THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF DIADOCHUS
OF PHOTICE*

BY
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CHAPTER III

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

I

1. The Incarnation of the Word of God.

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

The whole work of the Holy Economy, as it is often characterized in Diadochus’ writings,1 took place because of the fall of man and it achieves not only the re-establishment of the relationship between God and man, but also the possibility of the realization of man’s destiny, that is, the likeness to God. While through His disobedience the first Adam led mankind into the fall, the second Adam by His obedience re-established the possibility of eternal life. Adam rejected humility; for this reason he fell. Christ was obedient to His Father and so he has freed mankind from the sin of disobedience.2 The plan of the Holy Economy became a reality through the Incarnation of the Word of God, who at a moment in history became man.3 The Word of God took a human body, density of nature πυκνότητα φύσεως4 and thus the incorporeal took shape.5 Diadochus emphasizes the completeness of Christ’s human nature against Docetism. Diadochus probably viewed

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* Συνέχεια ἐκ τῆς σελ. 1101 τοῦ προηγούμενον τόμου.
1. Cent. 41 (109, 3).
2. Cent. 41 (109, 1-7).
3. Vision 21 (175, 18-19)... ἡγούμενον ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Λόγῳ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔθεθεν διὰ τῆς σαρκός τοῦ εἴδους...
4. Sermon 6 (168, 13), Vision 21 (175, 20).
the teaching of Eutyches as a revival of the docetic denial of Christ’s bodily existence.  

The divinity of Christ is presupposed in Diadochus’ writings. He does not refer to this theme clearly because in his time Arianism was not a problem for the Church. Diadochus speaks about Christ as God Incarnate and not as deified man.  

The obedience of the Word of God to the Holy Economy does not mean any diminution of His divinity, any more than Paul means it in Phil. 2, 6-8.  

The divinity of Christ is pointed out very clearly in certain passages: «It was because of this that the Holy Logos of God took flesh and, being God,...»  

Christ is also omnipresent because of His infinite nature.  

Diadochus also characterises Christ as King of glory, Lord, Saviour.  

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

Diadochus was faithful to the Chalcedonian confession, and he attacked Monophysitism not because he liked theoretical analyses of a theological subject but because he wanted to give an answer in the soteriological teaching of the Church. Of course the distinction between the terms «natures» and «prosopon» or «hypostasis» helped the development of the correct phraseology about the Christological doctrine, δος ψάσεις, ἐν πρόσωπον properly distinguished. Prosopon or hypostasis contains both natures. In the person of Christ, divinity and humanity are united... Θεόν καὶ ἄνθρωπον τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι πιστεύομεν Κύριον ἐν μία ὑποστάσει, according to Diadochus’ phrase. The bishop of Photice rejected the idea that Christ after the incarnation had only one nature... ἐνα μὲν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν οἱ προφητεύουσαν Κύριον, τῆς δὲ σωματικῶς αὐτοῦ τὸ σώμα εἰς μίαν, ὄς τινες ἐκπροφήτευται νῦν, οὐς συνόρχωσαν  

6. Sermon 6 (168, 13-14)... τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, ἡμεῖς οὖν σωμάτως κοινωνήσας ἃ ἐγένετο τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου...  
7. Cent. 78 (136, 1).  
8. Cent. 41 (109, 1-7).  
9. Cent. 78 (136, 1-2); Sermon 5 (168, 3-4).  
12. Sermon 4 (167, 5-6).
He does not accept either any confusion or change between the two natures, but he teaches that even after the unity of the two natures in one person, the character of each nature remains unchanged: ὁ μὲν ἐστιν, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπάρχει, ὁ δὲ γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου, μὲνε ἄθρωπος, εἰς ὁν ἐν εἴδει καὶ εἰς ἐν ὑποστάσει.

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

2. The redemptive work of Christ

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

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

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

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

16. Sermon 5 (168, 4-6).
Diadochus emphasizes that since the essence of Adam’s sin was disobedience, the obedience of Christ was indispensable to free mankind from the guilt of original sin. «It was because He loved humility that Lord, in accordance with the divine purpose, was obedient to His Father... and so through His own obedience He has freed mankind from the sin of disobedience and leads back to the blessedness of eternal life all who live in obedience.»

Hence, it is obedience that God requires and in which man’s progress consists.

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

Oú γάρ ἦν τὸ ἐκτενὸς πλάσμα φαντάσης ἐσαρκώθη ὁ ἐνδοξός ἄλλ’ ἕνα τὴν ἐναπαρέσαν ἐν αὐτῷ ἠξίων ἐκ τῶν θρευσ τῇ ἐκτενοῦ κοινωνία ἀναλώσῃ εἰς τέλος. Ἑστε ἠξίων, οὐ γάρ φύσιν, ἠξάγειν η σάρκας τοῦ Λόγου, ἤν τὴν μὲν μνήμην ἐκθυσόμεθα του κακοῦ, τὴν δὲ ἀγάπην ἐκθυσόμεθα τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὐκ εἰς ὅπερ μὴ ἔμεν ἀλλασσόμενοι ἄλλ’ εἰς ὅπερ ἔμεν τῇ ἀλλαγῇ μετὰ δόξης ἀνακαινισθέντων.

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

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

Christ’s burial and resurrection have positive influence on the human race. Thus, just as death entered the world by one man, so by
The resurrection of Christ is the principle of life that has been given back to mankind.

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

Finally, through the incarnation of Christ the fundamental purpose of man’s existence has been achieved, that is man’s deification. With Christ human and divine nature began to be together so that by fellowship with divinity human nature might become divine, not only in Christ Himself, but also in all those who believe and live according to His commandments: ἐὰν γὰρ ἁμότει τῷ σαρκωθέντι Θεῷ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς θεωθησομένοις διὰ τὴν πλούτων τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, Θεοῦ, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσας φιλοτιμησμένον Θεοῦ. This doctrine, that by the incarnation human nature is deified and made to participate in the divine nature, is a favourite theme of patristic thought. God become man in order that man might become God in Him; this is the classical teaching of Irenaeus and Athanasius, which most of the Eastern Fathers repeated.

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

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25. Cent. 80 (138, 5-10); Sermon 3 (166, 15-18). ...ἐνα γνῶμεν σαφῶς δι’ ή ἀναθρόπητος τοῦ Κυρίου... Θεῷ γνώσεως τὸν κόσμον ἐπιλήφθεν.
27. Sermon 6 (168, 9-12).
28. 2 Pet. 1,4.
30. Ad delphium 4: PG 26, 1077A; De Incarn. 54 PG 35, 192b.
31. See for instance, Gregory of Nyssa, Oratio Catech. 25 PG 45, 65D. Gregory of Nyssa, Oratio Catech. 25 PG 45, 65D.
3. Baptismal grace

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

Diadochus teaches that baptism effects a full and entire cleansing from sin. By baptism man is purified completely from all sins actual and original. For this reason he calls it λοιπὸν ἁγιότης because man is free from all sins, and he gains the beginning of a holy life, while by the description as λοιπὸν ἡθοποιίας he means that man is released from death, which has entered the world through sin. These two phrases are well known in patristic literature, and they make clear the capacities of baptism. First then, it removes from man the «defilement of sin» while on the other hand it puts man εἰς τὸ δπερ ἔν, in the same position as Adam war before the fall. Sin is expelled from the shrine of the intellect, and the divine grace renews and cleanses the image of God in man, by washing away sin. Thus through baptismal grace renews the image and gives the capacity for attaining the divine likeness. When the intellect begins to have direct experience of the Holy Spirit, man should realise that grace is beginning to paint the likeness over the image. In the New Homilies Macarius teaches also that baptism restores man to the position of Adam before the fall. Nevertheless Diadochus declares that baptism does not remove the duality of the will, τὸ διπλοῦν τῆς Θελήσεως, which Adam acquired as a result of the fall and which all his descendants inherit from him. In other words,
the newly baptized Christian does not at once return to the situation of the first man in Paradise. Adam, before the fall, was endowed with a «donum integritatis» which baptism by itself does not restore. The duality can only be eliminated by prolonged ascetic effort.\footnote{41}

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

Diadochus emphasizes the role of the Spirit in baptismal grace. Regeneration takes place through baptism by the action of the Holy Spirit, who is given to us immediately at baptism and cleanses the whole man, soul and body\footnote{47} and it is placed in the depth of the soul\footnote{48} or mind.\footnote{49} Diadochus believes that before baptism, grace encourages the soul towards good from the outside, while Satan lurks in its depths trying to block all the intellect’s ways of approach to the divine. But from

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item[] 41. Cent. 25 [97, 1-6]; 78 [136, 23].
\item[] 42. Cent. 82 [140, 14-22].
\item[] 43. In Rom. 6, 10 (PG 14, 1091 A-B) and In Matt. 14,3, ed. Klostermann, p. 278-9.
\item[] 44. Retract 1, 15, 2 [PL 32, 609].
\item[] 45. Contra Julian, 6, 16, 49 [PL 44, 850-1].
\item[] 46. New Hom. 5,1, ed. Klostermann, p. 20. Οἱ ἀναχωρήσαντες τοῦ κόσμου καὶ γνωσίως λόγου θεοῦ ἐπαχώσαντες καὶ σεμνῶς πολτευόμενοι, ὄντες δὲ ἐπὶ ὅπο τῶν πεθόν κόλυμα, ὅπερ δὲ τῆς παρακολουθεῖν τῷ Ἀδάμ πάντες ἐκτίθεμεν.
\item[] 47. Cent. 78 [136, 3-8]. Ἀναγεννώμεθα δὲ διὰ τοῦ δεινοῦ τῆς ἐνέργειας τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὅπερ εὐθέως καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ σῶμα, εἰπὲν ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου διαθέσεως προσέρχεται τις τῷ Θεῷ καθαρισμηθεῖν τοῦ μὲν ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς ἡμᾶς κατασκηνοῦντος τῆς δὲ ἀμαρτίας υἱοθετευμένης.
\item[] 48. Cent. 79 [137, 5-6].
\item[] 49. Cent. 77 [135, 1-2].}
\end{itemize}
the moment that we are reborn through baptism, the demon is outside and grace is within. In other words, whereas before baptism error ruled the soul, after baptism truth rules it. Nevertheless, even after baptism Satan still acts on the soul to a greater degree than before. In fact, God allows him to do this so that a man can cooperate with grace for his salvation. Because of this, the Messalians have imagined that both grace and sin, that is the spirit of truth and the spirit of error, are hidden at the same time in the intellect of the baptized. As a result one of these two spirits urges the intellect to good, the other to evil. On this point Diadochus stands opposed to the Messalians.

According to Messalians, in every man's soul from the moment of his birth there dwells a demon who holds the man completely in his power. This is a consequence of Adam's fall. "Δέχονται οι ἀνθρώποι παραφυτίκα δαιμόνια ὁσίωδος συνάπτεται, ἰκ τῆς κατακάθισης τοῦ Ἀδάμ τούτου κεκληρωμένου..." Thus, before baptism the Devil dominates man in the full sense, and he consciously feels union with the evil spirit with the soul. After baptism there is a continual struggle in the soul between the evil spirit and the Holy Spirit, a coexistence of sin and grace. This means that for the Messalians, baptism is powerless by itself to free the soul from this diabolic presence. Baptism does not confer the presence of the Holy Spirit: τὸ μὲν βάπτισμα φασὶ μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς προσόντας, ξυροῦ γὰρ δικήν ἀφαιρέται τῶν ἁμαρτιμάτων τὰ πρῶτα, τὴν δὲ ρίζαν οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

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

50. Cent. 76 [134, 16-18].
51. The heretic Jovinian argued that once baptized a man could no longer be tempted by the Devil to sin (see Augustine, De haer 82). It fell to Jerome to refute him (Adv. Jov. 2, 1-4) adducing numerous scriptural passages to show that the baptized are not only exposed to temptation but are quite capable of succumbing to it.
52. Cent. 76 [134, 8-10].
53. Timothy of Constantinople, De iis qui ad ecclesiam accedunt, PG 86, 45 prop. 1. See also John of Damascus, De haeresibus compendium, PG 94, 729 prop. 1 and 2.
54. John of Damascus, prop. 3: ὡς συνισκόσιν ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ "Ἄγιον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ὁ δὲ οἱ ὁ Ἀπόστολοι καθαροὶ ἦσαν τῆς ἑνεργομένης ἑνεργείας."
55. Theodoret of Cyr, Haereticarum fabularum compendium, PG 82, 429-432. See Timothy prop. 2. "Εἴτε λέγοντι ὅτι τὸ ἄγιον βάπτισμα συμβάλλεται εἰς τὴν τοῦ δαιμονίου τοῦτού διαβάζεται oδὲ γὰρ οὕσυ ἦσαν ἐκαίνω τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα, τὰς ρίζας τῶν ἁμαρτίων τὰς ἱνοσσωμένας ἠγρίχθην τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡμεῖς, and John of Damascus, prop. 4-6.
tism. Their reason is not so much theological as psychological. Baptism changes nothing in the psychology of the baptized, since even after baptism man is still subject to temptation. Nor does baptism by itself confer the Holy Spirit; the baptized often are not consciously aware of His presence; and if they do not feel the Spirit, He cannot be dwelling within them. The Messalians have no idea of unconscious grace; for them it is not possible that God should act secretly in a man’s soul and the man himself not realize it.

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

What in fact does Macarius say about the sacrament of baptism? In the fifty Homilies there is only one clear and specific reference to sacramental baptism, and this could unfortunately be interpreted in a Messalian sense...οτι και μετα το βαπτισμα πολλαι άμαρτιαι γίνονται και πολλοι άμαρτάνουσιν. ‘Εχει οδυ νομήν και μετα το βάπτισμα είσελθεν ο άμαρτης και πράτησε θέλησ."

This reticence about baptism, in a semi-Messalian context, is certainly very disquieting. But the balance is redressed in other Macarian material. The Great Letter, edited by Jaeger, includes a long passage on baptism, which contains nothing clearly Messalian. The author states that the Paraclete is bestowed at the moment of baptism: ...οτι τον άραβινα της άρτης εύωρεσιας ήπι του άγιου της μακαρίας Τριάδος βαπτίσματος οι πιστεύσαντες ἐδεξεάμεθα, εἰς αὐξήσει καὶ προκοπή τῆς τελείας κληρονομίας καὶ πολλαπλασιασμόν τοῦ ταλάντου τοῦτο τὸ μέγα καὶ άρχοντον μυστήριον πιστεύθηκεν. Τὸ γὰρ θείον καὶ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα... ἀπὸ τῆς του βαπτίσματος ὅρας κατ’ ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως διαφόρως καὶ πολυτρόπως σύνεστον (τὸ πνεῦμα) ἐκάστῳ τοῦ ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπιδοφοίς τῷ βαπτίσματι προσελθόντι.

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

In the Homilies recently edited by H. Berthold, we find that Macarius deviates markedly from the extreme Messalian view of baptism and approaches surprisingly close to Diadochus. Macarius argues that the indwelling presence of the Spirit, conferred at baptism, is something of which we are initially unconscious. The Spirit’s working is at first so slight that a man «is ignorant of His activity», but then gradually His ένέργεια increases and begins to manifest itself openly. So Macarius concludes: «Our baptism is true and steadfast, and it is from this source that we receive the life of the Spirit; and if we abide and make progress in all the virtues, with all eagerness and exertion, the Spirit will increase and is revealed in us, making us perfect in His own grace.»

In another Homily, Macarius again presupposes a progress from an «unconscious» to a «conscious» presence of grace. At the start the Spirit is present «invisibly» so that at first the soul does not feel His activity, then slowly He is revealed, until at last the soul experiences Ηνέργεια και πεπληρωμένως.

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

οὖν τὸν ἄρραβον τοῦ βαπτισμοῦ, τὸ μὲν τῶν ἁλοντῶν τέλειον ἔχεις, μὴ ἐπεργασιμένη δὲ ἀπέλαξε ἔστω, οὗ μόνων δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ στερηθήκες αὐτοῦ.

61. Hom. 25, 2, 3-4, see above vol. 1 p. 242.
62. Cent. 84 (144, 2-9).
is inadequate. God recedes in order to educate us and this receding does not by any means deprive the soul of divine light.\(^5\)

In another chapter, he quotes the passage from St. Matt. 12, 43-45 from which he concludes that as long as the Holy Spirit is in us, Satan cannot enter the depths of the soul and remain there.\(^4\) Finally, he refers to the use of Jo. 1,5 by the Messalians, and Diadochus gives the answer with the help of other biblical quotations, and in the end, he says, the Evangelist does not say that it is Satan who has failed to grasp the true light. Satan was a stranger to it from the beginning, since it does not shine in him. Rather, the Evangelist is censuring men who hear of the powers and wonders of the Son of God, and yet in the darkness of their hearts refuse to draw near to the light of knowledge.\(^4\) Thus, according to Diadochus, the Holy Spirit is the only master of man after baptism, and he requires our co-operation to begin the likeness in man.

Can we also lose the Holy Spirit after baptism? Diadochus says that there are two different ways in which God recedes. According to the first, παρέχεσθαι παραχώρησις, God recedes in order to educate man. This receding does not deprive the soul of divine light; all that happens is that grace often hides its presence so that the soul may advance in spiritual progress. The second kind of receding, κατά ἀποστροφὴν παραχώρησις, is when God withdraws altogether from the soul that does not want Him; and this indeed delivers the soul a captive to the demons.\(^6\) The second case seems to be a definite abandonment by God, but in chapter 87 Diadochus implies that this is not the case. Even in this state man, if he will offer to God ceaseless confession, his incessant tears and his labour, he may eventually induce God to reveal His presence in his heart as before.\(^7\) Thus baptismal grace is something permanent and objective, and does not depend for its existence upon any subjective, moral attitude on man’s part; but at the same time God demands man’s co-operation.

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

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63. Cent. 86 (145, 25-27; 146, 1-9).
64. Cent. 82 (140, 9-15).
65. Cent. 80 (137, 23-26; 138, 1-28).
66. Cent. 86 (146, 3-17).
67. Cent. 87 (147, 10-14).
While Diadochus deals fully with baptism, he says nothing about the eucharist. He certainly took this second sacrament for granted as a normal part of the Christian life, and he does not seem to regard it as a subject of controversy.

4. The co-operation of grace and man

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

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

Further, grace does not soften man’s will compulsorily: ό γάρ ἀναγκαστικῶς τὸ αὐτεξόμενον ἡμῶν προμαλάξει ἡ χάρις: but Diadochus teaches, man’s free will shall not be at all constrained by the bonds of grace... τὸ αὐτεξόμενον ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ πάν μὴ ἡ δεδεμένον τῷ δεσμῷ τῆς χάριτος. God, in order that man may come freely to the full enjoyment of divine blessings, gives him the choice by allowing the Devil to act on the soul.

Diadochus would also not accept that salvation depends on man as the British monk Pelagius maintains. Pelagians and Messalians are very close in this respect, because the Messalian idea in which the grace of baptism and the other sacraments are powerless by themselves to free the soul from the presence of evil without prayer, means emphasis on human power. According to Diadochus and the Eastern Fathers, grace and human will are manifested simultaneously and cannot be conceived apart from each other. We have a co-operation or a synergy of two wills, that of man and that of God. Συνέργεια or συνεργία, co-operation, is a term employed by the majority of the Greek Fathers to express the fundamental interconnection between divine grace and human freedom. This term, co-operation, implies that God’s grace is essen-
tial, but God waits for man’s free consent; we can do nothing without God, but God will do nothing without us. Grace is the real presence of God within us, which continually demands our efforts.

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

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

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{73} Cent. 77 (135, 2-4).
  \item \textsuperscript{74} Cent. 85 (144, 16-19).
  \item \textsuperscript{75} Cent. 85 (144, 24-25; 145, 1-3); 93 (155, 1-5).
  \item \textsuperscript{76} Cent. 89 (149, 1-8). \textsuperscript{74} έκε τποικὴ έν προμήθεια ἐκατο-\textsuperscript{77} De Bapt. 1004 D. See T. K. Ware, The ascetic writings of Mark the Hermit, Oxford 1965, p. 210.
  \item \textsuperscript{78} Hom. 37, 10, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 270: παράνοιας ἐκ τοῦ θελήματος, αὐτὴ ἄντι τοῦ θεοῦ τι ποιεῖ, καθ’ ἐναίων, διά τὸ αὐτοεξοσπήνων. ή σύν τελεσώμενα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κεῖται.
  \item \textsuperscript{79} New Hom. 28, 3, ed. E. Klostermann, H. Berthold, p. 166.
\end{itemize}
the intimate connection between faith and works. Man is justified not only through faith without works and not only through works without faith. In both cases men will be condemned. Real faith is shown in actions. Works are the fruits of faith. «Faith without works and works without faith will both alike be condemned, for he who has faith must offer to the Lord the faith which shows itself in actions. Abraham was counted righteous not because of his faith but because of faith’s fruit, that is, the offer of his son.»80 In this passage we have a reference to St. James’ letter 2,21, where the connection between faith and the works of Christian love is discussed. In fact, this teaching is emphasized so much in James’ letter that it has been suggested that it was published after Paul’s letters to the Romans and the Galatians, in order to correct the teaching of Paul or his interpreters. In fact, there is not a clash between the two views, but both used the terms πίστις and ἔργα differently, and they speak under different circumstances with different purposes.

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

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

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

In conclusion, neither faith nor works can have a redeeming

80. Cent. 20 (95, 4-8).
81. Cent. 21 (95, 10-15).
82. See John of Damascus, prop. 4: Ἄμα καὶ τὸ ἔργον ποιήσει τὸν ἁθροισμὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἢ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετάλλησιν καθιερώσει τὴν ψυχήν, ἀλλὰ μόνη ἢ παρ’ αὐτοῖς σπουδασμοῖς ἐνεργή.
character before God, who saves man through His free love, which is an answer to our free co-operation consisting of our faith and love.

5. The stages of the spiritual life

Diadocis occasionally distinguishes the believers according to their spiritual progress. This distinction is already known from the early Christian era. St. Paul, for instance, distinguished the Christians according to their spiritual perfection and emphasised the need of continuous spiritual progress. He described the beginners as infants and the perfect as mature men. The ecclesiastical writers and the Fathers of the fourth century distinguished two stages in the spiritual perfection. The πράξις or πρακτική φιλοσοφία, and the θεωρία. This distinction was based on Greek Philosophy, which distinguishes between θεωρητικός βίος, contemplative life, and πρακτικός or πολιτικός βίος, active life, which through Philo reached the Alexandrian school and influenced patristic thought.

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

84. 1 Cor. 3, 1-3; Ephes. 4, 12-16; Hebr. 5, 12-14 and especially Phil. 3, 12-15.  
is the supreme knowledge, what he calls "the gnosis of the Trinity." Diadochus occasionally presents a classification into three groups:

\[ \text{ἀρχάμενοι} \quad \text{μέσοι} \quad \text{τέλειοι} \]

or

\[ \text{ἐπισταγωγικοὶ} \quad \text{νησιόζοντες} \quad \text{καθαριζόμενοι} \quad \text{καθαρισθέντες} \]

1. \text{Ἀρχάμενοι}

It is true that from the moment of baptism the Holy Spirit dwells in the hearts of the believers, but this does not suppress man’s power to choose evil as well as good. Man retains free will, and it is possible to fall.\(^8\) Temptation is something against which the Christian must struggle continually through his whole life. Diadochus is concerned with the problem of temptation after baptism against the Messalians. He employs the terms \text{προσβολή} and \text{πρόληψις}.\(^9\) The Messalians believed that once the demon has been expelled and replaced by the Holy Spirit, through baptism, a man is no longer exposed to temptation and no longer capable of falling. But in Diadochus’ view this theory has no place. The Christian must struggle against temptations. Even more after baptism God recedes in order to educate the believers.\(^8\) Diadochus explains that the \text{παρεμπωτικὴ παραχώρησις} does not by any means deprive the soul of divine light, only grace hides its presence so that the soul may advance through resisting the attacks of the demons by seeking help from God with humility and fear.\(^4\) On the other hand, the purpose of receding is not only to overcome sin through ascetic effort but also to help in spiritual experience.\(^8\) The Christian life is an unre-

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89. Note that Mark the Hermit uses the same classification, see *De pean.*, 7 (PG 65, 976C); 11 (981B).
90. Cent. 78 (136, 14-24).
91. Cent. 28 (99, 13).
92. Cent. 99 (161, 11).
93. Cent. 87 (146, 23-25; 147, 1-3).
94. Cent. 86 (146, 4-15).
mitting struggle until the hour of death. For this reason Diadochus often emphasizes the need for unceasing repentance. It is characteristic that Diadochus often speaks about the spiritual struggle of Christians as a «second martyrdom»—an idea which is common among the ascetic writers.97

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

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

96. Cent. 100.
98. Cent. 94 (156, 6-23).
100. Cent. 41 (108, 21-23).
101. Cent. 42 (109, 12-19).
102. Cent. 47 (112, 5-13).
103. Cent. 48 (110, 10-17).
Diadochus speaks about prayer, which is above even the broadest scope of speculation; but this prayer is granted only to those who experience grace with full consciousness.\textsuperscript{104} Diadochus also mentions two types of prayers, vocal and mental. When a person is in a state of natural well-being, he sings with a full voice and prefers to pray out loud. But when he is energized by the Holy Spirit, he prays in the heart alone completely at peace.\textsuperscript{105} Diadochus connects his doctrine of prayer with the memory or remembrance of God, μνήμη Θεοῦ, a phrase which occurs frequently in his «Century». This significant phrase has an important history in Eastern spirituality.\textsuperscript{106} In fact, this phrase has a Stoic background. The Stoa, from Zeno onwards, developed an elaborate theory of the memory, and Stoic writers of the early Christian era, such as Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius recommend in particular the memory or remembrance or recollection of God.\textsuperscript{107} «Memory of God» is also mentioned by Philo of Alexandria in his description of the Therapeutae. Philo speaks of this memory as something continual.\textsuperscript{108} The memory of God is mentioned by the Cappadocians, Gregory of Nazianzus\textsuperscript{109} and Basil.\textsuperscript{110} It is found also in the ascetic teaching of Evagrius\textsuperscript{111} and the Macarian Homilies\textsuperscript{112} where the subject of continual recollection is above all the passion of Christ.\textsuperscript{113}

Diadochus very often mentions the memory or remembrance of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[104] Cent. 68 (128, 6-21; 129, 1-8).
\item[105] Cent. 73 (132, 2-4).
\item[107] Epictetus, Apud Arrian, Discourses II, 18, 29. Marcus Aurelius, Meditations, 6, 7 and 18.
\item[108] De vita contemplativa, ed. Conybeare, Oxford, 1895, p. 61, ἀεὶ μνῆμος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνάμνεσις τοῦ Θεοῦ μνήμην.
\item[109] Or. 27, 4 (PG 36, 16C). Compare Or. 17, 2 (PG 35, 968 B-C).
\item[110] Reg. fusc. tract. 5, 6-2; 6., PG 31, 921B, 928A, Ep. 114, PG 32, 229B. Καὶ τούτῳ ἐκτὸς Θεοῦ ἐκατόν, τὸ δὲ τῆς μνήμης ἐνδιαμένου ἔχειν ἐν κατά τοῦ Θεοῦ· οὕτω γνώσθην νοεῖ Θεοῦ.
\item[111] Cap. paraen. 43, PG 79, 1252: οὐκ ἦν ἀνοίγει τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σοφοίς ἡ διά

νοικία συγὼνται.
\item[112] Hom. 43, 3, ed. H. Dörries etc. p. 286; Hom. 53, 16 ed. Marriott p. 36, 1-5; Hom. 54, 10 p. 41, 1, 5-9.
\end{footnotes}
God. He teaches that by the remembrance of God a man can turn his attention away from the inclination to evil. Through practising the remembrance of God evil is consumed and the soul completely recovers its natural brilliance with greater glory. Diadochus links the μνήμη Θεοῦ with the name of Jesus. Thus the memory of God is definitely Christocentric, concentrated upon the person of Christ. This is an important step in the historical development of the Jesus prayer and our earliest (along with Nilus of Ancyra) witness for the invocation of Jesus. He teaches that the intellect must concentrate on the words Κύριε Ἰησοῦς, Lord Jesus, within its inner shrine with such intensity that it is not turned aside to any fantasies. The memory or invocation of Jesus is a way of overcoming φαντασία, of freeing the mind from multiplicity of thoughts. The imagination is treated as an enemy and vigorously suppressed. For this Diadochus advises that in the time of contemplation we must keep the intellect free of all fantasy. In fact, Diadochus here follows Evagrius for whom prayer is a «putting away of thoughts» ἀπόθεσις νομάτων: it aims at a state beyond all figures, images and forms. Eastern spiritual writers of later times, follow Evagrius in their attitude towards the imagination. Hesychius, for example, insists that the prayer of Jesus must be free from all images and thoughts. In the same way the Hesychasts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, together with their modern disciples, state repeatedly that the practice of invoking the name of Jesus does not involve any use of images, and is not to be regarded as a form of discursive meditation upon some particular episode in the life of Christ. Diadochus also maintains that those who meditate unceasingly upon the name of Jesus in the depths of their heart can sometimes see the light of their intellect. The concentration upon Jesus' name burns up all the filth which covers the soul and implants a constant love for its goodness. Diadochus insists that this memory of God or Jesus must be continual. He emphatically maintains that he who wishes to cleanse his

115. Cent. 3 (86, 5-6); 56 (117, 16-18); 81 (139, 18-20).
116. Cent. 97 (160, 3-7).
117. Cent. 68 (128, 18-20).
119. Cent. 1, 7, 10, 15, 20, 24, 49, 71, 87.
120. Cent. 59 (119, 4-22); 32 (102, 1-16); 88 (148, 24-26).
heart should keep it continually afame through practise of the remembrance of the Lord Jesus, making this his only study and his ceaseless task. The theory of continual recollection of God’s name is identical with that of continual prayer. In fact, in Diadochus’ days the relation between unceasing prayer and active works or service, διακονία, was a burning problem. The extreme Messalians took the command to «pray without ceasing» in its most literal sense. Prayer for them meant vocal prayer, and so if a man is to pray continually he cannot possibly be engaged in any kind of works. Diadochus insists that he who desires to pray must pray not merely from time to time but at all times even when he is outside places of prayer. Diadochus’ answer was to suggest that continual prayer is not so much exterior and vocal as implicit; it is a state of soul, not just the outward action of reciting an endless series of prayers. The Macarian Homilies also avoid this error of the extreme Messalians.

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

126. Cent. 27 (98, 17-21).
127. Cent. 73 (132, 4-12).
2. Μέσοι.

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

By the term ἀπάθεια the extreme Messalians meant impeccability; once the demon is driven out and has been replaced by the Holy Spirit, a man is no longer capable of sinning, τῆς ψυχῆς μηκέτε δεκτική ὁδισγὴ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω βοτῆς. Diadochus does not accept such an explanation. For him, dispassion means not that a man is no longer subject to temptations, but that he no longer gives way to them. ἀπάθεια ἂστιν οὐ τὸ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν δαμάσκων, ἀπὶ ἀρα δρείλομεν ἔξελθουσαι κατὰ τὰν ἀπόστολον ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου (1 Cor. 5,10), ἀλλὰ τὸ πολέμουμενοι ὑπὸ κατὰν ἀπολεμήτους μένεν. A sign that the soul is not far from the realm of dispassion is the acceptance of illness' pain.

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

128. Note that Diadochus also speaks about the παθευτικὰ πάθη, testing passions, which are energies of the soul implanted in it by God for man's spiritual progress. See, Cent. 95 (158, 6-7).
129. See Cent. 71 (130, 21-22); 72 (131, 17); 99 (161, 17).
130. Cent. 74 (133, 10-11); 89 (150, 13-14).
132. Cent. 98 (160, 9-12).
133. Cent. 54 (116, 7-9).
134. For the New Testament background see: αἰσθήσεως Phil. 1,9, πληροφορία Col. 2, 2, 1 Thes. 1,5, Heb. 6, 11; 10 12 Heb. 11. 29; 25. Especially the term πληροφορία in 1 Thes., 1,5 and Heb. 10,12 seems to signify a feeling of fullness and certainty as in Diadochus writings.
in full perception and assurance,\textsuperscript{135} a phrase which has important Messianic associations.\textsuperscript{136} By these terms Diadochus makes clear that for him the climax of the spiritual life consists in a feeling or sensation. Particularly the term \textita{αἰσθήσεως} is found in Christian literature used by Origen and Evagrius. Origen was the first who gave a teaching about the five spiritual senses.\textsuperscript{137} According to Origen, beyond the natural bodily senses there are the spiritual senses of the inner man which do not have visible character. The principal conditions to develop these spiritual senses are faith and the study of the mystical aspects of the Scriptures and the freedom from the domination of the bodily senses. Anyone who exercises his spiritual senses will be perfect and \textita{θεωρητικὸς νοητῶν}. Origen believed that the knowledge of God is a characteristic of the mind. The mind rather than the soul understands spiritual and invisible good. The spiritual senses are responsible for the understanding of the spiritual realities, as the instrument of the mind. In other words, the spiritual senses are the instrument of mystical knowledge.

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

Diadochus uses the term \textita{αἰσθήσεως} accompanied by other terms as \textita{αἰσθήσεως καρδίας, αἰσθήσεως νοὸς, αἰσθήσεως πνεύματος, αἰσθήσεως ψυχῆς}. He also characterises the perception as \textita{αἰσθήσεως ἐφετης, ἰώλας, νοερά and βεβεία}. For Diadochus the perceptive faculty of the intellect consists in the power to discriminate accurately between the tastes of different realities. Thus when the intellect begins to act vigorously and with complete

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Cent.} 3, 35, ed. Frankenberg, p. 155.
freedom from worldly care, it is capable of perceiving the wealth of God’s grace and is never led astray by any illusion of grace which comes from the Devil.\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Aἰσθησις} is an experimental knowledge of God by the purified man. It is the sign of the good relationship between man and God. This perceptive faculty, which naturally is single, is split into two distinct modes of operation as a result of Adam’s disobedience. But this single and perceptive faculty is implanted in the soul by the Holy Spirit.\textsuperscript{140} It is surprising that Diadochus so often describes the spiritual experiences with the terms of taste as \greek{γεύσις}, \greek{γεύσαθαι}, \greek{ηδύτης}, \greek{γλυκύτης}. The intellect knows when it is tasting the grace of the Holy Spirit and keeps the memory of this taste through the activity of love.\textsuperscript{141}

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

3. \textit{Oi τέλειοι}.

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

\textsuperscript{139} Cent. 30 (100, 15-19; 101, 1-2).
\textsuperscript{140} Cent. 25 (96, 19-20; 97, 1-16); 29 (99, 23-25; 100, 1-13). See above p. 1098 (1984).
\textsuperscript{141} Cent. 30 (101, 4-9).
\textsuperscript{142} Cent. 36 (105, 8-11).
\textsuperscript{143} Cent. 6 (87, 2-3).
through its inner operation while wisdom does so through being expressed outwardly. «Wisdom» comes through grace given by God and humble meditation on Scriptures. But the gift which enflames man’s heart and moves it to the love of God more than any other is «theology». The gift of «theology» is not prepared for anyone by God but only for whom he has prepared himself for the glory of the gospel.

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

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

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

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144. Cent. 9 (88, 13-24; 89, 1-2).
145. Cent. 66 (127, 1-5).
146. Cent. 68 (128, 6-9).
148. Cent. 67 (127, 10-23; 128, 1-4).
149. Cent. 72 (131, 12-26).
150. Cent. 7 (87, 16-17).
151. Cent. 16 (92, 15-22; 93, 1-16).
152. Cent. 19 (94, 20); 61 (121, 17-18); 74 (132, 20-21).
into God’s love. Such a man is completely transformed by the love of God.\textsuperscript{153} Then the feeling which the Holy Spirit engenders in man’s heart is completely peaceful and awakes in all parts of the soul a longing for God.\textsuperscript{154} In this state man begins to be strongly energised by the divine light and becomes completely translucent so that his mind sees its own light vividly.\textsuperscript{155}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{153} Cent. 14 (91, 9-19).
\item \textsuperscript{154} Cent. 74 (133, 3-8).
\item \textsuperscript{155} Cent. 40 (108, 5-8); Vision 18 (174, 5-7).
\end{itemize}
CHAPTER IV
THE END OF HISTORY

1. The Christian hope

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

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

...τῶν τοῦ ἄδου δυνάμεων τὴν συντρίβῃ προεκκεχελιζόμενος τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν
σκιᾶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θανάτου καθημένους, ἢπτικα ἐνεργεῖσθαι ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου τα-φῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως διὰ πολλῶν πεπληροφορήμεθα.³

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

¹ Vision 28 (179, 15-21). Ἡ δὲ φύσῃ ἐπειδὰν χωρίσθη τοῦ σώματος οὐκέτι τὰ
ἐν τῷ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ὁ θάνατος... ἁπάνυπον πάσα χωρίσθησαν αὐτὴν τοῦ σώματος μηκέτι ταύτες ὁράν
ἀπερ ἄνω λέον τοῦ σώματος...
² Cent. 78 (135, 21; 136, 1).
³ Sermon 2 (165, 13-16).
only in the eschatological time. For this reason Christians do not fear death any more, but through dispassion have succeeded in waiting joyfully for death as the entry into truer life. It is interesting to refer to Diadochus’ view of fighting passions through intense meditation on death, ἐννοεῖ τῇ ἀποθέσει τοῦ θανάτου. In fact, we find in Plato’s thought the same phraseology: οἱ ὀρθῶς φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀποθήκησιν μελέτον, meaning the soul’s return back to its original state. In Diadochus this has the meaning of man’s spiritual wakefulness before the end of the present life and the eschatological coming of Christ. This is proven from other passages of Diadochus’ writings where he describes how after death the soul waits for the resurrection of the body.

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

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

The phrase of Diadochus, ἔνα δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς δοκιμασθέντας τῆς κρισεως, in the end of his «Century» caused suspicions even from the time of our author. Maximus the Confessor gave a special interpreta-

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4. Cent. 54 (116, 9-11). See also the tenth definition of Diadochus: Total transformation: through delight in God, to look on the repulsiveness of death as a joy, p. 85.
5. Cent. 99 (161, 15).
6. Phaedo 67d-e, 64a, 80e-81a.
7. This idea is common among the Eastern Fathers.
10. Minucius Felix, Octavius 34.
tation of the above phrase, which the editors of the Philokalia cited immediately after the text of Diadochus' "Century." It is true that in several passages in the New Testament, we find belief in the eternal punishment of sinners. Origen was the first who by his theory of apokatastasis tried to resolve the teaching of Christianity on this point. Origen declared that since God will be in the eschatological time τὰ πάντα ἐν πάσιν evil will not exist any more, and through the punishment of the body the soul will be purified. Therefore the penalties of sinners must come to an end, when all things are restored to their primeval order:

Γίνεσθαι νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις, καὶ γίνεσθαι κόλασις, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀπέραντος.
Κολαζομένων γὰρ τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μικρὰν καθάρισθαι ἡ ψυχή, καὶ οὕτω ἀποκαθίσταται εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τάξιν... Πάντων ἀσβέστων ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς γε δασμένων ἡ κόλασις πέρας ἔχει. Καὶ ἀποκαταστάθησον ἀσβέστως θεοὶ καὶ δασμόνες εἰς τὴν πρωτέραν αὐτῶν τάξιν.

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

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

Maximus the Confessor interprets the above phrase as follows:

11. 1 Cor. 15, 28.
13. Cent. 100 (162, 16-23; 163, 1-11). We quote here the most important piece: Οἱ δὲ καὶ οἱ βραχεὶς δεσπότες ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ θανάτου ἐν τῷ πάντων τῶν άθλων άθράτων κατελειπθοῦσιν πλήθυν ὡς ὑπὸ κρίσεως δυντες, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς δοξασθήσεται τῇ κρίσει τοῦ κρησιμοτέμνοντος αὐτῶς κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν πράξεις ἀπολάβωσιν κλήρους παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
14. See 1 Cor. 3, 13; 1 Pet. 1,7.
Those who have acquired perfect love for God will be caught up in the clouds as the Apostle says (1 Thes. 4,17) and will not be brought to judgment. But those who have not acquired love in all its perfection, but have both sins and virtues on their account, will appear before the court of judgment. There they will be tried as it were by fire; their good actions will be put in the balance against the bad, and if the good outweigh the bad they will be delivered from punishment.

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

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

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

2. The deification of Man

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

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

15. Maximus the Confessor, Quaestiones, interrogationes et responsiones, 10 PG 90, 792C. Οι τά τέλεια τῆς ἁγίασες κεκτημένοι πρὸς τὸν Θεόν καὶ τὸ πτερόν τῆς ψυχῆς διὰ τῶν ἁρετῶν μετεωρηκότας, κατά τὸν 'Απόστολον, ἐν νεφέλαις ἁρπάζονται (1 Thes. 4,17) καὶ εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχονται (John 5,24). Οἱ δὲ γε μὴ πάντῃ τὸ τέλειον κηρυκάμοι, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτήματα καὶ καταρθόματα κεκτημένοι, οὕτως ἐν τῷ δικαιοσύνη τῆς κρίσεως ἔρχονται. Καθ' ἐκ τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ φαύλων πράξεων ἁντιστάσεως οἴονει πυροβόλοι, εἴπερ ἐκ τῶν ἁγαθῶν πλαστίζει ἐπιμαρτήσῃ, καθαίρονται τῆς κολάσεως.

16. See for example, Quaestiones, interrogationes et responsiones, PG 90, 845C-848A. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνοις τὰ ἔργα κατακαίνονται, τῆς διαγνώσεως δικαιοσύνης τὴν συνεπόμενη, καὶ μειοῦσθε τῆς ἁμαρτίας, καὶ σωματικῆς τοῦ ἀθρόμου ... ἀλλ' καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αὐτῶν τὰ ἔργα τῆς ἁμαρτίας εἰς ἀνυπαρξίαν χωρήσουσι τῆς φύσεως τὰς Ἰδίας ἰδιότητας τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανίαις ἀπολαβούσης σώς διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς κρίσεως.
Diadochus, as we said, follows the biblical teaching of man’s creation according to the image and likeness of God. He used the Greek translation of the LXX, and he made the distinction between the image, κατ’ εἰκόνα, as something which is given to man by God through the creation, and by the likeness, καθ’ ὄμοιοσιν, he means the possibility of being like God. This possibility of being like God stopped through the fall of man, and instead of the deification mankind inherits death and ruin. However, through the incarnation of Christ the fundamental purpose of man’s existence has been achieved. «God became man in order that man might become God». This is the classical patristic teaching from Irenaeus to Athanasius, which most of the Fathers inherited. Christ in His person has united the human and divine nature so that by this fellowship human nature might become divine: ὁ γὰρ ἄρματε τῷ σαρκοδέντῳ Θεῷ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς θεωθησιμένοις διὰ τὸν πλούτον τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, θεοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιήσας φιλοτιμησιμένου Θεοῦ. The deification of man is the result of the co-operation between divine grace and human will. Diadochus teaches that at baptism grace is hidden within man, but through the fulfilment of the commandments grace become active and manifest. The grace of God starts by remaking the divine image in man, but when God sees man longing for the divine likeness then by making one virtue flower after another it depicts the divine likeness on the soul. Thus when the intellect begins to have direct experience of the Holy Spirit man should realise that grace is beginning to paint the likeness over the image. The power of apprehension shows that men are being formed into the divine likeness, but they shall know the perfecting of this likeness only by the light of grace. On the other hand, only when a man has perfect love has the image been fully transformed into the beauty of likeness. The likeness of God according to Diadochus is in so far as this is possible...ὡς χωρεῖ δὲ ἀνθρώπος, λέγω ὄμοιοι γιὰ Θεό... This phrase recalls the Theaetetus. In the Christian tradition, even in the biblical texts, there is established a relationship between the deification of man and the vision of God: «We know that when He appears we shall be like Him, for we shall see

17. See above p. 178.
18. Sermon 6 (168, 9-12).
19. Cent. 89 (149, 7-26).
20. Plato, Theaetetus 176a-b3.
Him as He is.\(^{21}\) In fact, as a man progresses in the way of deification he receives the experience of God's vision. The question arises, does Diadochus think that man can see God face to face?

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

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22. Cent. 36 (105, 8-20); 40 (108, 5-12).
23. Vision 12 (172, 13-20). Τούτων τοίνυν, ἔρη, τὸν τρόπον ὡς ἐν ὑφάσμει εἴδους εἶδον καὶ οἱ προφῆται τῶν Θεόν· ὁ γὰρ αὐτός εἰς σχῆμα μεταβαλλόμενος αὐτοῖς ἔφανεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός ὡς ἐν ἐλείσει δόξης ἔμφασιν τὸν ἐπιπλασίως βουλήσεως αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ φύσεως ἐν ἐλείσει δεικνυμένης· ἡ γὰρ τῆς βουλήσεως ἐνέργεια ὡς εἴδους αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ὁπισθαῖς δηλαδὴ δόξης ἐφανερώθη, διὰ τὸν ἐν εἴδει βουλής ἀνατένοις ὅλως εὐθύνοις διελήσταντε. Diadochus does not give any further explanation of this difficult concept of God's visible will.
25. Timothy, prop. 6. See also the Macarian Homily 4, 11, ed. H. Dörries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger, p. 36.
unless he bows down through grace to the knowledge of the soul. Evagrius rejects all visible theophanies. He claims that such a doctrine belongs to the Gentiles, that is, the Stoics, who imagined that God, having no form, assumes different appearances according to His will in order to appear to men. He said that to see the face of the Father does not mean to behold any form or figure after the manner of this world. It is a demonic illusion which presents visions pleasing to the senses during prayer.

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

28. De Or. 114, PG 79, 11920. Εἰπωθέντος ἡδέων τό πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, μὴ ξητεὶ παντελῶς μορφῆν, ή σχῆμα δέχεσθαι ἐν τῷ τῆς προσευχῆς καιρῷ.
29. Vision 21 (175, 15-27; 175, 1-2).
30. Adv. Haer 4, 20, 4 ed. A. Rousseau, SC vol. 100, Paris 1965, p. 634-636. «Est autem hic verbum ejus Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, qui in novissimia temporibus homo in hominibus factus est, ut finem conjungeret principio, hoc est hominem Deo. Et propter eam prophetas, ab eodem verbo propheticum accipientes charismata, praedicerunt ejus secundum carnum adventum, per quem commixtioni et communio Dei et hominis secundum placitum Patris facta est, ab initio praeanuntiante Verbo Dei, quoniam videbitur Deus ab hominibus et conversabitur cum eis super terram.»
31. Adv. Haer 4, 6, 8-6, p. 442, 450. «Et propter hoc Filii revelat agnationem Patris per suam manifestationem. Agnation enim Patris est Filii manifestatio. Omnia enim per Verbum manifestatur. Et par ipsum Verbum visibilem et palpabilem factum Pater ostendebatur etiamsi non omnes similiter credebant ei; sed omnes
For St. John Chrysostom and the Antiochean School, the Son, being the perfect image of the invisible God, is Himself invisible, otherwise He could not be the image of the Father. By the incarnation He became visible to created beings. Thus the vision of God is conditioned by the Word’s incarnation.32

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

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

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

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

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

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33. Cyril of Alexandria. In Joh. 11 PG 74, 545A.
34. Vision 14 (173, 1-8).
divine energies or operation. Divine essence means God as He is in Himself, which remains for ever above and beyond all participation and all knowledge on the part of any creature, both in this age and in the age to come. Energies signify God in action and self-revelation, which are God Himself, fill the whole world, and by grace all may come to participate in them. Thus God, who is essentially unknowable, is existentially or energetically revealed. This distinction between the Essence and Energies of God is in contrast with the Philosophical conception of the divine simplicity, as is the distinction of the Trinity in three persons. Nevertheless we find this distinction in classical Philosophy, and it is stated in emphatic terms in Christian literature by the Cappadocians. We quote two characteristic pieces from St. Basil and Gregory of Nyssa:

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Diadochus does not define man according to his essence or nature but according to his way of life and always in relation to God. The Hellenistic or gnostic understanding of man as substance or nature is unknown to him. Human nature consists of body and soul. For Diadochus it is totally impossible, metaphysically speaking, for the human body to be evil or the prison of the soul. The body is an inalienable part of man. His conception of soul is between the Origenistic theory, which has been accepted by Evagrius, and the Stoic conception, which is found in Macarius. In Diadochus' writings there is not an ontological contrast between material and spiritual elements, between body and soul, but man is described as a psychosomatic organism. Between body and soul
there is a close connection and coherence which is expressed by the term σύγκρασις. He seems to go further than other Christian writers because of his acceptance that soul and body are created from one and the same essence. The centre of all man's psychophysical life is the heart, a term to which he gives the full biblical meaning, and he never defines it as the emotional side of man's life. While Daidochus speaks in terms of the heart, he also makes frequent use of the word nous. For him nous means the intuitive awareness of spiritual truth. However, man is not an intelligence imprisoned in matter longing to be free from his body but a psychosomatic organism.

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

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

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

8. Daidochus follows a spirituality based upon his anthropology. He does not accept merely an intellectual contemplation of God, but he teaches that the body as well as the intellect participates in the spiritual life.
In his spirituality Diadochus emphasizes the «aesthetic» element. For him the climax of the spiritual life consists in a feeling or sensation. He applies the Messalian phrase ἐν πάσῃ πλούσῃ καὶ πληροφορίᾳ not in its grossly materialistic sense but to express the importance of conscious feeling and awareness.

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

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

C. Century
col. column
l. line
p. page
ed. edited by
vol. volume
DTC *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris.
OC *Orientalia Christiana*, Rome.
OCA *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, Rome.
RAM *Revue d'ascétique et de Mystique*, Toulouse.
SC *Sources Chrétiennes*, Paris.

WORKS OF DIADOCHUS OF PHOTICE

*Cent:* Capita Centum *De perfectione spirituali.*

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

*Vision:* Vision Sancti Diadochi episcopi Photicensis.

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