίαν, ἐκείνην ἐκείνην ἀντιλαμβάνειν. Ἀνεκκαίως περὶ τὴν πρὸς τελειωσιν εὐσέως ἡ χριστοῦ μέμνησις οὐ μένει ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν βίαν ἐκτελέσματιν ἡμετέροις καὶ ταπεινότητι καὶ μακροθυμίᾳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκαστοῦ καὶ ἡμετέρου κομπούμενον ἡμῶν ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῆς σαρκὸς συμβολικῶς ὑποφάνει τὸ ὑπὸ πνεύματι ἀποφάναι· ἔστιν ὁ ὅτι τοῦ κόσμου θανάτος, καὶ οὗτος ὁ κόσμος ἐκ νεκρῶν ἡγίασται καὶ οὗτος ἐστὶ τὸ βαπτισμα...

"The first work of the Holy Spirit is to 'purge out' the 'old man' by the washing of the 'word of life' (Eph. 5:26), which is all that says, 'Ye have buried things and prefigured by a bath of living things'.¹⁴ 'The bath is an exhibition of things to come and gives satisfaction a foretaste of the life to come'.¹⁵ 'It is the death of Christ in a bath of the word and the Holy Spirit are provided in the Old Testament--Mark 1:9. 'It is, concerning the Jordan into the Paradise of, which is the 'baptism', Jesus leading the Christ through the Jordan. 'Subsequently, baptism contains 'the type of life and death, for the water fulfills the stage of death and the Spirit gives the earnest of life...in baptism the 'old man' is destroyed, the body of sin that it may not bear fruit unto death...our living into the Spirit and the ingathering as our fruit. So the water receiving the body as in a bath prefigures death; while the Spirit remains in the quickening power, removing our souls from sin's destruction and restoring us to Paradise...".¹⁷ In a second work, just as the Holy Spirit is 'the

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1. 1888; 1911; 1913.
 1888 and the R. L. was the earliest "trace" and it was not until after the time of Origen that the Gnostic idea developed. It was thought, too, that there were two heavens and that the Hellenic idea of the River Cocytus which surrounded the world and carries souls into another world. The Gnostic belief in the anti-types in paganism providential. In J. G. G. G., From Shadow to Reality, p. 272f.

17 Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ, 1928., 34-35, 1928 : Αποστόλου τούτου και ζώντος
 έχουσαν την μὴν τῶν θανάτου σίκονα τοῦ Ἰησοῦς ἐκλήρωσαν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ἀφ' οὗ
 παρεχομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ὥστε σάφες... εὐσεβείαν ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ἀποκατάστασιν
 καθάρσιν μὴ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἀμαρτίας, τοῦ μηκέτι εἶναι καθάρσιν τῶν θανάτων, ὡς
 ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, καὶ τὸν καθάρσιν ἔχει ἐν ἀμαρτίᾳ. Τοῦτο εἶπε τὸ ἔκδοτον τῆς
 σίκονα παρέχει, ὡς πρὶν ἐν τῇ τῷ σῶμα παρετεχέμενον τὸ ἔκδοτον τῆς
 εὐσεβείας ἐκείνης ἰσχυρῶς, ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν τεκνέμεν ἐν τῷ ἔκδοτον
 θανάτῳ τῆς σίκονας ἡμεῶν καὶ ἀποκατάστασιν.

over the waters of the Jordan (Matthew 3:13), also, in the "new creation" which is available through the baptism of water for the "new life". The baptism of water is the "new life" and the great rite of Baptism is not just a ritual but is political. "Paradise" is simply that which is that new and intended to have.¹⁰

Saint Basil did not see the sacrament of baptism of baptism as an unhistorical, ecstatic and magical rite. It presupposed grace and a metaphysics of history which is in Hellenism. The Greeks, Collingwood informs us, were not really interested in history. Even Thucydides, perhaps their greatest historian, writes a moral drama in his Polymachian wars and he depicts persons and places as symbols rather than data. His opinions may have been sophisticated and critical, but they breathe the Greek spirit.¹¹ His frame of reference is the dualistic reality of philosophy, the realm of permanence above and the realm of flux below. History offers no genuine knowledge, no certainty, no salvation. But Saint Basil (and the Fathers) emphasized the historicity of the Christian religion, precisely because the acts of redemption are historical; and salvation meant the salvation of history now.

Baptism is the introduction into the now, into the great joy of the Eucharist which is the end of baptism, for all¹²

¹⁰ In all patristic typology, Danielou says, Paradise is the Church and the Kingdom of Heaven. Thus, it is an eschatological concept. The Fathers do not conceive it as some "golden age". Danielou, From Shadows to Reality, p. 12.

¹¹ The Idea of History (New York, 1956), pp. 20-21.

¹² Saint Basil, De Baptismo I, 3 PG 31:1571A-1577D; II, 3:1584C-1585E.

sacraments are ordained to the Eucharist as to their end. Here, again, there are anti-types in Hellenism, as there are types and anti-types in Judaism. The Old Testament has the figures of Melchisedek, the Sacrifice of Jacob by Abraham, the Hanna in the desert, and the like. In paganism, not merely among the Greeks, the "mystery cults" showed clear analogies to the Christian sacraments: the Syrian Adonis, the Asiatic Attis, the Egyptian Isis and Osiris, the Persian Mithra and the Greek Dionysos. Nevertheless, neither the Eucharist, nor the other sacraments, can be traced to "the pagan mysteries".²¹ These were but a religious drama or liturgical representation of the death and resurrection of a god. By participation in the enactment of representation, such as "eating the flesh of the god," the myster or the initiate believed themselves to be divine, sharing in the triumph over death. The pagan mysteries were fundamentally rites and it was always to the rites that the word mysterion, and the idea conveyed by it, applied. The similarity between pagan and Christian "mysteries" proves only that the historical setting was the same.

The pagan rites were, according to Dom Guile Cadell, a kind of providential preparation in human nature for what God could and would accomplish in Christ. Paganism did not, properly speaking, influence the beginnings of Christianity, but rendered her "evangel" appealing by affording something not alien to historical circumstance and showing how grace brought with

²¹ L. Bouyer, Liturgical Piety (Notre Dame, 1955), p. 25.

it precisely what human nature most craves, and, in fact, sought to obtain for its life. The Eucharist, then, is that which, in Christianity, is salvation and for which paganism accepted crude substitutes. The difference between the real "mystery" and the pagan rite is that the latter is but a shadow of which the Eucharist and the other sacraments are the reality.²² This "reality" is the "mystery of the Cross", Jesus "fulfilling in His own human history and sacred history of God's People and, finally, the whole history of mankind which had been disrupted by the Fall, but which, by the Cross, has been reconstituted and brought to the unutterably glorious conclusion by God Himself".²³ In his Liturgy, Saint Basil recapitulates the whole economy of salvation in the prayer of the Eucharist:

"When thou hadst created man, and hadst fashioned him with thine own image, O God, thou didst set him in the midst of a Paradise of plenty, promising him life eternal and the enjoyment of everlasting good things in keeping thy commandments. But when he disobeyed thee, the true God... and was led astray by the guile of the serpent, and rendered subject to death through his own transgressions, thou didst banish him...from Paradise into this present world...For thou didst not turn thyself away forever from thy creature, whom thou hadst made, O Good One, neither didst thou forget the works of thy hands; but thou didst visit him in diverse manners, through the tender compassion of thy mercy. Thou didst send forth Prophets; thou didst perform mighty works by the Saints...And when the fulness of time was come, thou didst speak unto us by thy Son..But albeit

²² Das Christlich Kultysterium (Regensburg, 1935).

²³ L. Bouyer, Liturgical Piety, pp. 87-88.

Himself and enters the Kingdom. This is the purpose and meaning of history. Baptism renders the believer worthy to receive the Eucharist, the Eucharist joins the Christian fellowship to all the acts of redemption now, that is, the contact of time with the eternal fact of the Kingdom of God through Christ. In it the Church continually realizes its eternal dimension in time, in Christ, through His act. The Eucharist recalls the past, anticipates the future and unites both present in the great eschatological reality of the Church. It is no accident that for the Fathers the Eucharist was at once the proclamation of the Lord's death and the judgment of the world. The Eucharist is but the offering now of the Son to the Father of humanity reunited in Himself.

The resurrection is the act of redemption par excellence. By it the purpose of the Incarnation was manifested and the Crucifixion justified. It is the victory over Satan, the death of man's great enemy, Death. By the resurrection of the theandric Christ, asserts Saint Basil, "the Holy Spirit is proclaiming in triumphal odes what things are being done for us".²⁵ The resurrection of Christ is already our resurrection, because by virtue of sacramental initiation (Baptism) and participation in "the food of immortality" (Eucharist), the believer becomes a participant in His Life and Death. The resurrection is the end of all the acts of redemption

²⁵ Ps. XLVIII, 1 PG 29 452C.

done for mankind, just as the Eucharist is the terminus of all the sacraments of the Church. In fact, participation in the Eucharist is participation in the Resurrection, especially the Last Eucharist.

The position of the day of the resurrection in relation to the Jewish week lends itself to several kinds of symbolism, and among these, there is none more eminent than the idea of the "eighth day", the agooda. God created the world in seven days, Saint Basil writes in De Delightis Sabbati. This is the symbol of Adamic time. The "eighth day" is the "day after", "the figure of life everlasting". He outlines its design with his usual clarity:

"We pray standing on the first day of the week, but all do not know the reason. On this day of the Resurrection, we remind ourselves of the grace given to us by standing at prayer, not only because we rose with Christ, and we are bound to seek those things which are above, but because Sunday seems to us to be in some sense an image of the age which we are to expect, that is, though it is the beginning of days, it is called by Moses not the first, but one. For he says, 'There was evening, and there was morning, one day,' as though the same day often recurred. Now 'one' and 'eighth' are the same, in itself distinctly indicating that the really 'one' and 'eighth' of which the Psalmist makes mention in certain titles of the Psalms, this state which follows after the present time, is the day which knows no waning or eventide, and no succession, that which does not end or grow old. Of necessity, then, the Church teaches Her own foster children to offer their prayers standing on this day, to the end that through continual reminding of that endless life, we may not neglect to make

provision for our renewal to it. For that 'one' and 'first day', if seven times multiplied by seven, completes the seven weeks of the holy Pentecost; for beginning at the first, Pentecost ends with the same, making fifty revolutions through the likeness of the days intervening. And so it is a likeness of eternity, beginning as it does and ending, as in a circling course, at the same point". (26)

Because Sunday is the day of the resurrection, it is also the image of the age to come now. It compares in every way to Christ Himself who is the beginning and the end, the alpha and the omega. Sunday is the "one" and the "eighth," thus, creating a circle, the traditional symbol of eternity. It is the day, too, of which there is no mention of night: it is the day in which there is "no waning and no eventide".

In the Hexameron, Basil further develops the ideas already

23 De Spirit. Sanct. PG 32 192AC: ὁθεὶ μὲν πληροῦμεν τὰς εὐχὰς ἐν τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ σαββάτου· τὸν δὲ λόγον οὐ πάντες οἴονται. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὡς συνάνασταντες Χριστῷ καὶ τὸ ἀναβῆναι ὁφείλοντες, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἡμέρᾳ τῆς μεταμένης ἡμῖν χάριτος, ἡμεῖς κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν σταδῶνς ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομιμνήσκοντες· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἡκεῖ πῶς τοῦ προστοκίου μέρου αἰῶνος εἶναι εἰκόνα. Διὸ καὶ κατὰ οὐρανὴν ἡμεῖς, οὐχὶ πρῶτη παρὰ Μωυσέως, ἀλλὰ μιᾷ ἀνάσταται. Ἐγένετο γὰρ, φησὶν ἑσπερά, καὶ ἔγενετο πρῶτ' ἡμέρα μιᾶ· ὡς τῇ αὐτῇ ἀνακοκλουμένης πολλάκις, καὶ μιᾷ ἰστέον ἡ αὐτῇ, καὶ ὅλῳ, τὴν μίαν ὅπως ἐκείνην καὶ ἀληθινὰν ὄντως, ἥς καὶ ὁ ψαλμοδὸς ἐν τίσιν ἐπιφραδὲς τῶν ψαλμῶν ἐπέμνησεν, ἡ ἐκείνης ἐμφανίζουσα, τῇ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον τούτων κατάστασιν, τὴν ἀφύστατον ἡμέραν, τὴν ἀνέσπερον, τὴν ἀδιώτητον, τὴν ἰστέον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀήρην αἰῶνα. Ἀνακαίως οὖν τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ προσευχὰς ἐστῶτας ἀποπληροῦν τοὺς ἐαυτῶν τροφίμους ἡ ἐκκλησία παίδευει, ἵνα τὴν συνεχῆ ὑπομνήσει τῆς ἀτελευτήτου ζωῆς πᾶν πρὸς τὴν μετέσταντ' ἐκείνην ἐφάδων μὴ ἀμελῶμεν. καὶ πῶτα δὲ ἡ πεντηκστή τῆς ἐν πρώτῳ πεντακοσμῆν ἀναστάσεως ἐστὶν ὑπόμνημα. Ἡ γὰρ μιᾷ ἐκείνῃ καὶ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπτάκις ἐπταπλασιασθῆναι, τὰς ἐπτά τῆς ἐκείνης πεντηκστῆς ἐξεδιέτας ἀποτελεῖ, ἐκ πρώτης γὰρ ἀρχομένη, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν καταλήγει. Ἡ δὲ δυνάμις πᾶν ἐν τῷ μῶσῳ ἐξελιττομένη πεντακοντάκις. Διὸ καὶ αἰῶνα ποιεῖται τὴν ὁμοιότητι, ὥστε ἡ κοκλικὴ κινῆται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων σήμεως, καὶ εἰς τὰ αὐτὰ καταλήγουσα.

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expressed by previous exegesis:

"God who made the nature of time measured it out and determined it by intervals of days; and, wishing to give it a week as a measure, he ordered the week to revolve from period to period upon itself, to count the movement of time, forcing the week of one day revolving seven times upon itself. A proper circle begins and ends with its-elf. Such is also the character of eternity, to revolve itself and to end nowhere. If, then, the beginning of time is called 'one day' rather than 'the first day', it is because the Scripture wished to establish its relationship with eternity. It was, in reality, fit and natural to call 'one' the day whose character is to be wholly separated and isolated from all the others. If Scripture speaks truly of many ages, saying everywhere, 'age of age' and 'age of ages', we do not see it enumerate them as first, second and third. It follows that we are here by shown not so much limits, ends and succession of ages, as distinctions between various states and modes of action. 'The day of the Lord', Scripture says, 'is great and very terrible', and elsewhere, 'Woe unto you that desire the day of the Lord: to what end is it for you? The day of the Lord is darkness and not light'. A day of darkness for those who are worthy of darkness. No--this day without evening, without succession and without end is not unknown to Scripture, and it is the day the Psalmist calls the eighth day, because it is outside this time of weeks. Thus, whether you call it day, or whether you call it eternity, you express the same idea. What gives this state the name day, is that it is not several, but only one. If you call it eternity still it is unique and not manifold. Thus, it is in order that you carry your thoughts forward towards a future life, that Scripture marks by the word 'one' the day which is the image of eternity, the first fruits of days, the certain day

This passage gives us a clue to the great idea which that saint had in mind when he wrote the City of God. The idea is of finding the "typological" sense: the seven days of the Genesis creation are not to be taken literally, for they are types of the "day" or "age" of the world, i.e., the history of the world. The Israel Patriarchs, and the saint himself, discover in the seven days of things here which simply a symbol of history. The seven days are a key to the succession of ages. Thus, Saint Augustine thought the first day to be "typical" of that period between Adam to Noah, the second, from Noah to Abraham, then, Abraham to David, David to the Captivity, the Captivity to John the Baptist, the Incarnation to the Cross,

27 ΠΡΟΣΑ. ΙΙ, PG 29 201-202: οὐκ ἄρα ὁ τὴν τῷ χρόνῳ εὐρίαν κατασκευάσας θεός, μέγα αὐτῷ καὶ σήμερ τὰ πῦρ ἡμερῶν ἐπέβαλε διασθήματα, καὶ ἐξομαλίσας αὐτὸν ἐκμετρεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐξομαλίσαν αὐτὴν ἀνακυκλοῦσθαι κελεύει, ἐξουσιάζουσιν τὸν χρόνον τὴν κινήσιν· τὴν ἐξομαλίσαν δὲ πάλιν ἐκπληροῦν τὴν ἡμέραν μιαν, ἐπτάκις αὖτις εἰς ἀναστρέφουσιν. τοῦτο δὲ κυκλικόν ἐστι τὸ σχῆμα, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρχοῦσθαι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ καταλήγειν· ὅσα καὶ τοῦ χιῶνος ἴδιον, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναστρέφειν, καὶ μετὰ αὐτὸν περατοῦσθαι. διὰ τοῦτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ ἐπέστη ἡμερῶν, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἀπομαρτυρεῖ· καὶ ἐκ τῆς προσήκειν τοῦ συγγενέος ἔχει πρὸς τὴν αἰῶνα. τῷ γὰρ μοναχοῦ καὶ ἀκατοῦστον πρὸς ἑσέων ἢ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἀκατοῦστον αἰκίαν καὶ προσήκει· προσήγορεύει μίαν. Εἰ δὲ πολλοὺς ἡμῶν χιῶνας τὸν ἰστοῦσαν ἢ γραφὴν, αἰῶνα χιῶνος, καὶ αἰῶνα, αἰῶνων πολλοῦ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κακεὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ πρῶτον, οὐδὲ δεύτερον, οὐδὲ τρίτον ἦρκεν αὐτῷ ἀναστρέφεται· ὥστε πολλοὶ καταστήσαντες αὐτὸν καὶ προσήκοντα συγγενὸς ἀκατοῦστον, καὶ οὐ καὶ πρὸς γραφῆς καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀκατοῦστον αἰῶνα, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ δείκνυσθαι. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ κοινῇ φησὶ, μέγα καὶ ἀσπληνὴ· καὶ πάλιν· ἵνα πάλιν ἡμεῖς τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν κυκλικὴν φηλομεν τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῦ σκεπτοῦ· ὅτι ἀναστρέφεται καὶ ἀπομαρτυρεῖ καὶ ἀπελευθερὶ τὴν τὴν ἡμερῶν σκεῖνται οὐκ ὁ λόγος ἡμεῖς καὶ ὁρῶμεν ὁ φηλομεν πρὸς προσήγορεύσει, διὰ τὸ ἔστω κεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐξομαλίσαντος τοῦτο ὅτι χιῶνα, ὅτι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσέλθῃ, καὶ αἰῶνα τὴν αὐτὴν ἔστω ἡμερῶν, ὅτι οὐ ἡμεῖς ὁ κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα ἐσέλθῃ, καὶ αἰῶνα, καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι αἰῶνα πρὸς προσήγορεύσει, μοναχὸς ὁ εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐ καλλύσας, ἵνα οὐ πρὸς τὴν πολλοῦσαν ὁρῶμεν τὴν ἐσέλθῃ ὁρῶμεν, μίαν ἀπομαρτυρεῖ τὸν αἰῶνα τὴν εἰσέλθῃ τὴν ἡμερῶν τὴν ὁρῶμεν τὸν φηλομεν, τὴν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὴν, τὴν τὴν ἀναστρέφεται τὴν κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τὴν ἐσέλθῃ.

lently, "the eighth day" implies the presence of God, that is, the presence of eternity in time (or anti-Hellenic eschatology) and therefore a completely eschatological reality. In the ending book of time, there is no imitation of the Pagan-Christian or Philonian philosophies (despite the identity in terminology), because Basil is ever using the preterite truth that "the one day," the day, is an "age of eternity", the "first fruits of days, the first appearance of lights, the holy Lord's day, honored by the Resurrection of our Lord". We are in the midst of nothing here but Christian thought.

Saint Basil places the day within and without the Jewish seven day week. This day succeeds but is not exceeded. The scripture speaks of "ages"³¹ and he calls eternity an "age", albeit one age; and, yet, he does not break the linear concept of time in order to accommodate the cyclicalism of the Greeks, because he asserts that history has a beginning and end. There is, indeed, a sense in which that "line" continues directly into eternity, and a sense in which it is ended at the entrance to it. Just as the week extends through its defined totality, even Sunday, and each day proceeds to the following day, so does "this time of weeks", this "age", this "age of ages", capitulates to eternity, the unending "age", the "eighth day".

In his Liturgias, Basil ends the eschatologies to the

³¹ Oscar Cullmann makes the pertinent observation that the word "age", αἰών, serves to designate both a period of time and a undefined and incalculable duration, eternity. Christ and Time (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 45.

Trinity with the phrase, "now and ever and unto ages of ages" (νῦν καὶ ἄρ' καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνες ἀμήν). The liturgy, the sacrament of the Eucharist, is the anticipated realization of the Kingdom of God. There are not many Eucharists or many rearrangements or repetitions, but one. There is but one, unique "eighth day". The idea of the circle mentioned by Saint Basil, consequently, has nothing in common with Greek metaphysics--a fortiori since the cosmic life has a start and will have an end--but is actually a metaphor, something by which eternity may be conceptually represented: it discloses that all has come from God and all things shall also return to Him.

There is, therefore, no "essential contribution of Saint Basil", as Danielou thinks, to the Christian vision of history and certainly no reconciliation between the Greek "eternal" and the Christian "eternal".³² The passage from de Spiritu Sancto cited above is preceded by a discussion of Holy Tradition, beliefs and practices handed down from the Apostles in mysterio. Saint Basil did not consider his view of history something added to tradition but derived from it. None of the Fathers made conscious efforts to eclectically draw ideas from every available source, philosophical and literary, and incorporate those elements "into a higher view". The Christian Revelation carried with it a finality that rendered the possibility, even if desirable, of a "higher view" not only pretentious but in no way invited by the Church.

After explaining the character of history, Basil continues--

³² J. Danielou, The Bible and the Liturgy, p. 217.

plated what lies after the Resurrection. It is, of course, the blessedness of the elect and the torment of the unbelieving, but it is even more: it is the fullness of "the eighth day" or everlasting life in God: it is the deification (*theōsis*) of the creature. Saint Basil declares that in eternity man receives the "understanding (*gnōsis*) of mysteries, apprehension (*κατάληψις*) of what is hidden, the distribution of good gifts, heavenly citizenship, a place in the choir of angels, joy without end, abiding in God and most important becoming a god".³³ The deification of the creature is realized fully only in the age to come. This deifying union has nevertheless to be effected here and now in the present life through the gradual transformation of our sinful nature--its corruptibility and mortality--in order that it might be adapted to eternity. This implies that history is a soteriological process and that theosis is an eschatological concept.

In Christ the believer is brought to the "height" of deification. Thus, to the monks near Caesarea, Saint Basil writes, "...He (the Father) is Himself the end and the final blessedness and when we no longer know God in mirrors, nor through the knowledge of another, but approach Him as alone and one, then, shall we behold the final end. For the kingdom of Christ is said to be the knowledge of all created

³³ D. Spiriti, note in PG 32 100C. Cf. Adv. Rom. II 6 PG 29 505C; and the words of Saint Basil to Saint Eutymius, Narsianus, in Letters of Saint Basil, Cua. LIII 43 PG 31 61A.

things: while the contemplation of the created, that is, that which concerns not the Father and the Son at all. But our Lord is Himself the end and final blessedness according to the knowledge of the Word; for that does it say in the Gospel? 'I will raise them up on the last day'. He calls the transition from the knowledge of the created to the contemplation of the uncreated a resurrection, speaking of that knowledge after which there is no other, as the last day....³⁴

Saint Basil, however, did not offer his listeners the Christian view of history in order to satisfy their curiosity or as an intellectual exercise. It was given as an "evangel", a matter of personal decision. That decision was urgent, he said, because of the dangers confronting the Church by virtue of Her position within the Empire. He was desperately concerned with the question of "social reconstruction" and his call for the formation of monastic communities was, in effect, "an attempt to rekindle the spirit of mutuality in a world which seemed to have lost any force of cohesion and any sense of social responsibility".³⁵ He believed that individual salvation could be more readily accomplished by total renunciation of the life of the Empire. The life of the world was fundamentally evil and it led almost invariably to immorality and

³⁴ Ep. VIII, 7 PG 32 257B.

³⁵ G. Florovsky, "Empire and Desert: Antinomies in Christian History", The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, vol. III, no. 2 (Winter, 1957) p. 147.

heresy.

Saint Basil, not unlike the Fathers, conceded that some value could be attached to Greco-Roman civilization, but in itself they had little interest in it and little hope for its conversion. He rationally exposed the pagan idea of the Empire as an earthly salvation or that the way of life the Empire proposed was intended for all men. The Church, not the Empire, was the oikoumene.³⁶ Rome, said Basil, has no right to the title "ecumenical". Communism is not a spiritual concept. Thus, Basil placed the Empire among the "barbarians", the pagan nations,³⁷ in antithesis to the Christian oikoumene.³⁷ The only messianic people, he continued, is "the People of God", the Church.³⁸ The Empire cannot deliver mankind from death and decay, especially since it is itself subject to "the god of this age", Satan.³⁹ The Church alone is "the City" which has God in its midst.⁴⁰ It is the nation chosen from among nations, "the new Jerusalem", "the community of the first born enrolled in heaven".⁴¹

³⁶ Ps. XLVIII, 1 PG 29 483B. Cf. Ep. LXXVI, 2 PG 32 425B.

³⁷ When the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius returned to Jerusalem with the "true Cross", his entrance was greeted with the hymn, "O Lord, save Thy People and bless Thine inheritance, granting Thy believing kings victory over the barbarians (κατὰ βαρβάρους) and protecting Thy commonwealth through the power of the Cross".

³⁸ Ps. LII, 3 PG 29 435C

³⁹ Ps. XLIV, 9 PG 29 433C

⁴⁰ The idea of Civitas Dei is not peculiar to Saint Augustine, as Christopher Dawson informs us, but is common to patristic literature. The Augustinian Civitas, however, bears "a certain resemblance" to the Neo-Platonic concept of the intelligible world of Ideas--κόσμος νοητός. "The City of God" in Saint Augustine: His Age, Life and Thought (New York, 1917), p. 21.

⁴¹ Ps. LII, 4 PG 29 435C.

The city is identified with the devil, as in the words of Saint Augustine, the law of the devil. The world is an arena of the temporary domination of Satan, who is called "the law of the devil", "the Anti-Christ", "the law of the devil", "the law of the devil", "the law of the devil". In a few words, it is a "law of the devil". It is impossible to find in the words of Saint Basil, in fact, an action that man can live, as the Christian thought, by the law of the devil and thereby achieve eternal life. The Christian will teach that the human condition is a struggle with a number of "moral obligations" derived from "the law of the devil" which is a reflection of the divine law--by which man may attain, according to their light, to a life pleasing to God. But Saint Basil would disagree. The citizens of the civitas terrena must follow helplessly the morally destructive designs of Satan. Thus, they are the enemies of the citizens of the City just as Christ and Satan stand both in intent and purpose and in radical polarity. Christians, then, must be separate from the world.

The Church is the only "country" for the disciples of the Lord. They can have no unconditional allegiance but Christ. Their separation, however, does not imply "moral disengagement", particularly to Christian values. All authority is from God and Christians must, wherever possible, "bring it into Christ".

⁴² Ps. VII, PG 32 330B

⁴³ The Greek Fathers do mention "the law of nature" and they do express their cosmology in terms of the character of the law, "a fact", says Vladimir Lossky, "which takes as its basis the properly theological basis of their cosmology as seen in the biblical narrative of creation". The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church, p. 104.

⁴⁴ Ps. XLII, PG 31 340B

the state of the Empire, and of the world and prob-
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of the things which are to be done in the things which
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belong to it and of the things which are to be done in the things which
-ship in the things which are to be done in the things which
waken it.

On the occasion of the death of the Martyr Theodorus of
Sebaste, Saint Basil writes in a letter which came to
detachment from the world, saying, "There is but one country
for the saints. They regularly exchange it the one for another.
What was it? They were cityless or rather became citizens of
the citizenship. Just as each contributed to the common good,
they share it equally. This common homeland is their common
blessedness. What was borne by all was given for one another".⁴⁷
Writing to Amphilochius after his consecration to the epis-
-copy in Iconium, Basil tells him that he is no longer a
Cappadocian but a Christian and that "all believers in Christ
are one people; all saints, although, He (God) drew them from
many regions are one Church; and so our Father's country is glad
and rejoices at the society of the Lord...."⁴⁸

Not only homeland but the ordinary life must be rejected.
Saint Basil does not despise marriage, but he sees in it all

⁴⁵ Hom. VIII, 4 PG 29 173AC; and Moralia LXXXI, 2 PG 31 65A

⁴⁶ Ep. II, 3 PG 32 223B

⁴⁷ Hom. XIX in quad. Martyr., 2 PG 31 503B

⁴⁸ Ep. CLXI, 1 PG 32 223B

these can be a hindrance to
 40 could be disengaged from the world. Marriage and children
 are a "yoke" and hinder us with a "thousand worldly cares",
 "frenzied craving and rebellious impulses and hopeless attach-
 -ments". "Now the way to flee all this is by separation from
 the world. I do not mean bodily separation, but detachment
 of the soul from the yoke of the body and so becoming
 50 citizen, homeless, vagabond, ascetic, without property...".
 To reach perfection, by which the divine teachings are easily
 impressed on the heart, a man must become carefree and gain
 quiet of mind (Εν ήσυχία τὸν νοῦν). Only then will he be
 certain of his salvation. Present society, however, was built
 on wrong foundations and any accommodation to it, Saint Basil
 51 believed, would almost surely lead to loss of faith.

Basil was a severe disciplinarian as his monastic pre-
 -scriptions indicate. But his severity was not restricted to
 monks, but directed with equal ardor to Christians "in the world".
 His attitude was engendered by the knowledge that the opportunity
 for their perfection was limited by their "worldly" situation,
 but, at the same time, they were expected "to set a model of
 the new society in order to counterbalance the disruptive

40 Reg. fus. Tract. VIII, 2 PG 31 957A

50 Ep. II, 2 PG 32 223B: οὕτως ἡ καὶ φωνή, ὁ χωρισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου
 παντός. Κόσμεν δὲ ἀναχίρῃσι οὐ τὸ ἔξω χροῖον γενέσθαι σωματικῶς, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν πρὸς τὸ σῶμα συμπάθειαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποκτείνει, καὶ γενέσθαι ἀπλῶν,
 ἄκακον, ἀνιδιαν, ἀφιλόστοργον, ἀκηήμενον...

51 "La morale que Basil preconise pour les gens du monde",
 comments Dom Amand, "nous paraîtra rigoureuse et ennemie
 de tout accommodement...Il considère...la vie dans le monde
 comme un permanent pégr l'âme". L'Ame Monastique de
Saint Basil de Césarée, p. 13.

Prince of the world...⁵²...worldly, or, like Basil of Caesarea, "the
 -less" in the world, worldly, his withdrawal from the church.
 He had to go out, Basil says, "of all the things of the
 structures--family, city, empire. He had to go out of it...".⁵³
 The Pauline command to "be content with what is" is not
 required of all Christians--it was his withdrawal to the desert
 and spiritual purification of his soul--but he declared that
 monks alone could "participate in full ecclesiastical life in
 another community which is the Church...".⁵⁴ The monk, there-
 fore, is "the true and authentic Christian".⁵⁴ He alone had
 repudiated the world and surrendered himself in toto to Christ.
 He had given the right answer, Basil said, to the vexatious
 questions provoked by the problems of the Empire. The monk
 abandons the world and institutes a permanent resistance
 movement, that is, he has withdrawn in order to form a society
 which lives completely unto God. He has made the decision to
 live on the eternal side of the dialectical tension between
 present and future.

Solitude, which is the sine qua non of the monastic life,
⁵⁵
 does not exist in the world. Neither is it possible, in the
 world, to eradicate the passions, an eradication which solitude
 allows. The Place for monks, Basil writes Gregory of Nazianzus,

⁵² G. Florovsky, "Desert and Empire: Antinomies in Christian
 History", p. 148

⁵³ Loc. cit.

⁵⁴ Reg. fus. Tract. XXIV, 3 PG 31 1008AB

⁵⁵ Ep. II, 2 PG 32 225B

to where "angels surround" strengthen the soul with "divine thoughts".⁵⁶ And he adds, "What state can be more blessed than to imitate on earth the choir of the angels" (ὅτι οὐκ ἀκαταίμαχτοι τοῦ τῶν ἀγγέλων χοροῦ ἐν γῇ μιμεῖσθαι;).⁵⁷

Again, the monastic state presents those conditions which are conducive to the kind of life the apostle exhorts to realize. Here there is no "gossip of the world", "the empty show of wisdom" to excite the eyes, "voluptuous songs", "the talk of shallow men" and the "dissipation" of the world.⁵⁸ Thus, everything the monk does--his work, eating habits, recreation and study--creates that life which is most pleasing to God.

The monastery is the society in which true and unconditional Christianity dwells. Here is detachment and freedom which the world cannot conceivably provide. In his renunciation of this "age" and its "god", Satan, the monk "reenters the soul itself", concentrates and "reintegrates his spiritual self and brings it into communion with God".⁵⁹ His spiritual life is turned towards God (ἐπιστροφή) in the quiet (ἡσυχία) of his purpose. He struggles always against "the fiery darts of Satan", but gradually the monk purifies his "heart" and the entire human complex is converted to the Holy Spirit. It is the Spirit which brings grace, knowledge and love (ἀγάπη). Love is the high plateau of perfectibility in this life; it is the crown of regeneration.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Loc. cit.

⁵⁷ Loc. cit.

⁵⁸ Loc. cit.

⁵⁹ V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, . . . loc.

⁶⁰ Reg. fus. THEOC., PG 31 503B

Love is inseparable from grace, and as perfection has no meaning without knowledge. This knowledge is the way path to union (union) with God and is obtained by the great sign that union is being achieved. According to Saint Basil, the monastic life is a way to a union with God, that is to say, the gradual and permanent perfecting of human nature, the weakness and its victory. Grace is the personal assurance of God's presence which grows in the person that "humanity" becomes "divinity". All the conditions for achieving this end are available to all Christians, but the monk is far ahead in their utilization and, so, their benefits. In the world, Christians must beg for love and often losing war for saving knowledge, love and union, but the monk alone may be viewed as "the spiritual athlete" and "the collector of Christ"; and he is better equipped by his education. In other terms, the monastery, by virtue of its purpose, is the true body of Christ on earth.

IV SAINT BASIL AND THE NEW HUMANISM IN WESTERN HUMANISM

In this chapter, we look at medieval history as understood by Saint Basil with the conceptions of it that belong to what may be called the Western intellectual tradition: Greek, medieval and modern. Greek is the source of that tradition, the Latin Middle Ages its trunk, modernity its flower. The Fathers may not be considered a part of that tradition, but form a "school" apart from its continuity. Similarly, they are responsible for many ideas without which medieval and modern historiography would be other than what they in fact are, but it is also true that these patristic ideas no longer possess their original form or content. We hope to bring this argument sharply into focus. This chapter will begin with a treatment of the metaphysical foundations of Greek historiography, then, Scholasticism, and finally, the contemporary developments in historiographical theory.

There is a strong anti-historical trend in Greek thought, because most Greeks believed that knowledge was not to be had in history. It did not possess the property of "permanence", as Heraclitus and Plato taught. Philosophy was not concerned with anything more than the objects of perception, as Parmenides and Zeno said. Consequently, the Greeks were not ordinarily a history-conscious people. Even Herodotus, who in this respect closely approached the modern "scientific" conception of history, seems to have taken mythology seriously; he, like, like,

Christianity, however, thinking of the past as "non-being" to the present existence of Christ. Showing, that
about the year 1000, by a particular example of the
and it is here, about 1000, that time itself begins for
there it is said that he began his Christian life of history.

As we have seen, the Christian idea of history first devel-
-ed as a "straight line" rather than "circular" as the Greeks
insisted. The latter distinguished "time" from "eternity"
qualitatively where Christianity defines "time" as a limit
succession of "ages" and "eternity" as one including "age". The
difference here is quantitative. Even here, the Greeks are con-
tined to "the wheel of fortune and decay" and there is no
"progress," only cycle and re-circulation, "re-velation"
and "re-circulation". "Time moves in the eternal circular
course in which everything keeps recurring," Cullmann remarks
about the Greek conception. "That is why the philosophical
thinking of the Greek world labors with the problem of time.
But that is also why all Greek striving for redemption seeks
as its goal to be freed from the eternal circular course and
thus to be freed from time itself".² According to Aristotle,
Werner Jaeger writes, "the human world of state and society
and mind...(are) caught in the incalculable ebbility of ir-
-recaptable historical destiny, whether we consider personal
life or that of nations and cultures, but as founded fast in
the unalterable permanence of forms that while they change

¹ The Idea of History, p. 20
² C. Cullmann, Christ and Time, p. 22

within certain limits remain identical in essence and purpose. This feeling about life is symbolized by the Great Year, at the close of which all the stars have returned to their original position and begin their course anew".³

In terms of religious representation, "the wheel of genesis and decay" is governed by "the circling of the starry heaven".⁴ From the stars the soul of man was believed to have fallen into the prison of the body, *σῆμα σῶμα* as Plato said. The fall was ascribed to some kind of original sin in which expiation from the purity and perfection of divine existence ensued and must be expiated by life on earth and purgation in the underworld. In some Greek cults this involved reincarnation or the passage of the soul into forms of human, animal and vegetative life. But the cycle is not infinite and is terminated in "the Great Year" of ten thousand solar years. At the end of this period, the soul may be released to ascend to the heaven from which it came and thereby regain its pristine status. Then, a new "Great Year" begins--time is endless--and a new world is born, one "year" giving place to another. In other words, the difference between Saint Basil and the Greeks on the nature of history includes: the idea of creation, anthropology, the integrity of the body, the immortality of the soul by grace not by nature, and the realities of progress and teleology.

³ Aristotle: Fundamentals in the History of His Philosophy, ed. (Oxford, 1940), p. 251. Cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics, II, 2, 1026a.

⁴ See P.H. Cornford, From Religion to Philosophy, p. 172.

For P. Amant, the soul which contemplates God and
 it is the soul which is closer is united to Him. The soul of
 which he speaks is immortal, immortally immortal and shar-
 -ly existing independent of the body. The soul which he speaks of
 contemplates and the soul which has given him life is a unity who
 cannot be divided or broken. But for P. Amant and God alone
 the indispensable body, the only real member to union. In the
 philosophy of P. Amant, man is a solitary being who must be
 by himself to be joined with the object of his contemplation.
 But these things do not remind us of Saint Basil. His thought
 and feeling center on the love of Christ, the Body of God,
 and the Church. On this premise, too, he respects the body
 and even considers it an instrument for the destruction of
 sin. The body will be resurrected as its reward. Again, the
 possibility of "la vision de l'âme variable" is absolutely
 excluded by virtue of God's immovability. Finally, Basil
 depicts the end of his faith as the returning "to the rest,
 in order that, after the body of our earthly condition has been
 changed, we may realize that this same body has been made like
 to the glorified Body of Christ".² Thus, it seems to us that
 Amant has not demonstrated the plausibility of his assertions
 and that they are more problematic than real.

¹ Ps. XXXII, 2 PG 29 329C

² Ps. XXXII, 3 PG 29 330A: Ἦσαν δὲ ἡμῶν ἡ ἐκείνης ἐμοστροφίας εἰς τὴν
 ἀσκήσασιν, ἡμῶν, μετὰσχρηματισθέντες, σωματικῶς τῆς λατρείας ἡμῶν,
 γυμνωμένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον μενορκίζον σωματικῶς τῆς μετέωρης χριστιανίας.

The Scholastics recognized that the Christian conception of history involved a temporal mode of end a finis, but, like the Greeks, they considered "time" and "eternity" as qualitatively different. For example, Aquinas asserted that eternity has no beginning and no end, for it is "the measure of a permanent being while time is the measure of movement...time always goes on, yet it is possible to mark in time both a beginning and the end...eternity is a simultaneous whole..."¹⁰ The reason for this kind of approach toward the subject of history was the comparatively Greek philosophical spirit of Scholasticism. Consequently, its history was the search for "the totality of history with an intelligible explanation which shall account for the origin of humanity and assign an end".¹¹ This idea of history is something which developed from the growing claims of reason in the face of the persistent demands of faith. In other terms, between the inherent logic the Scholastics saw in history and time and the power and glory of eternity. This accounts, Father D'Arcy says in his Working and Ratter of History, was caused by "the new metaphysics", the "Christian Aristotelianism".¹²

Christian history, according to the medieval philosophers, puts the end of man beyond the limits of the earthly life; but, at the same time, they affirmed that nothing within time is totally beyond human competence to understand. In nothing

¹⁰ Sum. Theol., pp. q. 10, a. 4
¹¹ E. Gilson, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy (New York, 1956), p. 371.
¹² New York, 1950, p. 14.

in the universe, they said, has been ordered to a supra-
-temporal end. The first condition of any such ordering
is that all events in time unfold with logical regularity. If
history is not illigible and directed to a given terminus,
then, these events must show a definite pattern and any ac-
-curate description of them must show an unmistakable regularity.
Then, Collingwood says, medieval historiography is universalist,
prophetic and "eschatological".¹³ This is a view which looks
to the end of history, pronouncing that that end is and de-
-claring that all life moves towards it. In the words of
Etienne Gilson, the idea of history in the Middle Ages "is not
history of continuous occurrences, since, on the contrary, it
affirms a regular collective progress of humanity as such; nor
is it the history of an indefinite progress, since, on the
contrary, it affirms that progress tends towards perfection
as towards an end; rather it is the history of a progress
oriented towards a definite term".¹⁴

With particular regard to medieval "eschatology", it is
not identifiable with the patristic conception. There is
general agreement between the Fathers and the scholastics
on the ideas of universalism and prophetic,¹⁵ but the latter
seem to have little or no acquaintance with the "realized
eschatology" of the great Basil: neither his ideas about
the bending back of time on itself, the temporal now of

¹³ The Idea of History, op. 32-35. See E. Gilson, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy, pp. 382-401.

¹⁴ Op. cit., p. 383.

¹⁵ I.e., compare the Chronicles of Hippolytus and Irenaeus with
The Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea (1907).

to suffer; on the "day" of celebrating in "the eighth day", the "age" of perfection. Indeed, medieval historiographers used the word "age", but they show no familiarity with Saint Basil's meaning of it. Thus, Jacobin of Flourens (1140-1212) divided history into three periods or ages: the reign of the Father (pre-Christian), the reign of the Son (the Christian era) and the reign of the Holy Spirit (yet coming sometime in the future). The reign of the spirit in Jacobin's scheme is an earthly paradise in which humanity will enjoy perfection.

Modernity, customarily marked with the date 1500, began rebuilding Western civilization on the ashes of the medieval Mittelalters. To transvaluate values and deliberately to use the physical sciences and history as the vehicles for reconstituting Western man's attitudes and beliefs about himself and his destiny on radically humanistic and secularistic grounds is its purpose. In the field of history, Voltaire is said to have given the coup de grace to the old moral and theological view of human events. In Candide, he attacked the ideas of sin, divine punishment and providence. Voltaire, not unlike Condorcet, announced his secular faith in the possibility of man's future glory and proposed a creed of human dignity and liberty. In Germany, too, Immanuel Kant rejected the medieval asteriology for the sake of an earthly perfection. His outlook was the same as the other advocates of the Enlightenment, but his emphasis was slightly different.

"The goal of history", he said, "is not a state of affairs outside history but a human community on earth". In other words, modernity is inevitably "in revolt against the religious interpretation of history", writes Fred Moten, "and believes in the perfection of civilization by a natural genetic process which has gradually led from primitive beginning to ever-higher stages of civilization."¹⁶ Whether there is an end, times, to this "process" seems to be unknown to anyone but the Marxists.¹⁷

The 19th century is universally acclaimed as the great century for historiography and it is here, too, that the secular ideals of Western man glow in the full light of their ambition. It was the characteristic preoccupation of this century to promulgate gradiose philosophies of history in terms of irrefutable laws of historical development and among other things, to reinterpret the traditional symbols of Western thought and life in such a way as to render them expressive of its new disposition. But this approach--idealist universalism--in history fell increasingly into disrepute as did, eventually, the ambiguous historical relativism that reacted to it. With the coming of the evolutionary theory of Darwin, philosophers and scientists alike were ever more questioning

¹⁶ Philosophical Understanding of Religious Truth (New York, 1950), p. 110.

¹⁷ Rudolph Bultmann, ostensibly a Christian theologian, makes the astonishing statement, "Today we cannot claim to know the end and the goal of history. Therefore, the question of meaning of history has become meaningless". The Presence of Eternity (New York, 1957) p. 120.

"the historical method as they then would unlock all the doors to the house of knowledge".¹⁷ In fact, by the end of the 18th century, intellectuals were not at all certain that any criterion for interpreting history was available. After Kant, Idealism had argued persuasively for the coherence theory of knowledge, but, later, it was challenged by the pragmatic criterion of meaning. The result was to establish no hermeneutical principles for history but to throw the entire problem into greater confusion and destroy whatever confidence there might have been in history as the pilot of human destiny.

The 19th century, moreover, had given modernity a historical consciousness it had not hitherto possessed, but it also reaffirmed that man had failed to achieve, despite all his efforts, the certainty of his knowledge. One movement after another claimed to offer the criterion which their predecessors had failed to discover. Romanticism believed it had found it in the notions of "imagination" and "creativity", but it soon surrendered to the Absolute Idealism of Georg Hegel (1770-1831). He stressed the place of reason in giving history its intelligibility and very sense. "It is indeed this desire for rational insight, for cognition and not merely for a collection of various facts which ought to be presupposed, as a subjective aspiration, in the study of the sciences", Hegel wrote in his Philosophy of History. "Even the Greeks were not approaching world history with the thought and knowledge of reason, at least, on ought to have the firm and

¹⁷ H. S. Allen, The Age of Ideology (New York, 1917) p. 115.

invisible faith that there is reason in history, and to believe that the world of intelligence and self-conscious willing is not abandoned to mere chance but must manifest itself in the light of the rational idea".¹⁹

It is probably a tribute to Hegel that every philosophy subsequent to his began with an attack on his views, including Positivism, Marxism, Existentialism and Historicism. The latter opposed not only the mighty German professor's superbia cogitandi, but the relativist conclusions of Positivism and utopian beliefs of Marxism. Some Historicists accepted subjectivism as the only gateway to history, but some, like Friedrich Meinecke (1864-1952), adopted a Goethean-Kee-Platonic vision of reality and posited history as constant movement and an ideal world coincidental with it; and which also provided the suprahistorical criterion by which reason could judge history. Interpretation, then, was "vertical" rather than "horizontal", in accordance with the ideal which penetrated nature without being confused with it.

The 20th century inherited the same historiographical problems that have haunted the study of history since the time it aspired to the title of "science". The new philosophies of history were elaborated to meet them. Idealism was revived in the histories of Spengler and Toynbee and the new century even has experienced the recrudescence of a Christian interpretation of history (Niebuhr, Tillich, Dawson, etc.). Possibilities

¹⁹ The Philosophy of Hegel, ed., C. J. Friedrich (New York, 1921) p. 4.

theories, too, have become common. In general--and it is indicative of the prevailing spirit--the same questions are asked in the 20th century as they were in the previous centuries. Can there be any objectivity in historical inquiry? Is there any pattern in history? Does history have a logic? Does it have an objective meaning? What is the criterion by which we may have an accurate and permanent response to the questions? The chatter has been great, the words have signified nothing. Human reason, ratio, Vernunft, raison, has failed.

Having ignored Voltaire's advice to invent God if He did not exist, modernity continues, like some nocturnal Diogenes, with the lamp of his own frail knowledge, to hunt for knowledge's certitude in the dark night of his ignorance. With no "absolutes" to guide him, Western man has already fallen into the quicksand of relativism. This is the center of his methodological frustrations. It is for this reason that historians have desired to emulate the physical sciences which produced the practical results which have eluded their efforts to place history on the sure path to knowledge. Then, too, the subject-matter of the sciences was conducive to its methods and not to the object of historical investigation, since the former treats what is contemporaneous to it. The sciences, it should be added, have reached only a high degree of probability and not the theoretical certainty which human reason desires. And lastly, historians do not find it really difficult to collect historical data, but to interpret it in their own sense, for they are unable

to them--and in a sense, to the world--with the physical
and moral--virtues of the West and the spiritual--virtues of the East
about which they were unable to attain to truth and to release
their souls from, on the basis of the, heresies.

Can Saint Basil be a relativist? Probably not, because, as
we are about to see, Christian and secular hermeneutical princi-
ples, among other things, have nothing in common. A proper
this fact, we took the long way to the point at which we have
arrived. That there will be a symmetrical view of reality's
hermeneutia in our thesis is strongly suggested by the assertion
made at the beginning of it, viz., that the philosophy of his-
tory pronounced by Saint Basil is unlike any other. It was
already clear that the life-experience was accepted, but it
seemed necessary to us to show that the patristic hermeneutia--
or more precisely, the criterion of interpretation--was con-
sistent with Basil's Christian faith. It was never in doubt
that his principles of historical inquiry were religious, be-
cause his method was typological, but we had left the matter
of criterion unproven. As the last part of our treatment of
Saint Basil on the nature of history, therefore, we must examine
that very important problem. Admittedly, our remarks will ring
with a certain facticity, since the idea of criterion as such--
even never occurred to Saint Basil, but, nevertheless, there is
nothing inappropriate in making such remarks in as much as he
stated emphatically that his criterion for thought was his re-
ligious commitment; and, too, anyone who understands the philo-

-phy of history with any serious intent will be interested in whether the Greek Fathers share with them the same criterion-logical build-up.

The source of all authority for Christians, according to Saint Basil, is the Church,²⁰ because it is the Body of Christ,²¹ the Life of Christ extended to the believer. The truth it bears is held in the reservoir. "Of the doctrines and public declarations which are preserved by the Church," he writes in de Spiritu Sancto, "some we possess and derived from written teachings and others have been delivered to us in a mystery by the tradition of the Apostles; we receive both in piety²² as having equal force". The "tradition", moreover, is the interpreter of the scriptures. "For we are not, it must be remembered, content with the Apostle or the Gospel", Basil exclaims, "but both as preface and conclusion, having great force in those things taught the Faithful, from the written

²⁰ En. CCLXXXVIII, PG 32 1024B-1025A.

²¹ Ps. XLIV, PG 29 360A-413D passim. Saint Basil, unlike most of the Fathers, says very little about "incorporation in Christ". E. Marsch, The Whole Christ (London, 1957), p. 308. The Church is generally assumed and reference to it is almost always in connection with some other theological subject. The homily on Psalm 45 is mentioned here, because, it appeared to us, to speak better than most of his writings on the meaning of the Church for man.

²² XXVII, 56 PG 32 166A: τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαχμένων τμημάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσης λαμβάνοντα τῶν μυστηρίων παράδοσιν ἧς ὅπως ἀμείψεται τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβείαν.

teachings delivered to us".

The scriptural "the word", the record of the truth and whatever a Christian believes must be in accord with it

(*ὅσα μὲν εἰς τὴν πίστιν ἡγήσονται*). They bring truth whereas "the tradition of the fathers" (*παράδοσις τῶν ἁγίων*)²⁵ falsified. The Scriptures tell us that the Logos is the

Artificer of the universe and that it is sustained by Him.

Concerning the Divine Intelligence and Creativity, they have

"not one idle syllable" (*οὐδὲ μίαν περιττὴν λέξιν*).²⁶ In

a letter to Eustathios, the physician, Basil refers to the

Scriptures as the arbiter of truth. "Therefore, let the God-

inspired Scriptures decide between us (Basil and Sabellius)

and on whichever side be found the doctrines in harmony with

the word of God, let the vote of truth be cast for it".²⁷

To come to the point which initially launched our present disquisition, let us conclude that the written and unwritten teachings of the Church both constitute that by which Christians must judge history. They are their hermeneutical principles, the sure criterion, the paths to truth. Therefore, even though the

²⁵ *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, 1 PG 20: *ὁ γὰρ διὰ πάντας ἀρκεσόμεθα, εἴη ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἢ τὰ Ἐвангέλια ἢ ἡ παράδοσις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ ἐπισκοποι, ὡς μέγιστον ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ ἰσχύοντος, ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἐκκλησίας*

²⁶ *ibid.*, II, 1 PG 20 200

²⁷ *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ *ibid.*, I, *ibid.*, 1 PG 21 613

²⁹ *ibid.*, VIII, 4 PG 32 113

³⁰ *ibid.*, VII, 11 PG 23 112

³¹ *ibid.*, VIII, 2 PG 32 113: *οὐ γὰρ ὁ δεινόςτατος ἡμεῶν πατριάρχης Γραφῶν καὶ παρ' ὧς δι' ἐξουσίαν τὰ λόγια σου τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγια, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις πνεύματι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡμεῶν.*

written and unwritten teachings of the Church are commonly identified with strictly religious matters, Saint Basil nowhere restricts or confines their use to religion alone. Indeed, because the Church is the judge of the world. They are two great springs of truth which, beneath the surface of the ground, merge into the one inexhaustible "fountain of knowledge". In a few words, the Greek Fathers share nothing in common with modernity--not hermeneia, nor faith, nor thought, nor vision of history.

CONCLUSION:

Deepell von Ranke's famous dictum that "every epoch is immediate to God" is incomplete. God, Saint Basil said, is not only "immediate to" but within every epoch. Neither are the epochs impenetrable monads, but reflect the past and the future. Each epoch contains, then, a double impulse, one which fulfills the past and the other which anticipates the future. Out from the dialectic of time appears "types". In, too, arises those tendencies which seek to prevent the fruition of God's Will and there arises "anti-types" which, ironically, do, by their very opposition to His Will, contrast and illuminate the truth.

The acts of redemption, too, are "immediate to every epoch", because history manifests analogies of them: First in the Hebrew people and then among the gentiles. The Church offers presentiments of the future, for it is the "eschatological community", born of "water" and "the spirit" and nourished by the very Body and Blood of its Master. It is the Kingdom of God by anticipation. It is the new oikoumene, the beginning of "the new creation" and all that is performed in it by the spirit has ramifications throughout the cosmos of which it is salvation. The presence of the eschaton, the presence of the future, has ignited the tension which Saint Basil argues characterizes the present, indeed, all of history.

Thus, the joy and suffering, the sacred and the profane,

the good and the evil, the creative and the destructive, find their true perspective in the reality of the beginning and the end, the "and" is the "or". To know the end, or rather, to realize it subjectively in the historic mission of humanity. By this act its salvation is accomplished. Refusing to accept its task must result in domination by Satan. (It continues to fight the battle even though his empire was lost at Calvary). It is he and his angels that are responsible for the evil in the world, Satan is "the god of the age", the source of its "wisdom" and "power". It was Satan who has perverted and poisoned the truth bestowed on humanity from all time.

Saint Basil did not express these ideas as speculation, but as ontologically real. History is the process in which God demonstrates His Immanence, His "immediacy" and His "contemporaneity". Sunday is "the eighth day", it is the plan vital of each day, each "age". Latter, too, is already being drawn into the vortex of Divinity, man is already being deified, already participating in the life of the Trinity. God did become man that man might become a god. In a word, the end of history is the Kingdom of God and the flow of persons and events are engineered to that end.

The Christian historiography of Saint Basil has its parallels everywhere and nowhere. The Greeks, medieval men, modernity, even Judaism, suggest the truths revealed in the patristic philosophy of history. Now, that history is not an epilogue to the ancient world and it is not an incantation

the artistic or literary character of the work. It is, you, all of them and none of them, I mean the figure of God is given to all men that they might have the knowledge of the truth which is saved. In addition, the Christian view of history is unique, it is universal, irreversible, and the social and legal life which it contains is equally unique.

Bibliographical essay

The greatest collection of Saint Basil's works are to be found in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, vols. 29-32. The so-called dogmatic treatises, Adversus Eunomian, Hexameron, and Liber de Spiritu Sancto are also political, apologetical and Biblical expositions. They deal with every aspect of the Christian Faith even if one or more theological disciplines may be stressed. The Hexilia in Basilian are an important source of Basil's conception of history, but also for triadology and ecclesiology. Sermo de Legendis Libris Gentilium is an address to novices on the proper use of pagan literature. In Hexilia in Illud, Attende Tibi Ipse is directed to the problem of self-knowledge and "the purity of the heart". Ascetica, Moralia, and Regulae fustius tractatae are works dealing with monastic discipline, but also contain discussions about the Eucharist and Baptism. The Epistulae are more than mere correspondence, for they are replies to inquiries concerning Christian theology and philosophy. Basil's Liturgiae gives us not only knowledge about Christian worship, but its prayers tell much about his attitude towards history.

Two very helpful books on Saint Basil are Father L. Amand, L'Ascèse Monastique de Saint Basil le Grand (Mandres, 1948); and J. Giot, Les Idées de l'Action Historique de Saint Basile le Grand (Paris, 1941). With regard to

Similarly, the 1934 edition of the Journal of the American Patristic Society also gives credit to the Greek Fathers as contributors. The first of the articles in the 1934 edition is entitled "The Scriptural Basis of the Church," which is a study of the Church with special reference to the Church of the East. The first article by Robert C. Zaehner, "The Church of the East: A Study in the History of the Church," is found in the Journal of the American Patristic Society, vol. III (1934, 1935), 100-112. It is a study of the Church of the East as a "prophetic and apocalyptic movement" to the people of the world and its significance. The monastery also has a constant challenge to the world and the means by which it might be redeemed. Father John Dwyer, The Bible and the Church (New York, 1935) and more recently his From Church to Reality (London, 1936) examine the historic conception of history. The former concerns the metaphysics of history and the latter treats patristic typology. Some pages are devoted to the thought of Saint Basil.

The untranslated writings of the other Greek Fathers are also found in the Higne collection. Saint Athanasius the Great, De Incarnatione Verbi Dei (t. 21) is a study in soteriology which demonstrates that the remedy for death and decay is the divinization of men in the Incarnate Logos. The two works of Saint Dionysius the Areopagite, De Mystica Theologia and De Divinis Nominibus (t. 3) delineate the apophatic or "negative theology" of the Greek Fathers. The Theological Questions (ts. 35-37) of Saint Gregory Nazianzen discuss various

religious subject. On your subject I particularly like the necessity for spirit of prayer before contemplating God. Saint Gregory of Nyssa, De theologia arithmetica (t. 41) is an indictment of Arian epistemology, i.e., against the Arian presumption that God may be known by mere reason. Ichnowise, De Ichnologia (t. 42) attacks the notion of God's cognizability. This is the great work of Saint John Chrysostom. His De doctrina Johanne (t. 43) approaches the same subject, but is more a commentary on the Gospel of Saint John. Theophrasta ad Capita Physica, Theologica, Moralia et Practica (t. 134) by Saint Gregory Palamas was important to us for their explanation of "the Uncreated Images of God". The Capita de Charitate (t. 34) of Saint Irenaeus the Confessor deals with the idea of Christian knowledge but in terms of the advantages it offers in the ascetic life. The Capita de Utilitate Per Aristotelem (t. 130) of Saint Gregory of Sinai bears on the subject of human rationality and the effects of sin upon it. Saint Nicephorus places the source of truth and error in the condition of the "heart" in De Utilitate et Peritia Castitiae (t. 133). Constantine Cavarnos has written a valuable paper on the ideas of the Greek Fathers concerning the effect of sin on reason, entitled, "The Nature and Proper Use of Reason", The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, vol. 1 (Aug. 1954), 34-57.

The Deus Ignorantia (t. 34) of Saint John of Damascus is

divided into three sections. His Parousia in Philo (Orthodoxia) is section two. Section one, Introduction, is a glossary of philosophical and theological terms. The last section, Epiphany, is a collection of all heresies. Philosophia was supposed to be a summary of Christian beliefs. The writings of Saint Ignatius, Pope Saint Clement I, Hermas, Saint Polycarp, Basilides, Marcion and Papias, although preceding John of Damascus by nearly eight centuries, yet prove to be his religious antecedents. K. Lake has translated their works for the Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1912). The two volumes are called, The Apostolic Fathers. The same series contains Clement of Alexandria's Exhortation to the Greeks (New York, 1912). G.W. E. Duffinworth does the translation. It is an appeal to the Greeks to abandon their heathen superstitions and be united to the true religion. Saint Justin Martyr's two Apologies Pro Christianis and his Dialogue with Tryphene Judeo (t. 3) are powerful defenses of the Christian religion, the first addressed to the Gentiles and the second to Judaism.

There are many excellent books and articles about the Fathers. The second volume of P. Decharme's work, Le Systéme Monde: La Cosmologie des Pères de L'Eglise (Paris, 1914) argues that the spirit of patristic philosophy is cosmological rather than homocentric. Vladimir Lossky's The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church (London, 1957) translated from the French (Théologie Mystique de l'Eglise Orientale),

books, 1954) by the author of Early Greek Philosophy and Plato dealing also with the question of the origin of the Greek Fathers, but the collection includes a number of other studies and articles. Father John Walsh: "Early Greek Philosophy and the Greek Fathers of the Church", Theological Studies, vol. V (Winter, 1954-1955), 111-113. Walsh's arbitrary periodization of the history of Christian thought is entirely beyond the scope of this study. Father John Walsh's article is, also, an excellent study of Platonic thought. 1954. "Eschatology in the Patristic Age: An Introduction" in the same journal, vol. II (Winter, 1955), 27-41. Walsh explains the idea of history: death, judgment, the second, the fate of the world, according to the Church Fathers.

Father Anthony St. John, professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Holy Cross Orthodox Seminary in England, has contributed two interesting articles to the journal. The first is "The Divine Indwelling in the World" which appeared in The Greek Orthodox Theological Review, vol. IV (Winter, 1958-1959), 155-156. It concerns the immanence of God through the Logos; and the second article, "An Orthodox Approach to Christian Philosophy", vol. II (Winter, 1956), 13-25 dealing that the Fathers certified any Greek philosophy by making use of it. Rev. J. Tixeront, A Handbook of Patrology (St. Louis, 1931) is a good sketch of the world and life of the Fathers of the Church. V. Vasiliu's, "The Hellenistic and 'Patristic'.

Philip Schaff, "Church History", The Christian Encyclopedia (Philadelphia, 1904), pp. 121-124 is a good one with comments showing that the Fathers are considered as a philosophy, i. e., not a practical present but a religious experience. A popular article of the Fathers is written by J. Pagan, The Holy Fathers (New York, 1917). An excellent book of the spiritual tradition of the East in Church is written by Father Jean Meyendorff, Saint Gregory Palamas: Orthodox Mysticism (London, 1959). He discusses that tradition with relation to hesychasm. Father Hans Urs von Balthasar's The Liturgical (Einsiedeln, 1951) is a biography on Saint Basil the Confessor.

The purely historical introductions of the Fathers are Millstone Weller, A History of the Christian Church (New York, 1932), and The Era of the Church Fathers by Hans Lietzmann (New York, 1932). The former is a general history of the Christian Church by a prominent Congregationalist thinker. The latter is volume four of Lietzmann's six volumes on the history of Christianity. He is in the liberal tradition and a student of Harnack. H. B. Swete, "The Fathers of the Church" is a short article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (New York, 1911), pp. 200-201. Its historical data is good, but not profound.

The book we have reserved for special attention is Henry Austryn Wolfson, The Philosophy of the Church Fathers, vol. I

1. D. C. Williams, "A Study of the Life of the Late
of Alabama, The Negro in the South (Cam-
bridge, Mass., 1917). 2. "The Negro in the South"
of Williams's study is a study of the Negro in the
Southern States. A. A. Williams, "The Negro in the South"
and the Alabama Negro" in The Negro in the South, Vol. 1 (1917),
112-113. 3. The Negro in the South, Vol. 1, 112-113.
the study of origin and descent. It is a study of the
the Negro in the South. 4. The Negro in the South, Vol. 1, 112-113.
attributable to "Negro" and to the Negro in the South.
Williams's study is a study of the Negro in the South.
Williams's study is a study of the Negro in the South.

works in the New Testament. Despite Hittell's Protestant bias, his predilection for is comprehensive, accurate and profound. For example, he documents the comparison made between the New Testament gnosis with the Old Testamental experience of God as revealed rather than intellectual attainment. The other reference, W.E. Austin and F.H. Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (Chicago, 1917) and J.H. Thayer's work by the same title (New York, 1884) offer no interpretation of theological terms, but simply indicate their usage in the New Testament and the texts in which they can be found. These books also indicate classical sources. The former work is compiled by two Roman Catholic scholars. Ferdinand Dauter, Die Christliche Gnosis (Tübingen, 1855) also makes clear the difference between hermetic and Christian gnosis, intellectual and religious knowledge. Dauter lived while Hegel was the philosophical master of Germany.

The very strictly religious approach to the Fathers is the superb The Whole Christ (London, 1914), translated from the French (Le Corps Mystique du Christ, second edition, Louvain, 1905) by J.R. Kelly. It is one of the best explanations of patristic and scholastic mysticism to be found anywhere. Evelyn Underhill, Mysticism (New York, 1917) is a standard work on the subject of the extraordinary religious experience. It has the shortcoming of dealing too little attention to the Fathers and not separating it from mysticism.

patristic system. The Patristic System (1951) by
Henry Chadwick (1917-1995) by Henry Chadwick, a British
scholar, New Testament scholar, and member of the Anglican
--and is a study of the history of the Church. It is a study
to the patristic system and the history of the Church, especially
especially Jacobus. The Patristic System is a brilliant
brilliant work in the history of the Church, which has
spring from what is called the Mass (1951). Patristic
Patristic System (1951) is one of the best evaluations,
of the best evaluations, historical and theological, of the
Mass in recent years. It shows the injury done to the Mass
by the Renaissance spirit which has turned it into a performance
rather than the supreme act of Christian worship in which be-
lievers are expected to participate. Patristic System is
a call to return to the patristic attitude towards the Mass.
His, The Meaning of Sacred Scripture (1951) examines
examines the relationship between doctrine and spirituality
in the Scriptures and the use made of the Bible by the Church
and the Fathers.

Karl Barth's famous Kirchliche Dogmatik, vol. I
(Zollikon-Zuerich, 1955) has some interesting pages on the
matter of the Church and eschatology. Barth concedes the
authority of the Fathers in matters of doctrine, but reserves
absolute authority to the Scriptures. Emil Brunner, Reve-
lation and Reason (Philadelphia, 1957), translated from the
German (Offenbarung und Vernunft: Die Lehre vom Christ-

Heidegger's Philosophy (London, 1941) by Olive Rye is not unlike Barth's work mentioned above, that is, a dialectical theology influenced by Kant and Hegel. This book is a study of the problem of faith and reason. The Presence of Eternity (New York, 1937) by Rudolph Bultman, the liberal Protestant theologian, is reflections on the history of the philosophy of history.

Probably the most venerable work in recent years dealing with the Christian conception of history is Oscar Cullmann's Christ and Time (Philadelphia, 1955), translated from the German (Christus und die Zeit, Bollingen-Serich, 1949) by Floyd Filson. Cullmann insists that, according to the New Testament, history is linear rather than cyclical as the Greeks believed. The Bible, the Swiss theologian says, recognizes only a quantitative (durational) difference between time and eternity. Sir Evelyn Hodgkin died before he could complete his monumental The Fourth Gospel (London, 1937) and the labor of collecting and arranging his notes were done by his friend and editor of the printed volume, F.H. Newby. The Fourth Gospel is a commentary on the Gospel of John. It is, also, a masterful defense of the Logos of the prologue as the Son of God rather than the Greek abstraction. The orientation of this work is both eschatological and ecstatic. Another Protestant author, J.B. Stewart, has written a well-known book about the letters of Saint Paul, entitled, Paul and Christ (New York, 1937). He rejects the all-potency of the

and as Hilary H. Johnston states the Apostle was "resistant to his glorification by the Church and unwilling to be canonized. The Apostle knew that the glorification of his personality is within the realm of idolatry."

Two-1938's St. Paul: Apostle in Exile is better presented in America by Richard M. Weaver. In The Natural History of Man (New York, 1935), Augustine in spirit, relates man's nature to his destiny. This book is a polemic against the liberal corruption of the inherent goodness of man. Monsignor M.J. D'Arcy has written an excellent book against the pretensions of the physical sciences and defends the autonomous rights of history against them. This book is The Meaning and Matter of History (New York, 1935). It is, also, a persuasive argument for the possibility of a Christian philosophy of history. Father Florovsky's "The Predicament of the Christian Historian" in Religion and Culture: Essays in Honor of Paul Tillich (New York, 1936), is an essay which considers the plight facing the Christian historian, especially because the field of history is dominated by those who insist that theology be banned from historiography. Nevertheless, the Christian must always stress the eternality of certain truths, such as the Incarnation. History, Florovsky says, is a process and not a panorama, it is the rhythm of salvation and the tragedy of sin. Erich Dussel, The Philosophical Understanding of Religion: Exile (New York, 1936) is a book of inestimable value. It is an examination of the

claims of religion in relationship to the problems of philosophy. His chapter on history is particularly good. The subtitles at the end of each chapter are serious and almost as valuable as the book itself. R.C. Collingwood, The Idea of History (New York, 1936) is not only a review of the development of the philosophy of history, but is an argument for historicism. He rejects what he calls "substantialism," or the description of the past as fixed.

The patristic and medieval views of history may be contrasted with the modern view and medieval tradition. Both Catholic scholarship has placed Saint Augustine in that tradition. A symposium, Saint Augustine: His Age, Life and Thought (New York, 1957), contains some of the most illustrious names in Catholic philosophy and historiography, including Christopher Dawson, Jacques Maritain, Etienne Gilson, etc. The History of Philosophy of the Middle Ages (New York, 1955) by Etienne Gilson and his superb, The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy (New York, 1940), translated from the French (L'esprit de la philosophie médiévale, 1936) by A.C.H. Jones, both explain clearly the place of history, among other things, in the medieval Weltanschauung. The first book is a broad but penetrating survey of medieval thought, the second an analysis of what constitutes the character and direction of medieval ideas. There is, of course, no greater embodiment of that spirit than the grand synthesis of Thomas Aquinas. André Regis' edition, The Basic Writings of Thomas Aquinas, in the

is one of the best introductions to Thomist philosophy and theology in English. Christopher Dawson's Progress and Religion (Garden City, 1951) surveys the theory of progress in various philosophies and examines the interrelation between religion and culture in the major civilizations of the world.

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