

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DIADOCHUS OF PHOTICE

B Y
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I. HIS LIFE AND POSITION IN CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

1. *Life.*

a) Evidence in Diadochus' own writings.

It is remarkable that very little information has survived about Diadochus' life; probably because he lived in Epirus of Greece which in his time was isolated from the great ecclesiastical centres of East and West. Thus the life and the work of Diadochus were not so easily known. However, from his own writings we can suggest some aspects of his life and activities. Diadochus writes as a monk and with a monastic situation in mind, but otherwise he gives no definite indications about himself or his background. He helped to organise the monastic life. In his «Century» he addresses his readers by the words ἀδελφοί¹ and ἀγαπητοί²; this could mean that Diadochus was referring to an organised monastic brotherhood in which he probably was abbot.³ From his writings we know that the monastic life was fully developed in Epirus. The monks were divided into two groups, those who lived in monasteries, coenobites, or in the cities, and those who lived away from the cities, two, or three together.⁴ Diadochus was interested in dogmatic subjects as we can see from his writings, although they are not dedicated to dogmatic themes.

1. *Cent.* 1 (85, 11).

2. *Cent.* 67 (127, 21).

3. M. Rothenhäusler, «Zur asketischen Lehrschrift des Diadochus von Photike», in *Das Heilige Überlieferung: Eine Festgabe zum D. I. Herwegen* Münster 1938, p. 86-95.

4. *Cent.* 53 (115, 7-8; 13-14): Ταῦτα δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἐν κοινοβίοις ἢ ἐν πόλεσι τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς ἐγκρατείας κατορθοῦσι.... Εἰ δὲ τις τὸν ἀναχωρητικὸν βίον ἐν ἐρημοτέροις μεταξὺ δύο ἢ τριῶν ὁμοτρόπων ἀδελφῶν κατορθοῖ τόποις...

Nevertheless he finds the opportunity to oppose the heresies of his time. For instance, in his «Century» he attacks the Messalian deviations, in the «Sermon of the Ascension of Christ» he emphasizes the real unity of the two natures of Christ against the Monophysites, while in the «Vision» he repulses the anthropomorphites.

b) External evidence.

Many later writers refer to Diadochus and they often quote passages from his writings.⁵ They call him «saint», «blessed» and «Holy». However, there are also some direct references to Diadochus' life. His signature appears in a letter addressed to the Emperor Leo I (457-474) by the bishops of Epirus after the murder of Bishop Proterius of Alexandria (452-457) in 457.⁶ Fr. Dörr suggests that Diadochus is actually the author of this letter because there is a similarity in style, between this letter and Diadochus' writings.⁷ In the preface to «Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae» written by Victor, Bishop of Vita in 486, there is an eulogistic reference to Diadochus which shows his outstanding personality as a writer. «Eruditus a tanto pontifice, totoque laudis genere praedicando beato Diadocho, cuius ut astra lucentia extant quam plurima catholici dogmatis monumenta dictorum».⁸ This reference by Victor shows a connection between Diadochus and Africa but this source does not give more information. According to Victor, Diadochus was teacher of his patron to whom he dedicated the history⁹. Finally, Photius of Constantinople mentions in his «Bibliotheca» (A. D. 855) some information obtained from a dyothelete florilegium attached to Sophronius of Jerusalem's (634-638) letter where Diadochus is included in a list of authorities whose doctrine is opposed to that of Monophysites.¹⁰

We conclude that Diadochus became bishop of Photice in Epirus

5. For detailed references see p. 32-39.

6. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum... Collectio*, t. 7, Florence 1762, col. 619b. See also A.C.O. 2,5 p. 95 l. 11 where Baluze corrects alternative spellings of the name Diadochus in manuscripts.

7. Fr. Dörr, *Diadochus von Photike und die Messalianer*, Freiburg Br. 1937, p. 2, n. 3.

8. ed. M. Petschenig, C.S.E.L. 7, 1881, p. 2, 1-3, See O. Bardenhewer's scepticism concerning Victor's evidence, in *Geschichte Der Altkirchlichen Literatur*, IV, Freiburg 1962, p. 187, n. 2.

9. H. I. Marrou, «Diadoque de Photiké et Victor de Vita», in *Revue des études anciennes*, vol. 45 (1943), p. 225-232.

10. Cod 231, ed. R. Henry, vol. 5, Paris 1967, p. 64-66 (PG 103, 1089C).

between 451 (year of the meeting of the fourth Ecumenical Council, where Diadochus' predecessor John was present) and 457, date of the letter mentioned above to Leo I. The duration of his pastorate and ecclesiastical activities are not known in detail. Probably he died before 486.

c) The other Diadochus.

Only one other Diadochus appears by name in early monastic sources. His full name is Mark Diadochus. He is considered as a writer of a Sermon published in Migne P.G. 65, 1149-1169 placed between the «Sermon» and the «Century» of Diadochus of Photice. Mark Diadochus' Sermon «Contra Arianos» is written against Arianism. From the subject of his Sermon we can suggest that he lived earlier than Diadochus of Photice, probably during the fourth century.

d) His diocese Photice.

Diadochus' own writings provide no specific indications concerning the Photice in which he was bishop. The History and the geographical position of Photice in Epirus was unknown until recently. Many investigators thought that Vella was built over the ruins of Photice. This was suggested because Vella emerged immediately after the decay of Photice and it contained most of its jurisdiction. The right site of Photice was found by D. Panagiotides, who discovered two inscriptions, one Latin 1890¹¹ and one Greek 1906¹² in Liboni of Thesprotia, which is situated four kilometres south-west of Paramythia, where we can define the position of Photice. Thus the upper part of Photice was in the position of the present Paramythia and the lower in Liboni.¹³

11. The content of the Latin inscription is a grateful dedication to «Sex Po(m)peio Sp. (F. p) o (l.?) Sabin(o) praef(ecto) a(l)a Taur(ianae), proc(uratori) A(u)g(usti) Epiri (or) do (?) Photice(ensis) ex pecunia viritim conlat(a) ob m(e)rita(e)», See Cor. Inscr. Lat. III Supl. II 42299, p. 2080.

12. The Greek inscription edited by H. Grégoire in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1907), p. 38-45 and later by D. Evangelides, *Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἡπείρου, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἐφημερίδα*, 1914 p. 232-241.

ΤΩ ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΩ ΑΙΑΙΩ
ΑΙΑΙΑΝΩ ΔΟΥΚΗ(ΝΑΡΙΩ) ΕΚ ΠΡΟ-
ΤΗΚΤΟΡΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΩ
ΤΗΣ ΗΠΕΙΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΝΟ-
ΝΙΩΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΓΑΡ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ

ΤΗΝ ΙΤΑΛΙΑΝ ΚΗΝΣΙΤΟΡΙ
ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣ ΝΩΡΙΚΟΥ
ΤΟ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΝ ΦΩΤΙ
ΚΗΣΙΩΝ ΤΩ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗ
ΨΗ(ΦΙΣΜΑΤΙ) Φ(ΩΤΙΚΗΣΙΩΝ)

13. About Photice see E. Oberhammer, art. «Photike» in Pauly-Wissowa-

Photice was one of the most important cities of Epirus, and probably it became Christian during the first century. In fact, Paul preached in Nicopolis (Tit. 3,12), at that time capital of Epirus, but we do not have ecclesiastical information until the fourth century when Bishops from Epirus participated in Ecumenical and local councils. The numbers of bishops of Epirus was not the same during different centuries. Epirus had eight dioceses; one of them was Photice. We know the names of four bishops of Photice: John, who took part in the fourth Ecumenical Council, his successor Diadochus, Ilarius and Florentius.

2. Diadochus' predecessors.

Diadochus does not cite his sources, nor give any specific indication of writers to whom he is indebted. He does not refer by name to any person or book except the Bible. In his writings occur about fifty-three quotations from the Old Testament and one hundred and nine from the New Testament. The biblical quotations come in particular from the Psalms (39 quot.) and St. Paul's letters (64 quot.).

It is beyond doubt that Diadochus knew Greek philosophy but he had more confidence in the Bible and in patristic tradition than in Greek thought. For this reason his relationship to Greek Philosophy is external and limited only to the use of some philosophical terms, most of which were already common to other Fathers as well. Diadochus' phrase... ὡς χωρεῖ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὁμοιωθῆναι Θεῷ.....¹⁴ recalls the Platonic passage of Theaetetus 176a8-b3¹⁵ and Rep. 501b, 613a7-b1 εἰς ὅσον δυνατόν ἀνθρώπων ὁμοιοῦσθαι Θεῷ.

The Platonic idea of the division of human soul into the three-fold λογιστικόν, θυμοειδές, ἐπιθυμητικόν¹⁶ is found in Diadochus in a slightly different way.¹⁷ This Platonic conception has entered in Chris-

Kroll *Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 20, 1, 1941, col. 660-662. D. Panagiotides, 'Ἡ Φωτικὴ ἐν Παραμυθία, in *Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, 26, p. 26.

14. *Cent.* 89 (150, 5-6).

15. This passage is copied out by Clement of Alexandria *Strom.*, II, 19 ed. Cl. Mondésert, SC, vol. 38, Paris 1954, p. 109 and closely followed by Plotinus *Enn.* 1, 2.1 and 1, 2.3. See also St. Basil *De Spir. Sanct.* 1, 2 PG 32, 69,

16. *Rep.* 4, 435e-436a.

17. *Cent.* 10 (89, 4); *Cent.* 45 (111, 7).

tian thought through Gregory of Nazianzus¹⁸ and Evagrius.¹⁹ Notice also the Platonic expression in Diadochus' text ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βίου πρὸ βραχέος ἐκπηδήσαντες ἐξωλείας ἀγνεία τοῦ ἑαυτῶν σώματος²⁰ and the phrase from the Symposium πάνδημος ἕρως.²¹ The terms λεπτότητα²² (subtlety), πυκνότητα²³ (density) and ἀραιότητα²⁴ (rarity) come from Aristotle's *Physics*.²⁵ The phrase μνήμη Θεοῦ (memory or remembrance or recollection of God), which occurs frequently in Diadochus «Century», has a Stoic background. The Stoa from Zeno developed a theory of the memory of God which is found in Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.²⁶ In Diadochus' «Vision» we find the stoic expression ἐνδιαθέτω λόγῳ,²⁷ the «verbum mentale» of the Scholastics in opposition to λόγος προφορικὸς «verbum externum». Finally the phrase of Diadochus ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσεσιν²⁸ is a Stoic materialistic expression. For the Stoics soul is a *τονικὴ κίνησις*.

Since Diadochus is an ascetic author of the fifth century we have to examine his relationship to the ascetical literature of the fourth century. Most of the modern investigators distinguish the mystical and ascetical writers of the fourth century into two currents. They call the first «biblical» or «aesthetic», and the second «Philosophical» or «intellectual».²⁹ The «biblical» or «aesthetic» current begins with St. Paul and the Apostolic Fathers. The characteristic of this tendency is that it gives the priority to the human will and man's ability for love. This current in the fourth century has two developments. The extreme side which is represented by the Messalians, and the Orthodox side represented by

18. *Poems* II, I, 47 (PG. 37, 1381A-1384A).

19. *Practicus* 89 ed. Guillaumont p. 680 (PG. 40, 1236A).

20. For Diadochus see *Cent.* 52 (114, 21-22); for Plato *Rep.* 6, 495d3.

21. *Cent.* 57 (118, 6); for Plato *Symposium* 180 E.

22. *Cent.* 71 (131, 5); 88 (148, 15); *Vision* 18 (174, 15).

23. *Sermon* 6 (168, 13); *Vision* 18 (174, 25); 21 (175, 20); 29 (179, 14).

24. *Vision* 29 (179, 13); 27 (178, 2).

25. VIII 7, 260 b 10.

26. Epictetus, *Apud Arrian Discourses* II, 18, 29 τοῦ Θεοῦ μέμνησο, ἐκείνων ἐπικαλοῦ βοηθόν; Marcus Aurelius *Meditations*, 6, 7 σὺν μνήμη Θεοῦ and 18 τὸ μεμνησθαι Θεῶν.

27. *Vision* 24 (176, 24-25).

28. *Cent.* 29 (100, 2).

29. See Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, München. 1959, p. 344; I. Hausherr, «Les grands courants de la spiritualité Orientale», in O.C.P. I (1935). p. 114-138 and particularly, p. 121-124 and 126-128; John Meyendorff, *A study of Gregory Palamas*, London 1964, p. 137-138.

the Pseudo-Macarian writings. In fact, the Messalians did nothing but exaggerate themes which in themselves have absolutely nothing heretical in them. The Messalians are continually stressing the importance of feelings and conscious experience, carrying this approach to heretical extremes.³⁰ The Ps-Macarian literature, while emphasizing the importance of feelings yet remains substantially Orthodox.

The «Philosophical» or «intellectual» current has its own origin in the Anaxagorean axiom *θεωρία ἐστὶ τέλος τοῦ βίου*³¹, the goal of life is contemplation.» This school gives priority to the *νοῦς* and is represented in Christian thought first by Origen and the Alexandrian Theologians, but its classical and final expression is found in the Great Nitrian writer-monk Evagrius of Pontus (345-399). Of course, the contrast between these two schools must not be exaggerated, nor understood in too rigid a sense, for there are many authors who belong to both traditions at once. Cassian, for example, is a disciple of Evagrius, yet he also accepts the criterion of «spiritual experience».³²

What, then, is the relation between Diadochus and the two currents and particularly with their main representatives, who are Evagrius and Macarius? Of course the answer to this question could constitute a separate piece of work; here we will mention only some aspects of this question.

The majority of the modern investigators emphasize Diadochus' debt to Evagrius. In fact, Evagrius is one of the most important names in the history of the Christian and ascetical spirituality. Although he was condemned by the fifth Ecumenical council (Constantinople 553) because of his Origenism, nevertheless his writings, often preserved under the names of other authors, have influenced later patristic thought. John Meyendorff writes that because «the writings of Evagrius had clandestinely penetrated into the Christian tradition there was need for the Orthodox corrective supplied by the Fathers»³³. It is true that Evagrius' terminology survived in Eastern spirituality but not his condemned teaching. It seems probable that Diadochus knew and was directly influenced by the writings of Evagrius. But how far did this influence extend?

30. See the next paragraph where we examine in detail the Messalian teaching in comparison with Diadochus.

31. This axiom is reproduced by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* II, 21. ed. Cl. Mondésert, SC. vol. 38, Paris 1954, p. 131.

32. T. K. Ware, *The ascetic writings of Mark the Hermit*, Oxford 1965, p. 233, n.l.

33. See above p. 138.

At first it is true the contrast between Diadochus and Evagrius appears more striking than any point of similarity. Evagrius belongs to the intellectualist, his whole system depends on the intellect νοῦς and its activities.³⁴ Diadochus, on the other hand, thinks in terms of the sense of taste, applying such expressions as γεῦσις, γεύεσθαι and γλυκύτης to the realities of the spiritual life. Thus Diadochus has heavier emphasis on the aesthetic element.

Evagrius has little to say about the sacraments and the person of Christ, while in Diadochus' writings these occupy a prominent position. Generally, the Evagrian philosophical system is absent from Diadochus. The whole atmosphere is widely different from one to the other author.

In comparing the anthropology of Evagrius with that of Diadochus we notice the following points. Because of the influence of Origen upon him, Evagrius saw man in Platonic dualistic terms. According to Evagrius man is not saved as a whole psychosomatic existence but only his soul. For Evagrius matter and the material existence of man are not evil in themselves but with Gregory of Nyssa he believes that matter was created only in view of sin and it will be spiritualized to the maximum degree.³⁵ Evagrius' spiritualizing Origenistic-Platonic doctrine of man is exactly opposed to Diadochus' doctrine concerning man, which is more or less biblical, with perhaps some Stoic connections. The important term καρδία in Evagrius (as for Origen and Gregory of Nyssa) becomes a synonym of the mind νοῦς or of the Platonic, «soul», whereas Diadochus gives to the term «heart» its full biblical meaning, that is the centre of all man's psycho-physiological life. In fact, it is not a question of terms only but of two doctrines concerning man, that of Plato and that of the Bible.

Although Diadochus is on the opposite side to Evagrius' «intellectual» school, he was influenced by the writings of the great Nitrian author. The title of Diadochus' principal work betrays his relation to Evagrius. Of course a number of common ideas and terms of other parallels can be attributed on both sides to the influence of a common source, for instance the Bible, Origen or the known ascetical literature.

34. Remarkable in Evagrius' writings is the frequent use and the central role of the term νοῦς. In his book *Practicus* he uses the term νοῦς twenty eight times while the term καρδία only occurs three times.

35. See L. Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, London, 1963, p. 383.

1) Diadochus, like Evagrius, believes that evil does not exist in reality because it was not created by God. Evil starts to exist only through the refusal of good by the human will.³⁶

2) Diadochus follows the Evagrian distinction of evil spirits into two kinds.³⁷ Evagrius is much absorbed by questions of demonology and angelology.

3) The platonic threefold partition of man's nature, as we said before, has entered in the Christian thought through Gregory of Nazianzus and Evagrius to Diadochus as well.³⁸

4) Diadochus, like Evagrius, speaks often of the need to fulfil the commandments after baptism.³⁹

5) We find the same teaching in both writers about dispassion *ἀπάθεια*. For Diadochus, as for Evagrius, dispassion means, not that a man is no longer subject to temptations, but that he no longer gives way to them.⁴⁰ Diadochus borrows Evagrius' conception of the relationship between dispassion and charity.

6) Evagrius' concept of «pure prayer» free from all concepts and images is found also in Diadochus spirituality.⁴¹ Diadochus also uses the term *θεολογία*⁴² and Evagrius' vision of the light of the *νοῦς*.⁴³

Before we define the relation between Diadochus and the representative of the aesthetic school Macarius, it is necessary to examine the character of the Pseudo-Macarian writings.

36. For Diadochus see *Cent.* 3 (86, 2-9); for Evagrius see *Cent.* 39 ed. Frankenberg, p. 83 *ἔτε ἀπαρχῆς ἐγενόμεθα σπέρματα ἀρετῆς πέφυκεν ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς δὲ κακίας οὐ;* and p. 229 *εἰς πᾶν τὸ κακὸν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν γεννᾶται... ἔστι δὲ τούτοις χρῆσθαι ἀγαθῶς καὶ κακῶς, δῆλον ὅτι ἐκ τῆς παρ' ὃ πρέπει χρήσεως γεννᾶται τὸ κακόν;* see also *Epistola* 18 and 30 ed. Frankenberg, p. 579 and p. 587.

37. For Diadochus see *Cent.* 81 (139, 2-4); for Evagrius *Practicus* 43 ed. Guillaumont, p. 598.

38. For Diadochus see *Cent.* 10 (89, 4); *Cent.* 45 (111, 7); for Evagrius *Practicus* 89, ed. Guillaumont, p. 680 (PG. 40, 1236A).

39. For Diadochus see *Cent.* 85 (144, 25); for Evagrius *Inst. ad. Mon.* PG. 77, 1240A (authorship not certain).

40. For Diadochus see *Cent.* 98 (160, 9-12). For Evagrius *Practicus*, 67, ed. Guillaumont, p. 652 (PG 40, 1232B). *Ἀπάθειαν ἔχει ψυχῆ, οὐχ ἢ μὴ πάσχουσα πρὸς τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ πρὸς τὰς μνήμας αὐτῶν ἀτάραχος διαμένουσα.*

41. For Diadochus, see *Cent.* 11 (89, 15); 33 (102, 18); 59 (119,8); 60 (120,14-15); 68 (128,18-20); 70 (130,8).

For Evagrius, see. *De orat.* 44-46, 59 66-70 (PG. 79, 11f6 CD, 1180, 1176B, 1181ABC).

42. *Cent.* 7 (87, 12); 66 (127, 1); 67 (127, 13); 68 (128, 8); 92 (154, 10).

43. *Cent.* 59 (119, 10-11).

The Pseudo-Macarian literature in recent research constitutes a scientific problem in the criticism of texts.⁴⁴ First the Greek Neophytos Kausocalivites (18th century) made a strict criticism of the Macarian writings discovering Massalian errors in them.⁴⁵ Later the Benedictine Dom Villecourt in his article, «La date et l'origine des 'homélie spirituelles' attribuées à Macaire» made a comparison between the Macarian *Great Letter* and Gregory of Nyssa's *De Instituto Christiano*. His conclusion was that this writing attributed to Gregory depends on the *Great Letter* and therefore was not by Gregory. On the other hand, the *Great Letter* seemed to him a typical product of Messalianism and since the *Fifty Homilies* were closely connected with *Great Letter*, they were under the same judgement. The whole problem began to change since Werner Jaeger, working on the critical edition of Gregory of Nyssa's writings, discovered a complete manuscript of the *De Instituto Christiano* which is obviously an authentic work of Gregory of Nyssa. H. Dörries on his part discovered an older and more complete form of the *Great Letter* which follows the authentic work of Gregory step by step. The Homilies

44. On the Macarian problem see D. Villecourt, «La date et l'origine des 'homélie spirituelles' attribuées à Macaire», in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris (1920), p. 29-53. A. Wilmart «L'origine véritable des Homélie pneumatiques», in *RAM*, I (1920), p. 361-77; H. Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien. Die Überlieferung der Messalianischen «Makarios» - Schriften Leipzig*, 1941. J. Darrouzès, «Notes sur les homélie de pseudo-Macaire», in *Le Muséon* 67, (1954) p. 297-309.

On the relation of the *Great Letter* to *De Instituto Christiano* see W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works by Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*, Leiden, 1954. H. Dörries «Christlicher Humanismus und mönchische Geist-Ethik» in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1954). Nr. 11 col. 643-656. J. Gribomont «Le De Instituto Christiano et le Messalianisme de Grégoire de Nysse», in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 5, Berlin, (1962), p. 312-322. A. Baker, «Pseudo-Macarius and Gregory», in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 20 (1966), p. 381-387. A. Baker, «The great letter of Pseudo-Macarius and Gregory of Nyssa», in *Studia Monastica*, 6, Montserrat (1964), p. 381-387; R. Staats, *Gregor von Nyssa und die Messalianer Die Frage der Priorität zweier altkirchlicher Schriften Patristische Texte und Studien Band 8*, Berlin 1968; M. Canévet, «Le 'De Instituto Christiano' est-il de Grégoire de Nysse. Problèmes de critique interne», in *Revue des Etudes grecques* 82, (1969), p. 404-423; H. Dörries, «Die Messalianer im Zeugnis ihrer-Bestreiter. Zum problem des Enthusiasmus in der Spätantiken Reichskirche», in *Saeculum* 21 (1970), p. 213-227. J. Meyendorff, «Messalinism or Anti-Messalianism. A fresh look at the 'Macarian' problem», in *Kyriakon Festschrift Johannes Quastey*, ed. P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann, Münster 1970, vol. 2 p. 585-590.

45. K. I. Δουβουνιώτου, Κρίσις περὶ τῶν συγγραμμάτων Μακαρίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 1 (1924), p. 86-92.

also depend on the same Gregorian work and they are closely connected with the *Great Letter* which, in fact, could be an introduction to the whole body of Homilies. W. Jaeger in his research argues for the priority of *De Instituto Christiano* over the *Great Letter*. This opinion was generally accepted for some time.

In 1963 R. Staats proved in his thesis, which was published in an extended form in 1968, with unshakeable certainty, the priority of the *Great Letter* over *De Instituto Christiano*. Staats' book totally altered the situation. He strongly suggests that *De Instituto Christiano* is a correction of the source of the *Great Letter*.

However, it is true that traces of the Messalian errors are noticeable in the Homilies but each of them is markedly toned down. The Macarian Homilies present a moderate form of Messalianism and though containing Messalian traits, yet remain substantially within the bounds of orthodoxy. After all, the fifty Homilies of Macarius were read at all times in various parts of the Church with the greatest reverence as Dörries' introduction to the critical edition shows. On the other hand, as J. Meyendorff writes: «The theological issue lies in the fact that the identification of Macarius with a «Messalian» author does imply a basic judgement upon the entire tradition of Eastern Christian Spirituality. For indeed, if «Macarius» is a Messalian this entire tradition is Messalian as well.»⁴⁶

What then is the relation between Diadochus and Ps Macarius? Diadochus, like Macarius emphasizes the aesthetic element. Both authors employ the characteristic terms *αἰσθησις*, *πεῖρα* and the Messalian phrase *ἐν πᾶσι αἰσθήσει καὶ πληροφορίᾳ* to express the importance of conscious feeling and sensation.

Especially Diadochus retains from Macarius the whole mysticism of light. Diadochus also discusses the Messalian idea which figures in the Macarian Homilies, the coexistence of the two *πρόσωπα*, of sin and grace, holy spirit and evil spirit, within man's heart. Diadochus states, as Macarius does, that the spirit is bestowed at the moment of baptism⁴⁷ and like Macarius Diadochus insists upon the double contribution of faith and works.⁴⁸ The Macarian Homilies hold that the «veil of the passions» persists after baptism.⁴⁹ Diadochus also teaches that

46. «Messalianism or Anti-Messalianism. A fresh look at the 'Macarian' problem», in *Kyriakon*, Münster (1970) vol. 2, p. 585.

47. For Macarius see *Great Letter* ed. W. Jaeger, p. 236, 1.

48. For Macarius see *Great Letter*, p. 236, 6-13.

49. *New Homilies*, 5, 1 ed. E. Klosterman, H. Herthold, p. 20, 1. 5-8.

baptism frees man from the defilement of sin, but does not move that «duality of the will» which Adam acquired as a result of the fall, and which all his descendants inherit from him.⁵⁰

Both authors have the same conception of evil.⁵¹ Finally both employ the same biblical quotations but they give often different interpretations.

Did Diadochus actually know the Macarian Homilies? Perhaps not. He is less directly dependent on them than on Evagrius.

Diadochus is closely connected with Mark the Hermit. Even though there is possibly no direct relationship between them, the fact that both writers are assailing a common foe is perhaps enough to explain the resemblance. Both authors, although opponents of Messalianism, belong to the «aesthetic» rather than to the «intellectualist» tradition. Both use Evagrius terminology and the Messalian phrase ἐν πάσῃ αἰσθήσει καὶ πληροφορίᾳ. In fact, both adopt a mediating position, between Evagrius «intellectualism» and Messalian «materialism». Finally Mark, like Diadochus, is absorbed by the question of baptism, and seeks to refute the Messalian deviations on this doctrine.⁵²

In conclusion, the unprejudiced study of Diadochus' writing shows he is deliberately adopting a mediating position, trying to take from Evagrius and Macarius what is best. In fact, Diadochus avoids the two extreme deviations that are the Evagrius intellectualism and the Messalian mystical materialism. When Diadochus condemns the Messalian materialistic sense of the conscious experience of grace he is more or less near to Evagrius; while he stands opposite to Evagrius intellectualism, when he uses Messalian terms (of course not in their grossly materialistic sense) and defines the purpose of the Christian life as the conscious experience of grace. Diadochus stands nearest to «Macarius» because both emphasized the aesthetic elements.

3. *Diadochus' opponents.*

It is clear that Diadochus has in mind a definite group of opponents although he never mentions any specific name.

Photius mentions (Bibl. Cod. 231) Diadochus as an adversary of

50. *Cent.* 78 (136, 18-20).

51. For Diadochus see *Cent.* 3 (86, 2-3); for Macarius *Hom.* 16, 1. ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 158.

52. For a detailed comparison between the two authors, see T. K. Ware, *The ascetic writings of Mark the Hermit*, Oxford, 1965, p. 448-456.

Monophysitism of the middle of the fifth century and this is evident from the second part of his sermon on the Ascension of Christ. On the other hand, in the one hundred chapters, his polemical tone is clearly against Messalianism.

Messalian⁵³ is a Syriac name which means precisely one who prays, in Greek «Euchite». Messalians had also other names which show the different views which they held. They appeared after the middle of the fourth century in Mesopotamia and very soon spread into Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt. The Messalian movement was at its height in the Greek world during the years 380-430. Their condemnation took place for the first time by the Synods of Side (384-390) and Antioch, and later at the councils of Constantinople (426) and Ephesus (431).

The Messalian heresy survived for a long time after its condemnation and some of its tendencies reappeared among the Bogomils of Bulgaria and were opposed by the Byzantine Orthodox.⁵⁴

The book possessing doctrinal authority for the Messalians was the Ἄσκητικὸν or Βιβλίον Ἄσκητικόν, which was condemned by the third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus as blasphemous and heretical.

We find two types of Messalianism: the uncompromising as described in:

1. Theodoret of Cyr, *Historia ecclesiastica* 4, 10 ed. by Parmentier p. 229-31 and *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 4, 11 PG. 83, 429B-432C.
2. Timothy of Constantinople, *De iis qui ad ecclesiam accedunt* PG. 88, 45c-52c.
3. John of Damascus, *De haeresibus compendium* 80, PG. 94, 728a-732b.

53. On the Messalians see: J. Daniélou, «Grégoire de Nysse et le messalianisme», in *Recherches de science religieuse*, 48, (1960), p. 119-34, J. Gribomont, «Le monachisme au IVe s. en Asie Mineure: de Gangres au Messalianisme», in *Studia Patristica*, vol. II Berlin, (1957) p. 400-15; A. Guillaumont, «Les messaliens», in *Mystique et continence (Études Carmelitaines, 31e année)*, Bruges, 1952, p. 131-8; I. Hausherr, «L'erreur fondamentale et la logique du Messalianisme», OCP, I (1935), p. 328-360. A Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. II. Early Monasticism in Mesopotamia and Syria (Corpus Script. Christ. Orient., 197, subsidia 17)*, Louvain 1960. See also the studies relating to Diadochus cited below.

54. Obolensky D., *The Bogomils. A study in Balkan neomanichaeism*, Cambridge University Press, 1948. (A.C.O. 1, 1,7, p. 118, 5.

Timothy and John give lists of Messalian propositions condemned as heretical differing from one another.⁵⁵

The more moderate varieties of Messalianism are found in the *Macarian Homilies*, which present a type of Messalianism very different from that found in the propositions of Timothy and John of Damascus, and the fragment *De effectu Baptismi*, and the *Book of Degrees*. The above texts, though containing Messalian ideas, yet remain substantially Orthodox. In fact, it is difficult to define precisely where Orthodoxy ends and Messalianism in the heretical sense begins. Thus when we try to find the relation between Messalianism and Macarius or similar writers we must ask in what sense they are Messalian.

Messalianism was rather a tendency or way of thinking. This tendency was carried by some to extremes which are heretical. The fundamental error of the extreme Messalians is to confuse the ontological with psychological order. They identify the reality of grace with the conscious experience of grace restricting the Christian life to the level of «feelings» which are trusted as an infallible measure and guide.⁵⁶ Messalianism in Fr. I. Hausherr's terms, is a kind of «mystical materialism»; it and Montanism constitute «deux formes de l' éternelle tendance à l' empirisme pseudo-mystique.»⁵⁷ This fundamental error underlies their teaching as described by Theodoret of Cyr, Timothy of Constantinople and John of Damascus. According to Messalianism in every man's soul from the moment of his birth there dwells a demon, who holds the man completely in his power. This is a consequence of Adam's fall.⁵⁸ The Messalians fail to distinguish between assault and consent, between temptation and sin. To feel temptation is already sinful. The moral act of voluntary consent is confused with the purely psychological phenomenon

55. See further sources:

Efrain the Syrian, *Contra Haer.* 12 *Patrologia Syriaca*, p. 171-2.

Epiphanius of Constantia, *Contra Haer* 80 PG. 42, 756-773;

Augustine, *De Haeresibus* 57 PL. 42, 40-41.

Photius of Constantinople, *Bibliotheca* 52, PG. 103, 88-92.

Most of the original sources are quoted in full by M. Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Part I vol. 3, Paris 1926.

56. I. Hausherr, «L' erreur fondamentale...», in OCP, I (1935), p. 337-8.

57. *Direction spirituelle en orient autrefois*, Rome, 1955, p. 52.

58. Timothy prop. 1. Λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐκάστῳ ἀνθρώπῳ τικτομένῳ παραυτίκα δαίμων οὐσιωδῶς συνάπτεται, ἐκ τῆς καταδίκης τοῦ Ἀδάμ τούτου κεκληρωμένου. John prop. 1,2 "Ὅτι συνοικεῖ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνυποστάτως ὁ Σατανᾶς, καὶ κατὰ πάντα κυριεύει αὐτοῦ and "Ὅτι ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ οἱ δαίμονες κατέχουσι τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡ φύσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων κοινωνικὴ ἐστὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας.

of sollicitation. As a result of this confusion, the assaults which assail man and the evil thoughts to which he is subject are directly identified with original sin. Baptism and the Eucharist are not able to cleanse the soul from the diabolic presence ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ βάπτισμα τελειοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὔτε ἡ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετέληψις καθαρίζει τὴν ψυχὴν.⁵⁹ Baptism does not destroy sin and the effects of original sin and does not expel the indwelling demon, neither does it confer the presence of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁰ After baptism there is a struggle in the soul between the evil spirit and the Holy Spirit, there is a coexistence of sin and grace.⁶¹

Messalians think in the above terms because of the psychological experience of the baptised who, after baptism as before, still feel temptation; and since temptation is equivalent to sin this means that the demon still dwells in man's soul and he is still under the sway of original sin. On the other hand, since the baptised is often not consciously aware of the Holy Spirit's presence, this means that baptism does not confer the Holy Spirit. Sin is uprooted and the indwelling demon is expelled only through the continual prayer: λέγουσιν ὅτι μόνη ἡ ἐκτενὴς προσευχὴ διώκει δύνатаι τοῦτον τὸν δαίμονα.⁶² Continual prayer for the extreme Messalians means constant acts of prayer carried out consciously and deliberately and consequently, it is impossible to be engaged in other activities. Prayer leads to dispassion which is understood in the sense of impeccability, that is a state of perfection which cannot be lost.⁶³ The descent of the Holy Spirit is something visible to the bodily eyes and experienced consciously ἐν αἰσθήσει πάσῃ καὶ πληροφορίᾳ.⁶⁴ Finally, man attains to deification⁶⁵ and acquires a «heavenly soul».⁶⁶

Diadochus and the Messalians⁶⁷

It is evident that in several passages of Diadochu's writings, and

59. John prop. 4.

60. Timothy prop. 2, 12; John prop. 5, 6. "Ἐτι λέγουσιν ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα οὐδὲν συμβάλλεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ δαίμονος τούτου διώξιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστιν ἰκανὸν τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, τὰς ρίζας τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰς συνουσιωμένας ἀρχήθεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκτεμεῖν.

61. John prop. 3, 5 "Ὅτι συνοικοῦσιν ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καθαρὸι ἦσαν τῆς ἐνεργουμένης ἐνεργείας.

62. Timothy prop. 3; John prop. 4, 6.

63. Timothy prop. 9, 16; John prop. 7.

64. Timothy prop. 3; John prop. 7, 17.

65. Timothy prop. 11.

66. John prop. 16.

67. On Diadochus and the Messalians see F. Dörr, *Diadochus von Photike und*

particularly in the one hundred chapters, he condemns the Messalian heresy. In all of them, this is done anonymously by the use of phrases like of λέγοντες, τινὲς ὑπενόησαν, τινὲς ἐνόμισαν, or by a continuous emphasis on some ideas in opposition to others.

The fundamental error of Messalianism is repudiated by Diadochus. As we noted they identify the reality of grace with the sentiment or conscious experience of grace. Diadochus insists that even if we are not sometimes consciously aware of grace, often it is active in a hidden way, concealing its presence even from the perception of the intellect itself. Only when man begins to love God, then grace communicates something of its riches to the soul. For as the soul advances divine grace more and more reveals itself to the intellect.⁶⁸ The same happens when God recedes in order to educate us. Through the παιδευτικὴ παράχωρησις grace conceals itself but supports the soul in a hidden way; this receding does not by any means deprive the soul of divine light.⁶⁹ Thus Diadochus agrees that grace is active even though it is not experienced perceptibly or consciously. Its full revelation depends on man's spiritual progress. Messalians regarded psychological feelings as an infallible guide to spiritual progress. This is true in a way, but Diadochus insists that man's feelings are not always to be trusted because parallel to the good consolation there is the illusory consolation by which the Devil tries to mislead the soul.⁷⁰ Thus the absence of certain psychological feelings does not necessarily mean the absence of grace, as the Messalians thought. Of course, Diadochus, as we said, is not one of the «intellectuals» who introduces a pure mystical intellectualism, but he insists that the purpose of the Christian life is the conscious experience of grace. He even employs the Messalian phrase ἐν πάσῃ πληροφορία καὶ αἰσθήσει.⁷¹ He speaks of tasting the sweetness of God with full perception and assurance. He also refers to the criterion of experience, πείρα and αἴσθησις, not

die Messalianer, Freiburg 1937; H. Dörries, «Diadochos und Symeon. Das Verhältnis der κεφάλαια γνωστικά zum Messalianismus»; in *Wort und Stunde. Erster Band Gesammelte Studien zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, (1966), p. 352-422; E. des Places, *Diadoque de Photicé*, Oeuvres Spirituelles, SC vol. 5, Paris 1966, p. 12-22.

68. *Cent.* 76 (134, 6-16); (135, 2-14); 85 (144, 17-19).

69. *Cent.* 86 (146, 4-6); (187 (147, 14-19).

70. *Cent.* 32 (102, 2-16); 33 (103, 6-12).

71. *Cent.* 44 (111, 1-2), 95 (157, 18). For the Messalian use of this phrase see John of Damascus prop. 7, 17. This Messalian phrase is not in itself heretical, for it is used by perfectly orthodox writers besides our author, such as Mark the Hermit.

perception with the physical senses, while the extreme Messalians when they used such terms understood them in a grossly materialistic sense. Thus the fundamental difference between Diadochus and the Messalians is that even if grace is unconcious, it may already be active and truly present in the soul.

Diadochus in regard to the sacrament of baptism repudiates the Messalian doctrine on this subject. According to the extreme Messalians baptism either profits nothing or is incomplete, acting like a razor which cuts the hair but cannot root it up: τὸ μὲν βάπτισμά φασι μηδὲν ὄνειν τοὺς προσιόντας· ξυροῦ γὰρ δίκην ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων τὰ πρότερα, τὴν δὲ ρίζαν οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τῆς ἀμαρτίας⁷². For the Messalians baptism effects at most a coexistence of good and evil within man. Thus after baptism evil still remains and there is a continual struggle in the soul between the evil spirit and the Holy Spirit, a coexistence of sin and grace.⁷³ Diadochus says that through baptism man is reborn, so that he is immediately purified by the Holy Spirit, who dwells in man and drives out sin. In fact, in several passages Diadochus rejects the Messalian doctrine of coexistence of the evil spirit and the Holy Spirit.⁷⁴ In the Macarian Homilies the coexistence of grace and sin is expressed clearly in two passages:

“Ὡσπερ οὖν ἐστὶν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ ὁ Θεὸς παρῶν ἐκεῖ οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμαρτία· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ χάρις Θεοῦ σύνεστι μηδὲν ἀδικουμένη.⁷⁵

Φασὶ γὰρ τινες, ὅτι σύνεστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ χάρις ἐνεργούσα καὶ ἀναπαύουσα, σύνεστι δὲ καὶ ἡ κακία ἔνδον, καὶ τὰ δύο πολιτεύματα εἰς μίαν ἐνεργεῖ καρδίαν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τοῦ σκότους.⁷⁶

L. Bouyer writes⁷⁷, it is this statement, repeated many times, of ‘simul peccator et justus’, which has alarmed modern commentators and convinced them of the Messalianism of our author (Macarius). But it must be read with a little more attention than seems to have been given it. «Macarius» in no way considers this condition as being normal: for him while grace always finds sin present ahead of it in the spiritual man, it

72. Theodoret of Cyr, *Haer. Fab. Comp.* 5, 11 PG 83, 429B; Timothy prop. 2.

73. John prop. 3.

74. *Cent.* 80 (137, 23-26; 138, 1-28); 82 (140, 9-15); 84 (144, 2-9); 86 (145, 25-27; 146, 1-9). See On baptism, p. 117.

75. *Hom.* 16, 6 ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 162.

76. *Hom.* 17, 4 p. 169.

77. *The spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, London 1963, p. 379-380.

never ceases to fight against it. The final word, as clearly as could be desired, is given in the following text, precisely as the conclusion to the fiftieth and last of the Homilies:

«The soul has many members and a great depth, and once sin has entered therein, it takes possession of all these members and of the pastures of the heart. But when a man sets himself to seeking it, grace comes to him and occupies perhaps two members of the soul. But the inexperienced man, encouraged by grace, thinks that in coming it has taken possession of all the members of the soul and that sin has been uprooted. In fact, the greatest part is dominated by sin, and only one part by grace. It is deceived and does not know it. Many things still remain to be enlightened by the awareness of our self-consciousness, we have given briefly, as to wise men a rudiment, so that in working and in fathoming the power of these words you may become still more wise in the Lord and may increase the simplicity of your heart in His grace and the power of His truth, if you apply yourselves in all security of the adversary, you are judged worthy of being found standing upright and unconquered on the day of your Lord Jesus Christ.»⁷⁸ (Sic.)

These last words leave no doubt as to the true import of Pseudo-Macarius on the theme of the coexistence of sin and grace in us. It simply continues an ancient theme, already traditional with the rabbis and taken up by primitive Christian catechesis: starting from the original dipsychia, (double mindedness) the Christian should bend all his effort towards simplicity of heart, so as not to be judged and condemned by Christ.

Placed in its true context and given its normal classification, the teaching of «Macarius» regains, with all its richness and depth, the assured balance which Eastern tradition has always recognized in it.

For the Messalians the descent of the Spirit is something which takes place in the end of man's spiritual path, while for Diadochus it is conferred at the beginning of the Christian life, through baptism. The descent of the Holy Spirit according to the Messalians is something visible ἐπιφοιτᾶν λοιπὸν τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα αἰσθητῶς καὶ ὁρατῶς.⁷⁹ They believed that it is possible to see the Trinity with bodily eyes τὴν Τριάδα τὴν θείαν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεωρεῖ.⁸⁰ Diadochus excludes the

78. *Hom.* 50, 4 p. 322.

79. Theodoret of Cyr, *Hist. Eccl.* 4, 11 ed. Parmentier, p. 231, 17; Timothy prop. 3.

80. Theodoret Cyr, *Hist. Eccl.* 4, 11 p. 231, 13-14; Timothy prop. 5. Λέγουσιν

Messalian physical sense of the vision of God's glory. «Let no one who hears us speak of the perceptive faculty of the intellect imagine that by this we mean that the glory of God appears to man visibly. We do indeed affirm that the soul, when pure, perceives divine consolation, tasting it in some ineffable manner; but no invisible reality appears to it in visible form».⁸¹ The Messalians said also that the divine nature is changed and transmuted into whatever it desires and wishes, in order to be mingled (συγκραθῆ) with the souls that are worthy of it.⁸² In the twelfth answer of the «Vision», Diadochus maintains that the Holy Spirit does not change at all. He supposes that God did not change into a visible form, but the prophets saw the formless one as in the form of glory, when His will and not His nature was displayed to their eyes. For it was active will which appeared physically in the vision of glory, God having consented to let Himself be seen entirely in the form of His will.⁸³

For the extreme Messalians ἀπάθεια meant impeccability. A man is no longer capable of sinning since the demon is driven out and has been replaced by the Holy Spirit τῆς ψυχῆς μηκέτι δεκτικῆς οὐσης τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω ῥοπῆς.⁸⁴ The Messalians believed that evil and temptation come from within, from a demon residing in the depths of the heart; once, therefore, this demon has been expelled and replaced by the Holy Spirit, a man is no longer exposed to temptation and so no longer capable of falling. For Diadochus dispassion means, not that a man is no longer subject to temptations, but that he no longer gives way to them.⁸⁵ The Macarian Homilies make frequent use of the term ἀπάθεια. There is not any suggestion that it is a state of sinlessness which cannot possibly be lost. Man is liable to change.

Diadochus shows particular interest in the question of true and false visions, and his arguments are directed against the Messalians who laid very great emphasis on the importance of visions. He thinks of them as the deceit of demons; consequently, he advises that we should not

ἔτι ἡ Παναγία καὶ ζωοποῖδς καὶ μακαρία Τριάς... τοῖς τῆς σαρκὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς πέφυκε καθορᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην ἐρχομένων ἀπάθειαν· καὶ μόνοις γίνεται θεατὴ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀνθρώποις σαρκικῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁρωμένη.

81. *Cent.* 36 (105, 8-13).

82. *Timothy prop.* 6.

83. *Vision* 12 (172, 15-20).

84. *Timothy prop.* 9, 16; *John prop.* 7.

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

accept any visions because of the demons' tricks.⁸⁶ Diadochus refers to 2 Cor. 11,14 where Paul definitely teaches that everything which appears to the intellect, whether as light or as fire, is the product of the evil one. No one should embark on the ascetic life in the hope of seeing visions; otherwise Satan will find it easy to lead such a soul astray.⁸⁷

Finally Theodoret and John of Damascus accused the Messalians of being Manicheans.⁸⁸

Diadochus has directly in view the Messalian heresy in his third chapter: «Evil does not exist by nature, nor is any man naturally evil, for God made nothing that was not good.»⁸⁹

4. His influence on posterity.

The writings of Diadochus enjoyed great popularity and influence in succeeding generations and this is proven by the number of manuscripts which have survived. Diadochus is quoted or mentioned as an authority by a long series of monastic authors between the sixth and eighteenth century and by some local councils.

Diadochus is quoted in the Life of Abba Philemon⁹⁰ (Egypt? c. 6-7 but hard to date).

Maximus the Confessor (died 662) is indebted to Evagrius and Diadochus. His teaching about evil and good and the relation between love and fear depends on Diadochus' writings. He uses twice the fifth chapter of Diadochus' «Century» to prove self-determination:

1) In the writing *Opuscula Theologica et polemica* PG. 91, 277C. Τοῦ ἁγίου Διαδόχου ἐπισκόπου Φωτικῆς, ἐκ τοῦ ἕκτου κεφαλαίου τῶν Ἀσκητικῶν. Αὐτεξουσίτης ἐστὶ, ψυχῆς λογικῆς θέλησις ἀκωλύτως γινομένη πρὸς ὅπερ ἂν βούληται. Note that by mistake the fifth chapter is named as sixth.

86. *Cent.* 38 (107, 5-11).

87. *Cent.* 40 (108, 9-14).

88. More details will be found in future installment in the section dealing with *The Problem of Evil*.

89. *Cent.* 3 (86, 2-3). See also the Macarian *Hom.* 16, 1. ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 158.

90. *Philokalia*, Athens 1957-1963, II, p. 244, 1.20.

91. Since 1930 the fact has been established that Maximus, even though mentioning the name of Evagrius only as that of an abominable heretic, did not hesitate to borrow from him the heart of the spiritual teaching. See M. Viller, «Aux sources de la spiritualité de Saint Maxime. Les oeuvres d'Evagre le Pontique» in *R.A.M.* 11 (1930), 153-84, 239-68, 331-6.

2) *Disputatio cum Pyrrho* PG. 91, 301C. Θέλησιν γὰρ τὸ ἀντεξούσιον ὁ μακάριος ὤριστο Διάδοχος ὁ Φωτικῆς εἶναι. Finally, Maximus gives an interpretation of Diadochus' phrase «tried by the fire of judgement,»⁹² in his book *Quaest. inter. et respon.* PG. 90, 792C. «...those who have not acquired love in all its perfection, but have both sins and virtues on their account, will appear before the court of judgment. There they will be tried as it were by fire; their good actions will be put in the balance against the bad and if the good outweigh the bad they will be delivered from punishment.»

Photius of Constantinople in his *Bibliotheca* or *Myriobiblos* (855)⁹³, which is addressed to his brother Tarasius and gives information for about two hundred and eighty three books, including both Christian and classical literature, in codex 201 PG. 193, 669D-672B⁹⁴ refers to Diadochus writing «one hundred spiritual chapter's very laudably... καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸ ἄριστον τοῖς ἀσκουμένοις συγκείμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγεγυμνασμένοις ταῖς τελειοποιῶσι πράξεσιν οὐδ' ἀσαφές τι ἔμπαρεχόμενος· ἡ γὰρ διὰ πείρας γνῶσις εὐχερῶς τῆς διὰ λόγων ἐπιβατεύει διδασκαλίας. In codex 231 PG. 103, 1089C⁹⁵ Photius mentions the Bishop of Photice Diadochus in a list of authorities whose doctrine is opposed to that of Monophysites together with the names of Leo of Rome (440-461) and Gennadius of Constantinople (458-471).

In the anonymous collection of Scholia on St. John⁹⁶, in date later than Photius, who is quoted, printed in Migne at the end of each step of the ladder (Greek text with Latin translation, in PG. 88, 644-1209) there are at least four quotations from Diadochus' one hundred spiritual chapters:

Sermon 4 Scholion 29 PG 88, 740 Citing Diadochus *Cent.* 41
 Sermon 26 Scholion 17 » » 1080 » » *Cent.* 6

92. *Cent.* 100 (163, 8-9)... ἵνα διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς δοκιμασθέντες τῆς κρίσεως.

93. This is the date to which the *Bibliotheca* is usually assigned, but H. Halkin has argued that it must be placed at least twenty years later; see «La date de composition de la 'Bibliothèque' de Photius remise en question» in *Analecta Bollandiana* vol. 81 (1963) p. 414-417.

94. ed. R. Henry, vol. 2, Paris 1962 p. 100.

95. vol. 5. Paris 1967, p. 64-65.

96. There are two more collections, the first attributed to John of Raithu, a contemporary of Climacus. The original Greek remains unpublished; a Latin translation is printed in PG. 88, 1211-48. On this collection see J. Gribomont, «Le Scala Paradisi Jean de Raithou et Ange Claren», in *Studia Monastica*, II (1960) p. 345-58. The second collection is a very voluminous commentary compiled by Elias of Crete, which has never been published.

Sermon 30 Scholion	8	»	»	1164	»	»	<i>Cent.</i> 7
Sermon 30 Scholion	9	»	»	1164	»	»	<i>Cent.</i> 34

Quotations from Diadochus occur in the spiritual anthology *Synagoge of Paul Evergetinos* (11th. cent.). From the one hundred chapters of Diadochus, Evergetinos incorporates about seventy two chapters, that is three quarters of the whole. In some of these extracts Evergetinos has abbreviated the text of Diadochus or rearranged the sequence of sentences. The following passages from Diadochus appear in the «Synagoge of Evergetinos»:

Evergetinos		Diadochus
vol. I	ch. 13	<i>Cent.</i> 56
»	ch. 19	<i>Cent.</i> 41
»	ch. 24	<i>Cent.</i> 18, 27
»	ch. 28	<i>Cent.</i> 93
»	ch. 43	<i>Cent.</i> 4
»	ch. 45	<i>Cent.</i> 95
vol. II	ch. 11	<i>Cent.</i> 73
»	ch. 18	<i>Cent.</i> 45, 47, 48, 49
»	ch. 22	<i>Cent.</i> 50, 51
»	ch. 23	<i>Cent.</i> 44
»	ch. 24	<i>Cent.</i> 43
»	ch. 35	<i>Cent.</i> 26
»	ch. 41	<i>Cent.</i> 71
»	ch. 47	<i>Cent.</i> 70
vol. III	ch. 11	<i>Cent.</i> 42
»	ch. 15	<i>Cent.</i> 53
»	ch. 16	<i>Cent.</i> 52
»	ch. 18	<i>Cent.</i> 54, 94
»	ch. 38	<i>Cent.</i> 92
»	ch. 47	<i>Cent.</i> 65, 66
vol. IV	ch. 4	<i>Cent.</i> 16, 17, 12, 13, 14, 15, 24, 25, 21, 23, 89, 90, 91
»	ch. 5	<i>Cent.</i> 57, 58, 59, 61
»	ch. 6	<i>Cent.</i> 76, 79, 81, 82, 85, 88
»	ch. 18	<i>Cent.</i> 9, 11
»	ch. 19	<i>Cent.</i> 31, 32, 33, 36

»	ch. 22	<i>Cent.</i> 98
»	ch. 23	<i>Cent.</i> 7, 8, 68, 72
»	ch. 24	<i>Cent.</i> 29, 30, 38, 35, 40, 34, 75
»	ch. 25	<i>Cent.</i> 86, 87, 89
»	ch. 31	<i>Cent.</i> 100

In the anonymous Greek versifier of uncertain date published by Amadutius⁹⁷ Diadochus is mentioned after John Climacus and Mark the Hermit. But the greatest influence of Diadochus' writings was on the Hesychast attitude. Hesychasm is not a new spiritual attitude of the fourteenth century but a spiritual method which has its sources among the monks of Constantinople and in the main part of Greece. Symeon the New Theologian (949-1022) was the leader of this attitude in his time. Nicetas Stethatos writing the life of his teacher Symeon and particularly describing his spiritual education notes that Symeon read Diadochus' writings... *καί ποτε βιβλίον λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ διδασκάλου χειρῶν Μάρκου καὶ Διαδόχου τῶν θεσπεσίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀναπτύξας ταύτην εὗρεν εὐθὺς λέγουσαν.*⁹⁸ It is not difficult to find in Symeon's writings the characteristic teaching of Diadochus about the love and beauty of God, the relation between love and fear. The similarity of the two authors is proven also from the event that Symeon's writing entitled *Catechesis* is attributed to Diadochus by mistake.

Especially, Diadochus is quoted and honoured as an authority by authors of the fourteenth century Hesychast tradition. Nicephorus of Athos (early 14th c.) in his Sermon *De sobrietate et cordis custodia* in PG. 147, 958 contains Diadochus *Cent.* 57. Gregory of Sinai (1255-1346) quotes a piece from *Cent.* 33 in his writing *De quietudine et duobus orationis modis* PG. 150, 1321 D; he speaks about the tradition of prayer according to Saints Barsanouphius and Diadochus. In other words, he invokes Diadochus to prove the traditional character of Hesychasm. Gregory Palamas (1296-1359) quotes Diadochus *Cent.* 89 in his writing *Ad Reverendissimam in sanctimonialibus Xenam, De Passionibus virtutibus*, PG. 150, 1081.

Cent. 89 from Diadochus' spiritual chapters, is quoted also by

97. J. C. Amadutius, *Anecdota Litteraria ex misc. codicibus eruta*, vol. II Rome, 1773, p. 28.

98. I. Hausherr, «Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien par Niketas Stéthatos», in *O.C* 12 (1928).

Note that in Symeon's own account (Cat. 22) only Mark the Hermit is mentioned, not Diadochus.

Philotheus of Constantinople in his laudatory sermon to Gregory Palamas, PG. 151, 577. In the Hagioreticos Tomos PG. 150, 1233 there is quoted the 25th chapter of Diadochus' «Century». The synodical tomos of the Council of 1351 quotes *Cent.* 59 of Diadochus. It is noticeable that the leaders of the Hesychast tradition — Gregory of Sinai, Gregory Palamas, Philotheus of Constantinople and the monks of Athos in the Council of 1351 — call upon Diadochus to prove the Orthodoxy of the Hesychast movement.

In the *Century* of Callistus and Ignatius Xanthopoulos (14th c.) *Methodus et Regula, cum Deo, Accuratissima*, a concise and balanced summary of Hesychast doctrine, Diadochus' «Century» is quoted by name on a number of occasions as follows:

<i>Callistus and Ignatius</i>		<i>Diadochus</i>
Century 49	(PG. 147,728-739)	Citing Cent. 59
Cent. 51	(» 733)	» Cent. 57
Cent. 55	(» 740)	» Cent. 97
Cent. 66	(» 749)	» Cent. 28
Cent. 68	(» 753,756)	» 9, 68
Cent. 74	(» 765,768)	» Cent. 31, 32, 33
Cent. 85	(» 781,784)	» 86, 87
Cent. 86	(» 785)	» Cent. 98
Cent. 90	(» 789-792)	» Cent. 1, 34
Cent. 95	(» 804)	» Cent. 59

Diadochus is honoured by the leader of the Hesychast renaissance, Saint Nicodemus of the Holy Mountain (1748-1809) in the *Philokalia*, which includes the whole «Century» of Diadochus.⁹⁹ Through the various translations of «Philokalia»¹⁰⁰ Diadochus has influenced modern Christian literature. A proof of this is the Russian book, *The way of a Pilgrim*¹⁰¹ where the anonymous author quotes from the «Century » of Diadochus.

Diadochus in the West

Many of the principles contained in Diadochus' «One hundred chapters» show a remarkable resemblance with those of Ignatius of Lo-

99. Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπτικῶν, Venice, 1782, p. 205-237.

100. See below p. 798.

101. English translation by R. M. French, London 1957.

yola and Teresa of Avila but we have no evidence to show that either of them read any of Diadochus' works.

Finally, Diadochus is one of the spiritual authors whom the society of «Jesus » recommends to the masters of novices in the «Regulae magistri novitiorum».¹⁰²

In conclusion, Diadochus is one of the most important writers of Christian Spirituality who has influenced later ascetical and mystical writers. Diadochus appears as an authority in the texts of the above writers who call upon him to prove the Orthodox character of their teaching.

102. Institutum Societatis Jesu, Florence, 1893 vol. 3, p. 121, in the «*Regulae magistri novitiorum Libri ad usum magistri novitiorum accommodati*».

II. DIADOCHUS' WRITINGS

1. Generally.

From the passage of «Historia persecutionis» by Victor bishop of Vita, already mentioned, we can suggest that Diadochus wrote many works. There survive up to today the following three writings: 1) One hundred chapters on Spiritual perfection 2) Homily on the Ascension 3) Vision. É. des Places, in his critical edition of Diadochus' writings, in the fifth volume of «Sources Chretiennes», added the «Catechesis» attributed to Diadochus only by a mistake of the copyists.¹⁰³ His writings constitute a kind of trilogy. Thus in the «Vision» he speaks about God, in the «Sermon» about Jesus Christ and finally the «Century» is dedicated to the life in the Holy Spirit. Diadochus is a good writer. He often uses descriptions and examples to make his work clearer and more realistic. On the other hand, he is a very deep author and not easily understood in his exact meaning. In a few words he tries to express in an admirable way, his spiritual experience.

The language of Diadochus has many surviving post-classical elements. The syntax is simple. Although Diadochus quotes numerous passages from the Bible we do not find any biblical influence in his style of language. The language of Diadochus differs also from the rest of the Fathers. In fact, it is a unique example from the mainland of Greece during the fifth century.

The vocabulary of Diadochus is very interesting. He uses words which we do not find often in other writers or in the Fathers. Most of these words are used not with their usual meaning but in a special way which is very similar to modern Greek.¹⁰⁴ Diadochus also uses a number of ascetic and mystical terms which are very important and common in the later writers. A complete list of the ascetical and mystical

103. Darrouzès, J. «La catechèse de Diadoque» in *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 15, (1957), p. 172-175.

104. See for instance: ἀθλήντος, αἰθριοποιός, ἀπαρρενώ, ἀφιλόλογος, ἀχλυσποιός, βρεφοπρεπής, διαφόρησις, εισαγωγός, ἐλευθερικός, ἐνήδονος, ἐπάγγελμα, ἐπιζωγραφῶ, ἥδουφανής, θηλυδριώδης, ἰσοσθενής, νωθροποιός, ὁμοιογραφῶ, πρόπομα.

terms of Diadochus' writings is to be found in the end of the above mentioned volume of «SC».¹⁰⁵

2. *Individually.*

a) One hundred chapters on spiritual perfection.

This is the most outstanding work of Diadochus, a manual of ascetism, which has played an important role in the history of Christian spirituality and mysticism. It enjoyed great popularity in succeeding generations as is shown by the number of manuscripts. Photius of Constantinople in his «Bibliotheca» codex 201 mentions it very approvingly.¹⁰⁶ In the manuscripts we find the following titles of this work: *Κεφάλαια πρακτικὰ γνώσεως καὶ διακρίσεως πνευματικῆς ἑκατὸν* or simply *Κεφάλαια ἀσκητικὰ ἑκατὸν*. As the above titles show, it consists of one hundred chapters. Many ascetical writers as Evagrius of Pontus, Mark the Hermit, Maximus the Confessor, Gregory Palamas, the brothers Xanthopouloi, used the literary form of «Centuries» which found its beginning in the elegies of Phokylides. They were moral sentences, at first in alphabetical order. The shorter types were twenty four chapters in length. Later they were developed into one hundred, firstly by Evagrius under the influence of Origen's saying «...centenarius autem numerus plenus in omnibus et perfectus ostenditur et totius rationabilis creaturae continens sacramentum...»¹⁰⁷ The number «one» symbolizes action, «ten» the practical commandments, and «one hundred» the perfection of moral life. This literary form became very popular among the monks because they could memorise it easily. Diadochus is one who developed this literary form of «Centuries». His chapters are more extensive than Evagrius' and Mark the Hermit's, and they become longer as the work proceeds. Diadochus' «Century» is prefaced by ten definitions: faith, hope, patience, freedom from avarice, understanding, humility, freedom from anger, purity, love, total transformation. The subject of Diadochus' «Century» is the way of Christian life. «On knowledge and spiritual discernment, explaining what kind of knowledge we require in order to reach, under the Lord's guidance, the perfection which He has revealed, so that each of us may

105. p. 188-204.

106. See above p. 791.

107. *Gen. Hom.* 2, 5 ed W. Baehrens GCS vol. 6, Leipzig 1920, p. 34, 1, 13-14.

apply to himself the parable of deliverance and bring to fruition the seed which is the Word.» (Matt. 13,3).¹⁰⁸

The analysis of this work into main subjects is difficult because the author refers in the same chapter to many subjects and often repeats the same themes.

The principal sections are as follows:

1. *Chapters 1-5*: General subjects. Spiritual contemplation is governed by faith, hope and love. God is good by nature, man can become good. Evil has no real existence, except through sin.

2. *Chapters 6-11*: Knowledge, wisdom, illumination, preaching, silence and prayer.

3. *Chapters 12-13*: The love of God and the steps leading to it.

4. *Chapters 24-25*: Body and soul as the two components of man.

5. *Chapters 26-35*: A theory of the discernment of spirits.

6. *Chapters 36-40*: Visions.

7. *Chapters 41-42*: Obedience creates humility.

8. *Chapters 43-52*: Fasting is only a means of attaining a higher goal. Moderation is especially necessary in drinking wine. The author advises us to avoid bathing in order to attain self discipline.

9. *Chapters 53-54*: Discuss illnesses.

10. *Chapters 55-58*: Recommend us to live as strangers in this world expecting eternal life. He teaches how to overcome carelessness.

11. *Chapters 59-61*: Recollection of God and the invocation of the name of Jesus.

12. *Chapters 62*: A positive evaluation of the type of nature called «choleric».

13. *Chapters, 63-66*: One should not get involved in lawsuits. Voluntary poverty is the best preparation for those who intend to teach about the kingdom of God.

14. *Chapters 67-68*: Deal with theology and contemplation.

15. *Chapters 69-75*: Describe the difficulties of contemplation.

16. *Chapters 76-89*: Present a theology of grace. Spiritual life is a continuous warfare. Virtue can be attained only by suffering and temptation and perfection only by martyrdom.

17. *Chapters 90-100*: Martyrdom through the ascetical life.

The manuscript tradition of the one hundred chapters is extremely rich. The first printed edition appeared in Florence in 1578

¹⁰⁸ 108. É. des Places, p. 85, 3-9.

but no copy exists.¹⁰⁹ «It is also found in *Philokalia*, an edition prepared on Mount Athos by Nicodemus Hagioreites (1748-1809). *Φιλοκαλία τῶν Ἱερῶν Νηπιτικῶν*, Venice, 1782, p. 205-237, Greek text only. This edition has been reprinted four times: Constantinople 1861, Athens 1893, 1900, 1957-1963, (vol. I p. 234-273).¹¹⁰ The text of the *Philokalia* was ready to be published by Migne in the destroyed volume of PG 162.

A critical edition of the Greek text with long notes and Russian translation has been published by K. Popov, *Blessed Diadochus Bishop of Photice in Epirus and his works*, vol. I, Kiev, 1903. Another critical edition of the Greek text followed by a Latin translation appeared by J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf, «Sancti Diadochi episcopi Photicensis, de Perfectione spirituali capita centum. Textus graeci ad fidem codd. mss. editionem criticam et quasi principen curavit», in *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*, Leipzig 1912. The most up-to-date critical edition with introduction and French translation appeared in Paris by the Jesuit É. des Places, *Diadoque De Photicé, Oeuvres Spirituelles* in S. C. vol. 5. Paris 1943, 1955, 1966 in three editions.

Beside the already mentioned Russian and Latin translations we also mention the oldest Latin translation which was published by the Jesuit François Torrés, first edition at Florence, Pectinari 1570 and second edition Sermartelli 1573. This translation is reprinted by Migne in PG. 65, 1167-1212. Finally, M. Freeman published a work which

109. Note that there are doubts as to the existence of this edition.

110. *Philokalia* had been translated into other languages such as:

1) Slavonic. The slavonic translation of the *Philokalia* by Paissy Velichkovsky (1722-94) included the work that appeared in the edition of Nicodemus (*Dobrotolubye*, Moscow, 1793).

2) Russian. The Russian edition of the *Philokalia* was published by bishop Theophan the Recluse (1815-94) first in 1876 sec. 1883.

3) Rumanian. The Roumanian translation of the *Philokalia* was edited by D. Staniloae 1946.

4) German. The German translation is made from Theophan's Russian version «*Kleine Philokalie*» ed. Matthias, Dietz, Einsiedeln 1956 (does not contain Diadochus).

5) French. The French version translated from the Greek text «*Petite Philokalie de la prière du coeur*» ed. J. Gouillard, Paris 1968², p. 58-69 (it contains only selections of Diadochus).

6) English. The English translation is made from the Russian version by E. Kadloubousky and G. E. H. Palmer - *Early Fathers from Philokalia* London 1954. (does not contain Diadochus). A recent English translation from critical texts, where they are available, is ready to be published by Archim. T. K. Ware, Dr. Ph. Sherrard and G. Palmer.

consists simply of short passages, in a not very accurate English translation: «Diadochus Photice - Excerpts from the one hundred chapters on spiritual perfection» in *Diaconia* vol. 7 n. 4 (1972) p. 339-350.

b) Homily on the Ascension.

In its style it has much in common with the «Century», and this confirms the authorship of Diadochus to whom it is assigned in the manuscript tradition. It consists of six chapters and contains a strong refutation of Monophysitism, emphasizing the two natures in Christ. The deification of man is a result of the Incarnation, in which the Son of God assumed a real human nature.

This homily was published by Cardinal A. Mai in *Spicilegium Romanum* 4, Roma, 1840, p. 98-106 based upon the codex Vaticanus 455 (9th or 10th cent). This edition with Latin translation was reprinted by Migne PG. 65, 1141-1148. A critical edition of the Greek text with French translation was published in the above mentioned volume of «S.C.».

c) Vision.

The manuscripts, none earlier than the thirteenth century, which contain the «Vision» attribute it to Diadochus. The «Vision» is a dialogue, in a dream, between the author and St. John the Baptist. A series of twenty nine questions and answers explains the problems of the nature of God and the possibility of His being seen by man.

This literary form is not common among the Fathers. The first edition was published by V. N. Benesević in *Memorials of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg* 8th ser. historicophilologique, vol. 8, n. 11 (1908). Another edition was prepared by Archimandrite Ioustinos Bithynos in *Nea Sion* vol. 9, Jerusalem (1909), p. 247-254. Finally, a critical edition with French translation was published by É. des Places in the above series of «S.C.».

(To be continued)